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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 1, 1984
to Steering Committee of the International Relations Commission
from Leo Nevas, Chairman
subject Meeting on June 25

As the new chairman of the International Relations Commission, it is my pleasure to invite you to the next meeting of our Steering Committee.

Date: Monday, June 25

Place: Louis XVI East Suite
Fourth Floor
Waldorf Astoria Hotel

Time: 10 a.m. to 12:45 p.m. (Luncheon will be served.)

There are a number of issues that deserve our attention at this session. Our tentative agenda includes the following topics:

- I International Relations Commission Regional Task Forces
- II Meetings with UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, German Chancellor Kohl, Mexican President de la Madrid and Spanish Ambassador to the UN de Pinies
- III Middle East/Persian Gulf Update
- IV Report on the Black Hebrews - Ken Bandler
- V Developments in the Soviet Union -- Sakharov, Anti-Semitism, Emigration

*Ellen
AR notes
B. Zales
Leon Silman*

(Koraszko letter)

*D. Geller
D. Harris*

VI. Right to leave

*Sidney
Lushby
J. Relig
Intal*

U.S. Hispanics

Material on these and other subjects of interest in which our International Relations Department has recently been involved is enclosed.

Please return the enclosed card, or call Rita Reznik, 212-751-4000, Ext. 314, to indicate the likelihood of your attendance.

I very much look forward to seeing you on June 25th.

LN:RPR

Enclosures

84-550-42

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON THE U.S. SALE OF "STINGERS" TO SAUDI ARABIA

by
Howard I. Friedman
AJC National President
and
Leo Nevas

Chairman of the AJC Commission on International Relations

AMERICAN JEWISH

We share the Administration's interest in preserving freedom of shipping in the Persian Gulf and in protecting oil installations vital to the international community. We are, however, deeply concerned that adequate safeguards be devised to prevent the Stinger anti-aircraft weapons being sold to Saudi Arabia from falling into the hands of terrorists. Our apprehension is heightened by the documented evidence that previous American-supplied arms to Saudi Arabia found their way into the arsenals of the Palestine Liberation Organization in southern Lebanon.

We note that in announcing the sale of 400 mobile Stinger missiles, the State Department declared that "Saudi Arabia has agreed to strict safeguards to insure the security of the missiles." We call upon the Administration to devise practical on the ground arrangements to monitor Saudi compliance with these provisions. We are reassured by the fact that the aerial refueling tankers being sent to Saudi Arabia will be manned and controlled by United States personnel. We believe that it would be dangerous and destabilizing to provide the Saudis with the bomb racks they have requested for the F-15's. Not only would this be in violation of express assurances provided to the U.S. Congress, but it would convert the F-15 from a defensive fighter to an offensive bomber, enabling Saudi Arabia to escalate the Persian Gulf conflict, or, more likely, to strike against Israel.

Finally, we urge the Administration to re-examine its policy of repeatedly acceding to massive Saudi arms requests without any reciprocal action by Saudi Arabia to support American efforts to bring peace and stability to the Middle East. Indeed, Saudi actions, such as the providing of arms and financial aid to the PLO and Syria, which are violently opposed to the Camp David peace process, have served to undermine American-sponsored peace initiatives.

5/30/84

For AJC Internal Distribution

International Relations Department
Israel and Middle East Division

**CONSULTATION ON U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS
IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA & PERSIAN GULF**

March 29, 1984

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It appears unlikely that the Straits of Hormuz will be totally blocked and the export of oil cut off. If there was such a cut off, however, there could be serious consequences. The real danger is not loss of supplies, since available reserves together with expanded production by non-Gulf producers could make up the shortfall, but the psychological impact on the international oil market. Panic buying could drive up spot prices, as occurred after the Iranian revolution in 1979, and this could result in an increase in long term prices. This underscores the need for coordinated contingency planning by the Western industrial powers and Japan.
2. The Reagan Administration is only now beginning to think about how and under what circumstances to use our Strategic Petroleum Reserve. How long into a crisis should we wait before drawing on SPR oil? Should the oil be sold only to U.S. companies or also to foreign firms? Guidelines for using the SPR need to be drawn up. A definitive U.S. policy would help avert "panic buying" by our allies in the event of a cut off of Gulf oil. (The 390 million barrels currently stored in the SPR would be sufficient to make up the lost supply to Europe and Japan for more than three months or to replace total U.S. oil imports for four months.) The SPR, however, is untested and there remains some uncertainty as to how effectively and at what cost we can draw the oil from the salt caverns.
3. The Iraqi-Iranian war is likely to continue. A principal lesson of this conflict is that we should not underestimate either the ability of rulers in crisis situations to survive despite severe setbacks or the national cohesiveness of a country's population. Through a combination of appeals to nationalism, the launching of development projects in Shiite areas, and the use of coercive measures, the regime of Saddam Hussein has prevented any effective pro-Iranian revolt by the Shiites of Iraq. Similarly, the Arab-speaking residents of the Iranian province of Khuzistan did not actively support the Iraqi appeals to rise up against Khomeini.
4. Neither an Iraqi nor an Iranian victory is in the interest of the U.S., Saudi Arabia, the sheikdoms or Israel. While a limited American tilt toward Iraq might appear to make some sense in terms of averting an Iranian breakthrough, such a move is not advisable. Since no one is convinced that a tilt to Iraq could be carefully calibrated, it has inherent dangers for U.S. strategic interests in the Middle East. The increasing evidence that

Iraq has used illegal chemical warfare is also likely to militate against Congressional or public support for any significant improvement in American-Iraqi relations. While the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, and in particular the joining of radical and fundamentalist elements in anti-Western terrorism, poses a serious threat to American interests and conservative Arab regimes, the weak Gulf states still remember that Iraqi ascendancy used to be a major concern. They are therefore only reluctantly supporting Baghdad and are not eager to see Iraq emerge as the predominant Gulf power. The unstated hope in many quarters is that the war will continue indecisively, weakening both sides.

5. Although one can not exclude the possibility of a major escalation in the conflict, most participants discounted the prospect of a doomsday scenario in which the West and the Soviet Union would be dragged into a conflict that could escalate into World War III. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have exercised considerable restraint in the Iran-Iraq war. Although Moscow has been critical of American threats to use force if necessary to keep the Straits of Hormuz open, the USSR is unlikely to take military action to prevent the re-opening of the Straits, especially in view of Russia's traditional championing of the principle of free passage through international straits (e.g. the Dardanelles).
6. While Saudi Arabia has been characterized as a stable country in the 1960's and 1970's, it is now moving into an era of instability. There are new groups and new classes in Saudi society that did not exist until the late 1960's. At present, there seems to be no imminent threat to the regime. Nevertheless, given the paucity of information about what is going on in high levels of Saudi society, it is very difficult to measure forces of stability and instability, or to predict the future course of Saudi political development. The presence of large numbers of foreign workers, the generational gap between the western-educated youth and their traditional elders, and the impact of opening higher education to women are among the developments that are likely to increase strains within Saudi society in the next decade.
7. The U.S. should encourage the Export-Import Bank to extend credits to Iraq for the building of an oil pipeline to the Jordanian port of Aqaba. The pipeline, which could be constructed in a period of less than six months, would greatly aid Iraq's ailing economy. Israel is not likely to obstruct Iraqi oil exports. It also has not blocked ships going to Aqaba with supplies for Iraq. The U.S. and Israel should discuss Red Sea security arrangements and such discussions might lead to some tacit Iraqi-Israeli understanding and the eventual weaning of Iraq away from the radical Arab anti-Israel confrontation front.
8. It was agreed that the U.S. did not want to make direct use of Israeli armed forces in any local military action in the Gulf. Moreover, Israel itself would be very reluctant to play such a role. There was much disagreement among the participants, however, on what indirect role, if any, Israel could play in promoting U.S. strategic policy vis-a-vis the Gulf. A supportive role might involve intelligence gathering, providing additional air cover for the U.S. Navy in the Eastern Mediterranean, and countering Syrian threats to Jordan so that a Jordanian rapid deployment force could be deployed to the Gulf area.

9. It was suggested that Turkey could play a useful role to help the U.S. protect its interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. America's other NATO allies should also be more actively involved in contingency planning to meet potential military threats in the Gulf region, Egypt is currently also a moderate pro-Western state that shares American strategic concerns, but there was dispute among the participants as to whether Egypt would be willing or able to send a military expeditionary force to help Gulf states in trouble or whether Egyptian military forces would be welcomed. (The unfortunate Egyptian intervention during Nasser's time in the Yemeni civil war has resulted in a measure of hesitation on both sides.)
10. The Gulf and the situation in Lebanon has taken precedence over the Arab-Israeli conflict in U.S. Middle East attention during most of the past two years. As a result, the current government in Israel has been afforded greater freedom of action vis-a-vis the West Bank and U.S.-Israeli differences have been minimized. This does not mean, however, that those differences have been resolved or that U.S. and Israeli Middle East perceptions are identical on these issues, which are likely to assume a higher priority following the Israeli and American elections.
11. Recommendations for AJC follow-up activities:
 - a. Publicize and condemn human rights violations committed by Iraq and Iran.
 - b. In places where exaggerated reports of Israeli military assistance to Iran have been used to fan anti-Israel feelings in the American public, provide background information that will put the limited Israeli supply of spare parts into perspective and explain the factors (e.g. the vulnerable Jewish community in Iran) why Israel does not adopt an openly hostile position to the anti-Zionist Khomeini regime.
 - c. Encourage the Administration to support Export-Import Bank credits for the Kirkuk-Aqaba pipeline, which would provide a channel for Iraqi oil not subject to interruption by closing of the Straits of Hormuz.
 - d. Express through private channels concern over the harmful consequences to U.S. strategic interests if Congress were to reimpose an embargo upon U.S. assistance to Turkey. Turkey is an important regional power, with close ties to Western Europe and the Islamic world, as well as a measure of friendly relations with Israel.
 - e. While pointing out the very limited extent to which the United States can rely upon the Saudis either politically, diplomatically or militarily, we should not argue publicly that Saudi Arabia is really unstable. This only strengthens the

counter-argument that close U.S.-Israeli relations increase Saudi instability by making the Saudis vulnerable to radical criticism and that increased American military supply to Saudi Arabia is necessary to shore up the regime.

- f. It was also suggested that the AJC sponsor an expanded two-day conference in the fall to assess the options for U.S. Middle East policy in the Arab-Israel area as well as in the Gulf in the period following the Israeli and American elections.

Prepared by Dr. George E. Gruen
and Kenneth Bandler



April 10, 1984
84-580-13
U061-IRD/gn

Yes, Await a Request From the Gulf for Help

By Jacob Goldberg

WASHINGTON — The letter that President Reagan sent this week to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia reiterated a standing American offer of military support on the condition that the United States had access to airfields, radar and other facilities near the head of the Persian Gulf. The President emphasized, and rightly so, that the United States would be willing to help only if publicly requested to do so by the Gulf states. Saudi Arabia has made no such request, and Washington should stand by its original position.

At this point, and unless there is a direct threat to American vital interests, the Administration is right in letting the Gulf states handle the escalating conflict by themselves. Acting without the collaboration of Britain and France and a clear invitation from the Gulf states would only play into Soviet hands in the Persian Gulf.

Why are the Saudis reluctant to accept American help? A number of foreign observers have suggested that their hesitation is directly related to the United States' efforts this spring to upgrade its strategic relations with Israel. This is a ridiculous idea. Can anyone seriously believe that the Saudis would deprive themselves of crucial American support against as formidable an adversary as Iran merely because of American-Israeli relations?

What then are the real reasons? First, for a long time now, a close association and collaboration with the United States has carried a stigma in the Arab world. This is particularly true of any collaboration that involves an American presence on Arab soil, and it is a particular problem for conservative, monarchical regimes that are under pressure from radical groups within the the Arab world.

The Saudi royal family fears being branded as a Western puppet — a fear that has become all the more acute since the American withdrawal from Lebanon. Above all, the Saudis worry that military cooperation with the United States would invite attacks by extremists who are backed Iran and Syria.

Second, the Saudis fear that an American presence along the shores of the Gulf would invite the Soviet Union to try to penetrate the region. The Saudis worry that Moscow would

see this as a United States attempt to establish an exclusive relation with the Gulf states and that the Russians would seek to counter the American presence, further destabilizing the region. The Gulf would become yet another arena of superpower rivalry, and the primary losers would be the Gulf countries themselves.

Third, the Saudis wonder how effective an American military umbrella would be. In particular, in the wake of the Lebanese debacle, they worry that the United States might intervene hastily but then withdraw before it had finished the job.

Fourth, Saudi Arabia seeks to prove to its own public that it is capable of defending itself with the billions of dollars worth of weapons it has purchased in recent years. Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf countries seem to believe that they can cope with an Iranian threat as long as it is confined to air and sea activities and that there is no need now for United States support. In the Saudis' eyes, a request for United States aid would amount to a public admission that they face a tangible Iranian threat and lack the necessary power to confront the danger.

What then do the Saudis want? They want the the best of both worlds — the benefits but not the disadvantages of an American presence in the region. As one Saudi official told Washington in 1979, "We want you everywhere in the region, but we don't want to have anything to do with it." Specifically, the Saudis have told Washington privately that they want the United States to continue to maintain its carrier task force in the Arabian Sea, outside the Gulf. Such a presence would not carry the stigma of the "American connection" but would provide a kind of insurance for Saudi Arabia: If it did suddenly have to call for help, the United States would be there to respond.

Of course, the more tangible and immediate the Iranian threat becomes, the more willing the Saudis will be to call for help and military cooperation with the United States. In the meantime, Washington should continue to show the restraint it has exercised in the last few days. But it should also take steps to persuade the Saudis that if they want help, they will have to provide access to facilities on their soil. A force deployed "over the horizon" in the Arabian Sea cannot respond quickly enough to have any effect. And postponing the matter until a serious danger emerges may portend ominous consequences for the security of Saudi Arabia.

Jacob Goldberg, head of the Saudi Arabian desk at the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Tel Aviv University, is visiting professor of Middle Eastern studies at George Washington University.

As Tension Rises in the Gulf, Role for U.S. Becomes Issue

By **BERNARD GWERTZMAN**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23 — The tensions in the Persian Gulf area, caused by the extension of the Iran-Iraq war to attacks on the ships of other countries, have raised questions about the war and about possible American involvement in it. Here, in question-and-answer form, are the major factors that will influence decisions on American involvement.

Q. The Iranians and the Iraqis have been fighting for nearly four years, and in that period more than 60 ships have been hit. Why is so much attention now being paid to the problem by the United States and other countries?

A. Until last week the fighting had been more or less restricted to the vicinity of Iran and Iraq, but last week the conflict took a new turn when Iranian planes attacked two Kuwaiti tankers and one Saudi Arabian tanker far from the battle zone. This raised the prospect of other nations becoming involved in a widening war.

Q. Why should the United States care if Iranians and Iraqis fight each other and Iranian planes hit Kuwaiti or Saudi tankers?

A. The American concern, which is shared by the West Europeans and the Japanese, is twofold. There is the economic worry that if the attacks on oil shipping continue, the Persian Gulf oil market, which accounts for nearly eight million barrels of oil a day, might be disrupted, creating eventual price rises for petroleum products worldwide and causing new problems for the world economy. In addition, the United States and its allies are concerned that the political systems of the conservative countries of the gulf not be radically changed by insurgencies or destabilization by Iran and its radical Moslem supporters.

Q. Does the United States have any commitment to any of the parties to the conflict?

A. The United States has no treaty commitment to any Persian Gulf country. But ever since the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, the Carter Administration and now the Reagan Administration have stated their determination to do what is necessary to keep the oil transport channels of the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz open to interna-

tional traffic. President Reagan restated this intention last October and again in February, when he said the world could not allow those waterways to be closed. In addition, the United States has supplied enormous amounts of arms to Saudi Arabia and flies reconnaissance flights for the Saudis with American Awacs planes.

Q. Are the waterways actually endangered?

A. At the moment, no. Despite some curtailment in Iranian oil exports because of Iraqi air attacks against ships near Kharg Island, the main Iranian oil terminal, the flow of oil has continued unabated, with no surge in oil prices.

Q. If the situation worsened, would the United States carry out its commitment to keep the waterways open?

A. The American response, it seems, depends on the desires of the gulf countries themselves. Mr. Reagan made it clear in his press conference on Tuesday, and other officials have said the same thing earlier, that the United States would agree to intervene militarily only if asked to do so by the Saudis and others. One State Department official, aware of Congressional wariness of becoming involved in a shooting war, said the Saudi invitation would have to be "in neon lights so that there is no doubt that we were asked."

Q. How likely is it that the Saudis would ask the United States to become directly involved?

A. The Saudis and the other gulf countries have been ambiguous. On the one hand, they insist that they should take care of their problems by themselves without outside intervention. The Gulf Coordinating Council, led by the Saudis and the Kuwaitis, condemned Iran last week for its attacks, and the Arab League echoed those sentiments. The gulf countries are leading the effort for a strong United Nations Security Council condemnation of Iran. At the same time, however, the Saudis have privately told the United States they are not sure that in a direct conflict with the more experienced Iranians they could prevail. They wanted assurances that, in an emergency, the United States could help out. Washington's response has been equally ambiguous. It said it agreed that the gulf countries should take the lead but that, if asked, the United States would help out.

Q. Despite the ambiguity of statements on both sides, if the Saudis asked for military involvement, what would Washington do?

A. There are several contingencies. One is using American naval warships, in cooperation with British, French and gulf vessels, to escort international shipping from Persian Gulf ports to an area south of the war zone. Another is using American fighter squadrons operating out of the Saudi air base at Dhahran to fly air cover, in cooperation with aircraft of the Saudis and other gulf countries.

Q. Would the British and French cooperate in gulf military action? And why don't other NATO countries and Japan, which import much more oil from the region than the United States does, take part?

A. That is a source of some friction in the alliance. The British are said to be ready to help if a major shutdown of the waterways appears imminent. The French would probably help but not in any united force structure. The other Europeans and the Japanese say they have political constraints at home that make such operations impossible to consider.

Q. If the United States intervened, might it get into a shooting war with Iran? And aren't there some American officials who would like an opportunity to retaliate for Iran's holding of American hostages in 1979-81?

A. If the ships and planes were sent to protect the oilfields and the shipping, they would be permitted to open fire to carry out their mission. Undoubtedly there are some officials who would love

the chance to bomb targets in Iran. But the official policy is much more restrained. State Department officials insist, for instance, that American rules of engagement would not include bombing Iranian planes on the ground or attacking military installations in Iran.

Q. What legal right does the United States have to use military force against countries with which it is not at war?

A. Administration officials say the right to collective defense is specified in the United Nations Charter, and the right of self-defense is specified in the

Charter and by international law. They say these provisions would apply to American intervention because oil is vital to the national security of the United States and its allies.

Q. If the United States intervened, would the War Powers Act have to be used?

A. If American forces are sent into an area where there is a likelihood of imminent hostilities or into a combat zone, the act takes effect and Congress must be consulted. This has not happened.

Q. Haven't the Saudis bought large amounts of American military equipment in recent years?

A. Yes. The Saudis are averaging about \$4 billion a year in purchases, including having the Army Corps of Engineers build their military bases. They also have F-15 fighters and the use of American Awacs.

Q. Why can't the Saudis handle problems in the gulf by themselves? Why involve the United States?

A. Actually, the Saudis say that is their position. They say they do not want the United States to be involved except as a last resort. American officials insist that having had a bitter experience with Congress over the stationing of marines in Beirut, they are also not interested, particularly in an election year, in looking for an opportunity to send American forces into action in the gulf. But the officials said that the Saudis, despite their 62 F-15's, have never been in combat and might need a helping hand. The United States is also offering more military equipment to the Saudis.

Q. Why are the Saudis reluctant to have Americans there?

A. The main reason is that the Saudis are concerned that the Soviet Union not be given an excuse to intervene in the area. Another problem for the Saudis is that they are unenthusiastic about having significant numbers of non-Moslem foreign forces on their soil. Third, there is a rising sense of pride in Saudi Arabia that conflicts with being seen as dependent on Washington.

Q. Why is the United States so hostile to the Iranians? After all, the Iraqis have hit many more ships than the Iranians have.

A. Officially the United States is neutral in the conflict. It bars, for instance, the sale of military equipment to either side. But in fact, the United States has "tilted" first in one direction, and then in another. Right now, the "tilt" is decidedly in Iraq's favor.

In the fall of 1980, soon after the Iraqis invaded Iran, the United States was alarmed that Iran might disintegrate, giving the Russians an excuse to intervene while Americans were being held hostage. So the Administration warned Iraq that the United States opposed the military conquest of Iran. But after the Iranians took the military initiative, which they have had for two years, the United States began to be concerned that the Iraqis might collapse, leading to a spread of Islamic extremism in the gulf.

Recently, the United States has praised Iraq for its willingness to accept United Nations Security Council Resolution 540 of last October, which calls for a cease-fire and a negotiated solution. The Iranians have rejected it and are insisting that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq must resign before there is a solution.

Q. Is the Iran-Iraq conflict likely to end soon?

A. There is no real sign of this happening, although there are certainly efforts afoot to keep it from spreading. All sorts of emissaries are going back and forth to try to restrict the war.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 22, 1984

to Area Directors

from Marc H. Tanenbaum

subject AJC Efforts to Aid the Andrei Sakharovs

I thought that you would be interested in knowing about a number of efforts that AJC's International Relations Department has undertaken in trying to help Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, in their present trying circumstances.

As soon as we learned about their serious medical problems and Sakharov's hunger strike, we sent a telegram to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. A copy of that telegram, signed by Howard Friedman and Leo Nevas, chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, is enclosed.

We also spoke several times with key aides in the UN Secretary General's office, urging vigorous interventions with the Soviet authorities in behalf of the Sakharovs. In their effort to discredit the Sakharovs' human rights stands, the Soviets have unleashed a vicious anti-Semitic press campaign against Yelena Bonner, based clearly on her Jewish-Armenian origins (see enclosed Washington Post clipping.)

We have made available copies of the enclosed documents on Soviet anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish hostility to the UN people, but also to our contacts in France, Germany, Spain, and Mexico (during our meeting with Mexican President de la Madrid last week in Washington.) We are planning to get this material to other Western governments, and to Latin American states as well.

On Monday night, May 21, a preview of a TV film on the life of Sakharov took place in New York for the major print media. Through our UN contacts, we have arranged for foreign press people to cover the film. Produced by Titus Productions (who produced the "Holocaust" mini-series and "Skokie," among other TV films), it will be shown in September over HBO channel TV. I am hoping to be able to get prints available to our area offices for showing around the country. As with "Holocaust," we will be able to invite key public opinion molders -- press, Christian and Jewish leaders, foreign policy types -- to see the film, and hopefully we will be able to generate public statements of concern for Sakharov and his wife, as well as for other refuseniks who are suffering from Soviet harrassment and denial of the right to leave. As soon as the prints are available, I will rush off a packet to you for local program use.

In the meantime, I would urge you to use our telegram and the WINS script as the basis of issuing your own statements for the press, for Senators and Congressmen, as well as to local consulates asking for their prompt interventions. Please keep me informed of any actions taken.

MHT:RPR

84-550-41

May 13, 1984

SAVE THE ANDREI SAKHAROV
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

About a week ago, I had the privilege of previewing a full-length TV film on the heroic lives of Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner. It is a magnificent, moving film produced by Titus Productions, and will be shown in September over HBO channel television.

At a climactic point in the film, Sakharov discusses with human rights advocates the persecution they suffer under the present Soviet regime comparing it with the ruthlessness of Stalin. Sakharov says, "They are not different from Stalin, only smarter."

Many observers wonder whether the furor that the Soviet authorities have created by their boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics was not a cynical effort to divert world attention and pressure from the tragic plight of Sakharov and his wife.

One of the world's greatest scientists and human rights champions for Christians and Jews alike, Dr. Sakharov is slowly dying in exile in the remote city of Gorky. Despite the urgent recommendations of physicians for his immediate hospitalization, the Soviet Government does not permit this Nobel peace laureate to enter a hospital.

His wife, who has suffered three heart attacks this past year and desperately needs treatment for a serious eye ailment, is denied the right to travel abroad for medical care. Sakharov has begun a hunger strike to demand permission for his wife to go outside Russia for her treatment. Unless the Soviets relent, and do so quickly, it is expected that Dr. and Mrs. Sakharov will die in a matter of days. Should that happen, and should the world community allow that to happen, all the Helsinki Accords and all the UN declarations will become a mockery of human decency.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

Soviet Paper Attacks Wife Of Sakharov

5-24-84

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 20—The Soviet government newspaper Izvestia tonight published a fierce personal attack on the wife of dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov, charging that she was exploiting her husband in her efforts to escape to the West "even if it meant over her husband's dead body."

The long commentary also suggested that the Nobel Peace Prize winner's wife, Yelena Bonner, 62, may be put on trial for "anti-Soviet activities."

Diplomatic observers, analyzing the obscure language in the commentary titled "Degenerates and Their Supporters," said the government apparently was preparing to try Bonner if Sakharov refuses to reach a compromise with authorities.

Sakharov has been on a hunger strike since May 2 to press demands for medical treatment in the West for his wife. He was reported to have been removed May 7 from his apartment in Gorki, a city 250 miles east of here to which he was banished more than four years ago, and taken to an undisclosed location. He is believed to have been hospitalized.

[French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais said in Paris Sunday that Soviet authorities had told him that Sakharov was undergoing observation "at the hospital-clinic of Semachko in the Gorki region" and

See SAKHAROV, A14, Col. 1

Izvestia Attacks, Threatens Sakharov's Wife

SAKHAROV, From A1

that his condition was "completely satisfactory," Reuter reported.

[Marchais said he was also told that Bonner's condition was "quite satisfactory" and that her heart and eye disorders could easily be treated in local hospitals. Marchais said he had asked Soviet authorities "at the highest level" for details on their state of health.]

"In her anti-Soviet activities," Izvestia said, Bonner had "gone too far. Crossing the limits that nobody is permitted to cross under Soviet laws, she should have known the consequences that follow. As is known, Sakharov has been punished for his antisocial activities. At the present time, law enforcement agencies, proceeding from the law, are taking measures with respect to Bonner."

Much of the commentary was devoted to discrediting Bonner. She was described as "a shallow, resentful and greedy person, ready to sell and betray everybody and everything, for her own profit."

"Her basic goal was to escape to the West even if it meant over her husband's dead body," Izvestia said.

It said Soviet security agencies were in possession of a number of Sakharov's letters and documents. These would presumably serve as the basis for "charges" against Bonner.

The documents had "fallen into the hands" of security police who foiled an attempt by Bonner to seek asylum in the U.S. Embassy here, Izvestia said.

It reiterated charges that Bonner, in cooperation with U.S. diplomats in Moscow, had organized a "provocative operation" that called for Sakharov to go on a hunger strike while she was to take refuge in the U.S. Embassy.

A senior U.S. official here said last week that Bonner had left Sakharov's appeal to Hartman in a U.S. diplomatic vehicle on April 12. The embassy has denied that she had been sending any material through its diplomatic pouch.

The government news agency Tass, on its English-language service Friday, gave a detailed account of Bonner's health in an effort to prove that she did not need medical help in the West. Tass quoted well known Soviet physicians who had treated her.

Izvestia said tonight that the couple "are being provided with qualified medical aid and that there is no lack of the medical preparation they need." Sakharov also suffers from heart problems.

Izvestia said that among the documents was a Sakharov letter to the embassy in which he allegedly said that "in reality my health condition is fully satisfactory. The authorities in Gorki are actively seeking to provide the best medical care for me."

The authorities also apparently have a copy of Sakharov's letter to Arthur Hartman, the U.S. ambassador here, in which Sakharov was quoted as "appealing to the State Department to grant asylum" to his wife.

Izvestia also accused Bonner of frequent contacts with U.S. diplomats who allegedly helped her use the diplomatic pouch for sending "slandering anti-Soviet material" to the West.

Some western diplomats here interpreted Izvestia's commentary as an effort to shift attention in the West away from the human rights activist onto his wife in a strategy to reduce western interest in their case.

Izvestia made it clear that Bonner was seen as manipulating her husband, who was one of the developers of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, in her own effort to serve the interests of anticommunists in the West.

"On her orders, he [Sakharov] provided instructions for the Americans," Izvestia said. It said Bonner was needed by the Americans "as a cause for a bigger game—the game of political and ideological diversion against socialism."

Scanlon & Menken, Ltd.

Public Relations and Marketing
330 West Forty-Second St., New York 10036
212-947-9544 - Telex 971680

The attention of the world is focused on Gorky and the renowned Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov. His announced hunger strike in protest of the Soviet government's refusal to allow his wife, Elena Bonner, passage to the West for medical treatment has lasted 15 days. His condition is grave.

We ask that you attend a special screening of an HBO PREMIERE FILMS presentation of the movie Sakharov starring Jason Robards and Glenda Jackson. The screening is a small gesture in support of one of the most brave and courageous men of our time.

The attention of the world may be all that is left to save his life. Please come.

DATE: Monday, May 21, 1984
TIME: 7:00 p.m.
PLACE: Time Inc. Auditorium
1271 Avenue of the Americas
8th Floor
RSVP: Mr. Richard Plepler
(212) 947-9544

Thank you.



For Immediate Release

JASON ROBARDS AND GLENDA JACKSON STAR IN 'SAKHAROV,'
HBO PREMIERE FILMS' PRESENTATION OF A TRUE STORY OF HEROISM

September Debut Slated For Real-Life Drama
That Traces Famed Soviet Scientist's Struggle For Human Rights

What is the price of a man's conscience? For Andrei Sakharov, the Soviet Union's top nuclear physicist and father of his country's hydrogen bomb, it has meant constant danger to himself and his loved ones, heartrending separation from his family, and a fall from a position of privilege and prestige to internal exile and disgrace. The true story of this man's courageous battle against oppression of human rights in his homeland is portrayed in SAKHAROV, an HBO PREMIERE FILMS presentation starring Jason Robards as the famed Soviet scientist and Glenda Jackson as his dedicated wife, Elena Bonner. The exclusive real-life drama is slated to debut in September on the HBO service.

SAKHAROV begins with the quiet, introspective physicist leading a privileged existence in Moscow with his frail first wife, Klavdia (Anna Massey). But when he is approached by activist Pavel Leontiev (Paul Freeman), who asks Sakharov to add his prestigious name to a petition protesting the hard labor sentence of a Soviet dissident, his conscience compels him to sign despite the misgivings of Klavdia and a warning by his superior, Kravtsov (Frank Finlay). Unfortunately, the ever-vigilant KGB witnesses the event.

(more)

Contact: Richard Licata or John Kelley
(212) 484-1103 or 1250

Sakharov also begins collecting his thoughts on intellectual freedom and world peace in written form, and consents to a request by Leontiev and fellow activist Roy Medvedev (Jim Norton) to distribute his notes within the Soviet Union -- and possibly abroad as well. When he asks his trusted secretary of 15 years to type and copy the notes for him, she betrays him to Kravtsov. Soon Sakharov finds himself barred from his classified working area.

Despite the illness and subsequent death of Klavdia, Sakharov intervenes in the case of Medvedev's brother, a dissident who has been sent to an insane asylum, and succeeds in having him freed, marking the first time the authorities have backed down. He also attends the trials of other dissidents, and at the urging of activist Valery Chalidze (Anton Lesser), agrees to help head a Human Rights Committee. In the process he meets energetic activist Elena Bonner (Jackson), a widowed physician, and a gentle love grows between them. Sakharov also scores a victory when he uses his prestige to have the death sentences of certain dissidents arrested for treason commuted to 15 years at hard labor. Soon after, Sakharov and Elena are married in a ceremony that is not only heavily attended by Elena's family, but by the KGB as well.

Though heedless of his own safety, Sakharov begins to fear for his loved ones when Elena's daughter Tanya (Catherine Hall) is expelled from the university on a trumped-up charge. Nonetheless, he allows himself to be interviewed by Western journalists, after which he receives an ominous personal warning from Malyarov (Nicol Williamson), a high-level government prosecutor. Sakharov also receives a warning of a friendlier sort from Elena's mother, Ruf Grigorievna (Eileen Way), who tells him that his colleagues will abandon him. Soon enough, her prediction comes true.

(more)

Sakharov becomes alarmed when Elena's eyesight, damaged in World War II, begins to fail her. At the same time, she is ordered to appear repeatedly before KGB interrogator Syshchikov (Michael Bryant), whose questions she steadfastly refuses to answer. Elena needs a delicate operation to save her sight, but her physician is forbidden by the KGB to perform it -- and hints that any other Soviet doctor might let his scalpel "slip."

Elena applies for a visa to go to Italy for the operation, and though she is refused at first, the authorities eventually succumb to pressure from the West and allow her to leave -- although Sakharov must stay behind. During Elena's absence, he learns that he has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. On her return route from Italy, Elena makes a stirring acceptance speech in Sweden on Sakharov's behalf. Meanwhile, her husband leads a protest in front of a courthouse where his colleague Sergei Kovalov (Joe Melia) is being railroaded into prison.

Reunited in the Soviet Union, Sakharov and Elena face renewed persecution from the authorities, this time directed at Elena's children. Together the couple make a heartbreaking decision -- their families must flee the country.

As the film ends, we are informed that Sakharov was arrested in 1980, stripped of all honors, and sent into internal exile in the closed city of Gorky, where Elena voluntarily joined him. They are still living there today, in poor health and under constant KGB surveillance.

On May 4, 1984, the Soviet authorities announced that they had opened an investigation against Elena Bonner, and barred her from leaving Gorky. Sakharov responded by going on a life-threatening hunger strike, which he vows not to end until his wife is allowed to go abroad to get needed medical treatment and to visit her family.

(more)

SAKHAROV is a co-production of HBO and Titus Productions Ltd. in association with Tom Bernstein and Gregory Wallance. Herbert Brodtkin and Robert Berger are executive producer and producer, respectively; their credits include both the Emmy and Peabody awards for such productions as "Holocaust," "The Missiles of October," "Pueblo" and "Skokie." The director is Jack Gold, who won an Emmy for his direction of "The Naked Civil Servant" and has also directed such theatrical features as "Aces High" and "The Medusa Touch." The screenplay is by David W. Rintels, who wrote "Fear on Trial" and "Washington: Behind Closed Doors" for television and "Clarence Darrow" for the stage. The director of photography is Tony Imi, B.S.C.; music, Carl Davis; editor, Keith Palmer; production designer, Herbert Westbrook; costume designer, Evangeline Harrison.

THE CAST:

Andrei Sakharov:	Jason Robards	Elena Bonner:	Glenda Jackson
Malyarov:	Nicol Williamson	Kravtsov:	Frank Finlay
Pavel Leontiev:	Paul Freeman	Roy Medvedev:	Jim Norton
Syshchikov:	Michael Bryant	Valery Chalidze:	Anton Lesser
Ruf Grigorievna:	Eileen Way	Tanya:	Catherine Hall
Alyosha:	John McAndrew	Efrem:	Valentine Pelka
Lisa:	Debbie Farrington	Anya:	Toni Warwick
Matvei (age 10):	David Midwinter	Matvei (age 5):	Craig Dickerson
Ludmilla Kovalov:	Marion Bailey	Klavdia:	Anna Massey
Sergei Kovalov:	Joe Melia	Slavsky:	Lee Montague

PROGRAM HIGHLIGHT

SAKHAROV -- Jason Robards stars as courageous Soviet scientist Andrei Sakharov and Glenda Jackson plays his dedicated wife Elena Bonner in HBO PREMIERE FILMS' dramatization of the true story of the modern-day hero's valiant struggle against oppression of human rights in his homeland.

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, May 17...The American Jewish Committee today urged the U.N. Secretary General to appeal to the Soviet Union on humanitarian grounds to allow Andrei Sakharov and his wife to receive medical care.

The text of the telegram by Howard I. Friedman, AJC president, and Leo Nevas, chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, to U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is:

"Reports of the seriously declining health of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelene Bonner, deeply distress us and undoubtedly all people of good will.

"We respectfully urge you to appeal to Soviet government authorities to allow for immediate and adequate medical care for Sakharov and his wife in order to avert a great tragedy. Prompt humanitarian action by Soviets would be viewed by people everywhere as a commitment to upholding human dignity enshrined in the United Nations Charter to which the U.S.S.R. has committed itself."

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

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EJP, Z

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T015-PEI/ed: 5/17/64

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel

South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

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Original documents
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DANTE B. FASCELL
CHAIRMAN

ROBERT DOLE
CO-CHAIRMAN

COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

May 15, 1984

R. SPENCER OLIVER
STAFF DIRECTOR

SAMUEL G. WISE
DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR

237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ANNEX 2

(202) 225-1901

David Harris
Department of International Relations
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Harris:

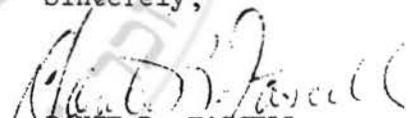
It was a pleasure to receive you and the members of AJC's Task Force on Soviet Jewry last month. I hope they agree that we had a useful exchange of views on how to channel concern about Soviet Jewry more effectively to the public and policy-makers, both in the United States and abroad.

In regard to the Task Force's stated interest in enhancing the Voice of America's programming for its Soviet Jewish listening audience, I am enclosing a copy of Ken Tomlinson's response to my April 17 letter. I am gratified to see that at the end of May, VOA will double the broadcast time for the program "Jewish Life."

With you, I am glad that VOA has reached this decision and would hope that my letter played a part in that welcome outcome.

Please convey my warm regards to the Task Force members.

Sincerely,


DANTE B. FASCELL
Chairman

DBF/lad
enclosure as stated



May 2, 1984

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter of April 17 and for sharing with us the views of your constituents.

The Voice of America currently broadcasts sixteen hours each day in the Russian language. This is second only to the VOA's worldwide English service, and by far the largest of our foreign language services. We have plans to expand the Russian broadcasts to eighteen hours per day in FY 85, with the additional two hours specifically targeted to the Soviet Far East. I might say that this expansion has been made possible because of the support given by Congress to the VOA in terms of funding and the authorization of new positions.

The Russian service presently produces a fifteen-minute program entitled JEWISH LIFE, devoted exclusively to Jewish culture. This program airs three times a week. From what feedback reaches us, the program elicits a favorable response from our listeners in the Soviet Union. In late May this program will be expanded to thirty minutes. A regular feature of this expanded format will be a talk by Rabbi Victor Rashkovsky, a native Russian speaker who graduated from Hebron Union college in Cincinnati, Ohio.

We have received the first four program segments from Rabbi Rashkovsky. The subject matter of his talks is varied, ranging from philosophical to historical to religious.

Numerous reports on various aspects of the Soviet Jewish emigration movement are broadcast not only within the Jewish Life program, but also in the regular daily programming blocks to the Soviet Union. Topics covered in the last several days include the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union (IPG) Paris Conference Briefing and a report on Jane Fonda's meeting with Ida Nudel. In addition, our Current Affairs staff is working on a FOCUS program (a twenty-minute in-depth analysis of a major international issue) dealing with human rights with special emphasis on Soviet Jewry.

I have requested a computer print-out of all human rights coverage involving the USSR for the past six months. The print-out will be forwarded to your office as soon as it is received from central processing.

The Honorable
Dante B. Fascell
Chairman
Commission on Security
and Cooperation in Europe
House of Representatives

Please be assured that the topic of Soviet Jewry receives priority coverage at the Voice of America. We do so because the issue is important and of great interest to our listeners. Thank you for your support in this area.

Sincerely,



Kenneth Y. Tomlinson
Director



NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON, May 17....President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico has told a delegation of American Jewish Committee leaders that "Mexico has a permanent attitude of *friendship and respect for the Jewish people*" and considers itself "a friend and defender of Israel."

Mr. de la Madrid, who is visiting the United States on a state visit, met with the AJC delegation shortly after his recent discussions with President Reagan. It was his only meeting with a Jewish group during his visit to the United States.

In response to a statement of welcome from Theodore Ellenoff of New York, chairman of AJC's Board of Governors, President de la Madrid said, "Mexico is consistent in its historical philosophy toward the Mexican Jewish community. We in Mexico appreciate all the diverse groups that compose our society."

Reaffirming his statement of last October in which he repudiated anti-Semitism in Mexico, Mr. de la Madrid said: "We are friends of the Jewish community in Mexico, and we deeply appreciate the culture from which they stem. Jews in Mexico are fully Mexican and are equal in every way in Mexican society."

In discussing the Middle East, the Mexican president declared: "Since the inception of Israel as a state, we have been a defender of Israel . . . While Mexico does not always agree with Israel's policies, we speak openly of our differences." He added: "We think frankly that it is essential to take up the question of the Palestinian people. Unless that problem of the Palestinians is resolved, conflict will be perpetuated with all the dire consequences that we know."

- more -

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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

CSAE 1707

The AJC delegation, while acknowledging the importance of resolving the status of the Palestinians, said the critical issue on which peace in the Middle East depends is the refusal of Arab nations and the PLO to acknowledge the right of Israel to exist as a sovereign state.

President de la Madrid responded by noting that "The Mexican Government and people support the right of Israel to live as a sovereign state. Our approach to this problem is the same as with all international problems. We are consistently on the side of peaceful solutions.

"We believe in diplomatic solutions rather than in military solutions in the Middle East as we do in Central America and elsewhere. We defend the sovereignty of all nation-states as inviolable."

The AJC delegation questioned the Mexican president as to his government's views on the Soviet and Arab-led campaign in the United Nations, UNESCO, and other international agencies to "delegitimize" Israel and the Jewish people by their "incessant defamation of Zionism and world Jewry."

President de la Madrid discussed the issues that he had earlier examined with President Reagan, including: Mexican-U.S. relations; differing foreign policy approaches to Central America; Mexico's economic crisis; the need for increased commerce, trade and tourism between the U.S. and Mexico; and the issues raised by Mexican immigrants to the United States. "There are real problems between the United States and Mexico, but in general relations between our two countries are at a good level," he said.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of AJC's International Affairs Department, asked the President if Mexico "would intervene vigorously on behalf of Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, who face imminent death unless Soviet authorities allow her to obtain immediate proper medical treatment." He added that "we are concerned about the fate of Anatoly Shcharansky, Ida Nudel, and other harassed and persecuted Jewish refuseniks who are being denied their human rights in violation of the Helsinki Accords and UN Covenants."

President de la Madrid said that these human-rights concerns were "very much on his mind," adding that he would "do everything possible to be of assistance to Sakharov, Shcharansky, Nudel and others.

The Mexican and AJC delegations agreed to remain in contact with each other during the coming months. Besides the Mexican president, the Mexican delegation included Jorge Espinoza de los Reyes, Mexican Ambassador to the United States; Jesus Silva Herzog, Minister of Finance; and Hector Hernandez, Minister of Commerce and industrial development.

The AJC delegation also consisted of Howard Greenberger, professor of law, New York University, and chairman of AJC's Task Force on Latin America; Alfred Moses of Washington, chairman of AJC's National Executive Council; Leon Silverman of New York; Gordon Zacks of Columbus, Ohio, retiring chairman of AJC's International Affairs Commission; Hyman Bookbinder, AJC's Washington Representative, David Harris, deputy director of AJC's International Affairs Department; and Sergio Nudelstejer, director of AJC's Mexican and Central American office.

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

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TO-16 PEI/ls(5/17/84)



INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION

ANTI-JEWISH INCITEMENT AT THE UN

It is a tragic irony that the United Nations, founded to free the world of the racial and religious hatred that paved the way for World War II, now provides a platform for hate propaganda.

The UN Charter proclaims the "determination" of peoples of the world "to practice tolerance." The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights mandates the "prohibition by law" of "any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence" (Art. 20). The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination requires State Parties to declare a punishable offense "all dissemination of ideas based on racial...hatred." The UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice calls on "all organized groups within national communities..."to refrain "from presenting a stereotyped, partial, unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals and of various groups" (Art. 5(3)), and on "international organizations, whether universal or regional, governmental or non-governmental...to co-operate and assist...in the full and complete implementation" of this goal "so that all peoples of the world may be forever delivered from these scourges" (Art. 10).

In clear violation of these international norms, at the 1983 UN General Assembly, the representatives of Libya, Iraq, Syria and Belorussia directed against Jews derogatory characterizations and threats which reminded listeners of the themes and rhetoric of the Nazi era. On December 8, 1983, Dr. Ali Treiki, Permanent Representative of Libya, accused "Jewish Zionists here in the United States" of attempting "to destroy Americans." "Is it not the Jews who are exploiting the American people and trying to debase them?" Dr. Treiki continued (A/38/713).

The representative of Libya was not alone in making these remarks. The Permanent Representative of Iran, Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, had already expressed, on 2 November 1983, with reference to Israel, his hope "that the Moslem countries in the area will soon consider the final solution" (A/38/PV.42, pp. 53-55). "The final solution" was the Nazi code-name for the genocide perpetrated against the Jews of Europe during the Second World War.

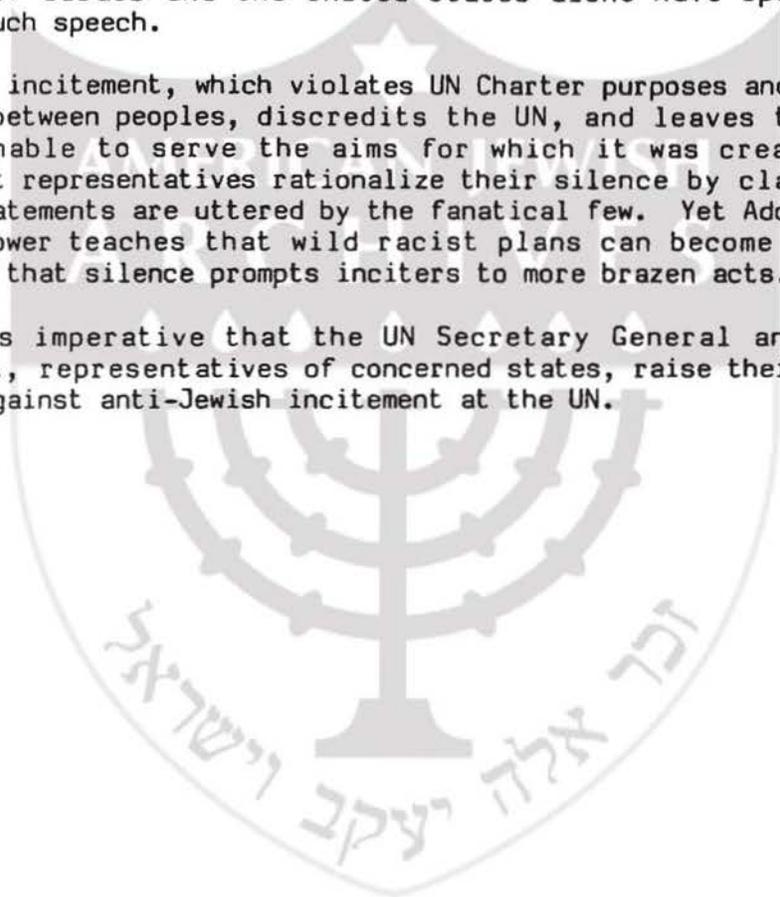
Unfortunately, this type of anti-Jewish incitement is not new in the UN, and is not confined to the General Assembly (see appended note for further examples).

It is easy to uphold civility in international discourse and, concurrently, to criticize Israeli government policies. Such criticism is not under consideration. The statements in question picture the Jewish people, the Jewish State and Zionism as sinister forces whose purposes are Nazi-like genocide, obliteration of other cultures, and economic manipulation. This rhetoric unquestionably encourages hostility toward Jews, and is calculated to pave the way for Israel's expulsion from the UN and to provide a rationale for seeking Israel's physical destruction.

Regrettably, the UN representatives of democratic countries have remained silent on the issue of anti-Jewish incitement. The representatives of Israel and the United States alone have spoken out to condemn such speech.

Such incitement, which violates UN Charter purposes and encourages conflict between peoples, discredits the UN, and leaves the organization unable to serve the aims for which it was created. Some government representatives rationalize their silence by claiming that racist statements are uttered by the fanatical few. Yet Adolf Hitler's rise to power teaches that wild racist plans can become tragically real, and that silence prompts inciters to more brazen acts.

It is imperative that the UN Secretary General and, equally important, representatives of concerned states, raise their voices in protest against anti-Jewish incitement at the UN.



APPENDIX

The following is a sampling of anti-Jewish statements made in UN forums.

UN General Assembly

Dr. Ali Treiki, Libya, December 8, 1983:

"The time has come for the United Nations to strive to save the peoples of the world from this racist entity [Israel]. It is high time for the United Nations and the United States, in particular, to realize that the Jewish Zionists here in the United States attempt to destroy Americans. Look around New York. Who are the owners of pornographic film operations and houses? Is it not the Jews who are exploiting the American people and trying to debase them? If we succeed in eliminating that entity, we shall by the same token save the American and European peoples.

"We hope that the day will soon come when we can eradicate this affront, this aberration of history which we committed when we accepted within our Organization this band of criminals, mercenaries and terrorists" (A/38/PV.88, pp. 19 and 20).

Mr. Velayati, Iran, September 30, 1983: "There is no cure for the cancerous growth of Zionism but surgery." (A/38/PV.13, p. 41).

Mr. Hosein Latify, Iran, December 19, 1983: "The Zionist entity ... should be removed like a cancerous tumor." (A/38/PV.102, p. 47).

Mr. Adami, Syria, October 14, 1981, Fourth Committee, told "what he called a 'Jewish story' of a man who went to his rabbi to enter the birthdate of his son. The man asked which date he should give, last year or this year. Why not give the true date, the rabbi asked the man. 'I didn't think of that,' the father answered. The Syrian delegate said the story portrayed the 'Jewish mentality of the Zionist delegate'." (United Nations Press Release GA/T/22350 of October 14 1981, p. 8.)

Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan, March 16, 1979, Security Council: "Has the world been polarized into an omnipotent race and subservient Gentiles born into this world to serve the aims of the 'master race'? We, the Gentiles, are several billion human souls, and yet how much weight, I wonder, do we carry in the councils of some of the mighty?" (A/PV2128, p. 63.)

Mr. Nuseibeh, Jordan, December 8, 1980: "People like Lord Rothschild every day, in iron-clad secrecy, decide and flash round the world how high the price of gold should be on each particular day The United States ... has a national income of upwards of \$2,000 billion per annum, and, while millions of hard-working, God-fearing Americans are unemployed, the Zionists own a lion's share of that great abundance." (A/35/PV.86, pp. 38-40.)

UN Human Rights Commission

Mr. Marcel El May, League of Arab States, February 8, 1984, accused Zionism and Israel of "mobilizing forces toward a genocidal campaign." (HR 1476)

Mr. Souad Abdallah, Syria, February 8, 1984, termed Zionism a "form of racism bringing war and suffering," and characterized the goals of the Jewish state as "real genocide" and "to destroy the historical heritage of the Arab population." (HR 1476)

Mr. Salem Fanes, Yemen, February 10, 1984, accused Israel of conducting a campaign of "physical liquidation and extermination of a collective basis." (HR 1479)

Mr. Bachir Ould-Rouis, Algeria, February 10, 1984, accused Israel of "Nazi type repression" including "gas poisoning of school girls" - (HR 1479).

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RAPHAEL BEN-YOSEF

P. O. BOX 14051
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דפאל בן-יוסף

ת.ד. 14051
תל-אביב 61140
טל. 03-330814

4 June 1984
4 Sivan 5744

To:

Rabbi Mark Tannebaum
American Jewish Committee
New York, N.Y.

My niece Patsy Fox and my good friend Fabian Kolker suggested I write you regarding a friend William Shapiro, falsely jailed in Florida.

Bill served well the United States and Israel for many years, in the uniformed, armed services. Perhaps for this reason, in his time of need he did not have the material or local community support that might have prevented his spurious conviction. The only prior record he has was that of recruiting Americans to serve in the Israel Military. Being in such an exposed position, from what we heard of the trial, the fact that Bill was a Jew, was a factor in making an innocent man into a convicted criminal. Since Bill has no family or local community to help him, I hope the American Jewish Committee, as representatives of the entire community will adopt the cause of freeing him.

Bill came to Israel in 1948 as a volunteer for the Israel War of Independence. He had served in the U.S. Marine Corps as an officer in World War II. He stayed in Israel after the Independence War but was called up as a reserve Marine to again serve as a combat officer in the Korean War. After this service he returned to Israel and served in the Israel Police Force until returning to the United States. Two years before, he was convicted in 1975, since then he has served in prison.

I met Governor R. Graham of Florida, while he visited in Israel two months ago. I spoke to him about Bill and gave him material.

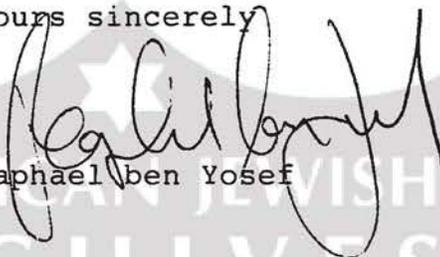
However, it is important to show him that the Jewish Community is interested in the case.

About 18 months ago, being a friend of Bill, I asked my brother Stanley Finkel to help him and a leading Florida lawyer was taken on. We hope the AJC can give reinforcement to the legal campaign we have begun to free Bill.

Enclosed are letters about Bill. I also enclosed the names and addresses of Bill, the lawyer L. Jepeway and of my brother who is involved in the effort.

I am certain you can help Bill, and also feel confident you will help to free him.

Yours sincerely



Raphael ben Yosef



Encl.

Mr. Louis M. Jepeway Jr.
Jepeway & Jepeway P.A.
619 Dade Savings Building
101 East Flagler Street
Miami
Florida 33131
U.S.A.

Tel: (305) 377 2356

Mr. William Shapiro 052108
P.O. Box 1100 - Slot 1770
Avon Park, Florida 33825-1100
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Mr. S.M. Finkel
27 East 65th Street
Apt 7D
New York
New York 10021
U.S.A.

Tel: (212) 737 1970



Col. Amos Benin
2, Hakomemiut, Afeka, I.A.
Tel. 414283

April 27th, 1984

The Honorable Robert Graham
Governor of Florida
Collins Building
Tallahessee
Florida 32301
U. S. A.

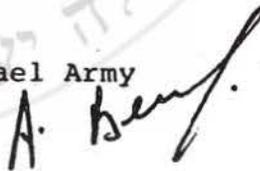
Your Excellency,

As a Commander and a good friend of William Shapiro I heard there is a possibility to reconsider his case. Knowing William well from the Army as a sub-ordinate officer in the Armoured Forces and then as a friend while he was a Police Officer, it is impossible to me to believe that he could do such a crime as he was accused of. Because I could not forget that in one of our battles a few enemy soldiers owed their life to Shapiro because he protected them and took them as prisoners without letting other soldiers hurt them even though they had good reason to do so. He respected human life.

I would appreciate if you would reconsider the case again to give him a chance to rebuild his life once more, as he deserves, with our help.

Yours faithfully

Amos Benin
Colonel, Israel Army





ISRAEL POLICE HQ
INVESTIGATION DEPT
CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

JERUSALEM, MARCH 6, 1984

The Honorable Mr. Robert D. Graham
Governor of Florida

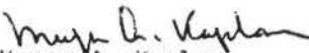
Your Excellency,

A former officer of the Israel Police Force, William Shapiro, is now incarcerated at Avon Park convicted of murder. Friends and associates of William Shapiro who knew of his splendid service during 12 years in the Israel Police and of his combat record as an officer in the Israeli Army as well as an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps in World War II and Korea, could not reconcile their knowledge of William Shapiro's character with the crime he was alleged to have committed. An essential part of William Shapiro's make-up is known to be his sense of responsibility, idealism and respect for law and order.

Recently some of his friends engaged a respected Florida attorney, Mr. Louis B. Jepeway Jr. and the investigation office of Mr. Ken Whittaker to purview William Shapiro's case. It was found as set out in the enclosed documents that William Shapiro's defence counsel was inept and that a crucial piece of defence evidence was not presented.

In light of knowledge of William Shapiro's person and in light of his record of service to both our countries, it would be fitting and appreciated if you would review the case of William Shapiro and allow Attorney Louis Jepeway Jr. to meet with you, or your representative, in this regard.

Respectfully yours,


Meyer A. Kaplan

Head of the Criminal Identification Division
Israel National Police



ISRAEL POLICE H.Q.
CRIMINAL IDENTIFICATION DIVISION

Jerusalem, Sept. 16, 1982

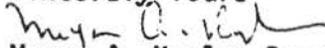
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that William Shapiro served in the Israel National Police from November 1952 until December 1965, and he served for twelve of the thirteen years of this period in the Firearms Laboratory of the Israel National Police, first as a laboratory examiner, and then as head of the laboratory. He resigned at his own request from the Israel National Police in December 1965.

His record of service in the Israel National Police was without blemish. He carried out his responsibilities to the satisfaction and approval of the police and judicial authorities, before whom he testified as an expert in many Firearms cases. He was instrumental in developing the Firearms Laboratory of the Israel National Police to the point where it attained a very high level of competence and dependability, and was recognized as such by the courts. He introduced an elaborate system of examining fired cartridge cases against a complete collection of cartridge cases from scenes of crime. This allowed the police and other authorities to trace the weapon used in many capital cases, and positively connect different cases on the basis of the firearms used, even though these firearms were not recovered by the police. This was a major contribution to the Israeli struggle against infiltration and terror.

I have personally known Mr. William Shapiro throughout all the years of his service in the Israel Police, and I would like to attest personally to his character and honor, and I would like to take the liberty to say that I could not understand how a man like Bill Shapiro could be involved as a suspect in a murder case.

Sincerely Yours


Meyer A. Kaplan, Deputy Commander
Head, Criminal Identification Division

Jan. 21, 1984

Friday

Dear Rafi and Rena,

I have been trying to write this letter for two weeks now. It seems that every time I sit down to write my mind goes blank. I ask myself what shall I write? As a prisoner what news can I give them. Can I actually write them of what life here in prison is really like. The day to day battle for survival - to get through another day.

Enclosed please find five newspaper clippings which only touch the surface of what is going on in the penal institutions of the State of Florida. I call it Institutional Terrorism. Here in the United States there are two schools of thought on incarceration. One - is that you are sent to prison as punishment.

Two - is that you are sent to prison for punishment.

Here in Florida the second is prevalent. The first feeling of the newly created inmate is fear. This anonymous unidentifiable threat creates huge anxiety and the penal administration tries to spread this fear by contagion. Its purpose is to immobilise and subjugate those living under this threat. The anonymity of this threat helps the administration in its feeling of impunity - it produces a paranoic emotion of infinite power. It feels itself the possessor of supreme authority - the right to give life or death, the symbol of absolute power.

The greatest atrocities are enabled in the eyes of their perpetrators by moral justification which overrides the suffering of the victims.

After all - these men are convicted felons and deserve what they get.

It is impossible for a letter to convey the pernicious conditions and the ~~depr~~ degradation which inmates suffer - the gruesome experiences of youthful first offenders forcibly raped. The cruel and justifiable fears of inmates, wondering when they will be called upon to defend the next violent assault - the misery - the discomfort - the complete loss of privacy - the sense of abject helplessness

It is to these conditions that each of us must awake to every morning - it is with the painful knowledge of their existence that each must try to sleep at night.

Terror, culminating in the threat of Death is the ultimate ratio of every penal institution.

There is no such thing as rehabilitation or correction so they have abandoned all pretense. What they are doing now is just warehousing people. It is ~~at~~ a warehouse operation.

Considering the types of criminals which have to ~~be~~ be incarcerated - murders - rapists - drug addicts - drug dealers - child molesters - homosexual robbers - ~~thief~~ thieves - etc - etc. you can see the kind of people which I have to live with.

The real punishment for anyone that is in prison - is having to live with these people.

Where else can you put them - most of them should be in prison - it is a dilemma.

I avoid most of them - in all there are only about seven or eight that I talk with and at that only platitudes. I keep clean - I keep fit - and I try not to think like they do. I do not wish to become like them - vicious - scheming - ruthless - cruel - cunning - without self respect or pride

I shall never become like them even if I am kept here one hundred years.

Enough of that - I will now try to answer some of your questions.

- 1- No food packages - period.
- 2- I should get all letters mailed to me - but you know how it is.
- 3- No books unless they are cleared by the administration first.
- 4- Money may be sent - but must be Postal Money Orders or something just as valid.
- 5- I may send any amount of letters to anywhere as long as I have stamps for them.

Please give my best to the girls - the photograph is the best thing that could have been sent me - I love it. Can you send more. They are beautiful. Simi - Rachel - Ade just beautiful. I keep reading their little message and forget for a moment where I am.

Rafi, what can I say to you? You have opened a way for me. I feel like a wounded marine laying there knowing rescue and help are on the way - all I have to do is hang on a little longer.

My love to all

As Ever
Bill

P.S. Send more pictures - Simcha Sylvia Sholom.
you Rina etc etc.

TED WEISS

17th District
New York

Chairman
Subcommittee on
Intergovernmental
Relations and
Human Resources

2442 Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
202/225-5635

Patricia S. Fleming
Administrative Assistant



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

June 5, 1984

Committees:

Foreign Affairs

Government Operations

Children, Youth and Families

National Commission
on Working Women

Executive Board Member,
Congressional Arts Caucus

Secretary, New York State
Congressional Delegation

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Many groups and individuals have expressed an interest in my views on the equal access legislation that was recently considered in the House of Representatives.

As you know, the Equal Access Act, introduced by Congressman Don Bonker, would cut off federal funding for public secondary schools that do not provide "equal access" to their school facilities for student-initiated religious meetings.

The House voted 270-151 in favor of the legislation, but that was 17 votes short of the two-thirds majority required for passage. The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved a similar bill, which may be tacked onto a major piece of legislation in an effort to get it through the Senate. Other equal access bills are pending in the Senate.

I voted against the Equal Access Act in the House, because I strongly believe that such legislation would violate the Establishment Clause of the Constitution. By involving public school authorities in decisions regarding religious matters, this legislation would foster the very entanglement of church and state that is expressly forbidden by our Constitution. My views on this issue are further detailed in the enclosed statement from the Congressional Record of May 15. I am also enclosing a statement on the related issue of school prayer.

Cases involving both school prayer and equal access are pending before the Supreme Court. I believe that we should await the Court's resolution of these two issues that have such great potential for creating religious dissension in our public schools rather than leaping in with hasty congressional action.

If I can be of assistance to you on this or other matters, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ted Weiss".

TED WEISS
Member of Congress

TW/ph

Enclosures

District Offices

37 West 65th Street, New York City 10023 212/787-3480

4060 Broadway, New York City 10032 212/927-7726

131 Waverly Place, New York City 10011 212/620-3310

490 West 238th Street, Bronx 10463 212/884-0441

655 East 233rd Street, Bronx 10466 212/652-0400

Congressional Record



Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express my strong opposition to the Equal Access Act (H.R. 5345). I believe that this legislation would entangle our public schools with religious activities in a way that would violate the establishment clause of the first amendment.

H.R. 5345 has several major flaws that deeply concern me. First, it contains no protections for students of minority religions. If a religion has only a few adherents in a particular school, it is unlikely that administrators would provide access to facilities and teacher supervision as they would for larger groups. In effect, this practice would mean discrimination against certain religions.

Moreover, students who are members of religious minorities are likely to feel peer pressure to participate in the activities of the majority religion, since the desire to conform is a powerful motivation for this age group. In addition, this legislation would encourage religious leaders to come into the schools and actively lead prayers, hymns, services, and other religious activities.

Teachers or school administrators would also be present at these activities, since secondary students require supervision on school premises. The legislation prohibits participation in religious activities by school personnel, but the students are more likely

to notice that their teachers are present—not that those teachers are refraining from praying or singing.

Another serious problem is that the religious activities could take place during school hours when the compulsory attendance law is in effect, thus enhancing the appearance of school sponsorship.

The involvement of teachers and religious leaders is one of the side effects that has fostered strong opposition among the professionals who have the most experience in working with adolescents. In addition, they are concerned that school administrators will be forced to adopt a policy of either eliminating all outside groups from meeting on school premises or else allowing all groups that claim to be religious in orientation to use school facilities. Groups strongly opposed to the bill include the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and the American Association of School Administrators.

Amendments to protect minorities and to prohibit participation by religious leaders were defeated in committee action. However, I would oppose this legislation even if those amendments had succeeded. The fundamental flaw of the bill is that it focuses solely on religion, elevating it above political, ethnic, social, and other types of expression.

Our Constitution places religion in a special category, giving it additional

protection but also mandating special precaution, especially government neutrality in all religious matters. Under H.R. 5345 the Government would no longer be a neutral party, but rather, an active participant in decisions pertaining to religious matters.

The Supreme Court, in *McCollum* against Board of Education ruled that the establishment clause of the first amendment prohibits schools from permitting religious leaders to enter school buildings to teach religion during the school day. In *Lemon* against Kurtzman, the Supreme Court established a test for determining whether a governmental policy violated the establishment clause: The policy must have a secular purpose, neither advance nor inhibit religion, and not foster excessive government entanglement with religion. I believe that this bill fails on all three counts.

The case of *Widmar* against Vincent, in which the Supreme Court struck down a ban on campus religious activities, cannot be considered a guide for secondary schools, since it covered adults attending a university of their own volition, not young people who are required to attend school.

Among the lower courts that have ruled on equal access cases, there is confusion and disagreement.

Thus, I believe it would be wise to await a Supreme Court resolution of this issue. The legislation under consideration has the potential for creating religious divisiveness and dissension in our public schools, I strongly urge my colleagues to vote against it.



Zionist Organization of America

JACOB and LIBBY GOODMAN ZOA HOUSE • 4 EAST 34th STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 481-1500
CABLES: ZIONISTS, NEW YORK

June 5, 1984

In Israel:
ZOA HOUSE
1 DANIEL FRISCH ST., TEL-AVIV
CABLES: ZOAHOUSE, TEL-AVIV

Ms. Lisa F. Le Vine
National Staff
Jesse Jackson for President Committee
2100 M. Street, Northwest
Suite #316
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Ms. Le Vine:

This acknowledges your recent communication, which included the statement made by you before the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith on April 15, 1984. Inasmuch as you indicated that dialogue should be encouraged, I submit to you the following observations.

I note that your comments were officially authorized by the Jesse Jackson for President Committee, and I take this into account in reacting to them.

I believe that others in the American Jewish community have very properly addressed the question of "coalitions", which you stress are so important for our country's productive coexistence. However, the Jewish community's concern for the needs of minority groups does not necessarily mean that we automatically must accept the self-appointed, or elected, leaders of such groups, even if we believe in some of the fundamental concerns these groups represent. Thus, while the Zionist Organization of America does not support political parties or individual candidates, we do not believe that Jesse Jackson is the only candidate who believes in a "system" that is comprised of "justice and peace." I suggest that it is presumptuous for any one political candidate to believe that only he has this high sense of morality and ethics.

Your admonition to American Jews that they must "build bridges" because isolation will only foster "misconception, fears and prejudices," is a lesson which I suggest should not be directed to the American Jewish community, but to other minorities. American Jews have long proven, by example, initiative and experience, that they know the importance of coalitions and have willingly participated in them, and continue to do so if such coalitions are not hypocritical in nature or serve to increase racial tensions rather than to diminish them.

You speak of the time that Jesse Jackson confronted the Nazis in Skokie, but you fail to understand that as far as the Jewish community is concerned, his failure to express the same revulsion towards the terrorist PLO creates an important question of credibility. The fact that Jesse Jackson expresses support for the "continued existence of Israel" is not sufficient, on the American scene, there are few political leaders who would ask for Israel to disappear.

.../2 (OVER)

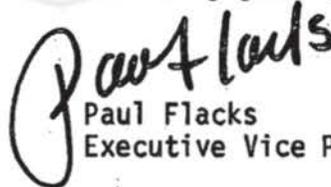
You state that, as President, Jackson will "oppose any nation or group seeking her destruction." May I respectfully suggest that even without Jackson becoming President of the United States, he could voice his rejection of those seeking Israel's destruction; his silence, which fails to identify such groups or individuals, reflects a serious lack of credibility of policy and position.

Rev. Jackson maintains that Israel's ultimate security "lies not in the continuation in the state of war." I find this to be condescending. Do you really believe that Israel requires the encouragement of a presidential candidate in the United States, or any other person, to seek and obtain peace if it were available? Didn't former Prime Minister Begin accept peace with Egypt when it was offered? Didn't Prime Minister Shamir make a gallant effort to effectuate peace with Lebanon, if only this nation had the will to do so and were encouraged by the other important powers involved? And would not Israel meet today with King Hussein or any other Arab leader who cared to discuss peace? For Jackson to imply that Israel requires encouragement to seek peace is a position which we find completely objectionable.

Miss Le Vine, I can agree completely with you when you state that as American Jews "we must be cognizant of our own needs to survive as Jews." It is precisely for this reason that we take exception with the views of your candidate; we do not feel that they project how Jews feel about their own survival. Jackson's opposition to the denial of religious freedom for any group and the need for negotiation and dialogue is not directed by Jackson to Arab nations and leaders; nor does Jackson urge the Palestinian people to reject the terrorist PLO, as he urged the black citizens of the United States to reject subjugation and discrimination.

Please understand that there is nothing in Mr. Jackson's statement, or in your own presentation, that comes as a surprise or disappointment. We do recall Jackson's statement, as quoted in national publications, that "Zionism is a poisonous weed." Regrettably, we believe this is truly how he feels, and, therefore, we find it difficult to believe that his views, or yours, are compatible with the best interests of Israel, or the Jewish people.

Cordially yours,


Paul Flacks
Executive Vice President

PF:f

Jesse Jackson for President Committee

2100 M Street, N.W. Suite 316

Washington, D.C. 20037

202-293-1289

THE CHALLENGE OF COALITION

Statement by Lisa LeVine Before Members of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of the B'nai B'rith
April 15, 1984 Washington, D.C.

I would first like to thank the members of the B'nai B'rith for the invitation to appear at this symposium today. As a thirty-one year old American Jew raised in the rich tradition of our people, amidst the powerful changes of the sixties and seventies, the topic of this symposium; the issues facing American Jews, poses no new query. For it is precisely this topic which propelled me to become involved as a national staff member in Jesse Jackson's courageous bid for the Presidency of this nation.

I characterize this bid as courageous because of the nature of the challenge, not only in terms of the obvious; that a Black man should seek to hold such an office, but more importantly with regard to the premise which fuels his bid.

For it is the substance of this premise which speaks to your question, the notion that only by way of building a coalition which encompasses the needs of all who believe in this nation's greatness, will we survive in peaceful, productive coexistence, as a nation and as a world. His courage lies not only in his ability to assess and define the issue, but in the challenge of articulating and implementing such a vision.

The issue with which we are confronted as American Jews is whether we are willing to accept the sometimes painful reality that the tall order for the survival of a country and a world requires every particle of effort we can muster to forge such a coalition. We live in a time where the targeting of energies and minds to promote the interests of any one group is shortsighted and ill-conceived.

Our nation is at loggerheads with itself, caught up in singular struggles. The real struggle is neither Black pitted against White; labor versus management; nor Jew against non-Jew. The real struggle is to fashion a system responsive to its citizenry, regardless of interest group, both domestically and internationally. The voices of the less fortunate must ring as loudly in this system as those of the more traditionally enfranchised.

The foundation for such a system must be comprised of justice and peace. These are not notions of convenience, words to be mouthed as mere slogans in an effort to garner votes. As an American Jew who has come to grips with this reality, Jesse Jackson represents the only candidate who uses this notion as the cornerstone of his campaign.

This call to coalition is of clear importance to any American Jew who considers Judaism a privilege as well as a responsibility. When the idea of one God was viewed as revolutionary, Abraham embraced it nonetheless. We as Jews must recognize that the United States represents a mosaic of many tiles which must be polished again and again as the socio-political elements dull its lustre. As American Jews we must focus upon all of America's needs, for as each tile becomes cracked and worn, the mosaic becomes fragmented.

To maintain this magnificent mosaic of coalition, we must be willing to be accountable to and responsible for all groups in our country. Simply stated, the United States represents a microcosm, a melting pot if you will. Our future and the future of our children depends upon whether we take the moral initiative, particularly as Jews, to dialogue with other groups of Americans. At the outset, their specific needs may seem at odds with our own, but the overriding goal of coalition and healthy survival must be borne in mind. We have a duty as American Jews to build bridges; isolation as an alternative will only foster misconceptions, fears and prejudices. We have a choice. We can take the low road of continued isolation, antagonism and mistrust or we can reject the hatred and find another way. We can discover that the issues which unite us are greater than those that divide.

It is not as though the notion of coalition is new to American Jews. We have been in the forefront of the civil rights movement, the union movement, and have turned out in great numbers in support of Mayor Goode of Philadelphia, Harold Washington of Chicago, and Tom Bradley of Los Angeles. When the Nazis sought to march in Skokie, Jesse Jackson took his wife and children there, accompanied by Rabbi Marx. It was, after all, the Bible which gave us a vision of a world without slavery, without war. It was David Einhorn who preached abolition in Baltimore. And we painfully recall the memory of two Jews and one Black; Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney; who were murdered by Southern racists in 1963.

The issue facing the American Jew is the challenge of building upon these pieces of history and our commitment to social justice. As American Jews cognizant of a long tradition of helping the needy, we can no longer abide, for example, the existence of widespread hunger in this country. The evidence is

replete with examples such as the soup kitchens in Pittsburgh and Detroit, which report a three to four hundred percent increase in the number of people using their services from 1979 to 1983. No evidence exists that these Americans had sufficient funds to pay for their own food. Between 1981 and 1982, infant mortality rates for all infants had increased in eleven states; for white infants in nine, for non-white in eleven. Since 1979, 3.1 million children, or three thousand a day, have fallen into poverty. Seven hundred thousand people have been thrown off AFDC and Medicaid as a result of Reagan budget cuts and rescission between 1981 and 1982. Four hundred and forty thousand have lost Title I compensatory education benefits. As American Jews, we cannot sit idly by and by virtue of our silence condone this trend.

The domestic coalition as a way to achieve communication, cohesiveness and ultimately peaceful coexistence must be a microcosm for the world if it is to survive the threat of nuclear war which looms ominously. We as American Jews have a particular interest in assuring the continued existence of Israel. Let us be clear. Jesse Jackson recognizes that to us, the state of Israel represents a fulfillment of age-old dreams, and the embodiment of our people's hopes. He believes that a safe and secure Israel is in the best interests of the United States as well. As President he will oppose any nation or group seeking her destruction. But he maintains that Israel's ultimate security lies not in the continuation of the state of war, but rather in achieving peace with her neighbors, particularly the Palestinian people. This view is supported by a large faction of Israeli Jews.

The issue facing us as American Jews is whether we are really committed to Israel's survival, or whether we will choose to support any policy so long as it is Israeli. Surely we should seek to align ourselves with that segment of the Israeli population which opposes the policies of their current Administration and results in the endless cycle of terrorism and death and retaliation. The factions must dialogue. Israel must reach an accommodation with the Palestinian people based upon mutual recognition of each other's right to exist as a nation.

As American Jews we must rise to the challenge of fostering self-determination in all parts of the world. We must apply this humane standard to the besieged nations of Nicaragua and El Salvador. We must abhor and protest the policies of our current President which circumvent dialogue even with our own Congress. We must continue to oppose apartheid in South Africa and recognize each individual's right to a full-blown life of freedom. All of this requires meaningful negotiation.

We must negotiate with the Soviet Union, aiming at preventing the final holocaust. Within this context, we as American Jews must recognize that an environment of negotiation can only

serve to promote dialogue about our oppressed people in the Soviet Union. As a civil rights leader, Jesse Jackson is opposed to the denial of religious freedom for any group, anywhere.

And so you ask what the major issues facing us as American Jews are. They should by now be clear. We must be cognizant of our own needs, to survive as Jews. At the same time, we must communicate, to share these needs with other groups in our nation and to listen to and accomodate theirs. We must first agree to disagree, before we will succeed in a just survival. As American Jews we must insist that our country export this approach, so that peaceful solutions are possible. We must end death and suffering, and replace it with dignity and coalition. We have no choice.

For as the great sage Hillel wrote in the years before Jesus walked in the Holy Land, "If I am not for myself, who will be? But if I am only for myself, what am I? If not now, when?"



JUN 8 1984

SQUADRON, ELLENOFF, PLESENT & LEHRER

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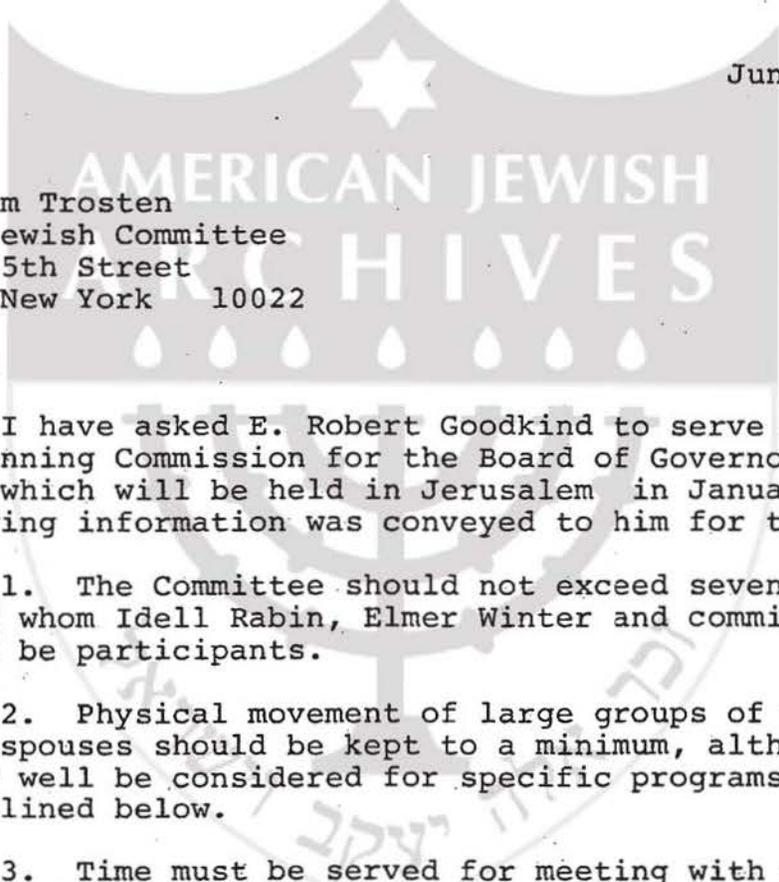
June 7, 1984

Mr. William Trosten
American Jewish Committee
165 East 65th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Bill:

I have asked E. Robert Goodkind to serve as Chairman of the Planning Commission for the Board of Governors Institute which will be held in Jerusalem in January, 1985. The following information was conveyed to him for thought:

1. The Committee should not exceed seven to nine members of whom Idell Rabin, Elmer Winter and commission chairmen should be participants.
2. Physical movement of large groups of governors and their spouses should be kept to a minimum, although trips might very well be considered for specific programs such as may be outlined below.
3. Time must be served for meeting with the Israeli Advisory Committee, perhaps in conjunction with the Israeli visitors program together with special time for the usual large cocktail party of our home hospitality program.
4. The Institute should consider, without embarrassing anybody, AJC's rational for its Jerusalem office, its long-range future and short-range programs which can have an impact in Israel.



5. The program should include elements leading to a broader understanding of the Sephardim including meetings with its younger members.

6. Additional background on the Islamic movement may be available from experts either in Israeli universities or in the Israeli government and to broaden our participation.

7. Against a backdrop in elections in the United States and Israel there is a clear program need to revisit the whole settlement question and the West Bank.

8. The recent US/Israeli media conference may serve as a springboard for activity in Jerusalem.

Bob has indicated that he will be in touch with one or all of you concerning the above in the next few days.

Cordially,

Theodore Ellenoff

TE/jef

cc: Bertram D. Gold
Dr. Mark Tannenbaum ✓
Shula Bahat
Howard I. Friedman



The American Jewish Committee

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

June 11, 1984

P E R S O N A L

Ms. Charlotte Sheedy
145 West 86th Street (13A)
New York, NY 10024

Dear Charlotte,

I am enclosing my draft proposal for the book on
BILLY GRAHAM, THE JEWS, AND ISRAEL.

As you will see, it is intended to give a sense of what the book is about, the kind of material it will cover, as well as the possible markets and promotions possibilities.

Because Georgette and I are leaving on June 11 for Europe, I was not able to complete two important parts of the proposal at this time:

- 1) The chapter-by-chapter outline;
- 2) A sample chapter.

To do these right would have required more time than was available. And I would rather wait until we return on July 2nd when I will have more leisure and can then try to prepare both those parts in a more finished way.

I leave it to your judgment as to whether you feel there is enough there to show to publishers for reaction.

We will be back in New York around July 2nd.

In the meantime, my warmest appreciation for your interest,

Cordially,

Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations Department

cc: Ms. Linda Nelson

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JUN 12 1984

MINISTERIO DE
RELACIONES EXTERIORES

REPÚBLICA DE GUATEMALA

NUMERO	13970
CLASIFICACION	

Srvase referirse al número y clasificación
de esta nota.

Guatemala,
June 5th, 1984

Mr. William A. Gralnick
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
FLORIDA AREA
3000 Biscayne Blvd.
Miami, Florida 33137
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Gralnick :

I am aware of how hard you have worked so that the truth about Guatemala be known in your country. Mr. Mario Permut, through the JEWISH COMMUNITY OF GUATEMALA, has regularly sent copies of the many articles you have written and published in the american press.

He has also sent articles written by other members of the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

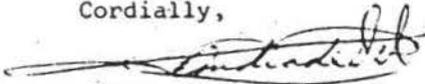
I am particularly grateful because these articles reveal the thought of a man who is not blind to any sort of experience but who, on the contrary, evaluates such experiences with impartiality and good faith.

I am glad that your stay in my country was a fruitful one and I hope to have you back along with Mr. Marc Tenenbaum and Mr. Steven Cantor, both whom I found very open to dialogue.

I find your diffusiveness of the real situation of Guatemala is accurate and objective and it proves that you have a deep knowledge of the human problems of the area. If this pattern of truthful write up was published with more frequency in the United States, I am sure the image of the real Guatemala would be known by the American people.

Let me thank you once again, Mr. Gralnick, for your interest in my country.

Cordially,


Fernando Andrade D.

copy to: Mr. Mario Permut



איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS—CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

To: CRC Listing
From: Albert Vorspan
Date: June 12, 1984
Subject: NICARAGUA

I am sure you will be interested in many of the articles which appear in the attached issue of *Reform Judaism*, a publication of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

But I want to draw your attention especially to an article which appears on page 12, entitled "Report From Nicaragua." It was written by our colleague, Saul Sorrin, director of the Milwaukee Jewish Council.

Obviously, the question of United States policy toward Nicaragua is a profoundly controversial one. In our view, the allegations of anti-Semitism against the Sandinistas have been exploited to gain support for the Administration's policy in Central America. There have also been unseemly efforts within the Jewish community to portray as "pro-Sandinista propaganda" any view which diverges from the Administration's policy.

On the merits of the issue, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has adopted two resolutions on Central America, which are attached. Both of these resolutions take strong exception to the current direction of United States policy with respect to both El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The debate on these issues will undoubtedly continue, and we have every intention of publishing other points of view in *Reform Judaism*, including an article by Rabbi Morton Rosenthal of the ADL. We insist on the tradition of diversity, pluralism and mutual respect in considering controversial ideas. Any effort to impose a Jewish party line is tantamount to McCarthyism.

Chairman
Harris Gilbert
Director
Albert Vorspan
Associate Director
Rabbi David Saperstein

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF TEMPLE YOUTH
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
TEMPLE EDUCATORS
AMERICAN CONFERENCE
OF CANTORS
ASSOCIATION OF REFORM
ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

E L S A L V A D O R

The violence in El Salvador, which has taken tens of thousands of innocent lives in the past three years, is the tragic result of applying a military solution to an economic, social and political crisis. While acts of violence have been committed by both sides in the civil war, it is clear that Salvadoran government-backed forces are largely responsible for the heavy toll of civilian casualties, too often through methods that offend any standard of human decency.

Official repression of the Salvadoran people has brought condemnation of the Salvadoran government by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the International Commission of Jurists, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International, the American Civil Liberties Union and many traditional United States allies in Europe and Latin America.

The present United States administration's repeated certifications of improvements in El Salvador are not well supported by facts. Significant political, economic and legal reforms have been impeded by the government that was in power prior to the recent elections; mass murders continue; the killers of Archbishop Romero and United States religious and labor workers, as well as thousands of Salvadoran civilians, have not been brought to justice. These practices constitute a gross and consistent disrespect for human rights and basic democratic practice in El Salvador. The Salvadoran government opposes negotiations, despite opposition offers repeatedly to begin them.

The United States government continues to be the principal supplier of essential military and economic assistance to the government of El Salvador. The prospect of direct United States military intervention in El Salvador and Central America may increase in proportion to the decreasing effectiveness of the Salvadoran army.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

1. Urge the United States government and all other governments to continue to seek a negotiated settlement of the conflict in El Salvador;
2. Call upon the United States government, and all other governments, to terminate military assistance to all parties involved in the conflict in El Salvador, and to withdraw military personnel and advisors;
3. Renew our appeal to all parties to seek a political solution through international mediation of the conflict, by friendly states or multinational organizations;
4. Continue efforts to develop free, safe and democratic elections at the local and national levels in El Salvador;

5. Encourage direct economic aid by the United States government, as well as support by all parties for the efforts of the United Nations and private charitable organizations to provide food and medical supplies to the civilians in El Salvador; and
6. Urge the United States government to receive Salvadoran refugees in the United States and to allow them to remain in the United States.



ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
of the
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
November 10-15, 1983 - Houston, Texas

CENTRAL AMERICA

BACKGROUND:

The goals of the United States policy in the Central American countries, consisting of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica, should be the achievement of stable and democratic societies. These goals can best be achieved by addressing the sources of instability, massive poverty, social injustice and illiteracy. Such conditions of deprivation invite subversion from the right and the left.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

1. Call on the United States government and all other governments to refrain from any action which would destabilize any government in Central America, and to condemn terrorist groups such as the PLO who engage in such activities.
2. Oppose the use of any country as a staging area for intervention against any other country in the region.
3. Urge the United States government and all other governments to strictly apply human rights criteria in the granting of military assistance, whether directly or through third parties.
4. Oppose any direct foreign military intervention in any country of Central America, and;
5. Call on the government of the United States and all other governments to play a leading role, together with religious organizations, in alleviating the severe poverty of the people in Central America. In such a coalition, the world Jewish community should play an active role.

Rabbi Richard K. Rocklin

June 13, 1984

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
65-50 Wetherole Street # 5A
Rego Park, NY 11374

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

On October 8th, 1982 while discussing U. S.- Israeli relations, Senator Jesse Helms said, "Shut down relations, period. Now I know that will send a shudder through that lobby that's so powerful in this day. But just shut off relations." Jesse Helms is not the only Senator who opposes our commitment to the security and survival of Israel, but by any measure Jesse Helms has by far the worst anti-Israel record of any member of the U. S. Senate.

The Senate has cast twenty-five votes in the past five years in matters of vital concern to Israel. Jesse Helms is the only Senator who voted wrong every single time. Jesse Helms was the only Senator to vote against legislation prohibiting participation by U. S. companies in the Arab boycott of Israel. Jesse Helms opposed the Camp David agreements and voted against funds to implement the treaty. Jesse Helms said in 1982 that Prime Minister Menachem Begin, "has made a palatable character out of Arafat."

Governor Jim Hunt has served North Carolina for the last eight years with proven progressive ideas, visionary thinking and has been a dynamic representative of the New South's constructive moral and economic leadership. Jim stands ready to defeat Senator Helms on his turf with "grass roots" support, sophisticated media, and strong, broadly-based fundraising.

We expect Helms to raise and spend at least \$14 million in a desperate effort to save his political career. Governor Jim Hunt knows that he cannot match Senator Jesse Helms dollar for dollar. But it's a fact that to defeat Jesse Helms, Jim Hunt must raise a very substantial amount of money.

I urge Jews throughout the state of North Carolina, and also throughout the country to vote with our checkbook against six more years of Jesse Helms. Let us actively support Jim Hunt. Please help. If not for Israel, then for yourself. If not for yourself, then for your children.

Thank you.

Sincerely and with respect,

Richard Rocklin

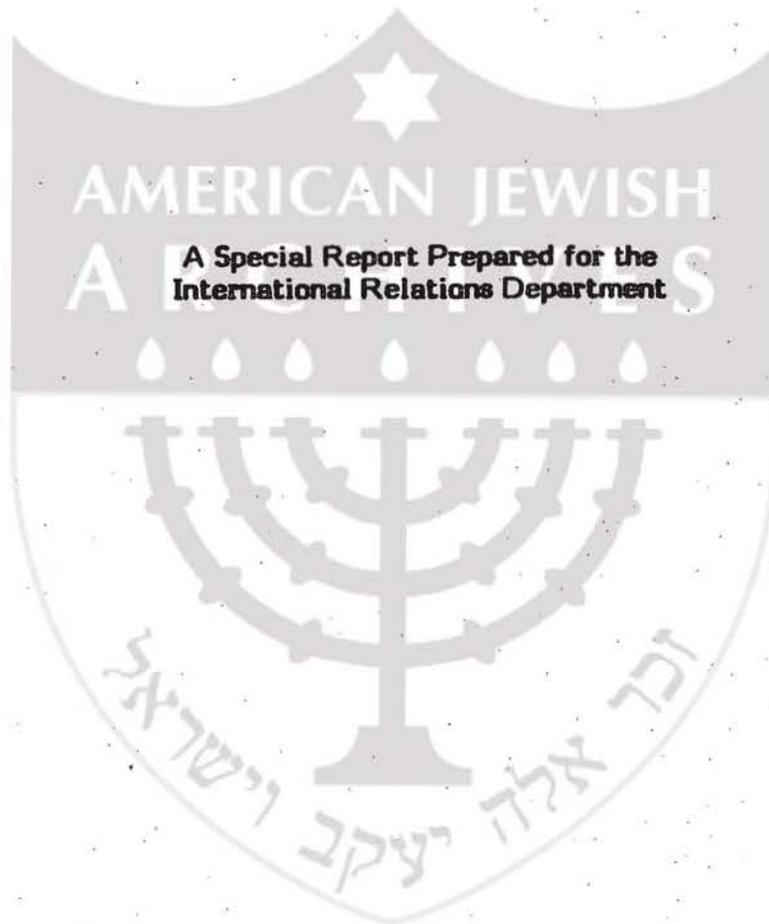
Rabbi Richard K. Rocklin

Enclosure

ISRAELI ELECTIONS IN A TIME OF CRISIS:

An Analysis of Issues, Parties and Personalities

by Hanoch Smith



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

ISRAELI ELECTIONS IN A TIME OF CRISIS:

An Analysis of Issues, Parties and Personalities

by Hanooh Smith*

As Israel's two major political parties, Likud and Labor, and 24 smaller parties gear up their campaigns for the country's national elections on July 23, the Israeli public is strongly polarized on key issues as never before. Defenders of the present regime wax defiant. The opposition waiver between hope and despair, with a sense that they must win now because the conditions are right.

The only recent Knesset elections held in such an atmosphere of tension and uncertainty were the 1973 elections, which were held shortly after the Yom Kippur war. In 1973 the Labor share of the popular vote fell to 39%, fully 10% less than the Labor parties had received in the previous seven Knesset elections. The Likud share of the vote rose to 32%, a record high for centrist parties. With the help of the Independent Liberals and the National Religious Party (NRP), Labor formed a coalition government with a narrow majority. But, with this election Israel had already embarked on an electoral revolution, which led to the Likud victories of 1977 and 1981.

Israelis vote for political parties and not for specific individuals. When an Israeli goes to the polls, he votes for the full party list of candidates for the Knesset. A party gets Knesset seats in proportion to its popular vote. But a party cannot get Knesset representation if it gets less than one percent of the vote. The Likud, for example, earned 37.1% of the popular vote in 1981, and thus won 48 Knesset seats. Only the first 48 names on Likud's candidate list won Knesset seats. Yet, because no party has ever received enough votes to win more than 61 seats, there always have been coalition governments in Israel.

*This is the first of two reports on the 1984 elections commissioned by the Israel and Middle East Division of the International Relations Department as part of the American Jewish Committee's ongoing efforts to increase understanding within the United States of developments in Israel. Mr. Smith is Director of the Smith Research Center, a leading Israeli public opinion and economic research institution. Mr. Smith's interpretation of the significance of the election results will be available in August.

After seven years of rule, the Likud-led coalition now faces difficult obstacles in its attempt to get yet another mandate from the people. The declining economy and the unresolved situation in Lebanon loom as almost insurmountable obstacles to further electoral success. And the early polls indeed gave Labor a significant lead over the Likud. Why, then, is the Israeli public doubtful about a Labor victory?

The answer lies in how the Likud got into power and what forces support it. The primary factor determining the outcome of recent Israeli elections has been ethnicity. This report will examine the ethnic factor, as well as the parties and the personalities in the 1984 political campaign.

1. The Ethnic Factor

All significant changes in Israeli politics since 1969 (i.e., starting with the 1973 elections) have been caused by shifts in the voting patterns of Oriental Jews. For the purposes of this report Oriental Jews are those originating from Moslem countries in Asia and North Africa, and their Israeli-born offspring. The single largest concentration of Oriental Jews are from Morocco, but there are also large contingents from Yemen, Iraq, Iran and Tunisia. Although the Oriental Jews represent a small majority of Israel's Jewish population, a large percentage of them are still under eighteen years of age, Israel's minimum voting age. Thus, Jews of European origin (as well as Americans) continue to represent a slight majority of the country's eligible voters. But, unless there are unexpected demographic developments, by 1990 the Oriental Jews will constitute more than 50% of all eligible Jewish voters.

In the 1969 elections, before ethnicity became a central factor, the Labor Alignment received 46.2% of the vote and other opposition parties another 5.5%, which together made up a clear majority. The Likud parties received 22.9% of the vote and the religious parties a combined 14.7%. This same voting pattern had occurred in all six previous Knesset elections, with Labor-oriented parties gaining a slight majority, center parties 25%, and religious parties 14% of the vote.

My rough assessment of the voting patterns among the two major Jewish ethnic groups at that time revealed that among European Jews about 51% voted Labor, 24% Likud and 11% religious, while among Oriental Jews approximately 46% voted Labor, 23% Likud and 21% religious. Along the ethnic lines the voting patterns were quite similar in the 1969 elections. Although Oriental Jews voted more for religious parties than did European Jews, with regard to the ratio of Labor to Likud votes, the patterns in both major Jewish ethnic groups showed that Labor led Likud by a two-to-one ratio.

Contrast these results with those of the 1981 elections. Voters of European origin in 1981 cast their ballots approximately 52% for Labor, 25% Likud and 10% religious -- practically unchanged from 1969. However, among the Oriental voters there was a complete reversal in 1981 -- Labor 21%, Likud 56%, religious 16% -- from 1969. Thus, over

the past three elections Oriental Jewish support for Labor declined by about 25%, and for the religious by 5%, while it increased for the Likud by 32%. While Labor led Likud by a 2:1 margin among Oriental Jews in 1969, the Likud led the Alignment by nearly 3:1 in 1981.

To illustrate what changes these voting patterns represent in tangible terms, let us examine the voting records in two very different cities. Givatayim, a veteran city in the suburbs of Tel Aviv, has a predominantly European population. In 1969, 53% of its voters chose Labor, 26% Likud and 7% religious. In 1981, 50% still chose Labor, while 31% voted Likud, and 7% religious. The small shifts from Labor to Likud were caused by the city's Oriental minority, which constitutes approximately 20% of the voters. The Europeans in that community voted slightly more for Labor in 1981 than they did in 1969.

About five miles from Givatayim lies the predominantly Oriental town of Or Yehuda. In 1969 Or Yehuda voted 50% Labor, 18% Likud and 19% religious, which was similar to Givatayim in its Labor vote, but 13% higher for the religious and 13% less for the Likud. In the 1981 elections, 59% voted Likud, 19% Labor and 10% religious -- a Likud landslide!

Significance of the Shift in the Oriental Vote

The examples of Givatayim and Or Yehuda illustrate a very important point in recent Israeli elections. Both in 1977 and 1981, the Likud defeated Labor by larger margins among Oriental Jews than Labor defeated Likud among European Jews. Considering that demographically the Jewish population was almost equally divided between the two ethnic groups, Likud, in effect, led Labor in the total Jewish vote.

This shift in voting patterns over three elections resulted in the fact that in 1981 nearly 75% of the Labor voters were European and nearly 70% of the Likud voters were Oriental Jews. This does not mean, however, that Israel has ethnic parties. The Likud is not an "Oriental" party. With the exception of Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, all of the top Likud government ministers are Europeans. Indeed, historically, Labor consistently has had more Oriental Jews on its Knesset list than the Likud. Beginning in 1973, Oriental Jews turned to Likud because they saw faults in the Labor administration, apparently felt like outsiders and, conversely, tended to feel more at home in the Likud. The detailed reasons of this process of mass political transfer are still the subject of much controversy and research.

THE KNESSET VOTE BY PARTY GROUPING
(in Percentages)

Knesset	Present Government				Labor	Opposition			
	Likud	Religious	Other Govn't.	Total		Other Oppo- sition	Arab Parties	Other	Total
1969	22.9	14.8	3.1	40.8	46.2	5.6	6.3	1.6	59.2
1973	30.2	12.1	---	42.3	39.6	7.8	6.8	3.3	57.6
1977	35.3	13.9	2.0	51.2	24.6	15.6	6.4	2.2	48.8
1981	37.1	11.8	3.9	52.8	36.6	3.9	4.5	2.2	47.2

From 1969-1981 there was a steady rise in support for the Likud. The big gain occurred in 1973, when the Likud vote rose by 7.3%, thereby putting the party on the political map. Another 4.9% gain in 1977, plus a 2.8% gain in the religious vote made possible the first basic government change in Israel. The Likud-religious alliance, formed then, had a small lead in the popular vote and 61 Knesset seats of 120, just enough to form the governing coalition which has ruled Israel ever since together with other partners.

In 1981 the Likud gained another 1.8% to reach 37.1% of the popular vote (up 14.2% from 1969). The religious partners in the coalition, however, lost 2.2%. To gain an absolute majority, Likud had to form a coalition with two new parties -- Tehiya, the party backed by the maximalist elements who favor incorporation of the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) into Israel, which won 2.3% of the vote, and with the late Moshe Dayan's Telem party, which gained 1.6% of the vote. As in 1977, the Likud-religious camp had 61 seats, barely enough to form the basic coalition. The additional two parties gave the Likud a working majority.

Meanwhile, Labor tumbled in two consecutive elections. Although support for Labor dropped by 6.6% in 1973, it was still able to find coalition partners from the National Religious Party (NRP) and other smaller parties. The loss of another 15% in 1977 was a more severe blow and caused Labor to lose its 29 year control of the government.

The data indicate that a large segment of the public, 11.6%, voted for Yigal Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change (DMC), a party that joined the government in the autumn of 1977, giving it a large majority for a time. Voters for DMC were drawn overwhelmingly from previous Labor supporters, and in 1981 nearly all returned to support Labor again.

In 1981 Labor gained 36.6% of the vote, only fractionally less than Likud, but still 9.6% less than in 1969. With the decline in support for other opposition parties, Labor fell short of enough Knesset seats to form a government without the support of parties in the governing coalition.

Thus, the progressive shift in the voting patterns of Oriental Jews has put the Likud and its coalition partners into power by increasing margins. However, even in 1981, the combined governing coalition only enjoyed a narrow lead over the combined opposition in the Knesset, a situation that could change easily in 1984.

In order to reverse recent trends, the opposition will have to pay special attention to the Oriental vote. In 1981, the present governing coalition received 75% of this vote, while Labor and the other opposition parties gained only 22%. Only solid gains by the Ma'arach (Labor Alignment) and other opposition parties among Oriental Jews would swing the pendulum back to Labor. Indeed, among Jews in 1981, 56% voted for one of the coalition parties and only 42% for an opposition party, with the remaining 2% for parties which had no previous Knesset representation.

Changes in the Arab Vote

The closeness of the overall vote has been due to the vote of the third major ethnic group, Israel's Arab citizens. In recent elections the Arab minority has accounted for some 8.5% of all votes, or approximately the equivalent of 10 of the 120 seats in the Knesset. From the formation of the New Democratic Party (Rakah) in 1961, which split from the Communist party, until the elections of 1981, Rakah gradually increased its strength among the Arab minority. In 1977, 50% of the Arab vote went to Rakah, and the party won 5 Knesset seats. In contrast, the vote for minority parties associated with Labor, which in the past has constituted the most popular party among Arabs, declined precipitously. (In the period 1961-1977, 33-39% of the Arabs had voted for a Zionist party.)

In 1981 trends suddenly reversed. The Rakah fell to 37% of the Arab vote, receiving only 4 Knesset seats. Labor received nearly 28% of the Arab vote instead of the traditional 10-13%. This sudden increase in Arab support for Labor did not result from campaigning, but from the decision made by many Arabs that the way to bring down the Likud was to vote for Labor. This increase in Arabs voting Labor reduced the Likud advantage over Labor from 2.5% to 0.5% in the overall final results. Among Arab voters, only 11% voted for a governing coalition party; 6.5% of them for the Likud. The Likud vote was especially concentrated among Druze voters, who make up approximately 10% of the total Arab vote. Overall, the Arab vote went nearly 90% against the Likud-religious government, nearly half for Rakah and other Arab parties, and 40% for Labor and other opposition parties.

In the 1984 elections there are no prospects that the government parties will gain more votes among Arabs. To gain a bare majority in the Knesset again the Likud and its coalition partners will need to get 60 out of the 110 seats expected to be won by Jewish contenders, a feat which will not be easy to accomplish in present-day Israel.

2. The Competing Parties

A record 31 parties competed in the 1981 elections. However, only 10 succeeded in obtaining the one percent of the popular vote minimum needed for representation in the Knesset. The Likud won 48 seats and Labor won 47. This represented the highest concentration of seats in the hands of the large parties in Israel's electoral history. In addition to the Likud seats, the outgoing government included 13 members of religious parties: 6 from the National Religious Party (NRP), 4 from Agudat Israel, and 3 from Tami, the new Sephardi party. Together, the Likud and the religious parties had 61 seats, the minimum majority needed to form a government. In addition, Telem's two members and Tehiya's three members joined the government, giving the Likud-led coalition a total of 66 seats.

During the term of the 10th Knesset two Likud members defected to Labor, leaving 64 seats for the coalition. New elections were called more than a year before they were officially required because the 3 Tami members bolted the government on the early election issue, and they were joined by one Liberal member of the Likud and one member of Telem, giving the opposition a majority of one to call for early elections.

In addition to Labor, the opposition during the 10th Knesset included 2 members of Shinui (the remnants of the Democratic Movement for Change), one member of the Citizens Rights Party, and four from Rakah (the overwhelmingly Arab Communist Party). Together with the two Likud members who changed allegiance the opposition had 56 seats.

Because of the anti-Jewish state sentiments of Rakah, no major party has ever considered them as a coalition partner. Therefore, the religious parties as a bloc determined the coalition government of 1981. It is often forgotten that had they so desired, the combined religious parties could have formed a coalition government with Labor and its allies.

So long as there is a stand-off between the Labor and Likud camps, the religious parties, individually and collectively, hold the balance of political power in Israel. Thus, ironically, in 1981, when the religious parties suffered their worst losses in the Knesset elections (only 11.8% of the total vote instead of the usual 14%), their political power was greatly enhanced by the overall political situation.

The two major parties will also dominate the 1984 elections. The party that will set up the new government will be determined not only by which one gets more votes than the other, but also by the total number of votes garnered by its allies and by the readiness of other parties to shift camps in order to be part of the governing coalition. It is conceivable that Labor will receive a greater percentage of the

popular vote than the Likud, but will still be unable to form a government, should none of the religious parties be willing to join their coalition. Indeed, if Labor defeats Likud by a small percentage, the coalition forming process may be agonizingly long.

In contrast to the 1981 elections, when the Labor campaign was torn by rivalries between factions and the Likud ran a unified and ordered campaign, the roles are reversed in 1984. The first part of the campaign showed intense rivalry between Likud factions and individuals. The reason for the new situation in Likud was, undoubtedly, the retirement of Menachem Begin, the dominating figure in the Likud. His successor, Yitzhak Shamir, has not been able to establish his authority as firmly over the party, while other powerful leaders like David Levy, Minister of Defense Moshe Arens and Minister-without-Portfolio Ariel Sharon have emerged.

Infighting within the Blocs

In addition, the two major factions of Likud, Herut and the Liberals, had difficulties in determining the representation quotas of each on the combined party list. When the agreement between Herut and the Liberals to form the Likud was ratified in 1965, the two camps were of equal strength, and they agreed on nearly equal representation. In the subsequent years, Herut support among Likud voters increased rapidly, while support for Liberals declined sharply. While Begin handled this situation artfully, his Herut successors have been more sanguine -- they demand more representation for their list and less for the Liberals. Led by Yitzhak Moda'i, the Liberals put up a stiff defense to change, even threatening to run independently for the Knesset, but rather than suffer a large drop in Knesset representation, they recently compromised with the Likud, accepting only a modest reduction in their quota of Knesset seats.

On the opposition side, Labor succeeded at an early stage to defuse internal quarreling. The advent of former President Yitzhak Navon as a top contender and his ceding first place to Shimon Peres served to create an atmosphere of cooperation at the top of the Labor party.

In other camps there has been much debate and change. Among the religious parties, Tami and Agudat Israel solved most of their listing problems with relative ease, while the National Religious Party was torn by factionalism and debate. Three separate groupings emerged from the NRP, including Matzad, Mafdal and a separate list of religious women. The split in the NRP resulted more from personal and group differences rather than ideology. New political forces also began to emerge, such as Shass, another new Sephardi Aguda party. However, although Shass was successful in the Jerusalem municipal elections, it has had difficulty establishing itself nationally.

Newly Formed Parties

Among other coalition parties Tehiya is the strongest and has made efforts to strengthen itself further by joining with Tzomet, a new party established by former Chief-of-Staff Rafael Eitan, who also

supports a very "hawkish" line. Although Telem has folded, Dayan's successors, Yigal Hurwitz and Menachem Ben-Porat are heading personal lists in the competition for representation in the next Knesset.

On the opposition side, the major change is the attempt of Shulamit Aloni's Citizens Rights Party to increase its strength. It has formed an alliance with more leftist forces, including Shelli (all of whose members failed previously to cross the 1% barrier to getting Knesset representation). However, this has not prevented other personal and party lists, like that headed by Lova Eliav, from being formed. It is unlikely that any of the more leftist parties, with the exception of the Citizens Rights Party, will earn Knesset representation.

The major new change in the election campaign picture is the emergence of Ezer Weizman and his new Yahad Party list. It is essentially a centrist party completely dominated by a charismatic leader. Mr. Weizman hopes to get enough Knesset seats to have a role as a balance of power broker when the next government is formed after the elections.

The list of new parties has continued to grow from election to election in recent times. This probably is related to the increasing television time allocations given to parties during election campaigns. New parties are allocated several short spots during the campaign. This gives an opportunity to deliver short, succinct orations on special issues or for specific disadvantaged groups at minimal cost. 26 parties are competing in the 1984 elections. While this is fewer than in 1981, it is far more than average for a Knesset election.

3. Personalities in Politics

Although Israelis vote for parties and not for specific individuals, personality can play a role in politics. Many Israelis asserted that they voted Likud in 1981 because of the charismatic personality of Menachem Begin.

However, the 1984 elections will not be based on the charismatic character of the party leaders. Neither Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir nor Labor Party leader Shimon Peres compares with Begin as an outstanding public personality. Surveys carried out by the Smith Research Center show that the public focus has passed to leadership teams rather than to top leaders. This does not imply that issues have become more important than personalities in Israel. Rather, people continue to identify mostly with parties in the abstract and with leaders and leadership groups. In an April survey only 20% listed stands on issues as the most important factor in determining their votes.

The key "new" figures in the 1984 elections are Ariel Sharon and Yitzhak Navon. Both are charismatic figures. But neither heads his party's list. General Sharon, whose status was undermined by the Lebanese war and the Sabra-Shatilla massacres, has bulldozed his way back into the limelight during this campaign. He attracts many in the Likud masses and repels very many in the opposition.

Yitzhak Navon, on the other hand, the former President, is admired universally. His problem has been in translating this reverence into votes for his party. His quietly accepting second place on his party's list, despite the fact that he was by far the most popular figure his party produced since Golda Meir, makes his task difficult. Also, unlike Sharon, he is a man of peace and compromise, given to seeking consensus. Two more contrasting figures are hard to find. Yet, these are the two dominant figures.

Otherwise, there are no significant changes among political figures in any of the major parties. Political processes in Israel, based on party machines, do not easily create new, dynamic leaders. The machines move people forward slowly. The main new top-level blood usually flows from the army, which retires its officers at early ages. Former chiefs of staff and top commanders like Rabin, Bar-Lev, Gur, Sharon, Weizman and Eitan are top figures in the political hierarchies.

However, an important factor in the 1984 elections is that there was little difference in early polls in the popular appeal of the leadership teams of the two major parties. This has left much more latitude for the play of issues and events.

4. Issues and Events

The economy and Lebanon are the two central issues dominating the election campaign, and both have equal weight in the public's eyes.

a) Economic Problems

The government is most vulnerable on the economy issue. The government lost its lead in the polls after the near collapse of the bank shares and the devaluation of the Shekel last October. The government's economic policy has involved austere measures lowering standards of living and increasing unemployment in order to increase exports, and productivity, and improve to the balance of payments deficit. But this policy has increased inflation, at least for the short-term.

The April cost-of-living index published in mid-May showed a consumer's price increase of 20.6% in one month! The annual rate of inflation since October has reached 400%! Inflation has become the number-one concern in Israel today. The public views the Likud as failing with the economy.

However, in February 1981, the government was similarly unpopular on the economy. At the time Yoram Aridor entered the scene, changed the economic policy and pumped money into the economy, specifically into private consumption. This policy turned a deficit of 30% in the polls into a neck-and-neck race within three months.

The public and the Likud remember 1981 well. Therefore, the early leads of 10-15% for Labor in April and May have not convinced many in the public to start betting that Labor would win. Indeed, most expect the Likud to abandon -- at least temporarily -- its severe economic policies and again pump money into the economy. Within limits this has

been done. However, a return to Aridor's policies has proved impossible. The inflation is too serious and uncontrolled, and a mechanism for raising real wages has not been developed. During the campaign the money market has been uncertain, there have been runs on foreign currencies, and there have been other signs of a lack of confidence in the economy.

Nevertheless, the public has not entirely abandoned the Likud on the economy. As in 1981, Labor has failed to produce either credible economic leaders or believable economic policies in 1984. The population as a whole does not credit Labor with better ideas. In light of Likud failures with the economy, however, the public views Labor with a better potential for solving these problems. Thus, if the Likud, with an electoral economic policy, succeeds in improving living standards during the last two months of the campaign, it is not certain that Labor will have a meaningful lead on election day.

However, without doubt, the economic situation works to the benefit of Labor. Since the Israeli public tends to vote against governments rather than for oppositions, the economy will be the main trump card for Labor in this year's elections.

b) The Lebanese Morass

Lebanon should also be playing into the hands of the Labor opposition. The Israeli public is very unhappy about the unresolved situation in Lebanon, the costs, the dangers and the casualties. But the public does not blame the government for this as severely as it blames it for the economic problems. The decision to withdraw the IDF from Beirut back to the Awali River was widely approved by the public. In addition, the public accepts staying in Lebanon until a solution is found that will assure the security of Israel's northern cities and settlements. Labor's proposed policy of a hasty withdrawal from Lebanon has not attracted a majority. As a result, the Likud is viewed as the party better able to solve the Lebanese crisis despite the whole history of the Lebanese war. In relative terms, the Likud and its partners are in a better situation than the opposition regarding Lebanon.

On foreign policy issues, as noted in my report of October 1983 for the American Jewish Committee's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations, "Attitudes of Israelis Towards America and American Jews," the polarization between the parties continues unabated. Government supporters remain hawkish on issues involving Arabs and the West Bank, while the opposition supporters are dovish.

The public is equally divided on the issue "Israel should give up part of the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) for peace with Jordan." The almost even split on this question has continued, with modest variations, for over a decade. The only change has been the increasing polarizations on the issue between government and opposition supporters.

Regarding the settlement policy in the territories, which government supporters try to thrust to the fore, the major changes recently have been over the priority of the issues. Opinion polls conducted by the Smith Research Center reveal that the public considers the settlement issue a low national priority. The economic decline during the past year has led the public to place priority on such issues as helping the development towns and poor neighborhoods within Israel, to the detriment of helping new settlements in the West Bank (Judea and Samaria).

c) Other Issues

In addition to Lebanon, the highest priority issues have been the recession, general security, the social gap and the balance of payments. Foreign policy subjects, including peace with the Arabs, have been given very low priority in this campaign. Perhaps the election campaign in the United States, and the corresponding freeze on new policy objectives in this area, have led to the whole topic of peace being taken off the top of the agenda in Israel as well.

Issues of concern to religious Israelis and religious demonstrations have gained much media attention during the campaign, but the topic receives little public priority outside of religious circles. Though only 15% of the public favor religious demonstrations against Shabbat violations, like those which recently took place in Petah Tikva, it is only the religious themselves who take these actions seriously. The broad, non-Orthodox public seems to react only when personally threatened. An interesting point is that the Orthodox have tended to become more extreme of late, too. In a recent poll, 94% of the 15% defining themselves as "religious" agreed with the statement: "Our religion should determine the laws and customs by which our government should operate." Few of the remaining 85% defining themselves as traditional and secular Jews agreed with this.

It should also be stressed that because the government holds the purse strings of the economy and controls defense and foreign affairs, resources exist for influencing the chain of events.

Yet, so taut are ideological party lines in Israel that a sensational event such as the discovery of a Jewish terrorist underground and the apprehension of its members, may have little influence on the actual vote in Israel. Gush Emunim supporters may find justification in the political motives of the group and may even sympathize with them. Such stubborn support for a cause is not rare in Israel. Before the Kahan Commission delivered its verdict on the Sabra-Shatilla massacres, 51% of Jewish Israelis thought Sharon was good as defense minister. After the commission delivered its verdict, which led to his resignation as defense minister, 51% still thought him good as defense minister. On some issues many Israelis are passionate and uncompromising.

Among the broad population, however, the acts and plans of the Jewish terrorist group are a source of national debate. The question is really what influence the debate will have on groups supporting the governing coalition, particularly religious groups. Some hardening of

the views of more extreme factions is inevitable. But there are milder elements among the religious and the Likud whose party affiliations may be affected by the great debate.

It is impossible to forecast if there will be more unexpected events and, therefore, it is difficult to predict the outcome of the elections. But it is useful to examine possible scenarios.

Prognostications: Possible Scenarios

A. Results Similar to 1981

Basically, this means little difference between Likud and Labor in the number of Knesset seats. It would then depend on religious and other small party votes. Since the religious vote will represent the single largest bloc among the small parties, they would have a deciding voice and could again choose the Likud to form the government even if Labor has a slight edge in Knesset seats. The weakness in their camp comes from Tami, which brought down the government and is unlikely to join another Likud-led government. Weizman's party would also be unlikely to tip the scales. Thus, in order to be able to form a government, the Likud needs actually to gain some votes for its coalition over the outgoing one. Nevertheless, it is a very unlikely outcome in light of all that has been discussed in this report.

B. A Narrow Labor Victory

In this scenario, suppose Labor gets 50-51 seats compared to its present 47. Its allied parties would be unlikely to garner more than 3-4 seats, leaving Labor with 53-55 seats in the coalition. Tami, with 2-4 seats, might also join a Labor-led coalition and so might Weizman, if his list gets 2-4 seats. Then, Labor could form a very narrow majority without major religious support. Or, Labor could try to make a coalition with the whole religious bloc. Given the complexity of Israeli politics, however, groups inside Labor and around it could prevent a Labor-religious coalition. Thus, a narrow Labor victory could produce a kind of stalemate, with neither camp able to form a viable coalition, or a very awkward one with mutually antagonistic forces preventing a government from taking needed, serious measures.

C. A Moderate or Sizeable Labor Victory

This implies 53 or more seats for Labor. In this instance Labor would be able to form a coalition with its allies, Weizman's group, Tami and even other selected religious groups. In other words, with less than 53 seats Labor will have difficulties forming a strong, stable government. A Labor landslide, in which the party wins at least 55 seats, is possible, but unlikely. However, Labor, would have little difficulty in forming a new government if it wins by such a margin.

D. A Small Party Trend

This implies vote losses both to Labor and Likud, making them more dependent on small parties. In this case, it depends on which small parties prosper. The leading candidates are Weizman's party in the center and Tehiya-Tzomet on the right. Religious parties, because of factionalization and splits, are unlikely to score substantial gains, although Tami has a certain potential for capturing North African origin votes. Again, coalition formation depends on the balance of forces between the camps. If this scenario occurs, it will only make government formation that much harder.

Of course, with so many parties and camps, many other scenarios are possible. But judging from past elections and early opinion polls, the scenario of the 1981 elections should not be ruled out. However, given all the new obstacles -- less charismatic leadership, a much more serious economic situation, the Lebanon imbroglio, the Jewish underground group -- it would have to be viewed an upset if the Likud and its allies get the same proportion of Knesset seats they now have.

Conversely, despite all the advantages listed above, a Labor landslide is also unlikely, mainly because Labor has been having difficulties developing new credible leaders and policies. Labor must rely heavily on exploiting the weaknesses and errors of the outgoing administration. We have an example, common in elections in democratic countries, of voting an incumbent government out rather than voting a new government in.

Given the above analysis, the most likely outcome is a moderate Labor victory, meaning that Labor will have to persevere to be able to form a viable coalition government.

However, the campaign is full of uncertainties. The Likud is working hard to maintain the overwhelming support it enjoys in the Oriental community -- evoking images of nationalism, patriotism, settlement policy, firm policies toward Arabs in the West Bank (Judea and Samaria), playing down economic policy, while trying to improve the economy. Because of the propensity of the Oriental community to support the Likud and its partners, it is hard to know if this Likud campaign will be effective until shortly before the elections, if supposed deeper feelings will surface to offset present economic ills, spiraling inflation and the drain of blood and resources in Lebanon.

Americans should remember that Israeli Jews think differently about their own priorities than others do. Israeli politics have become unusually tense and polarized. Only Israelis in free elections can decide if they will seek confrontations within or outside the country, or choose paths of moderation and compromise. Much will depend on the balance of political forces that emerge from this election.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 25, 1984
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject Visit with the President of Sri Lanka

On Friday, June 22nd, the office of the Presidents' Conference received a call from the State Department indicating that the President Junius R. Jayawardene of Sri Lanka would like to meet with some representatives of Jewish organizations. Yehuda Hellman made several calls and we finally ended up with a small delegation composed of Hellman, Israel Singer of the World Jewish Congress, Dan Mariaschin of B'nai B'rith and myself.

Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon, is a country of some 15 million people. About 11 million are Sinhalese whose religion is Buddhism. The next largest ethnic group, about 2 million, are the Hindu Tamils. The larger group -- the Ceylon Tamils -- are loyal to the government. There is a smaller group in the northeast who are extremists and who, over the past few years, have been conducting a number of terrorists attacks resulting in many fatalities and wounded, to underline their demand for a separate state. Recently it was determined that this group of Tamils are being armed and trained by the PLO. Furthermore, there is evidence that some of these camps are located in India. The Government of Sri Lanka turned to Israel and negotiated an agreement for assistance in counter-terrorism. The U.S. Government which has set up an Israel interests section in the U.S. embassy in Colombo, was instrumental in bringing this about as part of

the U.S. effort to encourage third world countries to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel. Apparently the Government of Sri Lanka did in fact create a low-level office of diplomatic representation in an attempt to avoid a strong reaction from within and without the country. Nevertheless, there were strong protests by Tamils and others but the Government has held firm.

During the President's visit to the United States a primary topic of discussion was the economy of Sri Lanka which must still expend a significant percentage of its budget for oil. In addition, there are Tamils in the U.S. who are carrying on a campaign against the Government of Sri Lanka and President Jayawardene wanted to make sure that Congressional representatives and the State Department understood his government's side of the issues. President Jayawardene informed us that Congressman Mel Levine of California, and New York city Councilman Noah Dear had been working on behalf of the Tamils against the Government of Sri Lanka... Congressman Levine, because there are many Tamils in his area, and Dear, who is an attorney, because he took on a case involving some Tamils and therefore involved himself in the general political controversy. Ambassador Ernest Corea, Sri Lanka's ambassador to the U.S. also informed us that Congressman Steven Solarz and Senator Lantos had both made critical statements about Sri Lanka. However, after a number of meetings with the Sri Lankese ambassador they withdrew their criticism based on a more complete understanding of the current situation.

There were three basic points that we made in our discussion with President Jayawardene:

1. We agreed with his assertion that more must be done to fight international terrorism.

2. We expressed appreciation for his willingness to establish an Israel diplomatic presence in his country and felt that this step would accrue to the benefit of both countries.

3. Americans who learn of this step will consider this move a positive one and it will help in establishing a sympathetic climate in terms of dealing with some of the economic and other problems of Sri Lanka which had been raised in Washington.

We arranged for the President and Ambassador to contact Senator Moynihan who we felt could be helpful in terms of the terrorism issue as well as some of the other issues touched upon by the President, because of Moynihan's knowledge of that part of the world.

Israel Singer agreed to contact Noah Dear, whom he knows personally, and Dan Mariaschin will contact Mel Levine.

Ambassador Corea asked for our cards and said he would like to be in touch with us in the near future.

DC/sm

cc: IRD Staff
Leo Nevas

84-560-27

R077-IRD(SriLanka)
/sm 6/28/84

203
853-3719

51 Raymond Terrace
Norwalk, CT. 06855

June 27, 1984

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

Dear Marc:

I envy you that cruise to the Greek islands, where I wish I were right now. There have been developments here at RNS that I'm afraid do not bode well for the future of the service. The United Methodist Reporter has given four of us the axe, in an effort to "revitalize," "get new energy," and all the other buzz words that disguise their moving to control things more completely as Methodists. Judy Weidman, a Methodist minister from Nashville who was brought in as a "marketing consultant" for RNS last January (despite no sales or marketing background), takes over as editor and director on July 2. I'll guide her through July 13, and be free after that. Jerry Fitzgerald, our news editor, saw the handwriting on the wall and resigned before he could be terminated. Tammy Tanaka, at RNS since 1969, and Maury Bozarth, librarian and general factorum, with RNS 25 years, were also terminated. The four of us are being replaced by three -- Judy along with an evangelical editor and a Catholic editor, yet to be hired. Darrell Turner, who has been placed "on probation" (whatever that means) takes over librarian duties. Bill Bole remains in Washington but for how long remains uncertain.

Actually, my being let go wasn't entirely unexpected. In fact, as you will remember, I was more surprised last fall when the NCCJ let RNS go and the United Methodist Reporter asked me to stay. I fully expected they would want to bring in their own management. But they said they were not interested in RNS unless I came with it. So, foolishly, I gave up five and a half month's severance pay that I would have gotten from the NCCJ to remain with RNS, and was not covered by any contract. What they were really saying was they wanted to learn as much as possible about this operation before they brought in their in-house management. They also used me as their point man with the Jesuit Fathers to get them ensconced in America House before letting me go, and I sorely resent that. I don't quarrel with their right to bring in their own management, or fire me, only the shabby and shoddy way they did it. They gave me (and the others) only two weeks' severance, and said that that was generous by their standards, as their personnel policy does not provide for any severance at all.

(Their policy, or non-policy, hasn't advanced since the Wesleys in the 18th century.)

My wife is delighted. She said she was tired of seeing me bang my head against the wall with a money-losing operation. I'm relieved myself and anxious to get on with a new career. I just hope allowing RNS to fall into denominational hands wasn't a total blunder. (Despite a lot of hoopla at the time of the takeover that an interfaith advisory board of subscribers would oversee RNS and have real control, no effort has been made to date to form one.)

I do not forget your encouraging words last year when it looked like I'd be leaving RNS then, that it could be the beginning of an important new career. I'm trying to look at it that way. What I most want to do, if I can find support to live, and as I mentioned to you last summer, is a book on the Vatican and Zionism -- a popularly written, but solidly researched account, from Theodor Herzl's meeting with Pope Pius X through to the present. There's been a lot published on the Jewish side, in memoirs, biographies, etc., but little on the Catholic end. Vatican archives organized by Bob Graham, and archives here in New York which Archbishop O'Connor has indicated should be open, could be a mother lode. I see the story as historical tragedy, no bad guys, no good guys, and would strive to lay out the story as dispassionately as possible. Such a book could make a meaningful contribution toward rational discussion of a highly emotional subject.

Phil Scharper advises me that publishers who might be interested would include Simon & Shuster, Harper & Row or Beacon Press. It is unlikely, however, that a publisher would provide any meaningful advance to underwrite it. I've approached the K of C to see if they might have an interest in the project, but haven't heard anything to date. The Luce Foundation, where I have contacts and from whom I've gotten \$75,000 for RNS, hasn't any interest in it, and besides, like all foundations, it is prohibited from funding individuals.

If you have any thoughts, I would welcome hearing from you.

Meanwhile, I'm open to whatever offers might come along. My circumstances are such that I can't afford to remain idle long.

Keep me in your prayers.

Cordially,



The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

June 28, 1984

Mr. David Harris
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear David:

Enclosed is a report on the Brussels boycott seminar of a couple of days ago. With it, but under separate cover, airmail, goes a voluminous stack of papers presented at the meeting. They are description and background of legal and practical situation in a number of countries on boycott. There was also distributed a 14 page report on the US, by Will Maslow; but he told me that AJC receives copies of everything, and I assume you have it. In case this one is not among those he has sent you, I am sure you can get it from him rapidly. Otherwise please let me know and I will photocopy and send from here.

Two of the backgrounders are in French, one for France and one for Belgium. I have fully reported all details of the situation in France, and I am sure that those in AJC following boycott matters know them or can easily find them. I could eventually translate the Belgian one, if nobody else in New York will. The substance of the Belgian legislation is based on non-discrimination, and works pretty well, according to the representative in Brussels who is also the author of the paper.

As I indicate in the enclosed report, it is a lot to read. Yet, not only would I require a tremendous amount of time to summarize properly, but this might be altogether difficult if one is to keep the essential legal ifs, buts and thens. I did go through each, and this is how I realized that little can be left out in most, and at the same time it was terribly complex to include everything in an overall report.

The meeting was not too technical. To my relief, I found that I knew the subject well enough and learned very little. Perhaps more technical and legal background could have been useful in making suggestions. Yet I see that the working group on legal aspects did not come up with anything spectacular.

I should like to emphasize that the meeting was interesting, and a good, serious one. Everyone was very glad to be there and to have

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JOHN H. STEINHART, San Francisco ■

the occasion to air all the past, present and future problems for the first time in nine years (when a number of those present and others met in Oxford). In fact, one of the major decisions was that re-convening such a group was necessary, and with greater frequency than in the past.

Other matters settled were the clearing house bit for information, Israel's ambiguous position and the need to get its full involvement and, most necessary, the monitoring, which only Israel can do through Arab official journals and press in general. As indicated, several persons complained about the Israel attitude in general. I personally had trouble with the Israelis in Paris, where my efforts to get information found a stone wall and luckily managed other sources to learn what was happening here. It is to be hoped that all the organizations and independent groups will send their material to Israel, and that Israel in turn will insure distribution to all. If this does not take place, we should forcefully complain.

There is no question that ADL has entered the field in Europe, where they had been absent to my knowledge. You'll be interested to know that ADL was there in full force, though partly because they used the occasion for their own internal meeting: Bialkin, Van Leer, Kopf, Foxman, Samuels, Abramowicz....(Abramowicz is Leon, the very same who worked 11 years in AJC Community Service).

Of course, Dan Lack and WJC in Europe virtually had the field to themselves since our office was cut and MLC (the French boycott group) moved, after we housed them for years and worked with closely and constantly....WJC took over as half of the Israeli umbrella.

What suggestions for AJC action? Nothing is burning in US, apart from insuring that the present situation continues. For other countries there is possible contact with Embassies and Consulates, and specifically of countries that have refused legislation and accept compliance, both in EEC and other Europeans. As mentioned in the report, ABC in Britain feels pretty hopeless about getting the British government to move, though they will continue efforts. Any important AJC member with business clout there? Doubt anything can be done about Switzerland and Italy, but what about Germany? Given our relationship there this could be the best start for AJC. There remain Canada and Japan. What happened in Canada? do we know? Japan sounds quite discouraging, unless we unearth a miraculous card to play.

AJC should perhaps also initiate quickly a small meeting with Congress and ADL to review the situation from the US Jewish ^{defense work} point of view and consider possibilities ~~of and from there~~. We apparently have cooperated on this before and the three organizations are perceived ~~from~~ here as the group that can do most.

Please let me hear further about all this.

With very best regards,

Yours,

Amie



The American Jewish Committee

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NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

June 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM

To: International Relations Department
From: Nives Fox
Subj: Brussels Seminar on Boycott -- June 24-25, 1984

An intensive and thorough review of the Arab boycott situation and its effects gathered about 70 international experts and Israel government representatives in Brussels this June 24-25.

No new facts really emerged. Papers on the background, mechanisms, countermeasures and legislation against Arab boycott were presented, most by their authors, and discussed. These papers are enclosed. They are summaries of situations and legislation in various European countries, and cannot be made more succinct than they are if one is to have a clear understanding of Arab boycott and its effects or the value of legislation passed to date.

What was sought, rather, were the ways and means to bring about harmonization of legislation against the Arab boycott, both in the European Community of ten and the rest of the Western world, including Canada and Japan. It was the sense of the participants that the struggle to this end had slackened somewhat and renewed initiatives necessary, therefore, particularly at a time of declining Arab oil power and Arab financial power, as well as at a time of great tension and wars among Arab nations.

At present one can conclude that an impasse has been reached, with the United States, France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg on the positive side, each having taken legislative measures -- though different on the whole adequate -- against Arab boycott of secondary and tertiary nature; and the rest either not caring or adamantly refusing to do so.

How then to proceed in the future? Until now there was a hope that if only one or more EEC country passed and applied legislation against the boycott one could call for the use of Article 100 of the Treaty of Rome (harmonization) and the entire EEC group of 10 -- eventually 12 -- would fall into line. These hopes were dashed. If some experts still count on it and, in fact, like the British,

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consider it as the only solution because national efforts are totally and definitely blocked, others seem less hopeful. Heading the last is the CIDI representative in The Hague (Israel Information and Documentation Center) the body responsible for the campaign that finally led the Dutch to pass an anti-boycott law. Mr. Naftaniel does not believe in the harmonization solution in the foreseeable future, if ever (his view was privately shared by several at the meeting). His conviction is based on an EEC document (not on hand but forthcoming, alas in Dutch). The content of this paper, briefly, concerns a meeting of EEC Ministers of Justice in October 1982 and their discussion on how non-discrimination clauses might be applied in boycott situations. About six months after the meeting the advice of the Committee of the Council of Ministers concluded that:

- Non-discrimination clauses in treaties between EEC countries and the Maghreb and Mashreq nations (these cover all Arab nations except Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iraq) can only be invoked if specific cases of discrimination are submitted;
- That articles 85 and 86 in the Treaty of Rome can be invoked against boycott only if it is proved that trade between EEC countries is affected. (Art. 85 and 86 concern restriction of competition and dominant position, respectively) It would be virtually impossible to find a case of an EEC country company having a dominant position that would exclude another company in an EEC country.
- European countries (EEC) could harmonize their position as called for in article 100 of the Treaty of Rome; but the Committee believes that this will affect competition among EEC countries.

So much for the idea of harmonization, Mr. Naftaniel and others believe.

Anti-boycott action in countries outside the EEC but part of EFTA (European Free Trade Area) also is possible in theory, under two sets of circumstances: traders can file a petition showing damages as a result of the boycott via their national courts or international courts; and on the basis of the provisions of the Treaty of Stockholm, articles A and B, which are parallel to articles 85 and 86 of the Treaty of Rome. EFTA countries are Norway, Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, Finland, Portugal and Iceland.

Of course, if legislation is not available or not strong enough, there remains pressure with parliaments. But everyone was in accord that the most effective way to respond to boycott is with legislation: it is the best deterrent and the best protection for governments, politicians and traders -- "The law forbids boycott and we cannot act against the law!" This has stopped Arab demands in countries that have passed legislation, the Arabs themselves perceiving it as a case of force majeure. Such a deterrent would be even greater if legislative harmonization on boycott were to take place in the EEC.

Participants from countries where legislation was enacted (the four in Europe and the US) agreed that the success against Arab boycott was quite good -- incredibly so according to the US representative Bill Maslow -- with fewer and fewer cases complying to Arab demands. It should be noted that the reporting system used in the US is unique, for the Europeans have based their laws on discrimination.

Very forcefully, however, it was pointed out that Israel itself, while asking others to help against the Arab boycott demands, had enacted no law or reporting mechanism. Yet Israel trades with Arab countries, doing this in ways that get around the boycott regulations. It is the reporting procedure used by the US that it was asked they institute. Nor did the accusatory mood improve when Mr. Davrath, Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Finance in Israel declared that Israel could do the least, its budget for boycott struggles cut, so that it was up to Europe and the US and Jewish organizations to act.

Israeli representatives also let it slip that the ^{boycott} effect on Israel's overall commerce ~~was~~ negligible, if any. When some people then wondered whether there was any point in doing anything, the position was corrected with statements that it was impossible to calculate trade missed as a result of the Arab boycott (naturally, we speak only of secondary and tertiary boycott) and that what was meant was simply that the Arab aims to harm and destroy Israel's trade were not achieved.

It should be noted that getting around Arab boycott regulations is not a particularity of Israel. Italy (not represented at the seminar) has been doing the same thing for years through creation of fictitious companies, etc. and managing thus to deal both with Israel and the Arabs. In Switzerland negative certificates are issued by the various offices of its Chamber of Commerce, a private body, whose major source of income now, quipped one delegate, probably is certification.

Perhaps the most depressing presentation to the seminar was the brief one made by the Israel Chamber of Commerce representative in Vienna, Dr. Michael Rom. He reported that Israel trade with Austria amounted to .02% and that while some Austrian firms would not mind dealing with Israel all are so fearful of being put on the Arab blacklists that when they meet with him appointments are arranged in other cities. Unlike the Dutch situation, where the anti-boycott law was passed mostly because public opinion was roused over the discriminatory aspects of secondary and tertiary boycott, Dr. Rom very much doubted that public opinion in Austria would give such support. Austrian trading interests are strongly knit to the Arabs, and this was encouraged during Chancellor Kreisky's leadership. Dr. Rom was nevertheless optimistic of slow change for the better with the present government.

Representatives of the Anti-Boycott Committee in the UK (ABC) explained that while certificates of origin are not illegal in Britain, negative certificates are. Yet these are and have been complied to on request and authenticated by the government. In spite of this, trade with Israel actually has improved a lot this year. Firms with Israeli partners have found ways to keep the Israeli share of the company from their balance sheets. By and large, however, most companies are too frightened about connections with Israel and shed this cumbersome partnership by selling out to Israelis -- at very low prices at times.

Eric Monnman recently sent a letter in an effort to re-launch the campaign for anti-boycott legislation in Great Britain. The reply stated that there was no intent of introducing such legislation or to introduce harmonization suggestions for EEC countries. ABC people think that Britain does not want to be the first to push in the EEC but that it probably would go along with a common EEC stand -- then Britain could exclaim "force majeure"... In any case, ABC has been more successful when dealing with companies known to have complied with boycott demands than with the government. Unfortunately, this is not the answer to the problem, which is why ABC puts its last hope in the possibility of EEC harmonization. The British were also among those who strongly objected to the lack of a reporting mechanism in Israel, wondering why then Israel asked Europe to do better.

A major common problem in the entire boycott situation, and one affecting all countries regardless of whether legislation exists or not, is finding test cases, namely courageous businesses which would publicly disclose boycott practice. It was the idea that their own nationals were victims of Arab discrimination that got the Dutch population behind legislation against boycott.

But no matter how optimistic or pessimistic the present situation on Arab boycott, the conclusion arrived at was that one must persist, both with requests to governments for legislation and EEC countries harmonization.

As you will see from the still in draft form working group proposals (the final paper will combine the three and will be mailed to all the participants) the major decisions arising from the meeting concern the creation in Israel of one central clearing house to take charge of distribution of all documents on developments about Arab boycott and agreement that Israel will start full monitoring of Arab blacklists (additions, deletions) and other relevant information, so that everyone active on boycott matters will be regularly and rapidly informed. In return, each country or group involved outside Israel will send information and reports to the clearing house, for circulation to the others.

Thirdly, a Steering Committee will be established, and periodic future meetings called. Finally, the fact that Israel itself on the one hand wants everyone to combat boycott but on the other hand does not itself apply a system of reporting and at times gives the impression that it is not all that interested in anti-boycott pursuit was, as said above, forcefully pointed up. This is the reason why there was also very strong insistence for a renewed and clear commitment on the part of Israel in this fight.

It was the feeling of all the participants that while the discussion in Brussels revealed little that was new, and, if so, only minor details such as Norway's oranges story, it was important that the individuals and organizations working on Arab boycott meet regularly for an exchange of views, possible information and planning of strategy.

The concerted action of the three major Jewish defense organizations, ADL, AJCommittee and AJCongress in past years, and the need for continuing same was mentioned several times. At the same time, it was natural that the name of Daniel Lack (legal consultant to WJC and ADL) be put forth as the most logical person who has followed EEC for years and therefore most suitable to handle developments there in the future.

* * *

Mr. L. Olmer, US Under-Secretary for International Trade, gave the luncheon address of June 25. It was a very forthright and sympathetic talk, but he requested that this communication not be publicized.

It was Mr. Olmer's view that there will be no change in the present US legislation and it was up to the Jewish community and organizations to insure improvements. Of course, a challenge to the present laws is conceivable, and one should be vigilant. He hoped that the 1979 law would be extended for two years, but said that the International Economic Emergency Powers Act (IEEPA) was not foolproof. The US could test the Europeans only to the extent that it is in favor ~~of~~ of their joining in boycott dissuasion efforts so that US business not feel it carries the brunt alone.

US-Arab trade, he said, is not affected by enactment of boycott legislation, and statistics show a large increase in US exports to the Middle East since the laws were passed. Answering questions just after making this point Mr. Olmer backtracked somewhat, saying that there may be some trade losses but this was very difficult to assess.

Daniel Lack spoke of the EEC harmonization problem and asked whether the US could convey and stress the point of unaffected trade with the Europeans. Here Mr. Olmer said convincing Europeans was indeed a problem, but the moral aspect of the issue should work. He suggested that Arab activities against some companies might be investigated.

Having mentioned in his talk that the anti-boycott compliance office in the US has just had its budget increased by 25%, he clarified this in terms of the new employment^o the increase represented -- five or six more persons.

When someone raised European fears of petrodollars moving out if there is too much activity against the boycott, Mr. Olmer pointed out that the US was still the best money refuge, but that the Arab leverage both in oil and funds had decreased and this condition obtained in Europe as well.

Could the US use its influence to promote British legislation against the Arab boycott? Probably the worst thing to do is to suggest this openly, he replied; but some work on a lower level might be possible.

Can the US raise the problem of Japan's compliance to Arab demands? (The importance of Japan and its total acquiescence to the boycott and its effects had been raised during the meeting along with the suggestion that those involved in anti-boycott initiatives try some demarches in this connection. The lack of success in Canada also was raised, and the question posed as why all efforts in that direction stopped. There were no Canadians to provide a possible answer at the meeting).

According to Mr. Olmer efforts to break the Japanese wall would not be fruitful. Very much off the record he added that the matter had been raised informally but that the Japanese were unbudgeable. Their complete dependence on Middle East oil made this a very hard if not impossible nut to crack. If only the British were to move against the boycott, hopes might be greater, for success breeds success, he said.

Another question concerned the extent of success of the Ribicoff amendment^o, which denies certain tax deductions to boycott complying companies. IRS is very guarded on this score, Olmer said, he had received no more confidences than anyone else, though he had not inquired for some time. There was the idea of combining the provisions of the Department of Commerce and the IRS act in 1981, but this was unsuccessful. Personally he believed it was better to maintain the two laws separate and independent of each other.

#

Excerpts From Address

Black Muslims

6.29.64

Special to The New York Times

12

CHICAGO, June 28 — Following are excerpts from a transcript of an address by Louis Farrakhan Sunday night on radio station WBEE in Chicago, as recorded by a reporter for The Chicago Sun-Times:

This I want the Jews to know and we want the world to know: that they are not the chosen people of God.

The Jews were chosen by Jehovah through Moses to be a light to the gentile nation, but when God chooses a people He doesn't choose them just to say you are my choice. He chooses them for a duty, for a responsibility, for His glory. The Jews had the duty and the responsibility to be a light to the gentile nation, but Jesus in coming among the Jews said to them, "What man having a light would hide it under a bushel basket?"

The Holy Koran charges the Jews with taking the message of God and altering that message and giving the people a book written by their own hands, saying that the book is from God. That is hiding the light under a bushel basket. Instead of the Jewish people giving the light in its purity to the gentile nations of the earth, the Jews hid their light under a bushel basket and fed a corrupted light through this book and were the father of false religions and false religious practices. They cannot be considered the friend of God, doing such evil.

'The True and Chosen People'

I'm not anti-Jew. I am pro-truth, but in this serious hour, the truth must be told so that the true people of God may come up into the view of the entire world. These that have stolen our identity, these that have dressed themselves up in our garments must be destroyed today, that the world may see who are the true and chosen people of Almighty God.

He promised the Jews, who are Caucasian, after they were dispersed and driven out of the Holy Land, that if they returned to Him, repenting of their evil, and came back to the law of Moses and carried that law into practice, He would return them to the Promised Land — no, not the Promised Land, but He would give them a place among the holy people.

This would be done through a man and that man is called the Messiah.

The Zionists are those Jewish persons who wanted a homeland for the Jews that were dispersed throughout the world. The Zionists believed that they should get a homeland for the Jews and maintain that homeland, but they wanted to fulfill the vision without fulfilling the preconditions.

Statement About Hitler

So Zionists made a deal with Adolf Hitler. These are the same people that condemn me for saying Hitler was a great man, but a wicked man. I say to you, foolish people, the Bible calls Babylon "the great" but she's not Babylon the good. So for me to say that Hitler was great, I've made no mistake at all. He was great, but wickedly great, and the Zionists made a deal with Adolf Hitler according to a book called "The Transfer Agreement" by Edwin Black, one of their own kind.

The black man in America's death is not permanent. He can be risen from this death and this is exactly why they fear these words coming from my mouth, because the words in my mouth have the power to raise the dead to life.

This transfer agreement let 60,000 German Jews into Palestine and \$100 million of their money into Palestine,

where they began to take the land away from the Palestinian people and little by little they gained strength and power and with the backing of the nations, they claimed that land to be theirs and they called it Israel.

I say to the Jewish people and to the Government of the United States of America: The present state called Israel is an outlaw act. It was not done with the backing of Almighty God nor was it done by the guidance of the Messiah. It was your cold naked scheming, plotting and planning against the lives of a people there in Palestine. Now you have taken the land and you called it Israel and you pushed out the original inhabitants, making them vagabonds in the earth. You have lied and said this was a promise made by God to you.

What will you do today when the lie is uncovered and we show the world that we are the chosen people of that promise? We are the people who have no land that we can call our own.

'A Criminal Conspiracy'

America and England and the nations backed Israel's existence. Therefore, when you aid and abet someone in a criminal conspiracy, you are a part of that criminal conspiracy.

Now that nation called Israel never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have any peace, because there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying and deceit and using the name of God to steal your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name.

America and England and the nations, because of their backing of Israel, are being drawn into the heat of the third world war, which is called Armageddon. Oh, America, you have blundered so and instead of recognizing the mistake you have made and making amends, you persist in your evil and so the consequences of evil must come.

You hate us because we dare to say that we are the chosen people of God and can back it up. We are ready to do battle with you wherever you come from in the earth. It is the black people in America that is the chosen people of Almighty God.

JUL 16 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : June 29th, 1984

to : Marc H. Tanenbaum
from : Sergio Nudelstejer



subject : Ideological Colloquy held in Caracas, Venezuela.

Would like you to know that from the 25th through the 27th of May, a regional colloquy was held in Caracas, Venezuela, and which comprised the northern portion of Latin America, that is: from Mexico to Ecuador, under the auspices of the Latinamerican Zionist Council (COSLA).

To this meeting came representatives from Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, as well as a representative from FEDECO (Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama).

As special guests from Israel, the President of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization, Mr. Arieh Dulzin; Mrs. Miriam Meyuchas, Director of the Latin American Office of the World Zionist Organization and Mr. Muki Tzur of the Information office of the World Zionist Organization.

Also, the organizing committee invited a distinguished group of Latinamerican intellectuals and very active in Jewish life, among whom we can mention Mr. Eduardo Biggio, President of the Human Relations Committee in Lima, Peru; Prof. Manuel Tenenbaum, Director of the Latin American branch of the World Jewish Congress, and myself, as the representative of the American Jewish Committee.

The three days set aside for this colloquy were very active and allowed a free interchange of opinions among all who were present, as well as serious considerations of the present and future of the Jewish Communities of the area.

As to my participation, I feel it of vital importance that I should mention that, the fact that the American Jewish Committee participated showed our interest and worry for the subject dealt with as well as our concern for the security and existance of the Jewish communities in this area and what our relationship is with the State of Israel.

Concerning my personal activities during this colloquy, I had several presentations: on saturday, May 26th, I participated in a round table discussion on "Antisemitism and Antizionism" and "Judaism and Zionism facing the non-Jewish world". That same evening, I also participated in another round table discussion on the subject "Present Problems of the Jews in the Soviet Union". Du-

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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ring this presentation, I posed the problem of Jews who find themselves in Arab countries, specially in Syria and Iran, and also spoke about the "Falashas Jews in Ethiopia". I believe that my outlook during both round table discussions, was always following the line of thought of the AJC and I felt that the different viewpoints I gave, were understood, discussed and appreciated.

I also participated in the other presentations on the subjects of: "Zionism or Pro-Israelism" and "Zionist Thought at Present". My presence and participation clarified for some lay leaders of the Latin American countries, the American Jewish Committee's standing regarding zionism, and our position regarding the State of Israel.

My attendance at this meeting in Caracas, gave me a chance to meet once again with lay leaders of the different Jewish Communities of Central America, Colombia and Venezuela, and with the representative of FEDECO who at this time is Mr. Federico Licht from Guatemala.

In these moments of unrest in some countries of the Latin American area, it proved very positive the interchange of opinions concerning the future of these communities and also their relationship towards the State of Israel.

Please find enclosed the program of this colloquy and its debates as well as some press clippings concerning this meeting.

As always, my best and cordial regards.

SN/eeg

Confidential

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Follow-up

date July 2, 1984
to Leo Nevas, Chairman, Commission on International Relations
from Allan Kagedan
subject Embassy Visits

As part of the American Jewish Committee's ongoing efforts to raise our concerns with foreign governments, AJC leaders have met with the leaders of France and Germany, and, most recently, visited five Western European embassies in Washington -- those of Austria, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. (In the previous week, there was a visit with a representative of the West German Embassy.) An additional issue raised briefly was the weak response of Western European delegates to anti-Jewish remarks made at the UN. The delegation led by Leo Nevas, also included David Geller, David Harris and Allan Kagedan.

The purpose of the meetings was to encourage West Europeans to take a more active role in the issues of human rights and Soviet Jewry. The deteriorating human rights situation in the USSR, especially in light of the Soviet regime's handling of the Sakharov case and the worrisome condition of Soviet Jews, was emphasized. It should also be stated at the outset that in each case the group was warmly and sympathetically received and seemed impressed by our materials and presentation. At the conclusion of the meeting, we were invited to "keep in touch" and encouraged to send other reports produced at AJC relating to the concerns we had discussed. Although the West Europeans gave every indication that they wanted to be helpful, it was nevertheless clear that they did not believe much could be accomplished in the short term.

The group advanced a number of suggestions at each meeting. European governments should (1) press the issue of Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism, emigration, cultural and religious rights - as a larger concern - as well as the individual cases of Soviet Jews in bilateral discussions with the Soviet Union; (2) raise the issue of Soviet obstruction of the mails at the meeting of the Universal Postal Union, currently underway in Hamburg; (3) send members of their Moscow embassy to join with their U.S. counterparts and visit Jewish refuse-niks, who meet in front of the Moscow synagogue on Saturday evenings, as a gesture of solidarity; (4) have their diplomats visit synagogues and Jewish historical sites in other parts of the USSR; (5) where appropriate, include Jewish content programming in Russian-language broadcasts to the USSR; (6) begin preparation and coordination for follow-up meetings to the Madrid Conference, to be held in Budapest, Ottawa, and Bern, where human rights and Soviet Jewry issues may be raised; (7) generally, to continue to pursue human rights

issues including the Sakharov situation, whenever possible in the CSCE, NATO, or other multilateral forums.

The AJC group left three documents with the embassies, two studies on aspects of Soviet anti-Semitism prepared by Allan Kagedan and an aide-memoire on anti-Jewish rhetoric at the UN. Summaries of the foreign officials' comments follow.

AUSTRIA -- Dr. Franz Irbinger, Minister.

Dr. Irbinger expressed his government's view that it was most productive to deal with human rights issues in terms of individual cases, and noted that Austria has pressed the Soviet Union successfully in family reunification cases. He also mentioned that an Austrian university had offered a professorship to Andrei Sakharov.

Dr. Irbinger reported that Fred Sinowatz, the Austrian Chancellor, was deeply committed to the Helsinki process. Although there have been no recent exchanges with the Soviet Union, and relations are tense because Czechoslovakia has accused Austria, a neutral country, of favoring the West, it is expected that in the coming months Erwin Lang, the Foreign Minister, will visit Moscow, as well as Washington and New York. We urged Dr. Irbinger to transmit our requests to the Foreign Minister.

Regarding Soviet obstruction of mail, Dr. Irbinger said that he took particular interest in this matter because he had relatives in Romania who are affected by this, and he said he would communicate AJC concerns to the Austrian delegation in Hamburg.

Dr. Irbinger agreed that human rights issues, including free access to information, such as religious and cultural materials for Soviet Jews, might be raised in Madrid follow-up meetings.

While taking note of concern over anti-Jewish rhetoric at the UN, the Minister expressed the view that Austria, whose primary concern is the UN's universality, preferred to remain uninvolved in these exchanges and reserve its vote for more important issues, such as attempts to expel Israel from the UN.

BELGIUM -- J. Raoul Schoumaker, Ambassador; Messrs. Pierre Champenois, Minister-Counselor, and Wilfried Nartus, Political Counselor.

Commenting on East-West relations, the Ambassador stated that ties remain strained, yet, in the context of the American election campaign, there are "noises" from the American side wishing for an improvement. On the other hand, the Soviets are realizing that they face a series of long-term and insoluble problems, including the discrediting of Marxist-Leninist ideology in the Third World and even in the USSR. In arms control negotiations, the Soviets have done too little too late, and feel frustrated. Nevertheless they will have to return to the bargaining table at some point, and are keeping channels of communication open. The deployment of medium-range missile in Europe was a great defeat for the Soviets, and they still have not determined where to go from here.

Regarding Soviet Jewry, the Ambassador said that the concerns expressed, and proposals made, by the AJC -- which he had one of his aides record -- were "sufficiently detached" from political controversy that they could be used in exchanges with the Soviets "anytime, anywhere."

He expressed particular interest and concern about the issue of Soviet anti-Jewish publications, and stated that his government would study the AJC documents submitted.

ITALY -- Rinaldo Petrignani, Ambassador; Dr. Mario E. Maiolini, Counselor.

Although, initially, the AJC group was informed that the Ambassador would be unable to receive it because of pressing matters, the Ambassador did join us, and returned again after being called away to the telephone. The Ambassador asked to be briefed on our concerns, and asked his aide to record our suggestions for transmittal to Rome. The Ambassador pledged that he would communicate to his government our suggestion regarding Soviet obstruction of the mails, and expressed interest in the proposal that embassy personnel in Moscow visit Jewish activists and Jewish institutions. He asked for information about AJC, which was provided to him, and he also asked whether he might mention Max Kampelman's name as an AJC leader when communicating with Rome because this would enhance the status of the AJC to the Italian government.

The AJC delegation expressed its concern about the visit of Yassir Arafat to Rome, and his reception by the Italian President. The Counselor stressed Italy's long-standing wish for peace in the Middle East, as exemplified by its providing troops to the peace forces in Lebanon. He said he shared our concern with terrorism, and suggested that Arafat visited Italy in connection with the funeral of Berlinguer but the visit did not signal a change in Italian foreign policy. We pointed out to him that such visits with heads of state served to give Arafat credibility and restore his standing.

SWEDEN -- Count Wilhelm Wachtmeister, Ambassador; Mr. Erik Pierre, Counselor for Political Affairs

The Ambassador stated that the deterioration of the position of Soviet dissidents, and of the Soviet Jewish community, is related to the serious tension between East and West; improvement of their conditions will come when a thaw in relations develops. He acknowledged that steady pressure on the USSR -- regardless of the current state of East-West relations -- would be most productive in the long term. The Ambassador related that currently Sweden is devoting much of its "energy and leverage" to the tragic case of Raoul Wallenberg, and at this moment Swedish intervention with the USSR, in light of the poor state of their current bilateral relations, would have little chance of success.

The Swedish government, nonetheless, is dedicated to the Helsinki process, and to advancing human rights "along the lines of the Carter human rights policy," Count Wachtmeister emphasized. The Ambassador thanked the AJC group for the documents submitted and said that they would be "studied carefully."

Regarding possible Jewish content in Swedish Russian-language broadcasting to the USSR (note: these broadcasts are generally not jammed), Counselor Pierre, who had been associated with the Swedish broadcasting authority, picked up on

this suggestion and thought it might be attainable. Although the broadcasting authority was independent of the Swedish government, Counselor Pierre said that he had a friend, a Swedish Jewish professor, with ties to the radio station whom he felt might be helpful in submitting this proposal to Swedish radio, and asked that we be in touch with him to discuss this further. He assured us of his cooperation.

UNITED KINGDOM -- Sir Oliver Wright, Ambassador; Peter Jenkins, First Secretary.

Sir Oliver commented that the British government and the Jewish community shared "joint preoccupations" regarding human rights and Soviet Jewry. He noted that the British Jewish community was active and effective on the Soviet Jewry issue, and suggested that we be in touch with British Jewish organizations and suggest -- if they are not planning to already -- that they meet soon with Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, who will be visiting Moscow shortly. The Ambassador stated that he will report on our meeting and the particular suggestions made to his government.

On the subject of British-Soviet relations, Sir Oliver said that ties are strained for the same reasons that U.S.-Soviet relations are poor. Referring to our concern on human rights in the USSR, the Ambassador stated that "you are not without friends...on this specific matter." He believes that President Reagan wishes for improved relations with the Soviets, and that, should such improvement occur, the position of Soviet Jews will be affected favorably.

In general, the Ambassador related, the Soviet Union is in a "defensive posture" because many of its policies are "marked by failure." The Soviets, he affirmed, realized that "their system is not working," and sense that "the Third World no longer looks to Moscow." The USSR was also stung by its failure to prevent deployment of intermediate range missiles in Europe.

Responding to comments from the AJC group that Soviet emigres felt that BBC was the most reliable and widely listened-to Western radio broadcast, he said this was "most encouraging," and stated that the BBC -- an independent body -- should indeed be approached to give consideration to introducing further Jewish content in its Russian-language broadcasts.

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RESOLUTION

The Third Bi-Annual Meeting of the European Inter-Parliamentary Conference for Soviet Jewry, attended by delegations from 15 European Parliaments, meeting in London on 3 July 1984

1. Recalling the United Nations Charter on Human Rights
2. Recalling also the CSCE Helsinki Final Act and Madrid Final Document
3. Noting with great concern recent Soviet pronouncements that the emigration process is complete, with its implications that the Soviet authorities will continue to deny exit visas to around 400,000 Jews still awaiting them
4. Also noting the continued harassment, arrests, trials and imprisonment of Jews seeking permission to be repatriated to Israel
5. Conscious of the increasing restrictions imposed on Jewish religion and culture, and on the teaching of Hebrew in the Soviet Union
6. Aware of the intensified anti-Semitic campaign promoted by the Soviet Press and media, intended to expose the Jews to the contempt and hatred of the entire population

Calls upon all European National Parliaments:

7. to raise the problem of Soviet Jewry as often as possible in the course of their public proceedings
8. to put pressure upon their national governments to raise the case of Soviet Jewry in any kind of negotiations with the Soviet authorities

Appeals to the Soviet Government as a matter of urgency:

9. to permit all Soviet Jews applying to leave the Soviet Union for repatriation to Israel to do so without impediment and to ensure that the presentation of such applications does not prejudice or modify the rights of the applicants or members of their families in the areas of employment, housing, resident status, access to social, economic or educational benefits, or any other rights
10. to release the Prisoners of Zion who have been imprisoned or exiled because of their desire to be repatriated to Israel
11. to allow Soviet Jews full freedom to pursue Jewish religious and cultural activities and to withdraw all restrictions on the teaching of Hebrew

Instructs the Bureau of the European Inter-Parliamentary Conference for Soviet Jewry:

12. to coordinate with the existing national bodies concerned with Soviet Jewry, so as to maximize its potential in assisting members of the Conference
13. to keep all Parliamentary Members regularly informed of its activities and to prepare for regular annual meetings of the European Inter-Parliamentary Conference for Soviet Jewry
14. to inform the Council of Europe Committee on relations with European non-member countries and the Committee on Human Rights in Geneva of this Resolution
15. To report within 6 months on actions taken.

July 10, 1984

Dr. Eugene J. Fisher
Executive Secretary
Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations
National Conference of Catholic Bishops
1312 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear GeneL

It was good to meet with you in Washington the other day. The following outline reflects some of the points we talked about regarding the publication of the Vatican Council II book. As I mentioned in our recent phone conversation, Father Kevin Lynch of Paulist Press has expressed great enthusiasm for publishing our proposed volume, and I promised I would send him a formal proposal in the very near future. Kevin also mentioned that he wanted all the texts by January 1, 1985, so that the book could be published eight or nine months after that. We should press our contributors for a December 31st deadline.

Here is my draft proposal for the book, and I welcome the comments and suggestions of Ed, Marc and yourself. We need to move very quickly, so I can send the proposal to Kevin.

INTRODUCTION: The Editors: Eugene J. Fisher
Edward H. Flannery
A. James Rudin
Marc H. Tanenbaum

RETROSPECTIVE ON VATICAN COUNCIL II: 1962-1965

George Higgins
Marc H. Tanenbaum

THE ROLE OF SCRIPTURE IN CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS:

Lawrence Boadt

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION SINCE VATICAN COUNCIL II:

Seminaries, Parochial schools, Church and
Synagogue schools

Judith H. Banki

ROMAN CATHOLIC LITURGY REFORM SINCE VATICAN COUNCIL II:

John T. Pawlikowski

THE MIDDLE EAST, ISRAEL AND JERUSALEM:

Edward H. Flannery

CURRENT STATUS OF CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS:

Eugene J. Fisher

A. James Rudin

NEW TRENDS IN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS THOUGHT:

NEW TRENDS IN JEWISH RELIGIOUS THOUGHT:

Eugene B. Borowitz

CONGRUENT AND DIVERGENT SOCIAL CONCERNS AND ISSUES: The Feminist Movement, Abortion, Human Rights and Religious Liberty, Church-State Relations, Arms Control, Immigration and Refugees, Family Values, etc.

Theodore Hesburgh

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: A MODEL FOR ROMAN CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS:

Royale Vadakin

Alfred Wolf

TEXTS OF SELECTED DOCUMENTS:

SELECTED GUIDELINES FOR CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS

The Editors

BIBLIOGRAPHY

INDEX

Needless to say, this is still in draft form and none of the authors has been asked to do any papers, but the names represent some of the possibilities we discussed in Washington. Kevin wants the book to be no more than 210 pages in length, and perhaps I have listed too many possible articles for inclusion. We may run a lot of articles, but they may, by necessity, have to be short.

Dr. Eugene J. Fisher

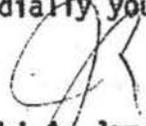
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July 10, 1984

I look forward to your comments as well as those of our two colleagues.
Please let me hear from you as soon as possible.

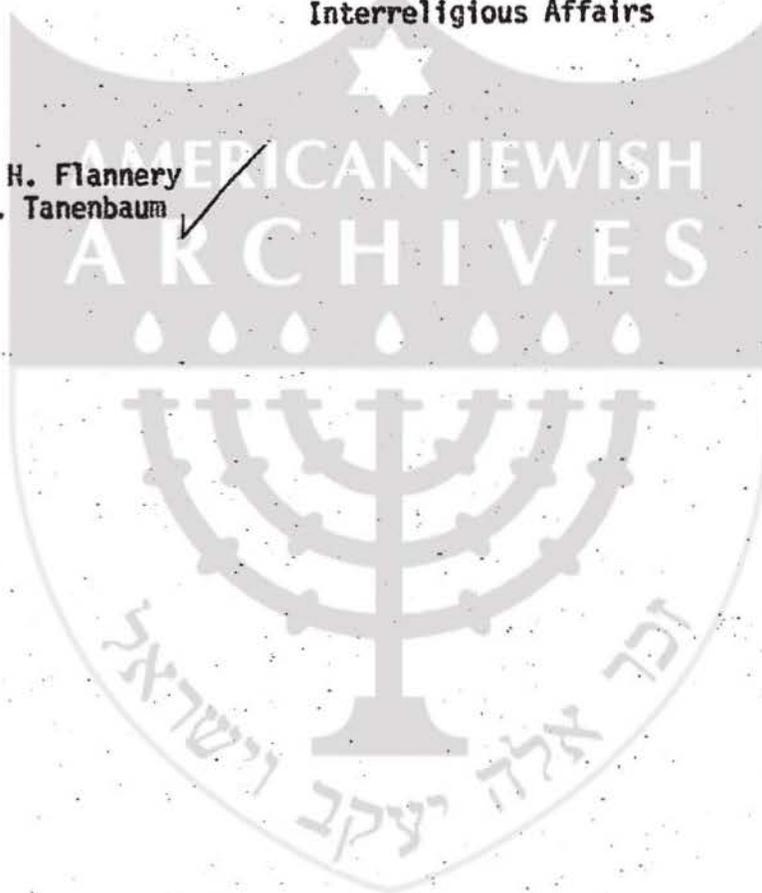
With warm regards, I am,

Cordially yours,


Rabbi A. James Rudin
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

AJR:FM

cc: Edward H. Flannery
Marc H. Tanenbaum



[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



Judaica Collectors Spark Sales Boom

By DOUGLAS C. MCGILL

About two weeks ago, Isaac Pollak spent \$176,000 on a book. It was, of course, no ordinary book: It was an 18th-century "Haggadah," the book of Jewish stories, sayings and songs traditionally read at Passover, that was hand-written by a Hebrew scribe and filled with dozens of miniature drawings of biblical scenes.

"It's living antiquity," said Mr. Pollak, a 33-year-old gem importer from New York who bought the Haggadah at a Sotheby's auction June 26. "They say you can't be nostalgic for a time you didn't live through, but this Haggadah makes me nostalgic. It's my heritage."

While few book lovers can match Mr. Pollak's bidding power at auctions, his enthusiasm for the Haggadah is typical of that among growing numbers of collectors of "Judaica," or antique Jewish art of all kinds — from ceremonial objects such as Hanukkah lamps, kiddush cups and spice boxes, to Hebrew books and manuscripts, to coins, glass, ceramics, jewelry and other works.

Following a pattern already well-established for many other types of art — including 19th-century American art, Latin American and Victorian art, photography and Art Deco — the intense interest of these new collectors has recently sparked a dramatic increase in price among the items, with quintuplings and more in value since 1970 being far from uncommon at Judaica auctions.

Increase in Prices

A Haggadah that sold for \$13,000 at a Sotheby's auction in 1970, for example, was re-sold for \$265,000 at a Sotheby's auction last year. A 15th-century Hebrew manuscript that sold for \$50,000 in 1975 went for \$249,000 in 1983. With an eye on these rising prices, Christie's, Sotheby's competitor auction house, opened a Judaica department of its own earlier this year, and at a Judaica auction two weeks ago attracted prices as high as

\$11,000 for a kiddush cup, \$22,000 for a Hanukkah candelabrum, and \$41,800 for a hanging lamp.

But it was the recent and controversial sale of 58 rare Hebrew books and manuscripts at Sotheby's on June 26 that most strikingly illustrates how deeply committed today's Judaica collectors are to their passion. Bidders at the auction set record prices for the books and manuscripts, despite a public controversy that had raised — and would continue to raise, because of an ongoing lawsuit against Sotheby's by the New York State Attorney General — moral and legal questions concerning the property's ownership.

At least 31 of the books and manuscripts offered for sale at the auction had previously belonged to a Berlin rabbinical seminary that was closed by the Nazis in 1942. The books were thought to have been destroyed until last April, when an unknown owner put them up for auction.

Ownership Questioned

Several weeks before the June sale, a number of Jewish groups met privately with Sotheby's to express their concern that the books might have been confiscated by the Nazis. When Sotheby's assured them that the material was and always has been in the hands of Jews, the protesters said that even if the books and manuscripts had been smuggled from Nazi Germany by a Jew, the seminary had certainly given over the books for safekeeping, and not as a gift from which anyone should profit.

Responding to the protests, the New York State Attorney General sought a State Supreme Court order to stop the sale of the items until Sotheby's could prove that the person selling the books was their legal owner. Only two hours before the auction began, a judge denied Attorney General Robert Abrams's request, and Sotheby's held the auction, despite his pledge to pursue the matter

in court until the ownership question was settled.

Even as the auction started, David Redden, the auctioneer, announced that certain "interested parties" were continuing to investigate the sale, thus hinting to his audience of potential buyers that anyone who purchased a book or manuscript might later find that he did not have "good title" to its ownership.

Despite the warning, however, the collectors in the audience bid vigorously and offered record prices for the books and manuscripts, many of which sold for two, three, and four times their estimated prices. A 15th-century book that received a pre-auction estimate of \$30,000, for example, was sold for \$132,000. Another 15th-century book, estimated at \$35,000, was sold for \$77,500. Mr. Pollak's Haggadah, which he bought for \$176,000, was estimated before the auction to sell for \$90,000.

The entire sale raised a total of \$1.45 million, despite the fact that the two most valuable items in the collection — a 15th-century Prague Bible estimated at \$500,000 and a 14th-century prayer book estimated at \$260,000 — had been sold privately at Sotheby's to the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City for an undisclosed price several days before the auction.

A Personal Identification

What fueled this drive among collectors to buy Judaica, despite the towering prices and, at least in the recent Sotheby's auction, some apparent legal risk? Judaica experts, collectors and dealers say that a number of factors are behind the Judaica market boom — the most important one being a personal identification among collectors.

"These things are rare," Mr. Pollak said. "During the war the Jews were killed, their homes razed, they were annihilated. But these things survived. They are alive, and they're something we can relate to."



Detail from an 18th-century Haggadah, a book of Jewish stories, that sold for \$176,000 at auction of Judaica last month at Sotheby's.

"Every piece that comes up is a survivor," said Abe Wintner, a Los Angeles businessman who frequently attends Judaica auctions in New York. "People want to grab whatever comes up because in a few years there won't be any left."

Michael Ehrenthal, a prominent Judaica dealer in New York, adds that an increasing "fatness of the price of antique Jewish art" is also strongly influencing the price of antique Jewish art. "The younger collectors are coming in their means, and are identifying with their heritage through Judaica," he said. "What's also helpful is that

Judaica has proved to have quite a track record in appreciation from year to year."

'Books Are Scarcer'

Moishe Biegeleisen, a Brooklyn dealer of rare Jewish books, said that printed Hebrew books from the 15th century and earlier were available relatively cheaply for many years after World War II, but that prices soared in the 1970's. It is not uncommon, he said, for books that once fetched \$5 to bring more than \$500 at auction.

"Everybody is reminding themselves that it's so many years after the war, and the books are scarce and scarcer," Mr. Biegeleisen said. "Now, when somebody wants a book and he has the funds, he goes all out to get it."

The academic world in the United States and Israel has also helped build interest in Judaica, through the proliferation of classes being offered in the last 15 years in Jewish history, art, religion and ethnic studies, according to David Altshuler, a professor of Judaic history at George Washington University. Mr. Altshuler edited the catalogue to the "Precious Legacy" exhibition of Judaica that is currently traveling to various American museums while on loan from the State Jewish Museum in Prague.

"Judaic studies boomed in the 60's and 70's," Mr. Altshuler said. "After a period of institutions not wanting to be too Jewish, all of a sudden they wanted to be more Jewish. They offered day schools and adult education classes. There was a new ethnic self-awareness, and this gets people very excited about collecting Jewish art and artifacts."

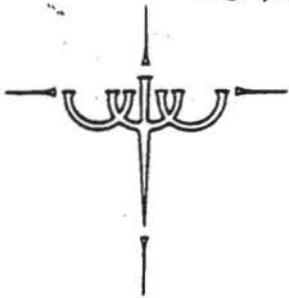
"Then there is the incredible market for art and antiquities, and the need for hedges against inflation in recent decades," Mr. Altshuler added. "Take all that together and you get combustion."

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



cc Rabbi Lamentain



INTER-RELIGIOUS TASK FORCE
for human rights and religious freedom in the soviet union

July 11, 1984

Sister Ann Gillen,
National Interreligious Task Force,
1307 S Wabash,
Chicago, Ill. 60605

Dear Sister Ann,

Enclosed more material from Lifeline articles. It was very fortunate that one of our writers received a letter. Today we were informed by another writer, in Italian woman that she received a letter from a mother of an Estonian prisoner. There is a big international Estonian convention here, so it came at a very good time. Also, the editor Lloyd Kemp is very pleased to see that there are replied.

Could you please sent me a picture of Valery Senderov and Yury Orlov, I would like to write articles about them.

With best regards,

Genya Intrator.

LIFELINE LETTERS

300 backers watch film

By GENYA INTRATOR, Co-Chairman
Interreligious Task Force

Almost 300 *Sunday Sun* Lifeline participants attended Interreligious Task Force meetings June 20-21, where the documentary *Prisonland* was shown and human-right activists talked about prisoners of conscience behind the Iron Curtain.

They spoke for those who cannot speak for themselves, those behind prison bars or in mental institutions, or who have been refused permission to emigrate.

Many in the audience were Canadians whose origins are in Soviet-bloc countries.

But many Canadians whose ancestors came from other countries said they joined Operation Lifeline because they cherished their own freedoms.

They said they must participate as long as basic human and religious freedoms are denied to individuals in the Soviet Union.

Interreligious Task Force co-chairman Maureen Giroux said similar meetings would take place at the Upper Room, 1835 Yonge St., once a month. Watch the *Sunday Sun* for the date.

Giroux said *Prisonland* and other films and slides, will be available to service groups, churches and synagogues.

For more information, write or call Interreligious Task Force, 1835 Yonge St., Toronto, M4S 1X8. Phone 486-8046.

The Interreligious Task Force suggests you write to prisoners or dissidents as if to a family member — write about your work, family, hobbies, job and travels.

Continue to write even if you don't get a prompt response. Do not be discouraged.

Don't type the address on the envelope.

Readers should post letters by registered mail and write the words a *remettre en main propre* (to hand-deliver) on the envelope with a registered mail form.

Those words ensure your letter is delivered into the hands of the person to whom it's addressed.

A few warnings.

Don't criticize the USSR or the governments of its satellite countries.

Don't indicate you want the recipient freed or that you are trying to get him or her out of the Eastern Bloc.

Give us a call when you receive a reply, so we can share it with others. Phone *Sun* City Editor Lloyd Kemp at 947-2083.

The following prisoners have completed their prison terms and have returned to their homes.

Viktor Brailovsky finished five years of internal exile and is now desperately looking for a job in his field — cybernetics — or anything else.

Address: Vernadsky Prospekt 99-1-128, Moscow 117526, RSFSR, USSR.

Vladimir Kislik, physicist, served three years in prison. Address: Rusanovsky Bulvar 10-122, Kiev, Ukr.SSR, USSR.

Valery Plinikov, electrical engineer, completed a five-year prison term.

Address: Vasilkovskaya 55-14, Kiev, Ukr.SSR, USSR.

Alexander Panarev. Address: Tbilisskoye Shosse 45/2, Sukhumi, Georgian SSR, USSR.

Please continue to write to them to show your support. Their problems are far from over.

History shows that because they dared to speak out, they are always under suspicion and can be re-arrested.

If they do not find a job (and the KGB prevents them from being hired), they face charges of "parasitism."

It is most important that the KGB knows that they have friends in the West. This makes them much less vulnerable.

Interreligious Task Force and the *Sunday Sun* suggest that you write this week to the following prisoners:



ENN TARTO
Can't get degree

evsky, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," sentenced to seven years in labor camps and five years in internal exile.

Wife's address: Elena Krichagina, Ulansky Per. 14 Apt. 54, Moscow 101000, RSFSR, USSR.

Enn Tartu, caretaker, convicted in 1957 for anti-Soviet activity and sentenced to five years in a forced labor camp. He was re-arrested in 1962 and sentenced to 5½ years in a forced labor camp.

After his release, he studied philology at the University of Tartu but for political reasons was denied permission to graduate.

In 1983, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was found in his possession. He was tried and sentenced for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Address: Eesti NSV, 200001 Tallinn, Kalaranna 2 Uchr. YuM-422/1 Tartu Enn.

Wife's address: Erna Tartu, Anne20-7 202400, Tartu, East-NSV, USSR.

Lukyanenki Lev Grigorevich, lawyer and Ukrainian human rights activist, sent to a labor camp for participation in the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki peace group.

He was sentenced in 1977 to 10 years of hard labor and five years exile.

Wife's address: Nadezhda Nikonovna, ul. Rokossovskogo 41, BV 41, g. Chernigov, Ukr. SSR, USSR, 250019.

Povilas Peceliunas, teacher, sentenced in 1980 for allegedly editing the underground publication *Alma Mater*. He was given three years in a labor camp and five years of exile.

Address: 62806 Tyumenskaya obl. Xanti-Mancyckiy nac. okrug. Berezovskii ray. Poc. (grimul. Entusistaov 16 kv. 13.

Wife's address: Danute Peceliuniene, F. Zemaicio 1-100, 232042 Vilnius, Lithuania, USSR.

Soviet couple write local man

By **NORMAN DeBONO**
Staff Writer

A Leningrad couple, trapped by Soviet bureaucracy in their attempts to leave the USSR, have replied to a letter written by a Mississauga man.

"We were very delighted to receive your letter and to know we have a new friend who is interested in our life and supports us," they said.

"Let me introduce myself. My wife Frida and I are both former engineers. I worked in an electronic field. Frida in chemical.

"We applied for an exit visa five years ago and had to give up our jobs. We have been waiting for permission to leave since November, 1978. It's a pity, where do the years go?

"But at least it's not 50 years struck out of our life. Now I am a stoker in a boiler room and Frida works as a secretary in a small office. Ann, our daughter, is 14 and in Grade 8.

Joel Springer, a 24-year-old printer, was excited to receive the letter.

"I expect to learn a lot. I'm interested in the country and the people," he said. "My parents used to work for people that tried to smuggle bibles into Russia."

Springer wrote to the couple after reading of them in *Lifeline*, a letter-writing program to Soviet prisoners of conscience, in the May 6 *Sunday Sun*.

He began his letter this way: "You don't know me, but I want to be your friend." He wrote of life in Toronto, including the pennant drive by the Blue Jays and included photos of the city.

Here are some other people who would like to hear from you:

Rev. Sigitas Tamkevicius, well known Lithuanian Catholic activist and member of the Catholic Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights.

On May 6, 1983, he was arrested in court during the trial of Father Svarinskas. He was sentenced to six years in prison and four years in internal exile for anti-Soviet propaganda and slandering the Soviet state. Address: Sigitas Tamkevicius, Uchr. 5110/1, Moscow, USSR.

Igor Ogurtsov, Russian Orthodox Christian, was sentenced to seven years in prison, eight years prison camp of strict regime and five years of internal exile for his leading role in a small group called All Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People. Date of release: February, 1987.

Exile address: 169160, Kornil ASSR, Ust-Vymasky r-n, Pos. Mikun, USSR.

Vyacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil, 46, Ukrainian journalist and a member of the Ukrainian group to monitor Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki accords on human rights and European security. Married, with a son, he was sentenced in April, 1972 to six years in strict regime camp and three years in exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Towards the end of his term, he was rearrested, tried on trumped-up charges and sentenced to 5 years in strict regime camp.

Address: USSR, Moscow, P/YA 5110/1-YAD, Chornovil, Vyacheslav Maksymovych.

Wife's address: USSR, Ukrainian SSR, 290014 LVIV, VUL. Nishchynskoho, kv. 6, Chornovil, Atena Pashko.

Alexander Yakir, the son of Rimma and Yevgeny Yakir. The family has been denied permission to emigrate to Israel since 1974. Alexander graduated from the Moscow Scientific Institute as an electrical engineer specializing in remote control technology. He was arrested on June 17 for failing to register for military service. He could be facing trial for evasion of military duty. Please write letters of support.

Address: USSR, Moscow, Profsoyuznaya 100, Korpus 5, Apt. 35, Yakir Alexander.

Yaroslav Lesiv, Christian prisoner. Address: Voroshylovhradskaya Obl. m. Sykhodok, ust. UL-314/36-2-29, USSR.

Wife's address: Stefania Fedorivna, 285603 Ivano Frankivskaya Obl. Dolynsky raion, s. Bolekhiv, vul. Shchorosa, 14, USSR.

Vladimir Lukich Firsov, Address: uchr. ZhD 158/3 6-63, G. Zhanatas, Dzhambul'skaya obl., Kazakhskaya SSR, USSR.

Wife's address: Valentina Konstantinovna Firsov, ul. Omskaya 11, g. Barnaul, Altaysky krai 656061, USSR.

The Interreligious Task Force suggests that you write as if to a family member — write about your work, family, hobbies, job and travels. Continue to write even if you don't get a prompt response. Do not be discouraged.

Don't type the address on the envelope.

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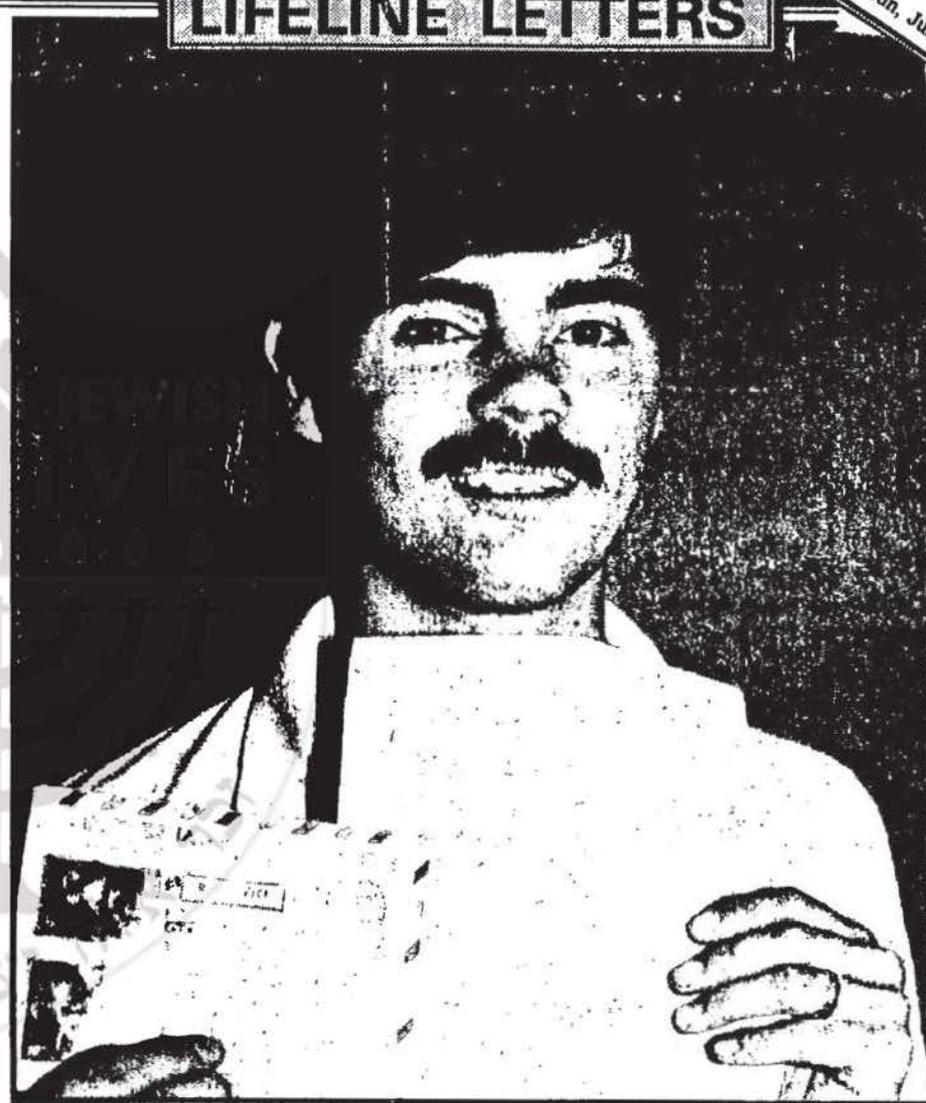
Don't indicate you want the recipient freed or that you are trying to get him or her out of the Eastern Bloc.

Give us a call when you receive a reply, so we can share it with others.

Telephone City Editor Lloyd Kemp at 947-2083. If you want to get in touch with the task force, write to: Toronto's Interreligious Task Force, 1835 Yonge St., Toronto, M4S 1X8. Or phone 486-8046.

LIFELINE LETTERS

30 The Sunday Sun, July 8, 1984



JOEL SPRINGER proudly displays the couple he wrote to through the Sun's Lifeline program.

National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry

LIFELINE LETTERS

Parcel crackdown will hurt

By GENYA INTRATOR

Co-Chairman, Inter-Religious Task Force

Your Lifeline letters may be the main support of the prisoners of conscience and their families in the Soviet Union because material support in the form of parcels has virtually stopped.

From Aug. 1, 1984, the duty levied by Soviet authorities on clothing and food items sent to Soviet citizens will be doubled. On the same date, a new Soviet regulation starts, prohibiting the prepayment of duty on items sent to people in the Soviet Union — which has been the practice until now.

These actions make receipt of parcels prohibitive and hence obsolete as a form of financial support.

An informant in Moscow told us the following amounts of duty will be charged starting Aug. 1:

For a pair of jeans — 100 Rubles (an average physician's salary in the Soviet Union is 130 Rubles a month). For a skirt, which used to be 35 Rubles, it will now be 75. For a pair of velvet slacks, that used to be 25 Rubles will now be 50. It will be 11 Rubles for a pair of children's shoes.

In anticipation that the parcels from abroad will stop, the Soviet authorities have already closed all regional postal depots for foreign parcels in Moscow, reported our source, with the exception of one small depot on the edge of this city of millions.

This new form of depriving people of their means of subsistence is directed mainly against those who dared to exercise freedoms which are taken for granted by all citizens of all free Western societies. We must redouble our efforts on their behalf.

The Inter-Religious Task Force suggests you write as if to a family member — write about your work, family, hobbies, job and travels.

Continue to write even if you don't get a prompt response. Do not be discouraged.

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We urge you to write to the women and their families, so that they and their tormentors know they have friends in the free world and that they care.

Pyotr Rumachik, vice-president of the unregistered Baptist's Council of Churches in the USSR. Previously imprisoned for 11 years for his active participation with the Baptist group, is currently serving a five-year labor-camp term. He was born June 15, 1931. He is a father of five. Hopes to be released Aug. 15, 1985.

Camp address: p/ya YaG 14/5-4, g. Chita 672031, USSR
Wife's address: Lubov Vasilievna Rumachik, ul. Bolnichnaya 13 kv 51, g. Dedovsk, Moskovskaya obl. 143530, USSR

Viktor Niitsoo, Estonian national and human rights activist. Born 1952, architect, sentenced 1981 to two years strict regime labor camp and two years internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propoganda." He is in exile in Magada province in Eastern Siberia. Together with other political prisoners he continues to sign appeals and statements of protest against Soviet violations.

Address: 686326 Magadanskaya oblast, Susumansky raion, S.S. Burkandya, Obschezitie N. 1, NIITSOO, Viktor, USSR

Mother's address: Aino Niitsoo, Vallimaa tanav 24-7, 203 300 Kingissepa, Eesti NSV

Khodorovich, Sergei Dmitrievich, Orthodox Christian, born Feb. 8, 1941. He was the administrator of the Solzhenitsyn Fund for aid to the families of political prisoners.

Wife's address: Tatyana Izrailovna Khodorovich, G. Moskva, ul. Kante-mirovskaya 33/1/24 USSR

Ivan Petrovich Fedotov, Pentecostal. Arrested several times for his role in leading and organizing the Pentecostal Church. Third arrest in April 1981. Sentenced to five years strict regime labor camp.

Address: g. Syktyvkar, pos. Verhni Chov, Komi ASSR, UCHR. OS 34/25, USSR

Rev. Gleb Pavlovich: Yakunin, Russian Orthodox. Organized and participated in the work of Christian Committee for Defence of Believers' Rights, and authored letters and appeals about the religious situation in the USSR. Sentenced in 1979 to five years of strict regime labor camp and five years of internal exile.

Address: USSR, Permskaya oblast, Chuovskoi Raion, St. Plovinka, UCHR. VS 389/37



HEIKI AHONEN
Human rights activist

Address: Eesti NSV, 203065 Harju rajoon, Vasalemma sidejaeskond, Ucher. YuM-422/2, Ahonen, Heiki, USSR
Mother's address: Eva Ahonen, Karuselli 3-8 203600, Parnu, Eesti NSV, USSR

Anna Vasilievna Chertkova, Evangelical Christian Baptist. Confined in psychiatric hospital since 1973.

Hospital address: Spetspsikhobolnitsa otd. 11, UCHR. Uya 64, g. Tashkent 700069, USSR

Yuriy Romanovich Shukhevych-Berezynsky, born March 28, 1934. Married father of two. Shukhevych has spent most of his adult life in Soviet prisons and labor camps. First sentenced at 14 to 10 years imprisonment because he refused to denounce his father who was commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian insurgent Army. He served for the same crime an additional 10 years prison term. Rearrested in 1972 and sentenced to five years imprisonment, five years strict regime labor camp and five years internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propoganda."

Address: USSR, 422950, Tatarskaya ASSR, g. Chistopot, uchr. U-148/St.4

Heiki Ahonen, Estonian national and human rights activist. Born 1956, geodetic engineer. Sentenced in 1983 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propoganda" to five years strict regime labor camp and two years internal exile.

National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry

1307 SOUTH WABASH, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

SISTER ANN GILLEN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

312 - 922-1983

'WITHOUT HOPE WE PERISH, WE GIVE UP'

Nun opens 'Lifeline' to Soviet victims

By Robert Di Veroli

Tribune Religion Writer

A Roman Catholic nun is promoting a letter-writing campaign to prisoners and others who are denied religious and human rights in the Soviet Union and Soviet-dominated countries.

"We know from experience that some letters do get through, but how many we don't know," said Sister Ann Gillen, executive director of the Chicago-based Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry.

Gillen said the campaign, endorsed by local and national offices of the American Jewish Committee, is called "Lifeline."

"It's a lifeline of hope," she said. "Without hope we perish, we give up."

The task force has the names — available locally through the American Jewish Committee — of hundreds of Jews and Christians to whom Americans could write, she said.

Gillen said writing letters is "a marvelous way of promoting international communication," although writers may not receive a reply or even be certain their letters reach their destination.

"But if the letter doesn't get to the person you wrote it to, somebody gets it," she said.

"It may be the KGB (the Soviet secret police). It may be the postal censor, but they get the message that this person is not alone. If you are alone and friendless, people can do with you what they want, but if you have friends, people will think twice about what they do to you."

Some letters have to be delivered by visitors because

"sometimes the mails are not too reliable over there," she said.

She said the Soviets do not always abide by the international postal agreement which requires delivery of registered mail.

"That in itself becomes an issue that could be used at the international postal meeting taking place this summer in Europe to censure the Soviets," she said.

She said the Soviets could be made to respond to evidence detailing their violations of international agreements on human rights.

"I think every nation wants to have a good reputation," she said. "There is even a story going around that the KGB is concerned about its public image. When I get back to Chicago I'm going to sit down and write a letter to the head of the KGB and give him some suggestions."

She said the task force focuses primarily on religious freedom, emigration and related rights behind the Iron Curtain.

The case of Andrei Sakharov — the Soviet dissident who went on a hunger strike when Soviet authorities refused his wife, Yelena Bonner, permission to leave the country for eye surgery in Italy — "tells us we are facing a very, very difficult problem," Gillen said.

"Writing a few letters isn't going to solve it," she said. "It's going to require the help of a lot of people to change it, but thank God there is a Sakharov, a person of that stature, because the whole world is concerned about what's happening to him now."

Gillen said the plight of a Catholic Church in Lithuania came to light in the West through the Lifeline campaign.

She said the church had been built in the 1950s with the

permission of the Soviet government, but when it was completed after four years, the government announced it would be used as a concert hall.

She said more than 148,000 Lithuanians signed a petition asking the authorities three times to have the church returned to them, but so far to no avail even though the case has been publicized in the West.

Gillen said visitors sometimes are misled into believing religious freedom exists in the Soviet Union there because they are shown churches crowded with worshipers.

That, she said, is the work of the KGB, which she called "a master of disinformation."

"Statistics show that four-fifths of the houses of worship there have been closed," she said.

"You can easily go to Moscow and find a church and, of course, it will be filled because there are so few churches. If four-fifths of the houses of worship are closed, then obviously the remaining churches will be bulging with people."

A task force publication says that under Soviet rule, the Russian Orthodox Church has declined from 54,000 churches to 7,000, the Armenian Apostolic Church from 1,446 to 200, the Georgian Orthodox Church from about 2,000 to 40.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, which once had 5 million members, was forced to go underground, it says.

"I think there are many religious people, particularly in the West, who are so concerned about peace that they are willing to forget about justice, and who in the name of making peace feel that if they say only positive things about the Soviet Union, this will promote lasting friendship," she said.



National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry

1307 SOUTH WABASH, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

SISTER ANN GILLEN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

312 - 922-1983

~~312-1530~~

July 17, 1984

Mr. Joseph Kirk Ryan, Editor
The Dialog
1925 Delaware Av.
Wilmington, DE 19806

Dear Mr. Ryan:

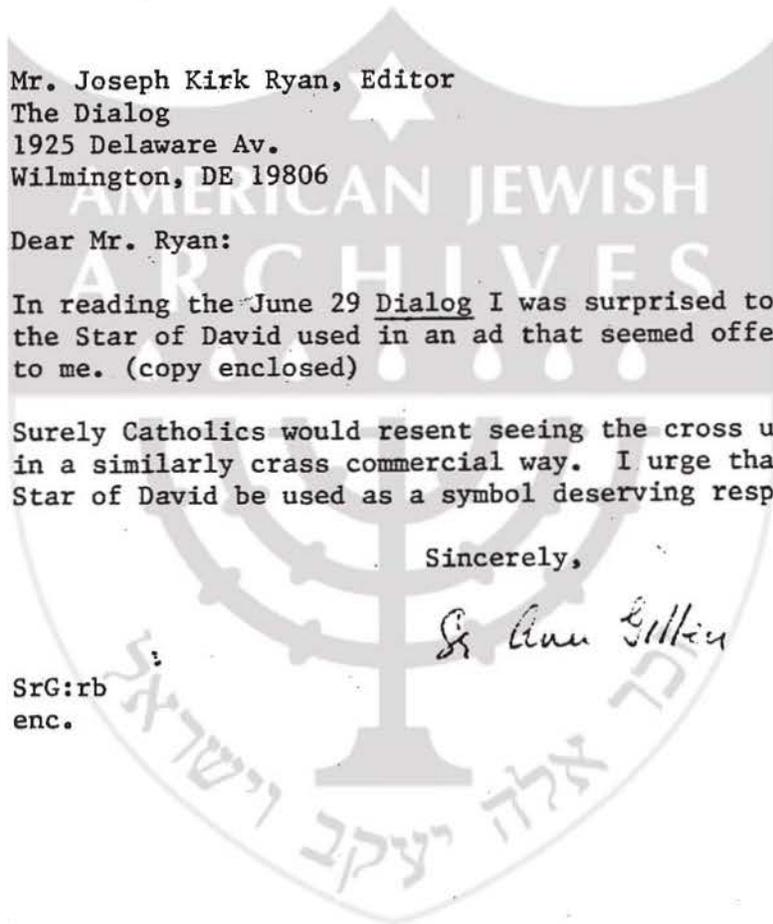
In reading the June 29 Dialog I was surprised to see the Star of David used in an ad that seemed offensive to me. (copy enclosed)

Surely Catholics would resent seeing the cross used in a similarly crass commercial way. I urge that the Star of David be used as a symbol deserving respect.

Sincerely,

Sr. Ann Gillen

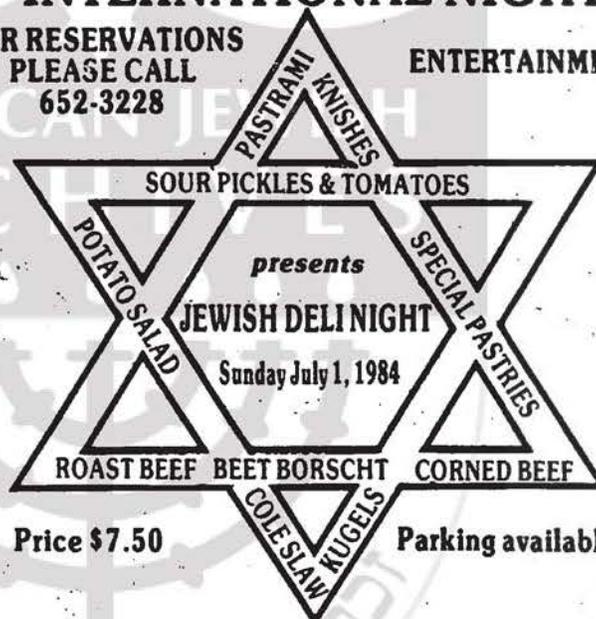
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Second-Class postage paid at Wilmington, Delaware
POSTMASTER: send address changes to The Dialog, P.O. Box 2208
Wilmington, DE 19899
Editor: JOSEPH KIRK RYAN

The Dialog
June 29, 1984

3



July 13, 1984

Copy

Editor
New York Times
229 W. 43rd Street
New York, NY 10036

Dear Sir:

A letter to the editor of July 11th criticized the recent Sotheby sale of rare Hebrew books smuggled out of Germany in 1939 because "they belonged to the Jewish people," and contrasted this sale for profit with the Czechoslovak collection of Judaic treasures now on exhibit at the Jewish Museum in New York because "they did not sell the items", evidencing more respect for Judaica than we in the "free world".

It is about this Czechoslovak collection that I wish to comment.

The reason why enormous sums are being spent for antique Judaica in the form of books, art, silver, etc., is, quite simply, because the Nazis and their collaborators methodically destroyed not only most of the Jews of Middle and Eastern Europe but, with a diabolical thoroughness, every visible trace of their culture. In the absence of houses of worship, academies of learning, and homes - now all vanished - the few remaining artifacts are the last treasures reminiscent of an entire civilization.

The one exception to this infamous demolition was the collection of Jewish art treasures which the Nazis brought together in Prague as a museum for a "dead culture". It contains literally thousands of pieces of tapestry, silver and other items, and, according to their catalogue, many of these objects come from non-Czechoslovakian Jewish communities throughout Europe.

The Jewish people did not "die", as Hitler intended, but, greatly weakened in spirit and numbers, survive. Is it not time for this surviving Jewish people to demand the return of these treasures that crowd the Prague warehouses to no purpose? Is their claim to them not greater than the present communist custodian? Should not a concerted effort be made by Jewish leaders, and others, for

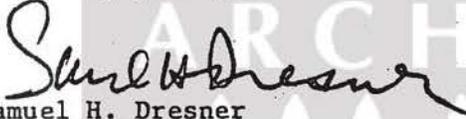
MORIAH CONGREGATION
200 Hyacinth Deerfield, Illinois 60015
Rabbi Samuel H. Dresner, DHL

the return of these precious items, which might once again embellish Jewish synagogues, homes, and institutions throughout the world?

I am reminded how, a number of years ago when Cardinal Spellman was about to depart for a visit to Spain, ~~and~~ he was approached by a distinguished American Jewish leader to request from the Spanish church the return of the single remaining significant Jewish ritual piece which survived the Spanish expulsion of Jewry in 1492. I refer to the two silver rimonim, which grace the scroll of the Torah, and which resided - and still reside - in the cathedral on the island Majorca. Of the magnificent Jewish art treasures which were produced by Spanish Jewry over centuries, nothing else seemed to have survived.

That claim went unheeded. Let us hope that a claim for the Prague Jewish collection will be made, and responded to favorably.

Sincerely yours,



Samuel H. Dresner



ON THE AIR
ON THE AIR

July 13, 1984

TO STAFF:

Dr. Marc Tanenbaum, AJC's director of International Relations, will be interviewed on WCBS-TV's, (Channel 2), 5:00 p.m. news on Friday, July 13, 1984.

He will be discussing the "Moral Implications" of Rev. Louis Farrakhan's attacks on Judaism and the Jews.

84-968-65

7/12/84



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Founder and Chancellor,
International University,
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118 EAST 60 STREET, SUITE 9B, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 (212) 759-3210

July 13, 1984

Rabbi M. H. Tanenbaum
National Director
of Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

As I am coming back September 17, I would be grateful if you can send your suggestions for further pragmatic improvement of the enclosed draft of our new program to our executive director Richard Cassidy, 80 Central Park West, New York, NY 10023.

With your help we can then have the formal convocation sent out for the statutory annual meeting which will elect, on December 17, 1984, the Board of Directors and deliberate on some amendments of the constitution and by-laws. If you are free to stay after lunch (12:00 P.M. to 1:15 P.M.) we will then be able to hear your comments on the Manifesto for Realistic Economic and Social Democracy.

Cordially Yours,

A F Morlion O.P.

Andrew F. Morlion, O.P.

WHO WILL CREATE FULL DEMOCRACY FOR THE THIRD MILLENIUM?

by Andrew F. Morlion, O.P.

Founder and Chancellor of the International University of Rome
President since 1932 of the Union of International research (UMIR)
with European Center in Brussels, American Center in New York
Research and Publications Groups in the Main Countries

The method applied to discover the right policies for the new phase of our international activities was inspired by the original motto of the pragmatic Pope, of peasant stock, John XXIII: "Listen much, speak little, and then correct things slowly."

I have been fortunate during the months of September 1983, and January, May, June, July of this year to have had in the U.S. many conversations with eminent men of action who reflect on their experience. I have found that their insight in the great problems of accelerated change is bringing a more global and efficient way for solving them.

Among the new members not listed on the letterhead, very concrete solutions for our Committee Of Realistic Economic Social Democracy (CORE) have been given by Norman Kurland of Washington, John Chamberlain of New York, and valuable advice by William Simon, John Gardner, and the managers of some of the most successful American enterprises. I was able to interrogate them critically.

For the Committee of Human Relations for Peace (CROP), the cooperation of the new members, Linus Pauling, Jean Mayer, Larry Eagleburger, George Kennan, Richard Cassidy, founder of the Decision Research Corporation, and the advice of Marshall Schulman and Hal Sonnenfeldt have been decisive. For the Committee of Inter-Religious-Humanistic Convergence (CIC) the cooperation of the new members Monsignor Cassidy, the Lutheran Bishop Crumley, Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum, Hussein Elkoly (Moslem) and Francis Gannon, chairman of the executive committee of the Center for Applied Research for the Apostolate has been very important.

Our more numerous cooperators in Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa are increasingly doubtful about the future of democracy in the world.

This is why I ask the leaders I met, and others who will receive this program, to send us before the end of September their constructive criticisms and creative suggestions for improvement of the enclosed draft. We can then propose to the leaders of the other countries a renewed vigor of pragmatic cooperation with the only possible leader of the free world. You will certainly be able to glance through the program and then ask your consultants and experts to propose with you improvements for our forecasting, planning and programming so that we can start our international educational campaign not later than the beginning of next year. It must be your, and not only our, program.

CIP'S NEW PROGRAM FOR NEW NEEDS

The U.S. is the greatest, most dynamic and solid democracy of the world. The reason is that it is the first democracy in which the political dimension is based on the daring decentralization of the economic-social dimension, both oriented to the creative elevation of the higher human potentialities in the unique cultural-spiritual dimension created by the philosophy of the Founding Fathers. It is the free enterprise system which has brought to the world the promotion of liberty harmonized with equality in human dignity through brotherhood. The political authorities do not produce the common good of the nation but can only coordinate it. It is the businessmen who are the preeminent leaders, promoting the conditions for the quality of human life in their nation and throughout the world.

It is, in the first place, to the important businessman of the U.S. that CIP appeals for the realization of its new program that must bring fuller democracy. As American Council of our Union of International Research and Education (UNIR), CIP has shared in more than half a century of International Experience and some successes. We continue to implement in practice our decided slogan: "Democracy is good only if it becomes better with each generation!" We have learned much in the past, but may not try to resuscitate it. We must face, starting now, the challenge of the third millenium; we must analyse the new needs, and new problems which now are already taking shape. It is only then that we can present a pragmatic program based on a global philosophy of the praxis, as guiding image for the future.

The Need for New Growth of Democracy

We do not have to fight any more against the modern totalitarianisms so powerful in the past. Racist nazism and nationalist facism have been buried by history. The fanatic ideology of Stalinism is inexorably withering away. In fact, all ideologies, instruments for mass indoctrination and domination, are losing their propelling power in the peoples finally reaching adulthood.

But democracy has also lost some of its initial enthusiams as a way of life. The American dream is no more the motor of a new phase of history. In fact, in all democratic nations, and also in the U.S., the citizens feel themselves less committed to participate in the government of the people, for the people. Nearly half U.S. citizens do not even bother to go to the voting booth every four years. There is an increasing abyss between the civil society of ordinary people pursuing their own interests, and the executive and legislative political powers who plan a program in closed circles.

The bureaucracy of the States is increasingly dangerously everywhere, often with inefficiency and even feather-bedding. Political intervention in the economy has undermined many forms of individual or associated creativity. In some countries, exaggerated nationalism has paralyzed the sound competitive balance between some inevitable public enterprises and the private ones. In doing so, it has impoverished the nation. High deficits in the state budgets endanger the prosperity of future generations. High interests channel capital to the U.S. from poorer countries who are now suffering from grave interruptions of the investments.

It is true that U.S. is again becoming the motor for world wide liberation from want. It has not only brought down inflation from 14% to 4% but simultaneously unemployment from 11% to 7%. Many nations, however, fear that the new boom may be temporary, if no enrichment of grass roots economic-social democracy is created to increase co-responsibility and even co-ownership of the worker in the enterprise for the well being of all.

But the crisis is more than economic and political. It is a crisis in the values which uphold the society of free citizens. The cultural elite is in part forgetting (or even combatting) the philosophy of the Founding Fathers. There is a moral let down which can impoverish the life-giving forces of the nation, and even its organic cell, the family.

The dehumanization of the cities, the increase of crime, of drug addiction, of alcoholism, of pornography, is a graver evil in the masses than the weakening of the certainties needed for life.

It is to the leaders of enterprise, more even than to the leaders of culture and religion, that the people are looking for new hopes, for jobs to be created for their children, for the preservation of decent standares of life and even for the creation of new ways to a better society.

It is the businessman who, with action more than with words, can revitalize democracy, reinspire its purpose, share vision and resources to make again of the U.S. "a flag to which all honest men can repair."

The professional, economic, civic associations of businessmen do not provide the global collective consciousness which is required. There are no forums where creators and administrators of the great enterprises come together to clarify their mission in the broadest context of thei rresponsibilities.

The New Pragmatic Program

Businessmen are (as indicated by the term itself) "busy men." They have no time to read thick books or to assist in long theoretical meetings.

CIP is the only organization that has developed new kinds of creative cooperation which fit in the agenda of leaders who have too much work.

Those with free time usually do not acquire the varied and rich experience which brings the practical wisdom of life. We consequently appeal to those who realistically refuse to undertake new commitments but who can, and will (with the help of their trusted experts) give to many the fruit of their long and intense experience. We therefore present a program for those who have very little time, but can give us better contributions than those who have time to write large books or make long speeches.

1. We concentrate in a unified Manifesto the conclusions of more than half a century of international research, education, and promotion for full democracy. This dynamic manifesto synthesizes with simple words the thrust of history towards the future.

We can beat Marx at his own game. He did not launch his powerful movement, that mobilized so many millions in all continents, through the three thick volumes of "Das Kapital". He did not even finish this work, having found late in life that his theory of "plus value" could not hold out after further realistic reflection. He wrote a very short but prophetic Manifesto of Communism that met, in 1848 and later, the deep aspirations of the masses with the messianic message of a better world. He was one of the recent Jewish seers. Marx died, however, too early. He could not participate in the three phases of the labor, managerial and public service revolution of the enterprise. This abolished the exploitation of the proletariat and the authoritarianism of the capitalists, without the need of an assault to political power. He had to confess (in the international communist convention in Amsterdam of 1872) that his Manifesto was antiquated.

Our Manifesto improves his method of dialectical analysis of history, to face the challenges of the present and the future. Our philosophy of the praxis is more realistic. It is based on the extraordinary genius of the Founding Fathers of the U.S. Their pattern for a society worthy of free men and women will never be antiquated. Our Manifesto has been enriched not only by the intuitions of some of the greatest thinkers of our century but also by the pragmatic conclusions of innovative economic-social, political, cultural and religious leaders.

We had creative cooperation of some of the most outstanding men of action who were also men of study. We list Adolf Berle, Henry Luce, Jim Farley, George Schuster, William (and now his son Peter) Grace, Sloan, Dean Carmen, Mrs. Roosevelt, Proskauer, Leidesdorf. Also among Europeans who escaped the Gestapo and worked with us in the U.S. during WWII we list Maritain, Gilson, Hildebrand, Gurian, Foerster, Ludwig, Halecki, Timasher, Iswolsky, Gottshack, Sforza, Sigrid Undset, Sir Bernard Bares, Don Strurzo, Einaudi, Salvemini, Masaryk, Paul Henri, Spaeak, etc. Among the more recent creative members and cooperators we quote, in America, the International Chairman of CIP, Arthur Sackler, who initiated the new phase, Peter Drucker, Thomas Bata, Steve Roman, George Kennan, Norman Bailey, Norman Cousins, Larry Eagleburger, Hal Sonnenfeldt, Linus Pauling, Professor Jean Mayer, Lutheran Bishop James Crumley, Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum, Egyptian born Moslem Hussein Elkholy, etc. Among the recent European collaborators Perrous, Fourastie, Maisonrouge, Chevalier, Roeglin, Seelig, Trempont, F. M. Phillips, Wagner, Agnelli, Jacchia, Pezzimenti. Among the Asiatic collaborators of the past we quote U Thant, Yupin and of the present, Zafnulla Khan, Narashima, etc.

The first cooperation in our progra of business and other leaders must be to read the successive drafts of our Unified Manifesto (and especially the Manifesto of the post-industrial revolution) so as to cancel what is superfluous and add what is lacking. They can do this with the help of the trusted collaborators.

2. We will restart in this first year of the new program the Forums lasting one or more days, and the Agapes, warm hearted and realistically planned dinner meetings. These have proved to be intense moving forces in public opinion, through the fame of the main participants.

(a) International meetings for leaders

Four international meetings are planned before the end of 1985. We will start with meetings in Europe and North America, inviting however also leading participants from other continents.

Instead of the less productive debates between opponents who have no common ground or round tables which can give witness to important life experiences but have no unifying rhythm, we have projected new methods which bring forth:

(1) Policy orientated thinking, capable of systematically appraising the degree of democratic development, different in each region, and of presenting plans, programs and tactics in the common framework of a global perspective.

(2) Action oriented convergence of decision makers stressing specially the freedom to undertake new institutions that can meet new human needs, regionally and globally.

(b) Meetings for U.S. leaders

Business leaders will be brought together with cultural, religious, and also some political leaders to explore together the increasing responsibility of U.S. private enterprise (especially of the multinational corporations) within the context of the democratic system, that has to face the third millenium. There is no alternative to U.S. leadership and U.S. leaders will be challenged to meet the new revolution of expectations for a fuller life to be realized all over the world.

For the first year conferences in New York, Chicago, Houston and Los Angeles are programmed. They should culminate in the National Forum in Washington, D.C. Approximately 50 leaders will be involved in each region. Regional steering committees, working in cooperation with appropriate research and policy institutions of the regions will guide the process.

3. We will restart our communications program with an English language, quarterly newsletter which we plan to go to all "The United Peoples" to promote a more organic and less politicized participation of all groups of society in the coming "world unity."

A task force of leaders and policy makers from the communications industry will be established in New York City. This task force will work, in constant cooperation with the international center for research and education in Rome, and the European task force centered in Brussels. During the first year, these three task forces will cooperate, involving a broad range of leaders of business, culture and religion in designing and testing a comprehensive communications program. The efforts will first be concentrated in the newsletter which will be mailed to all important economic, social, political, cultural, religious and humanistic leaders of the 152 nations of the world. Experience has proved that English is now, and for many years, the world language. Even if some leaders are not proficient in this language, they have younger collaborators who can brief them.

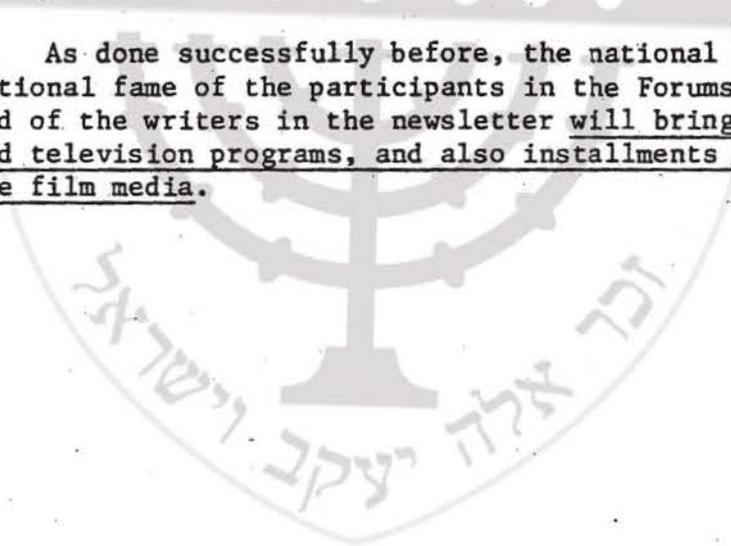
(a) The first part of the newsletter will present in installments the short Manifesto with the first creative comments of well known leaders.

(b) The second part of the newsletter will present special implementations of some of the unified themes with questionnaires for further criticism and development.

(c) The third part will present human interest stories which prove that in democracy there will always be more people who have new ideas, and who succeed, with patience and hard work, in developing a small seed into a great, successful organization.

The newsletter will always be based on a realistic economic social democracy, in its rhythm of dynamic growth. The second dimension will stress the highest function of politics: to build social and international peace, not only through official channels but through human relations for peace with the trusted advisors of the important leaders. All this, however, will naturally culminate in cultural and interreligious-humanistic convergence. All freedoms lead inexorably to the pursuit of the eminent and transcendent meaning of the human destiny and of the society which has to further it.

As done successfully before, the national or international fame of the participants in the Forums and Agapes and of the writers in the newsletter will bring forth radio and television programs, and also installments or shorts in the film media.



THE MINIMUM BUDGET FOR THE FIRST LAUNCHING PERIOD

It is never wise to start a new phase of action with a large budget, which inevitably tends towards bureaucratization. We will not need to raise the \$32 million which was necessary to start the International University in Rome. It is now self-supporting with income which continues permanently as expenses from important firms for managerial training. They guarantee a minimum of \$5 million a year for the International University which eliminates the need for further fund raising. The tuition fees are high for seventy selected future leaders coming from all continents. We have calculated that we can launch the Forums and publications with \$660,000. We know by experience that accepting no subscribers for the newsletter, but only associate members at the minimum of \$100. a year, promoting members at a minimum of \$500. a year, and pioneering members at the minimum of \$5,000. a year will enable us in a few years to become self-supporting. Promoting members and especially pioneering members, receive the number of copies necessary for their cooperators or for larger dissemination.

Some firms or foundations, whose rules restrict their operations to the U.S., can earmark their contributions for this purpose. Great firms and corporations do not exclude the international promotion of universal values of the American way of life. Their image in the world furthers also their national economic and social programs.

The budget for the first year is composed of the following items:

1. Expenses for preparation, organization and follow-up of the international and national Forums and Agapes	\$ 150,000.
2. Newsletter, including translations and rewriting	160,000.
3. Office personnel, travel and materials	150,000.
4. Continuing research	200,000.
	<hr/>
	\$ 660,000.

APPLICATION FORM FOR APPLICATION

Please fill in and send your answers to Richard Cassidy, Executive Director of C.I.P., 80 Central Park West, New York City, New York 10023.

Please cross out what is not convenient.

1. I have read the enclosed program and I agree (yes, no). I add my notes with further suggestions for improvement (yes, no).
2. I accept and join the C.I.P. Corporation as pioneering, promoting or associate member (see enclosure, page 7). I enclose a check for the membership fee or the first installment (yes, no).
3. I can come personally to the December 17 meeting in New York (12 noon - 1:15 PM) (yes, no). I can stay over for the Forum (6 PM) so that to enrich the Manifesto of which I will receive a copy in advance (yes, no).
4. I prefer one of the following dates between December 17 and December 23, 1984 (or in January, 1985) so as to be able to be present personally (yes, no).
5. If the date of the meeting is not convenient for me I will send as proxy to vote and speak in my name the following person and I include full name and title, address and phone number of my representative (yes, no). _____

6. I enclose some writings or discourses which may help to develop the Manifesto in its three dimensions.
7. I enclose addresses of friends who personally or as directors of foundations may further the new phase of C.I.P. research and education.
8. I send herewith the information concerning the foundation in which I have authority (yes, no). I am submitting to the competent board an application for grant of seed money for \$ _____.
9. I request you send a formal application for the sum of \$ _____. (yes, no) I suggest that our grant may be specially earmarked for _____.

Signed _____
(first, middle, and last name)

Title, function _____

Address _____

Telephone number _____

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 7/24

FROM: DAVID A. HARRIS

TO: KENNETH BANDLER
 DAVID GELLER
 GEORGE GRUEN
 ALLAN KAGEDAN
 JACOB KOVADLOFF
 SIDNEY LISKOFKY
 MARC TANENBAUM

For approval
 For your information
 Please handle
 Read and return
 Returned as requested
 Please telephone me
 Your comments, please

REMARKS:



The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

July 16, 1984

Mr. David Harris
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear David:

Enclosed is my report on the meeting ADL ran in Paris "The Road to Nairobi" and a number of relevant papers.

I have only made two copies of the report, but I know that Susie Elson should have one -- she sent me a letter about going as an observer; and Lois Gottesman also has been involved in this. There may be others -- Marc, you? So I leave it to you perhaps to edit a bit and give distribution to all concerned.

For the nasty gossip bit: Am close to swearing that Jean Paul Elkann and Simone Veil never really accepted to attend the meeting. Veil's strategy is hardly ever to say no, but never really accepting definitely. However, she did send a telegram with greetings -- though it could have been the telegram of refusal too, with the greetings. Elkann did not send anything, and I know he is too polite to call off at last minute without sending even a message.

Having been to a few of Chirac's Jewish group "dos" I can tell you that it was the most meager and boring reception. The excuse for Chirac's absence was that he had overstayed at the Chamber of Deputies for the discussion on the education bill. True, the education bill was up, and some days late into the night. But then why was Deputy Marcus at the Marie instead of at the House?

All this being said, the meeting was a pretty good one, as such meetings go. Information was shared, suggestions made, a line of behavior further set. The women were good, obviously ready to do their homework. If Nairobi is a success, of course, ADL will claim the victory.

Not an expert, but I figure this meeting cost ADL around \$200,000, not lavish, but good meals, coffee-cookie breaks, two cocktails.

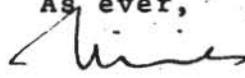
CRIF and WJC did not attend in an official way, or non-official like myself. A brief appearance from each, but not directors. To conclude, ADL not altogether in with major established organizations, one might almost venture the word boycotted. But between taking over the

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JOHN H. STEINHART, San Francisco ■

boycott meeting (the real one) in Brussels -- for they were not the originators and organized this one, they have elbowed onto the European scene. And certainly all the ladies of all the organizations are grateful to them.

All the very best,

As ever,



Nives Fox,

Enclosures





The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

July 16, 1984

MEMORANDUM

To: International Relations Department
From: Nives Fox
Subj: ADL/B'nai Brith Conference
"The Women's Movement -- The Road to Nairobi"
Paris, July 8-10, 1984

"More than 150 women from 17 organizations and 16 countries representing three million Jewish women met in Paris, July 8-10, to review the UN decade on Women 1975-1985...Determined that the conference in Nairobi not be permitted to pass anti-Western and anti-Israel resolutions...not to be diverted, reaching out to all who share their concern that the real agenda be addressed in Nairobi..."

So read the first paragraph of the resolution at the conclusion of the Paris meeting sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith. The 17 organizations referred to are those listed as sponsoring the gathering in the official final agenda (enclosed). Most represented were B'nai B'rith Women, WIZO, International Council of Jewish Women, Cooperation Feminine (many of whose members also are members of the Int. Council of Jewish Women), the National Federation of Temple Sisterhood, Hadassah.

The enclosed agenda also has a list of guest speakers. Missing were Mrs. Simone Veil, European Parliament, who sent a telegram of regrets, read to the participants, and Mr. Jean Paul Elkann, President of the Consistory, both listed for opening night; Mrs. Nina Voronel, of the USSR, slated as speaker on July 9. Mr. Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris, was not at the reception tendered by his office; but was replaced by RPR Deputy Mr. Marcus.

Many of the participants had attended the Mexico and Copenhagen Conferences, and a good number plan to be in on the Nairobi finale. It was apparent throughout the meeting that the Mexico and Copenhagen experience had been a traumatic one and that the sense of anger, frustration and impotence at what had taken place both times had left a tender scar. With this, however, one also sensed a serious determination that this dramatic failure never be repeated, and a desire verging on enthusiasm to do everything

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JOHN H. STEINHART, San Francisco ■

possible to prevent in Nairobi a repetition of 1975 and 1980.

Indeed, one hour of the Paris meeting was devoted to a simulation session preparative to Nairobi. Four groups were set up (in proportional numbers) to represent Arabs, Jews, Western countries and non-aligned countries. The resulting pandemonium made me wonder whether it was caused simply ~~xxx~~ by needs for release after the strain of close to two days of intense and patient listening to advice, reports and questions; or an unconscious liberation of complexes acquired in Mexico City and Copenhagen. I was assured, however, that what I was witnessing was but a mild replica of the chaos and hell that had been ~~at~~ the 1975 and 1980 meetings.

One should add at this point, too, that the caliber of the participants was a high one. All had already done a good deal of preparatory work, all were ready to continue to the bitter end. All recognized that there had not been sufficient preparation in the past, and were ready to learn any new technique for fighting back, digest any number of pages of documentation and information to be able to ~~do so~~ ^{do so}. For all the options examined, plans elaborated, everyone was also conscious that Mexico and Copenhagen could not be reversed; but there was a strong determination that the Jewish contingent in Nairobi -- those going to the open Forum -- would be ready to hit back expertly, to limit damage and come out honorably.

At the same time, there was a streak of optimism as well, and for the following reasons: Kenya is a friendly nation, to the West and to Israel, though it has no diplomatic relations with Israel. The Kenyan government wants a conference taking place on its soil to be as successful as possible, and one can therefore expect less permissiveness and less abuse. Visas are needed for Kenya, and granting them will be strictly controlled. And, by the way, one of the visa requirements is to show one has a place to stay (it was already announced that no camping will be permitted). Finally, it is Kenya that will select the Chairman for the Conference -- there has been some talk of his being the Minister of Education, but this is not final for it is also being urged that the Chair be taken by a woman, possibly a parliamentarian.

Since the two previous conferences, moreover, the UN Commission on the Status of Women, the preparatory body for Nairobi, has been working on a consensus basis. Nineteen NGOs already have signed a statement (enclosed) whose paragraph five asks for the consensus mode to continue. Had this decision-taking system existed in Mexico City, it is likely that the Zionism equals Racism resolution (first used in Mexico) might not have been voted.

According to Jean Gerard, US Ambassador to Unesco ~~in Paris~~, who addressed the conference in Paris, there is also greater US commitment that serious issues concerning women be at the center of the

Nairobi meeting and political anti-Israel issues be kept at bay. A team has been formed, with Jeane Kirkpatrick, Nancy Reynolds and Jean Burgast. To date, both at the meetings in Vienna and ECOSOC in New York, the subjects of Palestine and apartheid have been kept out.

There is a strong conviction that distortions at Nairobi must be stopped before, not during the conference, said Amb. Gerard; and added that both Ms. Kirkpatrick and Ms. Reynolds are carrying out a diplomatic offensive with other governments -- they also visited China and Africa, as well as working with government representatives in Washington and at the UN. There is now a group of 25 women in the US, Amb. Gerard added, preparing as delegates for Nairobi: they have more experience of UN conferences, are getting more briefings than usual, and are planning to go on retreat before Nairobi at which simulation techniques will be included.

Of course, she says, there will be consultation with Israel, programs for women and development will be presented, access to resources offered, training, work for equality in economic opportunity, all focusing toward uniting women. So far the preparatory meetings succeeded in stopping Soviet efforts to introduce the favorite themes of peace and disarmament; but there are no illusions among US delegates that political issues will be kept out completely.

The expression of damage limitation was a recurring one, showing that no matter how well prepared, how aware, how well documented and how active the NGOs and individuals at the Nairobi Forum, damage is to be expected. For everything that friendly governments and NGOs are doing or will do is matched, for opposite purposes, by unfriendly governments and NGOs: they too are preparing for Nairobi with just as much determination, documentation, honed shouting techniques. Nobody knows exactly what to expect, and this makes it more difficult to work in advance and get public opinion to understand.

A very lively and knowledgeable address was given by Evelyn Sommers (WIZO representative at the UN Commission for Human Rights and the Status of Women). The time has come for active participation instead of previous low key approaches, she said. Rules of procedure will be set at the Vienna preparatory committee meeting this coming February. Members states represented at the Commission will be: Australia, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Egypt, German Democratic Republic, German Federal Republic, Indonesia, Italy, Kenya, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Togo, Trinidad-Tobago, Ukraine, USSR, United Kingdom, USA, Zaire, Zambia. New members will be Biellorussia, France, Greece, Tunisia and Mauritius, replacing Canada, India, Japan and Venezuela.

Jewish desiderata in the rules of procedure is voting by consensus. But this is far from sure at this point, and possible only if the governments work for it seriously. An alternative to consensus could be a Committee to Monitor Resolutions, provided it includes the USA and Britain. Another hope for the rules of procedure is that only the Secretary General be allowed to present reports, thus insuring that regional meeting reports do not get an airing. Among the advice is to request secret balloting -- perhaps cowardly as a way, but very useful, especially with the credential committee. Resolutions should be submitted early.

Additional information was that the government of Kenya will be allocating housing space. Invitations should be requested by international organizations and individuals. As said before, visas will be required, and the Kenyan authorities have said they will be watching all visa applications. There are financial needs, too, both for special workshops and any exhibits planned -- films, etc. Possible funding sources are Ford Foundation, and perhaps the governments of Sweden, Denmark, Canada. The Kenyans already have announced that Forum exhibits can be set up by organizations, but not governments or liberation movements. One large project being considered is setting up a market, to highlight the role of women in food processing ~~of~~ underdeveloped lands.

The dates for Nairobi are set now: July 8-17 for the open Forum; July 15-26 for the UN meeting of government representatives. No Forum statements will be presented to the government conference. Journalist accreditations will be given out in New York, and all Jewish journals can probably get it, though all accreditations will be screened by the Kenyan government. Last, but not least, lobbying with governments remains a very high priority, regardless of what is prepared for the Forum.

Enclosed is a paper that was presented by Knesset member Tamar Eshel. It consists of a very clear and useful list of points all those going to Nairobi should be prepared for and keep in mind. Great caution was urged by Ms. Eshel concerning resolutions. Their effectiveness can be eliminated through perversions (amendments that change meanings beyond recognition, and even make resolutions say the contrary of what was intended). Much better, is the advice, to support resolutions and views of others (if suitable) or to propose amendments to resolutions submitted by others.

It was unanimously voted in Paris that the subject of female circumcision in African states remain a taboo. Mrs. Eshel supported this saying it was an internal African matter, about which there is great sensitivity. But there would be no objection to submitting surveys or statistics about women in Africa, for circulation and discussion.

Ms. Gertrude Omog, Chairman of the Association of Cameroon Women (a most intelligent and friendly person, the only African present at the Paris meeting) expressed much approval for this decision: "It is not your problem, though some African representatives may raise it, but then it will be acceptable." At the same time she said information on women in Africa was important and welcome,

and outside mass organizations could influence African governments. "Work with us too" she pleaded.

June Jacobs, of Great Britain, wondered if the issue of Soviet Jews should be raised in Nairobi. It was felt that only aspects relevant to women should be considered, thus Ida Nudel's difficulties might make an appropriate interventions. As a whole, however, it was thought best not to mix Soviet and women's issues except as a possible rebuttal, if needed.

The most solid contribution in Paris was made by Naomi Chazan, with an expose that connected global political situations during the past two conferences and the forthcoming one. As you will see, her analysis suggests that the present situation has changed and shifted sufficiently to permit a more optimistic view for Nairobi. She also briefly outlined Israel's relations with African states, dividing them into four groups: 1) total hostility from Moslem, radical Marxist lands like Mali, Niger, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Angola, Brazzaville; 2) no diplomatic relations but close relations with Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Kenya; 3) pro Israel and talking of resuming diplomatic relations, Gabon, Togo, Cameroon; and 4) having diplomatic relations but weak and with no influence, Liberia, Zaire, Lesotho, Malawi.

Ms. Chazan saw the major issues in the relations between Israel and Africa as follows: 1) Agricultural aid, rural development -- positive and good; 2) South Africa/Israel connection, very negative, and so suggestion to be well prepared on this score; 3) Military cooperation ~~with~~ with African regimes -- a warning here that Arabs have documents and statistics to distribute to the African delegations, so attacks are to be expected and rebuttals must be informed and sophisticated.

Also enclosed please find several documents that are useful but should be complemented: Women's Status in the Middle East, by Yael Vered; Women's Status in Gaza and Judea-Samaria, by Ethia Simha. They both give too good a bill of health to Israel, and were criticized at the meeting as showing too rosy a view. It was strongly felt that much less than perfection should be claimed on this score, and that greater receptivity gained if less emphasis is given on achievements and more on what is yet to be done. In other words, no excessive humility but definitely less bragging.

Another paper by Joan Borsten describes journalists as the least informed group in Copenhagen. Even assuming that her description of ignorance is not typical, it is obviously worthwhile to try to contact and enlighten as many as possible before Nairobi, distribute factual material, give briefings, etc. as well as urge editors to send as many as possible to Nairobi.

Enclosed too is the final program and list of co-sponsors (the 17 groups mentioned in the first paragraph).

The resolution said little more of substance than the same first phrase in this report -- we met to review past, to plan future, to work together, determined to be well prepared and keep Nairobi a conference for women.

Abe Foxman's closing remarks were anything but ambiguous, and I can virtually quote him:

We are the best resource. We were asked who are you? What right do you have to call this meeting? Who asked you? Where's your jurisdiction? Why Paris? Did you ask for permission? Maybe this was not the best background for calling the conference, maybe we are not super-tactful. But we have the resources, the expertize in fact-finding and analysis in the US, Europe and Israel. We can network, if you want to join us; if not we'll do it anyway.

AMERICAN JEWISH
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There was a press conference -- some 20 persons came, mostly from the Jewish press: JTA, Cahiers de l'Alliance, Haaretz, Jewish Chronicle, l'Arche; but also someone from Radio France, UPI, Voice of America, Le Monde; and two weeklies, Newsweek and L'Express. To date I have only seen the JTA and Jewish Chronicle Bullettins; and heard Shimon Samuels, (ADL Director in Europe) on the Jewish radio this morning.

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JUL 23 1984



The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

July 17, 1984

Mr. David Harris
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear David:

A quick followup to my report about the ADL Nairobi meeting.

The Steering Committee of Jewish women preparing for the Nairobi Conference -- its members are virtually all Jewish women organizations -- met for almost an entire day on July 11, following the ADL gathering.

Chairing the Committee is Leila Siegel of the International Council of Jewish Women. The major topic of the day was a request by WIZO to participate, but on condition that it be given co-chairmanship and have three members. The decision was to refuse the conditions; the hours of discussion devoted to the tenor of the reply. Finally, the text warmly expresses the desire to have WIZO as a member, but on the same basis as anyone else.

Carolyn Tumarkin was invited to attend the noon and afternoon sessions of the Committee (AJC is not all that bonefide a member). It was her suggestion that the response to WIZO be softened, for the ladies were quite angry over what they unanimously considered gross hutzpah.

While Carolyn was there, a proposal was made also to invite WJC participation; but this too was refused.

Which leaves us with the question of AJC involvement in Nairobi. Had a long talk with Carolyn last night about this, and really there are not that many possibilities for independent action. Of course, one tends to gravitate toward human rights, but then how to put this over? The rights of a woman everywhere to have expression and decision over herself first, her children, her family, her community? and the need, as a first step toward this, to have these rights backed by laws?

Most obvious would be to set up a panel with African groups. Someone, possibly several, like Gertrude Omog of the Association of Cameroon Women ~~that was~~ at the ADL meeting in Paris.

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JOHN H. STEINHART, San Francisco ■

Are there any African NGOs in the US we could get involved? Lacking this, one can form a panel with US black women. Coretta King comes to mind, except I heard she is superficial, more interested in furs and jewels than causes. What is needed is an Angela Davis without her politics...a writer? I wonder too about how tied to ADL Bella Abzug is. While not exactly AJC style, she is forceful and knows the score.

Carolyn Tumarkin will doubtless tell you more about the conference, the Steering Committee session and her own mulling over AJC possibilities when she returns from her vacation in Europe.

In any event, please keep me informed about AJC decisions on Nairobi: will we get involved, with whom, how, etc.

Warmest regards,

Cordially,



Nives Fox





THE MAURICE SPERTUS MUSEUM OF JUDAICA

July 17, 1984

Mr. W. J. Bronfman
Chairman
World Jewish Congress
One Park Avenue, Suite 418
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Mr. Bronfman:

Where does one begin to look for an exit when encircled? This is where I am in trying to find an answer to a very important question. Namely, why doesn't world Jewry claim the treasures of Jewish heritage robbed and stolen by the Nazis and stored in Prague, Czechoslovakia? Isn't there an international law against harboring stolen goods from the Jewish synagogues, museums and homes? The Prague Jewish Museum published a complete catalog in 1948 describing all the objects, as well as the points of their origin. This is an established fact. Who, if not the world Jewry, can claim its return to its legal owners? During the holocaust, there was silence, no one protested. Why not ask for it? Why not demand for its return now before it is too late, or is it? While writing this letter, an appeal issued by the American Anti-Nazi Association on the same subject surfaced (enclosed is a copy).

Am I probing the right point of the circle and if not, which is the point?

Sincerely,

Maurice Spertus

MS/mm

Enclosures

cc: Elie Wiesel
Howard Squadron
Maynard Wishner
Mark E. Talishman

P.S.

Enclosed are some copies of pages from "Precious Legacy" by David Altshuler.

618 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60605 (312) 922-9012

Beneficiary Agency of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago

bcc: James P. Rice



INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY

55 East Jackson Boulevard, Suite 1880, Chicago, Illinois 60604 · (312) 663-5400

DAVID G. ROTH, *Midwest Director*

July 17, 1984

TO: Irving Levine

FROM: David G. Roth *DGR*

SUBJECT: July 12 off-the-record dinner meeting with Benjamin Hooks and local Jewish leaders arranged by AJC

Participating from the Jewish community: Maynard Wishner, Jerry Biederman, Jon Levine and David Roth of AJC; Peggy Norton, Public Affairs Committee, Jewish United Fund of Metropolitan Chicago; David Kahn, National Vice President of the American Jewish Congress; Michael Kotzin, newly-appointed Chicago Regional Director, ADL.

Participating from NAACP: Dr. Benjamin Hooks, executive director; Frank Williams, president, Southside Chicago Branch; James Lucien executive secretary, Southside Branch; Connie Seals, board member, Southside Branch, NAACP, and chairperson, Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity in Education; Sid Finley, Director of Economic Development, Southside Branch.

Following are Dr. Hook's comments:

- I'm angry at the media for the way in which they handled the Farrakhan issue. I believe they made matters worse.
- I have a real dilemma speaking out on Farrakhan and Jackson and condemning their remarks because it tends to keep these matters alive.
- Neither Blacks nor Jews, and by that I mean leadership agencies, have made sufficient efforts in recent years to keep important relationships alive. I have reserved time over the next few months for at least two meetings in New York with Jewish leaders. (It's not clear whether he meant meetings with Jewish leaders only, or meetings with Jews and others through the Leadership Council on Civil Rights.)
- It is imperative in these meetings that we focus on affirmative action. We must maximize those areas dealing with affirmative action where there is some agreement among our two communities (perhaps goals and timetables). There will be disagreements, and we must do so without being disagreeable; but where we agree, we must maximize those areas and let our two communities and the larger society know that we agree.

-more-

- We Black leaders read attacks on affirmative action in Commentary and by leading Jewish writers in New York. It makes us terribly nervous and it is upsetting.

- The truth about affirmative action is that no community has been threatened by affirmative action in the last few years. Under Reagan, there has been a steady retreat from previous commitments to affirmative action.

(Maynard Wishner notes that Jewish agencies agree with much of what the NAACP and Hooks have said about goals and timetables, but it appears to Jews that Blacks do not understand, or seek to distort, Jewish positions on affirmative action.)

- Hooks notes that the Black community does not have a historic memory of how quotas have adversely affected Jews, but notes that his agency does not endorse quotas but does believe that there must be some measurable and quantifiable goals and objectives or there will be no affirmative action. Hooks believes this from his previous experience on the bench and as a federal regulator where he was required constantly to measure progress in complying with federal regulations and knew that this could only be done, even if somewhat arbitrarily, with quantifiable goals.

- Hooks referred to the Alabama case in which a judge ruled that it was impossible to find any qualified Blacks to fill open positions as state troopers. (This seemed absurd to Blacks and Jews in the room. It was noted by several Jewish agency representatives that their agencies were in agreement with the NAACP in this case.) The perception in the larger Black community is that the Jewish community is opposed to goals and timetables as well as quotas. (Maynard again notes that we and the NAACP are really very close on goals and timetables and therefore on affirmative action.) Hooks repeats that we must have goals or nothing happens, and that this is a very practical matter, not a theoretical matter to Blacks. (Wishner agrees.)

- Hooks notes or repeats that leadership Blacks, to some extent, judge the Jewish community's position not by what Jewish agencies say (those positions are often not effectively communicated to the NAACP and other Black agencies, apparently) but by what Commentary, which he knows is published by a Jewish agency, and Morris Abrams and leading Jewish writers say. Therefore most Blacks, according to Hooks, are judging the Jewish community's organizational positions by what Commentary and Jewish writers and people like Morris Abrams are saying and doing.

- Crisis, the monthly publication of the NAACP, will shortly reproduce Albert Vorspan's speech on affirmative action. According to Hooks, "I could close my eyes and see a Black person giving Vorspan's speech."

- Hooks notes that Black-Jewish relations are worse in New York than anywhere else that he has been. When he came to New York to head up the NAACP seven years ago, he was shocked by the "freeze" between Blacks and Jews. Where he grew up in Memphis, his experience with Jews was a better one than his experience with other groups, and therefore it shocked him upon his arrival in New York to hear Blacks "badmouthing" Jews. (Maynard then went on to discuss a problem for the Jewish community which is that survey research studies indicate that as you go down in age in the Black community and up in education, you find an increase in anti-Semitism. This is unprecedented in the West)

Hooks responds by saying that he wants to look at those studies. It is here that he notes again that he felt he'd been "hit by an arctic blast" when he encountered Black anti-Semitism in New York.

- Hooks laments the decline of Jewish participation in the Leadership Council on Civil Rights. He implies that the AJC and ADL representatives simply do not attend (or perhaps rarely attend) meetings. The key man on the Council, according to Hooks, is Carl Holman. (All of the Jewish representatives note they know Holman and have a great deal of respect for him.)

- Hooks suggests that the Chicago Southside Branch of the NAACP would be happy to have Jewish members on its board, and then laments the absence of, or the decline in, Jewish participation in NAACP affairs. He describes the Kivi Kaplan Human Relations Institute as a joint program of the NAACP and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He wants the Chicago NAACP and AJC to work with the Kaplan Institute and to model such activities in Chicago.

- Hooks then launches into a discussion of how difficult it is for him and other Black moderates to get the time they would like to have on national media. He notes that Farrakhan, with 10,000 followers, gets a full half hour on national talk and news shows, and that he and John Jacobs get far less, if any at all. "Farrakhan sits in the studio for 40 minutes, and Ted Koppel has me out on a line somewhere, where he can cut me off (and often does), for a total of five minutes out of a 40-minute segment of his ABC News Nightline." The struggle for all of us is to find a way to make bridge-building and the pacifying work that we engage in vital and newsworthy. Connie Seals notes that joint Black-Jewish meetings with editorial boards would be very helpful in this regard. Participants note that in the past, these things were done but they have not been done between Blacks and Jews in recent years.

- Connie Seals says that while we have differences to some degree on affirmative action and on Israel, it is important that we communicate directly with one another, and help one another to communicate back to the larger communities of which we are a part, to avoid the appearance that we are forever at loggerheads.

(Kotzin of ADL notes that there really are differences between us, as there are between all equals, and it is imperative that we learn how to deal with these differences--to talk about them and to control the fallout that surrounds them.)

- The group agrees that we must become "provocative bridge builders." We must dissipate problems with the truth, and with some efforts that consciously seek to control the fallout from differences and take the play away from bigots in our midst who seek to exploit these differences.

July 20, 1984

George E. Gruen

Kenneth Bandler

Meeting with Mrs. Barakat on July 18 at HIAS

Mrs. Barakat spoke in Arabic and her daughter translated.

Mrs. Barakat reported that she had to pay approximately \$1600 for the exit visa to leave Syria. However, she can get this money back upon her return of the passport when she goes back to Syria. She applied ~~two~~ years ago for passports for the grandchildren, Gaby and Filly. During the past few months she went every two weeks from Aleppo to Damascus to meet with the mukhabarat to press for the passports. Two months ago she paid \$5,000 to \$6,000 in the form of a gold necklace. Shortly afterwards the passports were issued. She reports that only one man in the mukhabarat deals with the Jews who are applying for exit visas or passports. The man who holds the position now is a good man, she says. However, he has had the position for three years and will be replaced in another two months.

Two of her sons are still in high school and another two work in a jewelry store owned by Mr. Victor Abadi. She says that Abadi believes that his wife and children were murdered because of a business-related problem. He is fearful of giving the name of the person he suspects to the police. The Syrian authorities offered to give Abadi an exit visa but he does not want to leave. He is a very wealthy man, has a lot of gold; he is not interested in leaving Syria and wants to marry again, perhaps a cousin of his murdered wife.

There are approximately 3,000 Jews now in Damascus, 1,000 in Aleppo and about 200 in Qamishoy. Mrs. Barakat does not have any direct contact with Jews in Lebanon. But she understands that there are still some 200 Jews left there. The Syrian Government allows the shochet to go every two weeks from Damascus to Beirut so that the Jews in Lebanon can have kosher meat.

Recently the Syrian authorities posted signs on synagogues stating that any Jew caught trying to escape from Syria will automatically be imprisoned for five years. Despite that warning, in recent weeks a handful of Jews have escaped crossing the border into Turkey. They are aided in this effort by Muslim Turks who cross into Syria on business and, for a price, will smuggle the Jews into Turkey. Once they are in Turkey the Israel Embassy takes over and helps them find their way to Israel, Europe or the United States.

KB/es

cc: Marc H. Tanenbaum



bc: David Harris

The American Jewish Committee

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

July 20, 1984

Mr. Samuel Toledano
President
Jewish Community of Spain
Vivers 5
Madrid, Spain

My dear Sam,

It was a genuine delight being with you during your visit at AJC last week.

Your analysis of the Jewish situation in Spain, Spain's foreign policy and relations with Israel was extremely impressive. All of us learned a great deal from you and we are deeply in your debt for sharing your insights with us.

I take especially seriously your encouragement for AJC to send a high-level mission to Spain. I am checking out the dates for the EEC-Spain negotiations, and we will schedule our visit several weeks in advance of that, as you suggested.

Enclosed is a copy of our report on our mission to France. You will see the level of appointments that we had with government, civic, and Christian officials. We would want to replicate that level of meetings in Spain.

Our first desire would be to have you give a briefing to our leadership. You would be masterful at that.

I will be in touch with you shortly as soon as we have clarified dates. We want very much to be in closest collaboration with you in order to have this mission serve our common highest purposes.

With warmest personal good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:RPR
Enclosures

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Czech 'Legacy' exhibit is filled with plunder

By TRUDE WEISS-ROSMARIN
Special to the Exponent

SANTA MONICA, Calif. — I saw most of the "Precious Legacy," an exhibit of Jewish ritual art from Czechoslovakia on loan in this country, during a stay in Prague in the summer of 1962. While other visitors from the West, especially from the "fascist United States," were met with respect and suspicion, I was cordially received and entertained — at the Kasher Communal Restaurant of the Prague Jewish community — by the scholars and art historians of the State Jewish Museum, probably because of my interest in the "Precious Legacy."

Accompanied by museum staff members, I marveled at the thousands of Torah textiles, some carefully cleaned and repaired and others in the process of restoration. I was shown the exhibits and storage cabinets of silver Torah ornaments and thousands upon thousands of Hebrew and Yiddish books, which were to be catalogued. There were also about 1,500 Torah scrolls, most of them in a condition of disrepair, which were eventually purchased by a British Jew and donated to synagogues in Israel and the Diaspora.

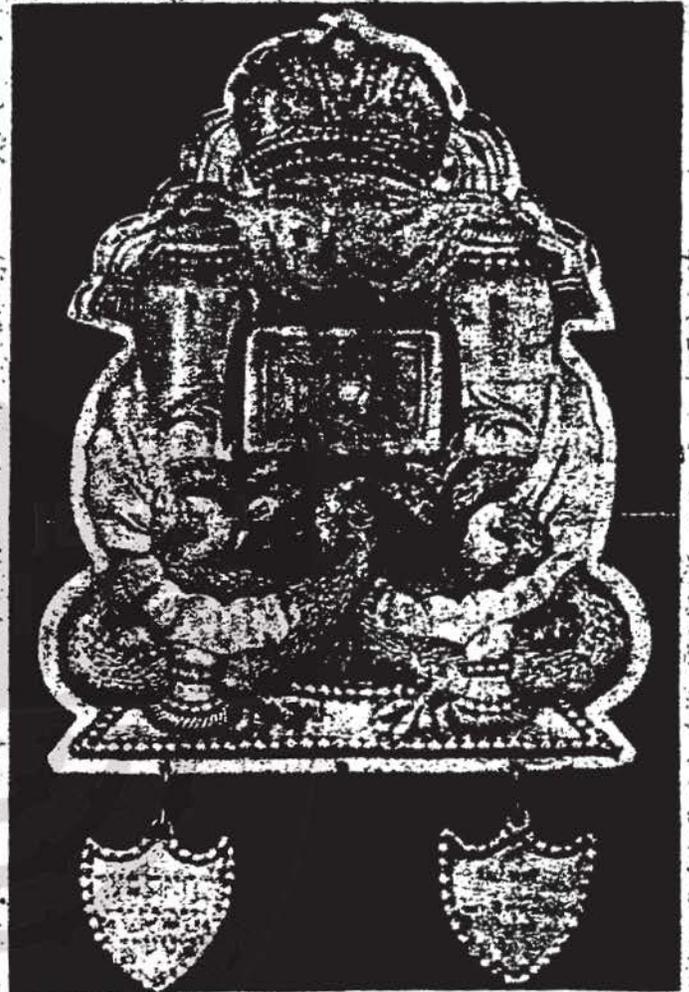
These tens of thousands of Jewish ritual objects from 153 Jewish communities, which had filled seven of the 11 Prague synagogues, had been assembled by the Nazis for a museum they intended to establish after the extermination of the Jews as an anthropological exhibit of an extinct people.

It was evident the State Jewish Museum of Prague takes good care of the treasures that Czechoslovakia inherited not legally but by an unprecedented tragedy.

While in Prague, I was too engrossed in looking and learning to give thought to the political aspects of material shown to me. But does the legacy of the murdered Slovak and Czech Jews really belong to Czechoslovakia? And is the State Jewish Museum really the rightful legal heir of the "Precious Legacy," of which a very small part is on loan in this country? At least a part of the "Precious Legacy," which Prague inherited by default, belongs to the rightful heir — the Jewish people.

The 40 curators and Hebrew scholars of the museum, like most scholars everywhere, are much too involved with research to be politically active. Also, the Czechoslovakian government provides liberally for the museum, which is an important (some say the most important) tourist attraction. While the Jewish antiquities are treasured and liberally provided for, however, Jewish religious and cultural activities continue to deteriorate.

Despite the care lavished upon the museum's antiquities, Jewish affirmation and especially Zionism are near-crimes in Prague. Also, emigration for Czechs is almost as difficult as it is for Soviet Jews. Not long ago, an elderly Prague Jew, whose



This silver Torah shield is part of the "Precious Legacy," an exhibit of Jewish ritual art plundered from the Jewish people.

children had managed to escape, told me that after three years of applying for an exit visa, he had given up hope.

Although he said he was not superstitious, he had followed the advice of a friend, visited the grave of Rabbi Loew — the famous Maharal of Prague — and had left his prayer for unification with his children under the tombstone. "And," he said, "a miracle happened. Two weeks later I received my exit visa. And now, don't be surprised, I am an Orthodox Jew."

Karl Baum, editor of the newsletter of the International Council of Jews from Czechoslovakia, which is published in London, emphasized the "Precious Legacy" does not belong to Communist Czechoslovakia but to the Jewish people, the rightful heirs of those who were murdered by the Germans and whose synagogues were plundered.

Russell Chamberlin, in his recent book, *Loot! The Heritage of Plunder*, describes how most of the art of Greece, Rome, Egypt and Mesopotamia now in the great museums of Europe, especially the Louvre in Paris, was looted and plundered, notably

(Continued on next page)

Jewish Exponent Philadelphia 7/20/84

Czech 'Legacy' exhibition filled with plunder

(Continued from preceding page)

by Napoleon, who had an eye for art. The thousands upon thousands of Jewish ritual art objects — and the tens of thousands of valuable Hebrew books — in the State Jewish Museum of Prague are the loot the Nazis carried away from 153 Jewish communities. They are "the heritage of plunder," which Czechoslovakia exploits. Some years ago, I suggested to Joy Underleider, then director of the Jewish Museum of New York, that she arrange for an exhibition of the Prague Judaica under the museum's auspices. She and others tried in vain. The fact that the Czechs would deal only with a U.S. government institution, the

Smithsonian, proves, if any proof were still needed, that they know the Jewish treasures in their unrighteous possession are loot, exploited as an important tourist attraction.

Hospital sets smoking lecture

"For Smokers Only," a workshop on the habit of smoking, quitting and nicotine, is slated by Lankenau Hospital, Wednesday, 7 p.m. For information, call 645-2207.

Single professionals set party

The Single Professionals Unit of B'nai B'rith B'nai B'rith Women has slated a pool party and barbecue, Sunday, 3 p.m. For information, call Beth, 664-2706, after 7 p.m.

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7/20

Mark

As Bernie's memo indicates, he is anxious to have further word on the status of various proposals (see attached) he apparently discussed with you at some point.

Dand

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 22, 1984
to David Harris
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Project proposals

You will recall that I left with you a list of project proposals I discussed with Marc that require one response or another.

I would appreciate your following this through and letting me know the results of your deliberations in due course.

It was good being in your company, if only briefly, and I earnestly hope that the challenges of your new position will meet all your expectations.

Best wishes.



JUN 29 1984



REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

JEWISH AGENCY FOR EDUCATION

(Special Report - July 22, 1984)

Three major Jewish conferences attracted more than a thousand persons to Jerusalem during a two-week period last month. Most of the participants were lay leaders from North America, Europe and South America. Two of the conferences were annual events: the Jewish Agency Assembly and the Zionist General Council. Both usually meet in Jerusalem in the month of June to discuss and approve the policies of the Jewish Agency for Israel and the World Zionist Organization. These two bodies depend upon the fundraising appeals conducted on behalf of Israel for their operations. Participation in the conferences of these two bodies is divided between the so-called non-Zionists and those who define themselves as Zionists.

For historical reasons the fundraisers and others who supported the establishment of the Jewish Agency in 1929, had maintained that they were not Zionists. They defined their work as supporting the Jewish colonization of Palestine as a home for Jews fleeing countries of distress. The Zionists, on the other hand, believed it the duty of all Jews to settle the Land of Israel.

Today, the lines of demarcation have changed. The fundraisers, including the founding chariman of the reconstituted Jewish Agency, Max Fisher, and his associates, now call themselves "new" Zionists, while many card-carrying members of the Zionist movement see nothing wrong in the fact that they continue to live outside Israel.

Other changes in the Jewish Agency and the WZO inadvertently resulted in a new and significantly different conference that preceeded the usual annual meetings of both bodies. This unique gathering, known as the First World Leadership Conference for Jewish Education, was called by the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Shamir; his education minister Zevulun Hammer, and the Chairman of the Jewish Agency and WZO, Leon Dulzin. The latter, however, was the real host of the education conference. All three events were budgeted by the Jewish Agency and WZO. The chariman of the conference was Morton L. Mandel, former president of the Council of Jewish Federations, which includes 800 communities in the United States and Canada.

In recent years the Jewish Agency has become involved in the special funding of Diaspora education programs. Its most ambitious project to date has been the Joint Education Program established some five years ago in conjunction

with the Government of Israel. This program is a fund into which both the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government each contribute \$5 million annually for the benefit of Jewish education around the world.

The education conference was not intended for educators. Rather, it was convened in order to raise the level of priority that lay leadership in the communities have accorded Jewish education. Accordingly, both Dulzin and Mandel were motivated by a growing concern for what they fear may be the coming "spiritual Holocaust" of the Jewish people outside of Israel.

Statisticians from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem presented the first figures ever researched and published on Jewish schools around the world. These figures, and data on the rate of assimilation and intermarriage among Jews, were correlated to prove that world Jewry outside of Israel is rapidly diminishing because Jewish children are not receiving a Jewish education. This conclusion encouraged the conference organizers to invite those with leadership roles in Jewish communities, particularly at the federation level, to make Jewish education a community priority. Altogether, the list of participants, including a select number of educators, was less than 250 persons from around the world. By contrast, the Jewish Agency Assembly was attended by more than double that number.

Undoubtedly, many were disappointed that they had not been invited to participate in the first international conference for Jewish education in the Diaspora. In particular, S.Z. Abramov, a former member of the Knesset and currently the head of the Israeli branch of the World Jewish Congress, apparently was not invited. Few remember that Abramov recommended in an article published by Ha'aretz (April 29, 1981) that the role of the Jewish Agency be changed from its pre-occupation with Israel's social and humanitarian problems to focus on the education of Diaspora Jewry. He argued that the existence of the State of Israel is no longer dependent upon the financial contributions received by the Jewish Agency from the United Jewish Appeal, whereas the survival of Diaspora Jewry does hang in the balance. He called for the formation of a "Jewish Agency for Education" to focus the fundraising efforts of the Appeals on meeting the educational responsibilities of the local communities.

"There is no substitute for Jewish education as the most effective means of ensuring the Diaspora," he wrote. "The responsibility devolving on the State of Israel requires its leaders to place the problem of Jewish education in the Diaspora on the agenda of the Jewish people. This is not a task for the Diaspora alone, even as the buttressing of the Jewish State is not solely the concern of the people who actually live there. By placing this issue on the agenda of the Jewish people we must be prepared to contribute to this effort morally and materially...and...to view the investment in Jewish education abroad as an investment for the entire Jewish people. The more Jewish the Diaspora will be, the better it will be for Israel, and for the possibility of future aliyah."

Abramov suggested that the fundraisers gradually relinquish their contributions on behalf of Israel, but not dismantle their fundraising operations that also serve local community needs. This, he wrote, would free Israel "from the negative image that has been attached to it by campaigns, on the one hand,

and to inject into it a new and essential objective, on the other hand." As for the activities of the Jewish Agency, they would "gradually be taken over by the Israel government."

The relinquishment of the campaign monies by Israel, he warned, "would be devoid of significance unless...the funds that we are giving up will be set aside for a major educational program of significant proportions, including the establishment of institutions of learning...and to the creation of a joint Israel-Diaspora cultural project, calling for the establishment of educational institutions for youth and adults, the endowment of chairs of Jewish studies in universities, the publication of books, etc." This project, he concluded, would be guided by a joint Israel and Diaspora agency, "a kind of Jewish Agency for Education..."

The Jewish Agency for Israel and the fundraising apparatus that finances its work will undoubtedly continue as they are. But a new element has already been introduced that goes a long way in the direction proposed by Abramov. The very existence of a joint education program under the auspices of the Israeli government and the Jewish Agency indicates the change. Yet this change was not easy to convey.

The Zionists, it should be remembered, have long been engaged in educational activities in the Diaspora. Two formal education departments, Torah and general, exist alongside the informal education department (Youth and Hechalutz) that send hundreds of teachers and other emissaries to all corners of the earth. The WZO also brings thousands of young Jewish men and women to Israel annually to attend a variety of programs and seminars. But the WZO budget is but a fraction of the budget of the Jewish Agency that receives the lion's share of the campaigns of behalf of Israel. This disparity is a result of the continuing historic differences between the so-called fundraisers and the Zionists.

Recently, the Jewish Agency and the WZO initiated a reassessment of their mutual goals and objectives. This action, known as the Caesarea Process because of the location in Israel where the discussions began, has led to greater involvement of the fundraisers in areas previously left to the Zionists. The first international leadership conference for Jewish education and the new education programs adopted together with the Government of Israel, are among the outcomes. These developments indicate more than anything else that the fundraisers are now beginning to take the lead in furthering Jewish education. It also means that Zionists, like Dulzin, and fundraisers, like Mandel, recognize the great potential for revolutionizing Jewish education that exists in the Jewish Agency.

* * * *

THE TWENTY-SECOND GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

Following publication of the results of the elections for the Eleventh Knesset, which were held on 23 July 1984, the President of Israel undertook "an unusual step at an unusual point in time" in recommending to the party leaders to strive for the formation of a national unity government. President Herzog charged Shimon Peres, head of the Labour Alignment party - the party with the largest number of seats in the Knesset - to form the government. On 14 September 1984, Mr. Peres presented to the President the twenty-second Government of Israel, a national unity government, which had the support of 97 Knesset members.

Following is a list of the ministers and their portfolios; and attached are separate biographical notes on each minister.

Shimon Peres, Prime Minister, Minister of Interior, Minister of Religious Affairs,
(Labour)
Yitzhak Shamir, VICE PREMIER AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Yitzhak Navon, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Education and Culture (Labour)
David Levy, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Construction and Housing (Likud-Herut)

(The following ministers were presented in Hebrew alphabetical order.)

Moshe Arens, Minister without Portfolio (Likud-Herut)
Yosef Burg, Minister without Portfolio (National Religious Party)
Haim Bar-Lev, Minister of Police (Labour)
Mordechai Gur, Minister of Health (Labour)
Yigal Hurvitz, Minister without Portfolio (Ometz)
Ezer Weizman, Minister in the Prime Minister's Office (Yahad)
Gad Ya'acobi, Minister of Economics and Planning (Labour)
Yitzhak Moda'i, Minister of Finance (Likud-Liberal)
Arieh Nehamkin, Minister of Agriculture (Labour)
Moshe Nissim, Minister of Justice (Likud-Liberal)
Yitzhak Peretz, Minister without Portfolio (Shas)
Gideon Patt, Minister of Science and Development (Likud-Liberal)
Yaacov Tsur, Minister of Immigrant Absorption (Labour)
Haim Corfu, Minister of Transport (Likud-Herut)
Moshe Katzav, Minister of Labour and Social Affairs (Likud-Herut)
Yitzhak Rabin, Minister of Defence (Labour)
Amnon Rubinstein, Minister of Communications (Shinui)
Moshe Shahal, Minister of Energy and Infrastructure (Labour)
Yosef Shapira, Minister without Portfolio (Morasha)
Ariel Sharon, Minister of Industry and Trade (Likud-Herut)
Avraham Sharir, Minister of Tourism (Likud-Liberal)

SHIMON PERES
Prime Minister

Party: Labour

Born 1923, Poland; married, 3 children

Education: Advanced administration programme at Social Research School,
Harvard University

Foreign Languages: English, French

Position held in Fourth and Fifth Knessets:

Deputy Minister of Defence

Member of Sixth Knesset

Position held in Seventh Knesset:

Minister of Transport and Communications

Positions held in Eighth Knesset:

Minister of Information

Minister of Defence

Positions held in Ninth and Tenth Knessets:

Leader of the opposition

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Military service: Haganah
Head of IDF Maritime Service, 1948

Chairman of Labour Alignment party

Vice President of Socialist International

Published several books and articles on political affairs

Residence: Tel Aviv

YITZHAK SHAMIR

VICE PREMIER AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Party: Likud

Born 1915, Poland; married, 2 children

Education: Studied law in Warsaw and at Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Foreign Languages: English, French, German, Polish

Profession: Civil service, businessman

Position in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Member of State Comptroller's Committee

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Speaker of Knesset

Minister of Foreign Affairs: 1980

Positions held in Tenth Knesset:

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Prime Minister: October 1983

Military Service: Leader in Etzel and Lehi

1955-65, Senior post in intelligence service (Mossad)

Active on behalf of Soviet Jewry

Residence: Jerusalem

DAVID LEVY

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Construction and Housing

Party: Likud

Born 1938, Morocco; married, 11 children

Education: Secondary school

Foreign Language: French

Profession: Construction worker

Positions held in Seventh Knesset:

Member of Labour Committee

Member of Public Service Committee

Positions held in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Knesset Committee

Member of Labour Committee

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Minister of Construction and Housing

Minister of Immigrant Absorption

Positions held in Tenth Knesset:

Deputy Prime Minister

Minister of Construction and Housing

Chairman of Likud faction

Residence: Beit Shean



YITZHAK NAVON

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education and Culture

Party: Labour

Born 1921, Jerusalem; married, 2 children

Education: Graduate of Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Foreign Languages: English, Arabic, Spanish

Profession: Educator, civil service

Member of Sixth and Seventh Knessets.

Positions held in Eighth Knesset:

Chairman of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Deputy Speaker of Knesset

Member of Knesset Committee

Member of Education and Culture Committee

Position held in Ninth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

1978-83: Fifth President of Israel

Served on boards of many public and civic organizations

Published short stories, articles and plays

Residence: Jerusalem

MOSHE ARENS
Minister without Portfolio

Party: Likud

Born 1925, Lithuania; married, 4 children

Education: Graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and California Institute of Technology

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Aeronautical engineer

Position held in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Finance Committee

Position held in Ninth Knesset:

Chairman of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Minister of Defence

Israel Ambassador to United States, 1982-83

Military Service: 1944-46, US Army

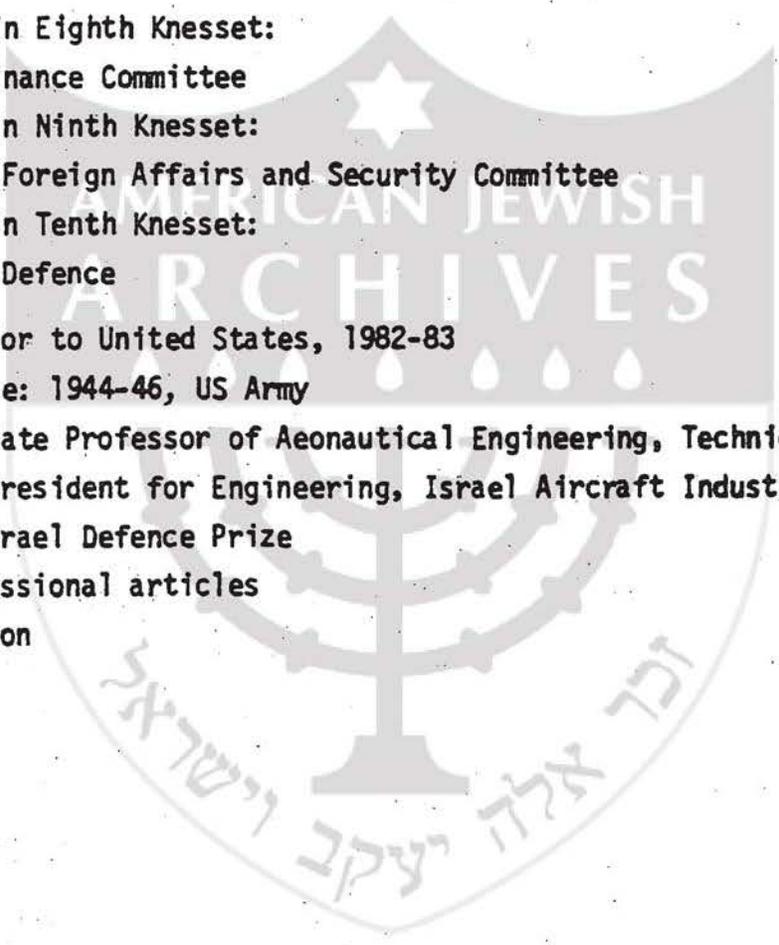
1957-62: Associate Professor of Aeronautical Engineering, Technion

1962-71: Vice President for Engineering, Israel Aircraft Industry

Recipient of Israel Defence Prize

Published professional articles

Residence: Savyon



DR. YOSEF BURG
Minister without Portfolio

Party: National Religious Party

Born 1909, Germany; married, 3 children

Education: Ordained rabbi; Ph.D. from University of Leipzig

Foreign Languages: English, German, Yiddish, French, Spanish, Latin, Greek

Profession: Teacher

Member of Knesset since the First Knesset:

Deputy Speaker of Knesset, First Knesset

1951-52: Minister of Health

1952-58: Minister of Posts

1959-70: Minister of Social Welfare

1970-84: Minister of Interior

1981-84: Minister of Religious Affairs

Chairman of Ministerial Committee on Negotiations for Autonomy for the Arab Residents of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District

Military service: Supernumerary policeman (branch of Haganah)

Active in Zionist organizations, rescue operations in Europe after World War II.

Member of Board of Directors, Bar-Ilan University

Published a dissertation and many articles on philosophical, historical, Biblical and political subjects.

Residence: Jerusalem

HAIM BAR-LEV
Minister of Police

Party: Labour

Born 1924, Austria; married, 2 children

Education: Graduate of Columbia University, New York

Foreign Languages: English, French, German, Serbian

Profession: Economist

Position in Eighth Knesset:

Minister of Commerce and Industry

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Member of Finance Committee

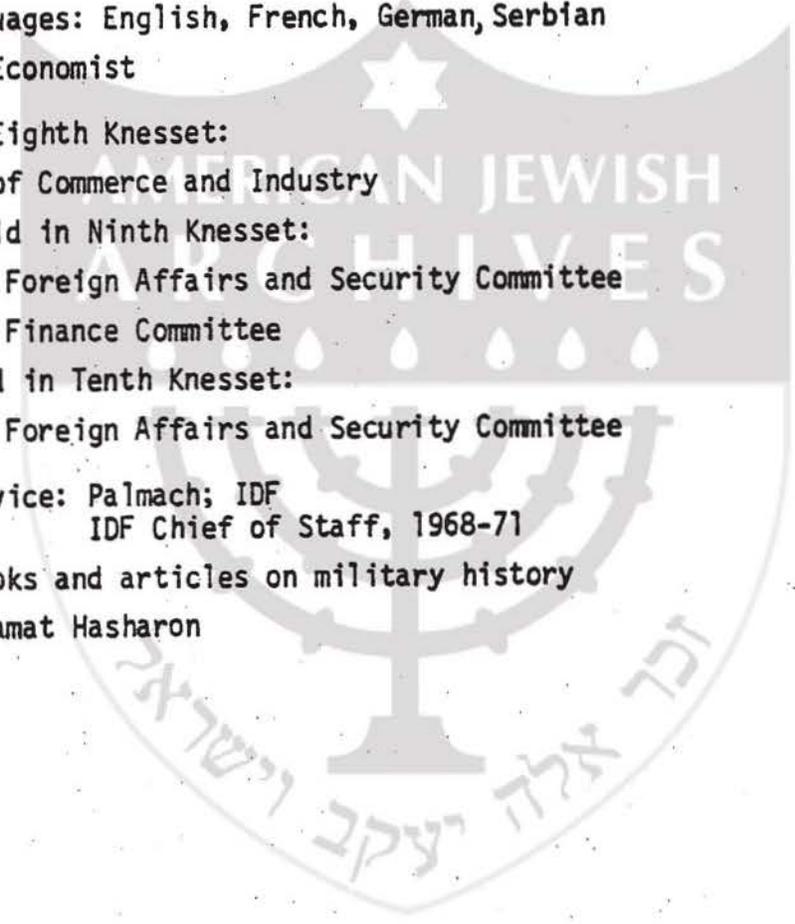
Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Military Service: Palmach; IDF
IDF Chief of Staff, 1968-71

Published books and articles on military history

Residence: Ramat Hasharon



MORDECHAI GUR
Minister of Health

Party: Labour

Born 1930, Jerusalem; married, 4 children

Education: Attended Hebrew University, Jerusalem; graduate of Ecole de Guerre, Paris

Foreign Languages: English, French

Profession: Soldier, industrialist

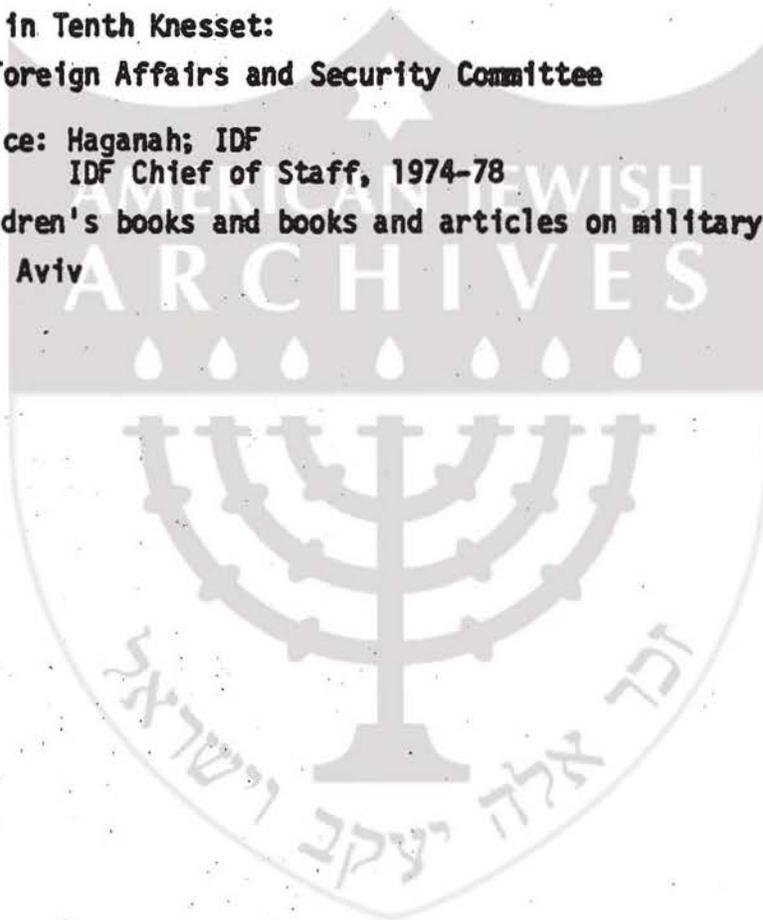
Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

**Military Service: Haganah; IDF
IDF Chief of Staff, 1974-78**

Published children's books and books and articles on military history

Residence: Tel Aviv



YIGAL HURVITZ
Minister without Portfolio

Party: Ometz (Courage)

Born 1918, Nachlat Yehuda; married, 3 children

Education: Secondary school

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Farmer, industrialist

Positions held in Seventh Knesset:

Member of Economic Committee

Member of Committee for Cooperatives

Position held in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Minister of Industry, Commerce and Tourism

Minister of Finance (resigned position and left Likud)

Member of Tenth Knesset

Formerly active in moshav movement

Member of board of directors of agricultural bank

Residence: Kfar Warburg

EZER WEIZMAN
Minister in the Prime Minister's Office

Party: Yahad (Together)

Born 1924, Tel Aviv; married, 2 children

Education: Reali School, Haifa

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Businessman

1969-70: Minister of Transport in national unity government

Position held in Ninth Knesset:

Minister of Defence (resigned 1980)

Military service:

1942: enlisted in RAF

1948: Squadron commander in IDF

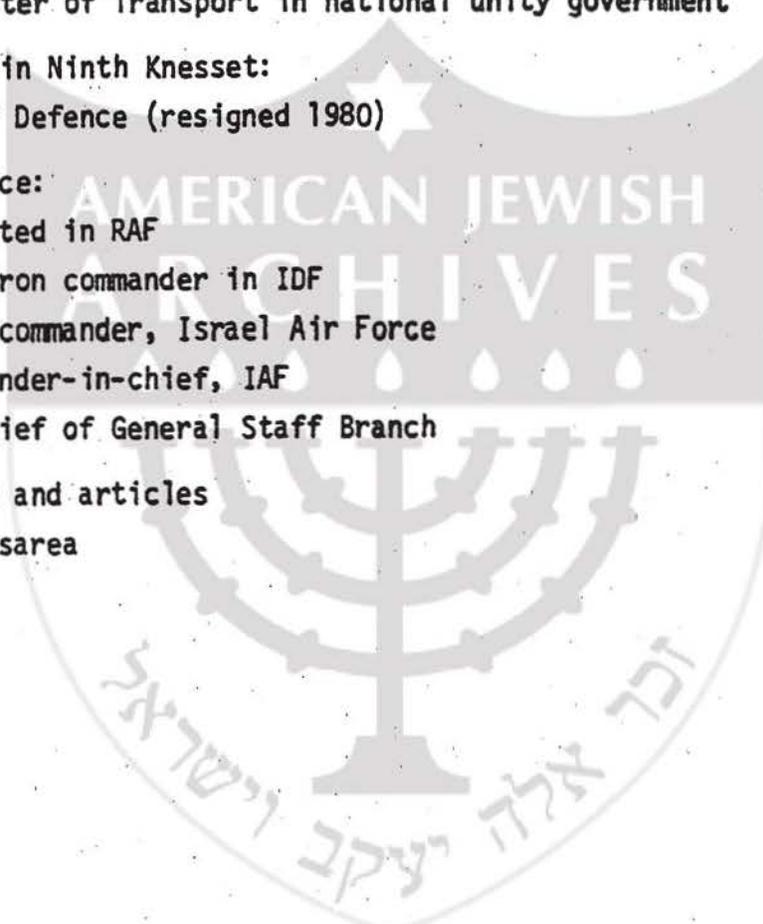
1953: Wing commander, Israel Air Force

1958: Commander-in-chief, IAF

1966-69: Chief of General Staff Branch

Published book and articles

Residence: Caesarea



GAD YA'ACOB
Minister of Economics and Planning

Party: Labour

Born 1935, Kfar Vitkin; married, 3 children

Education: Law and Economics Graduate, Tel Aviv University

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Economist

Positions held Seventh Knesset:

Member of Economic Committee

Deputy Minister of Transport

Positions held Eighth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee

Minister of Transport

Position held Ninth and Tenth Knessets:

Chairman of Economics Committee

Military Service: IDF

Former member Israel delegation to the United Nations and to Council of Europe

Member Central Committee of Histadrut (General Federation of Labour)

Published books and many articles

Residence: Tel Aviv

YITZHAK MODA'I
Minister of Finance

Party: Likud

Born 1926, Tel Aviv; married, 2 children

**Education: Graduate of Technion - Israel Institute of Technology;
graduate of Hebrew University and University of London**

Foreign Language: English

Professions: Chemical engineer, lawyer, economist

Positions held in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Economics Committee

Member of State Comptroller's Committee

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Minister of Energy and Infrastructure

Minister of Communications

Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Minister without Portfolio

Military Service: Lt. Col. in IDF

President of Israel-America Chamber of Commerce

Former general manager of Revlon (Israel) Ltd.

Residence: Herzliya

ARIEH NEHAMKIN
Minister of Agriculture

Party: Labour

Born 1925, Nahalal; married, 3 children

Education: Secondary school

Profession: Farmer

Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Member of Finance Committee

Military Service: Lt. Col. IDF

Formerly Secretary of Moshav Movement

Residence: Nahalal



MOSHE NISSIM
Minister of Justice

Party: Likud

Born 1935, Jerusalem; married, 3 children

Education: Graduate of Law Faculty of Hebrew University

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Lawyer

Positions held in Fourth Knesset:

Member of Education and Culture Committee

Chairman of Subcommittee on Committee for Public Services

Member of Fifth and Sixth Knessets

Positions held in Seventh Knesset:

Member of Knesset Committee

Member of Labour Committee

Positions held in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Member of Constitution, Law and Justice Committee

Member of Knesset Committee

Chairman of Likud faction

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Member of Constitution, Law and Justice Committee

Minister of Justice, 1981

Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Minister of Justice

Military Service: IDF

Published articles

Residence: Jerusalem

YITZHAK PERETZ
Minister without Portfolio

Party: Shas (Sephardi Torah Guardians)

Born 1939, Morocco, married, 4 children.

Education: Ordained rabbi

Former Chief Rabbi of Raanana

Residence: Jerusalem



GIDEON PATT
Minister of Science and Development

Party: Likud

Born 1933, Jerusalem; married, 3 children

Education: Graduate of New York University in economics

Foreign Languages: English, German

Profession: Economist

Position held in Seventh Knesset:

Member of Interior and Economics Committee

Position held in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Finance Committee

Position held in Ninth Knesset:

Minister of Industry, Commerce and Tourism

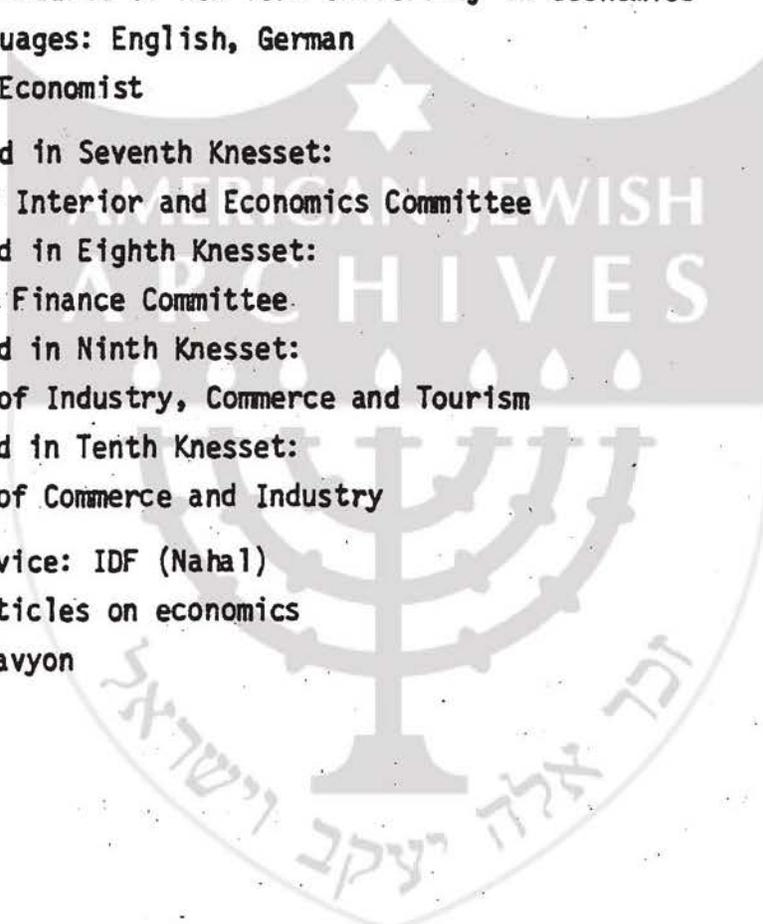
Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Minister of Commerce and Industry

Military Service: IDF (Nahal)

Published articles on economics

Residence: Savyon



YAACOV TSUR
Minister of Immigrant Absorption

Party: Labour

Born 1937, Haifa; married, 4 children

Education: Graduate of Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Teacher

Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Member of Education and Culture Committee

Military service: IDF (Nahal)

Formerly Secretary-General of Kibbutz Meuhad movement

Residence: Kibbutz Netiv Ha'Lamed-heh



HAIM CORFU
Minister of Transport

Party: Likud

Born 1921, Jerusalem; married, 2 children

Education: Graduate of Hebron and Tel Aviv yeshivas; graduate of Faculty of Law of Hebrew University

Foreign Languages: English, Yiddish, Arabic

Profession: Lawyer

Position held in Seventh Knesset:

Member of Finance Committee

Position held in Eighth Knesset:

Member of Subcommittee on Budget and Security

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Member of Knesset Committee

Chairman of coalition

Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Minister of Transport

Military Service: Etzel and IDF

Served as member of Jerusalem City Council

Residence: Jerusalem

MOSHE KATZAV
Minister of Labour and Social Affairs

Party: Likud

Born 1945, Iran; married, 5 children

Education: Graduate of Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Foreign Languages: English, Persian, Arabic

Profession: Economist, educator

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Member of Labour and Social Affairs Committee

Member of Education and Culture Committee

Positions held in Tenth Knesset:

Deputy Minister of Construction and Housing

Member of Education and Culture Committee

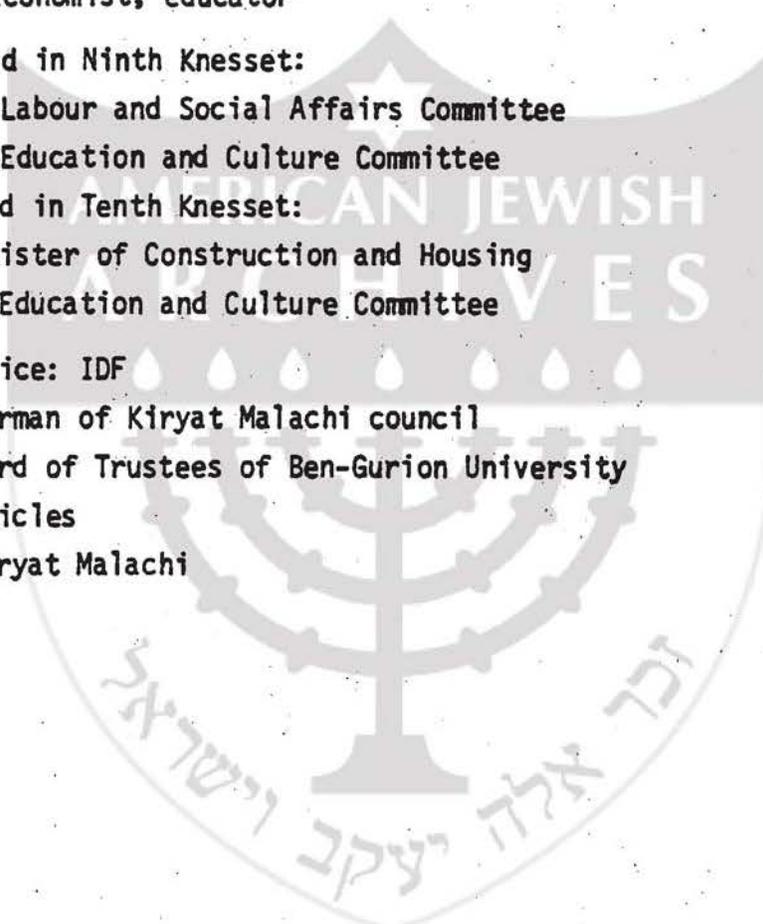
Military Service: IDF

Formerly chairman of Kiryat Malachi council

Member of Board of Trustees of Ben-Gurion University

Published articles

Residence: Kiryat Malachi



YITZHAK RABIN
Minister of Defence

Party: Labour

Born 1922, Jerusalem; married, 2 children

Education: Kadoorie Agricultural School

Foreign Language: English

Positions held Eighth Knesset:

Minister of Labour

Prime Minister

Positions held Ninth and Tenth Knessets:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee

Military Service: Served 27 years in Palmach and IDF
Chief of Staff from 1964-68

Published: book and many articles

Residence: Tel Aviv



AMNON RUBINSTEIN
Minister of Communications

Party: Shinui (Change)

Born 1931, Tel Aviv; married, 2 children

**Education: Graduate of Law Faculty of Hebrew University, Jerusalem;
Ph.D. in Philosophy from London School of Economics**

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Lawyer

Position held in Ninth Knesset:

Member of Foreign Affairs and Security Committee

Positions held in Tenth Knesset:

Member of Economics Committee

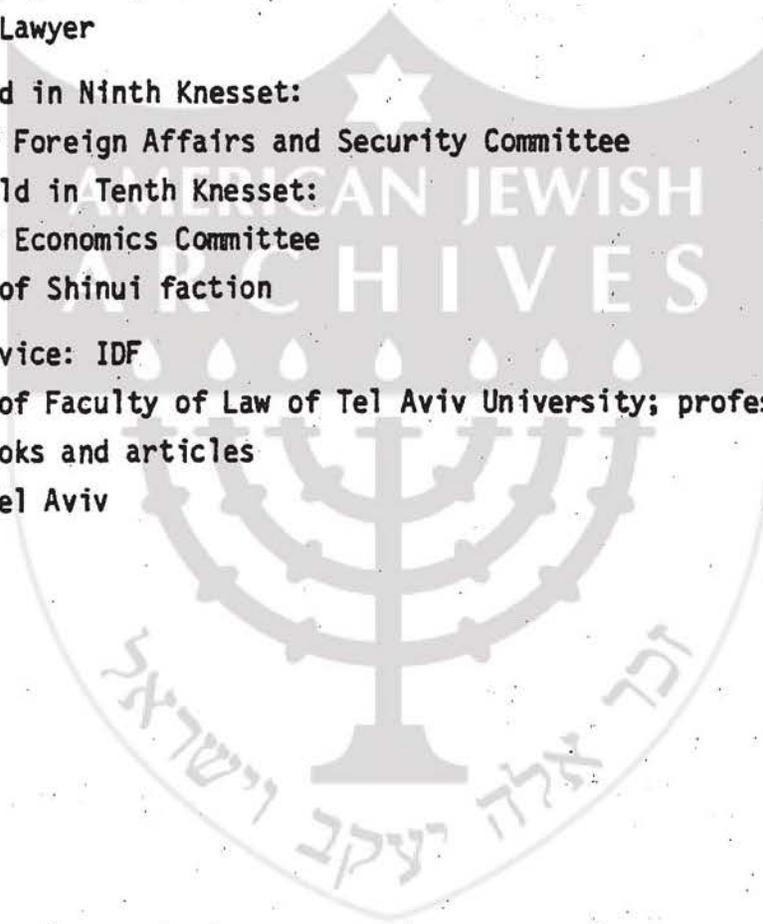
Chairman of Shinui faction

Military Service: IDF

Former Dean of Faculty of Law of Tel Aviv University; professor of law.

Published books and articles

Residence: Tel Aviv



MOSHE SHAHAL

Minister of Energy and Infrastructure

Party: Labour

Born 1934, Iraq; married, 2 children

**Education: Studied economics and political science at Haifa University;
Law graduate of Tel Aviv University**

Foreign Languages: English, Arabic

Profession: Lawyer

Positions held Seventh Knesset:

Member of Finance Committee

Member of Economic Committee

Member of Labour Committee

Positions held Eighth Knesset:

Member of Finance Committee

Member of Constitution, Law and Justice Committee

Positions held Tenth Knesset:

Deputy Speaker of the Knesset

Member of Knesset Committee

Member of Constitution, Law and Justice Committee

Military Service: IDF

Formerly Chairman of Israel Consumers' Council

Formerly Permanent Observer to the European Council

Permanent Representative to the Inter-Parliamentary Union

Residence: Haifa

YOSEF SHAPIRA
Minister without Portfolio

Party: Morasha (Heritage)

Born 1926, Jerusalem; married, 4 children

Education: Graduate of yeshiva

Foreign Languages: English, German, Yiddish

Profession: Youth organizer

Not member of Eleventh Knesset.

Military service: Haganah

Former head of Youth Aliyah Department of Jewish Agency

World Secretary of Bnei Akiva youth movement

Member of Board of Directors, Bar-Ilan University

Member of World Executive of Mizrahi movement

Residence: Bnei Brak



ARIEL SHARON
Minister of Industry and Trade

Party: Likud

Born 1928, Kfar Malal; married, 2 children

Education: Graduate of Law Faculty of Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Farmer

Elected to Eighth Kneset

1974-76: Advisor to prime minister on security affairs

Positions held in Nine Kneset:

Minister of Agriculture

Chairman of Settlement Committee

Positions held in Tenth Kneset:

Minister of Defence (resigned 1983)

Minister without Portfolio

Military service:

Wounded in 1948 War of Independence

1952: Founded "Unit 101"

1956: Commander paratroop brigade

1962: Director of IDF Military Training

1967: Commander of armoured division

1969: OC Southern Command

1973: Commander of armoured division

Residence: Shikmim farm

AVRAHAM SHARIR
Minister of Tourism

Party: Likud

Born 1932, Tel Aviv; married, 4 children

Education: Graduate of Law Faculty of Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Foreign Language: English

Profession: Lawyer

Positions held in Ninth Knesset:

Member of Finance Committee

Chairman of Likud faction

Position held in Tenth Knesset:

Minister of Tourism

Military Service: IDF (air force)

Member of High Court of Labour Relations

Member of Government Committee on Pensions

Residence: Tel Aviv



7/30/84

memorandum

FROM THE DESK OF.....

HOWARD KOHR

To: Mark Tannenbaum

Attached is a ~~cheap~~ copy of my memo to you. I apologize for the first copy, it escaped my final perusal.

Howard

ASSISTANT WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
2027 MASS. AVE. NW
(202) 265-2000

CONFIDENTIAL

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 26, 1984
to Marc Tannenbaum
from Howard Kohr
subject Meeting with Richard Kreiger

Kreiger raised the following subjects with us:

- o Falashas- there are now 8,000 Falashas in Sudan. There is a quiet program underway to get them to Israel. Any outside intervention or attention (IE: AAEJ activities) could bring the program to a halt. He urged us not to send any delegations to the region for the next 2-3 months. He mentioned that medical groups under ICEM auspices with U.S. funding are being sent into Ethiopia. Malnutrition and parasitic infections are a major problem.
- o Kreiger, also, raised the issue of absorption costs within Israel. He maintained that either UJA, UIA, or the Congress will have to generate significant new funds to help with resettlement costs. Falashas are presenting a significant new resettlement problem in terms of length of adjustment period and amount of social services required to help them settle. A meeting with Jewish Senators is being arranged to discuss congressional support for increased funding beyond the 12.5 million now allocated for Israel resettlement.
- o Finally, Kreiger mentioned that there were only 5-6,000 Falashas left in Ethiopia. If you add this figure to the 8,000 in Sudan this means that there are close to 10,000 in Israel. Can that be the case? If so, it means a startling and significant number of Fahashas have arrived in Israel in the past 6 months. (Can you get confirmation of this information?)

Memo

o Rumania - The TCP program is being phased out and will not reopen. It will close down when the 5,000 or so backlog cases are settled. He did say that the normal refugee program would continue and that there would be 200 numbers set aside for religious persecution cases. If we know of individual Jews who want to get out and are having problems we should forward their names immediately! (For background on TCP see my memos to Karlikow of a year ago or so).

o Iranians - Iranians are continuing to come in under refugee priorities 1-5. Bahaiis and Jews are coming under first priority. The problem State is confronted with is that some Jews are traveling back and forth from Iran to other countries conducting business. If this wasn't bad enough, the situation for Jews in Iran, according to State analysts, is getting much better. Both these developments, particularly the former, may force changes in the refugee status of Iranian Jews. This is very unlikely because of political considerations (we won't let it happen), but it is disturbing. If we know of individual Iranian Jews needing help we should get the names to Kreiger! The condition for Bahaiis is still very precarious.

o Soviet Jewry - Stoessel will return from his mission this Friday (7/27/84). Whether Kampelman or Elliot Abram will go to Europe soon remains to be seen. Kreiger made a pitch for us to get our European counterparts more active in their own countries on this issue.

o Cuban Jewry - This topic came up in the context of the quiet meetings taking place between State Department and Cuban officials and on general immigration issues. Cuban Jewry is not being mentioned at all. Kreiger asked if there were any special problems that should be addressed. I told him we would get back to him if there is anything to be done.

cc: David Geller
George Green
David Harris

New Ugandan Crackdown Said to Kill Thousands

M.T.

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Staff Writer

8.5.84
A1

The Ugandan Army has killed or intentionally starved to death thousands of civilians in the past few months as part of what appears to be an officially sanctioned "get-tough" policy in the Army's three-year-old fight against rebels, according to well-informed sources.

The deaths, mostly of women and children, as well as recent arrests of "many hundreds" of political activists, are part of a campaign in the African country that Ugandans and foreign observers say is worse than the atrocity-ridden eight-year rule of former president Idi Amin.

Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary of state for

human rights and humanitarian affairs, called the situation in Uganda "horrendous" and said U.S. efforts to stop the killing have been unavailing. He said in a telephone interview Friday that he plans to talk about it in detail at a congressional hearing this week.

A Ugandan Embassy official categorically denied the assertions, saying they were "totally untrue."

Uganda was ravaged during Amin's rule from 1971 to 1979, in which the former general suspended parts of the constitution, dissolved the National Assembly and used loyal troops to brutalize political opponents. Amin fell after an invasion by the Tanzanian Army and Ugandan ex-

iles, and the country had a series of appointed governments before the current elected president, Milton Obote, came to power in 1980.

But according to official U.S. sources and sources in private refugee monitoring groups here, the situation has deteriorated again and between 100,000 and 200,000 Ugandans have been killed in the past three years in one area of the country known as the Luwero Triangle.

Many of those deaths have occurred since March when Obote's government, intensifying its battle with opposition guerrillas, stopped international relief organizations from distributing food and medicine to the heavily populated area

See UGANDA, A32, Col. 3



The United States has a \$100,000 military program with the Ugandan defense force, Abrams said. It also has provided \$9 million this year for three educational and medical programs through the Agency for International Development.

Uganda also has more than \$400 million in loans from the International Monetary Fund, an IMF spokesman said.

Neither Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi nor Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere has pressed Obote to bring his army under control, according to the sources.

The Kenyan Air Force provided air cover for the Ugandan Army at one point earlier this year as it carried out a scorched-earth operation against cattle-raiding tribes in Karamoja, according to the sources. About 30,000 people were forced to flee to the hills after their homes and farms in Namalu were razed by the Ugandan Army, one source said.

That military operation was suspended in June and some of the people began to come out of the hills, a western observer said. But the Army killed some of them when they returned and still "refuses any relief operations to these people as a matter of policy," he added.

The Luwero Triangle includes parts of the three districts of Luwero, Mubende and Mpigi. It is the traditional home of Uganda's Baganda tribe. The area has been the main target of the Ugandan Army because it believes the Baganda are sympathizers of the insurgent National Resistance Army led by Yoweri Museveni. Most Army members are from the Langi and Acholi tribes, which support Obote.

By the end of last year the Army had regained control of most of the Luwero area from the guerrillas, displacing more than 450,000 people in the process, according to an authoritative account of the situation. Relief aid was reaching only 150,000 of the refugees.

Following the death of defense chief of staff David Oyite Ojok in a helicopter crash in December there was a drastic decline in the Army's discipline, according to several sources. Then came several raids by the guerrillas on military camps and towns in the Luwero area, including one in February on the town of Masindi, in which the insurgents captured a large amount of military equipment.

The "get-tough" policy came into operation soon after that, an experienced western observer reported.

"You have an Army which is totally out of control; there is no command and control structure," said Winter, adding that the "limited insurgency" is being used as an excuse for the Army's excesses.

Other observers agreed. "There is no strategic advantage in killing children," said one source.

Crackdown Reported In Uganda

UGANDA, From A32

ment forces and bandits," he denied the toll was as high as 200,000.

In one incident at the end of May, 300 people, many of them women and children, were raped and murdered by the Army in a three-day killing spree at a town called Namugongo, according to an informed source. A prominent Anglican cleric, Godfrey Bazira, was among those slain.

"It was by no means an isolated incident," the source said.

Awori said that "there was no massacre at Namugongo at all" and the government had officially confirmed only 12 deaths there.

In addition, arrests of political opposition activists have increased since March, the sources said. The arrests reportedly have been ordered by government officials, one source said. Numbering in the "many hundreds at an absolute minimum," according to one source, they are believed to have been taken to secret military detention centers where they allegedly are kept in crowded and inhumane conditions and where some reportedly are tortured.

One recent escapee from a military prison in Kampala's Makindye Barracks told journalists in Kenya that he had to drink his own urine and that some inmates to stay alive had eaten the flesh of fellow prisoners who had died. The refugee, a 26-year-old taxi driver, believed he was imprisoned because he is a member of the Baganda tribe, which generally supports the opposition Democratic Party. Details of his account were confirmed by a qualified western source.

An estimated 800,000 civilians have been displaced from throughout Uganda, a fertile country once known as the "Jewel of East Africa," as a result of the continuing conflict whose roots lie in tribal, religious and political differences.

"Our own efforts have not prevented the situation from getting worse and it is getting worse," Abrams said. He declined to outline what action the United States might take next, saying he plans to give an "in-depth" presentation of the Ugandan situation when he testifies Thursday before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittees on Africa and human rights.

"People will find it's worse than they think," Abrams said.

Thousands Said To Die in New Ugandan Purge

UGANDA, From A1

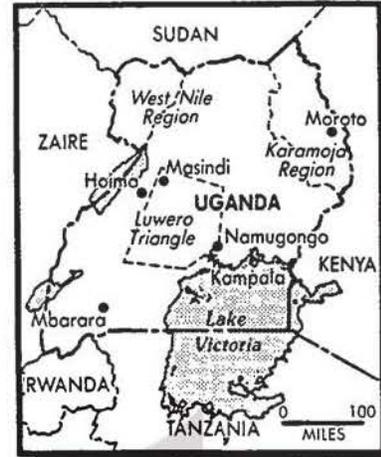
near the capital, Kampala, according to the sources. At the same time, foreigners were prohibited from traveling to the region outside Kampala.

"Millions of dollars [of international relief aid] which could be used to save lives are being stopped at Kampala," said one well-informed source, who confirmed reports of people living less than an hour's ride from the capital who were so thin and weak from starvation they could not walk.

In addition to the food cut-off, numerous reports of massacres and indiscriminate killings by the Army in the Luwero Triangle and in the northeast region of Karamoja began reaching Kampala in May. These have led western observers to conclude, in the words of one, that the government has initiated "a get-tough policy in which noncombatants seem to be the principal victims It's a policy of terror in which people are being massacred."

"It would not have been believable to a westerner that conditions in Uganda could be worse under Milton Obote than they were under Idi Amin," said Roger Winter, director of the U.S. Committee for Refugees. "But the numbers of people affected by these crazy, irrational killings are larger There is not the buffoonery and notoriety attached to Obote that was attached to Idi Amin and so it just goes along and very few people focus on it."

"Your story is totally untrue," said Aggrey S. Awori, a minister at the Ugandan Embassy here. "It is nowhere near the truth It is a carefully calculated malign government and the innocent



By Larry Fogel for The Washington Post

people of Uganda who are working hard to restore the political institutions [and] economic infrastructure.

"This story sounds like it was written around 1978 [during Amin's rule] . . . except that the names and places have been changed. It definitely sounds like something I read in 1978."

Awori "categorically" denied that the government has stopped the distribution of relief materials to "people who are victims of the bandits." Although people have been killed in "cross fire between govern-

See UGANDA, A33, Col. 1

J.K.

Internal Disputes Occupy Parties

Chilean Opposition Loses Initiative In Campaign to Oust Gen. Pinochet

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Foreign Service

SANTIAGO, Chile—First there was the failure of the eighth national protest, a testimony in May to the weakening of opposition to Chile's authoritarian government.

Then came the dissension within the traditional political parties. A split among the Socialists was followed by feuds of Social Democrats, Radicals, Christian Democrats and Communists. Plans for a national strike were shelved and attempts to reorganize the multiparty Democratic Alliance collapsed.

It is late winter now in Santiago, and the once surging movement against the 11-year rule of President Augusto Pinochet is mired in a season of profound discontent. "The opposition is in crisis. The political liberalization is over. Pinochet is happy," Genaro Arriagada, a leading Christian Democrat, summed up. "It's very depressing here."

The relaxation of pressure on South America's most controversial military ruler has arrived a year after his moment of greatest crisis. In May 1983, mass antigovernment protests began. Three months later, Gen. Pinochet found himself ordering 18,000 troops into the streets to control demonstrations that led to 27 deaths in two days.

The then newly allied opposition parties demanded the president's

resignation. An unprecedented economic depression, marked by unemployment of 32 percent, showed no sign of ending. Military unrest over the government's harsh repression surfaced for the first time.

Now, the fortunes of Pinochet and his opponents in some ways appear reversed. There have been no major protests in three months. The government has abandoned some plans for political liberalization and returned to repressive measures against adversaries. The economy is slowly improving and official unemployment, including those enrolled in government make-work programs, is down to 24 percent.

Dissent within the military has been overshadowed by the opposition's own feuds. "The little groups that emerge . . . have fallen apart by themselves," Pinochet declared recently, "because they cannot live together."

Only the violence has appeared to remain constant. Local news media have recorded more than 250 bombings and other terrorist incidents in Santiago this year. Human rights groups have reported more than 100 deaths from repression in 15 months.

Political leaders maintain that Pinochet's current plan to rule for at least five more years remains insecure. Despite the opposition's

troubles, the president's own support has not seemed to increase, and political parties are organizing a new campaign of rallies and demonstrations beginning this month.

Moreover, Pinochet has not yet proved willing to carry out even a gradual transition toward democracy, say his opponents—portending a potentially more serious political crisis in the coming year.

Yet, many opposition politicians have begun to conclude that it is their own division, more than Pinochet's leadership, that is blocking the way to democracy. "These are legislators who know how to make proposals and hold debates," said Marcelo Contreras, a Socialist magazine editor. "What they don't know how to do is get rid of dictatorships."

Many politicians trace the opposition decline to the weeks following the last major antigovernment protest in late March. Those national demonstrations gained the support of small business and transportation sectors for the first time and encouraged opposition leaders hoping to move the country toward a national strike.

Pinochet quickly responded to the new campaign. Ousting the last in a long series of rigid free-market economists who had conducted Chilean policy for nearly a decade, he appointed a new economic team



Associated Press

Chile's president, Gen. Augusto Pinochet, has seen no major protests for three months. The economy is mending.

that moved toward more traditional policies of state stimulation of the economy and protection of local business.

These changes defused the discontent and revived hopes of economic recovery, several observers said. At the same time, Pinochet impeded the opposition's organization by banning assemblies of labor leaders seeking to organize a strike and methodically repressing the leadership of the country's militant left.

While these tactics slowed the

opposition, disputes within the antigovernment fronts accelerated. A national protest called by labor unions in May fell flat, with only lukewarm political party support. The feuding spun out of control.

At times in the last three months, the factionalism has reached extremes of pettiness. The centrist Democratic Alliance, for example, sought to end internal problems by establishing a new organizational structure that reflected the relative strength of its six major parties. After painstaking negotiations, the

reform finally broke down because of the opposition of the small Social Democratic Party, which did not want to give up its scheduled opportunity of having its president act as spokesman of the alliance for a month.

While these difficulties have served as endless fodder for the stridently progovernment television and newspapers, opposition leaders have also faced deeper political problems. At the root of Chile's political paralysis, they say, are the

See CHILE, A29, Col. 1

Chilean Parties Lose Initiative to Gen. Pinochet

CHILE, From A27

same fundamental differences of ideology and class that helped bring down Chile's democracy in 1973 and now impede any broad agreement on what kind of government and political system should follow Pinochet.

This uncompromising conflict has been most clearly expressed in a struggle for the allegiance of the Christian Democratic Party, the centrist anchor of the opposition and counterweight to the well-organized, pro-Moscow Communists.

Almost since the protest movement began, the left has sought to draw the Christian Democrats into a unified opposition front that would draw up a joint plan of government and dedicate itself to Pinochet's ouster. Meanwhile, rightist sectors formally independent of both the opposition and government have proposed that the party break from the left and negotiate a compromise plan of democratic transition with the military.

Chile's left would like to defeat the right-wing establishment decisively and shape the political future with a center-left coalition. The traditional, non-Pinochet right, in turn, seeks a center-right bloc that would exclude the left—and in particular the Communists.

Many Christian Democratic leaders say the only solution to the country's problems lies in a consensus under which the polarized right and left accept each other's existence. Yet after 11 years of military rule and growing rightist dissatisfaction with Pinochet, the two sides appear to remain irreconcilable.

Perhaps as a result, a leadership struggle has developed among the Christian Democrats. The party includes at least three competing camps. Political progress of the opposition, say some observers, may now be postponed until after the party's internal elections and a party congress in November.

Pinochet, meanwhile, continues in power. "If this keeps up," said Socialist Contreras, "people will begin to choose more radical options. And if Pinochet makes it to 1989, the political center will be destroyed."



CONTEMPORARY MIDEAST BACKGROUNDER

to:

date:

August 10, 1984

Focal Points

BACKGROUNDER # 191

MORE ON THE INTER-ALAWI COMPLEX*

Recent reports from Damascus suggest that dormant inter-Alawi conflicts have come to the surface in the form of unprecedented military battles between major Alawi chieftains squabbling about the right of succession. For instance, Rifat Assad's Defence Brigades were confronted by Ali Haidar's Special Units and Shafiq Fayyad's Third Brigade.

Subsequently, Haidar and Fayyad were, apparently, sent to the USSR to partake in a one-year military course; two top officers, less hostile towards Rifat Assad, were appointed to replace Haidar and Fayyad; Ali Duba, the Chief of the Military Intelligence, who also opposes Rifat, is said to be replaced by Wazid Knaan, a cousin of Rifat; and the elite units of the Defence Brigades were integrated into the Presidential Guard under the command of Adnan Makhiluf, a brother-in-law of Rifat.

Against the backdrop of the deep splits within the Alawi community; in view of the sweeping changes in the top military echelon; and in light of their potential impact upon the stability of the Assad regime and upon the role of Syria in regional politics, one may note the following observations by Mahmud A. Faksh (*Mideastern Studies*, Spring 1984):

For further information please refer to Backgrounders # 190, 188, 161, 157, 156, 155, 127, 118, 91, 90, 55 and 54.

**Media
Analysis**

Center P.O B 13169 Jerusalem 91131, Tel. 53 6933/4

TRIBAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS SPLITS

"The Alawis do not constitute a monolithic cohesive group with a coherent structure. They are a collectivity that lacks organizational unity and political effectiveness at a community level. They are *divided into tribes* characterized by sectionalism and rivalries, with no overall ruling authority...

"Structurally, the Alawis are divided into four loose tribal associations: Khayyatun, Haddadun, Matawirah and Kalbiyyah... (One may note that President Assad, of the Numailatiyyah wing of the Matawirah tribe, ousted in November 1970 former President Salah Jadid of the Haddadun tribe, and proceeded to replace Haddadun top officers and bureaucrats with his own Matawirah tribesmen - a process which has further accentuated the rift between the two tribes - ed. note).

"The Alawi community can roughly be divided into two major traditional groups: the *mountain Alawis*, and those of the *coastal areas* and the lower plains. A third emerging group is the educated, *mobilized stratum* now in power... These Alawis tend to be more achievement oriented, as against the ascriptive orientation of the predominantly traditional Alawi community. The transition, however, does not necessarily entail a complete dissociation from traditional values and premordial feelings about the family, tribe or religious group, but rather the lessening in level of commitment. Parochial sentiments more often than not remain latent and could surface again depending on the Alawis' power position in the country.

"The Alawis of the mountains are predominantly peasants who either own land or share-crop for notable Alawi families... (They) have developed strong tribal affiliations and an independent spirit during their centuries-long isolation.

"By contrast, the Alawis in the coastal areas of the Latakia region and in the lower plains of the provinces of Homs and Hama have traditionally been dominated economically and socially by members of other religious communities, mainly by Sunni Muslims and partially by Greek Orthodox Christians... The plain Alawis are more fragmented (than mountain Alawis), dependent and ineffective. Whatever solidarity there is tends to be familial, making identification with the community at large, if present to a degree, less pronounced...

"The Alawi tribe is not a unified, hierarchical structure with internal cohesion or a central leadership authority. It has sectional and subsectional divisions with no focal leadership to connect them and provide a measure of cohesiveness. Thus, the tribe is inherently segmentary; each segment at each level has a separate identity and a degree of power and authority of its own..."

Finally, the Alawis are *religiously divided* into sects (Shamsis, Qamaris and Murshidiyyun) which further erodes their sense of oneness."

Faksh refers to the Shamsis who derive their name from the astral symbol of the prophet Muhammad, the sun, since they pay more reverence to Muhammad than to Ali, the central figure in Shii Islam. He also mentions the Qamaris who regard Ali (*qamar* - or moon - is the astral symbol of Ali) as the meaning of divinity - thus, (Faksh) pointing at an inter-Alawi cleavage which expresses some of the fundamental rifts between Sunnis and Shiis. The third Alawi sect (within 1,000,000 Alawis in Syria) is the Murshidiyyun which split off from the Qamaris and followed Sulayman al-Murshid who claimed prophecy in 1923.

One may note that most of Assad's Matawira tribesmen are Qamaris, while the Murshidiyyun sect has a considerable following in the Khayyatun tribe. Thus, the religious differentiation criss-crosses the tribal splits, which further erodes Alawi cohesion.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ALAWI COMMUNITY

Faksh indicates that "some believe that it (the Alawi religion) is the remnants of an ancient Canaanite people who led an isolated existence in the mountain region, and thus retained ancient pagan customs. Later they were influenced only slightly by Christianity and Islam. In the Middle Ages they adopted the Arabic language and adhered to the Islamic faith in the version of the Ismailiyyah sect. Subsequently, they became a separate sect, some of whose beliefs are secret and known only to a circle of the initiated. Historically, the Alawi community was set apart from the Sunni Muslim majority who regarded it as different and somewhat suspect... They (the Alawis) were not accepted as equal members of the Muslim community, and were always treated as inferiors and persecuted...

The Alawi religion was founded in the tenth and eleventh centuries as a blend of various Islamic and non-Islamic beliefs and practices. From paganism the Alawis adopted the idea of a divine triad, of its successive manifestation in the seven cycles of world history, and of the transmigration of souls... The Alawis were stars in the world of light, into which a virtuous Alawi is transformed upon death. A sinning Alawi becomes a Jew, Muslim or Christian. From Shii Islam the Alawis took over the belief in a system of successive divine emanations and the cult of Ali (the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law). Unlike other Shiis, the Alawis believe that Ali was the incarnation of God Himself in a divine triad: Ali is the Ma'na (essence); Muhammad, whom Ali supposedly created in his own light is the Ism (name); and Salman, one of the Companions of the Prophet, is the Bab (gate). This is the most distinguishing feature of the Alawi religion, namely the

centrality of Ali, whom the Alawis deify.

"In common with the Ismaili Shiis, the Alawis subscribe to the idea of an esoteric religious knowledge hidden from the masses and revealed to only a few who are initiated into the secrets in a lengthy and complex initiation... Much of the ritual that sets off Alawis from other Muslims has been taken from Christianity. The use of ceremonial wine and the observance of Christmas are two of the borrowed practices."





Robert Marc Tannenbaum

The American Jewish Committee

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August 13, 1984

TO: Board of Governors Members
FROM: Theodore Ellenoff, Chair

* * * * *
* BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE *
* Israel and Europe *
* January 31 - February 14, 1985 *
* * * * *

We now have tentative plans for our 1985 Board of Governors Institute which I am happy to share with you.

Our preliminary itinerary is based on departure from the U.S. on Thursday, January 31 and arrival in Israel on Friday, February 1st. We will stay at the King David Hotel for 9 nights and will travel to other parts of the country from Jerusalem. On Sunday, February 10 delegations of governors will leave Israel for Hungary, Italy and Spain and will return to the U.S. on Thursday, February 14. Enclosed you will find information on costs and travel features.

The purpose of the Board Institute in Israel is to provide AJC's national leaders and their spouses with the opportunity to participate in a dialogue with our Israeli counterparts on issues pertaining to both our communities and to explore areas of future cooperation; to acquire firsthand knowledge and insight about the current political, social and economic situation in Israel; to observe AJC's activities and programs there, including the work of the Institute on American Jewish Israeli Relations; and, of course, to demonstrate our commitment to Israel and our continued and keen interest in cultivating more symmetrical relationships between the American Jewish community and Israel. The governors will meet with Israelis from various walks of life -- Jews and Arabs, business, political and cultural figures representing diverse viewpoints.

As you know, a committee chaired by Robert Goodkind has been charged with the responsibility of developing the major concepts of our program in Israel. Enclosed you will find a form which will enable you to have an input in that committee's planning process. Please share with us ASAP your ideas as to issues our program should focus on, personalities we should meet with, format of sessions, etc.

.....continued

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THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chair, Board of Governors ■ EDWARD E. ELSON, Treasurer ■ SHIRLEY M. SZABAD, Secretary ■ EMILY W. SUNSTEIN, Associate Treasurer ■ ROBERT S. JACOBS, Chair, Board of Trustees ■
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Our delegations to Hungary, Italy and Spain will enable us to initiate relationships with government officials and other influentials in these countries to learn about Jewish life there and the particular concerns of the Jewish community.

Please let us know your plans as soon as possible on the form enclosed. We would appreciate a response by September 5th even if your plans are still tentative, as it will help us considerably in our planning and as it will insure accommodations for you.

Have a good summer -- and do, please, get back to the office SOON!



TE/bf
Encs.

84-100-177

Program Information

This information will be helpful in planning the Institute's agenda.

Israel

Prior Visits to Israel: Yes ___ Number of Times ___ No ___

Subject areas you think the Board should explore during the visit to Israel: _____

Individuals, representatives of groups and organizations the Board should meet with: _____

Your special skills and interests (i.e. languages spoken, professional interests, photography, art, etc.) _____

Your special contacts with individuals and institutions in Israel

Delegations to Europe

Prior visit to country of your choice? Yes ___ No ___

We would welcome any additional information or suggestions you believe would be helpful in planning our itinerary in this country.

Your special contacts in the other two countries _____

Date: _____
84-100-172

Please return to Shula Bahat by
September 15, 1984.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

COSTS AND TRAVEL FEATURES

1985 BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE IN ISRAEL

Thursday, January 31, 1984 - Sunday, February 10, 1985

COSTS: \$1850 Per person in double occupancy
\$ 450 Single supplement

- * Round trip New York/Tel Aviv - Tel Aviv/New York based on superstar fare.
- * Deluxe accommodations at the King David Hotel
- * All breakfasts
- * U.S. & Israel airport taxes
- * Transfer from and to Ben Gurion Airport
- * Program costs
- * All taxes and service charges

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

DELEGATIONS TO EUROPE

Sunday, February 10, 1985 - Thursday, February 14, 1985

* COSTS:

Hungary (Budapest) \$825 per person in double
occupancy

\$125 single supplement

Italy (Rome) \$500 per person in double
occupancy

\$135 single supplement

Spain (Madrid) \$550 per person in double
occupancy

\$150 single supplement

4 nights in deluxe accommodations

Continental Breakfasts

Transfer from and to airports

Program costs

* In addition to Israel package and including air fares to
country of destination and return flight to the U.S.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING
Monday, June 25, 1984

ATTENDANCE

Bernard Abrams
Stanford M. Adelstein
Richard H. Adler
Norman E. Alexander
Mimi Alperin
Meta S. Berger
Philip I. Berman
Jerry H. Biederman
Robert M. Blatt
Morton K. Blaustein
Donald M. Blinken
Robert S. Brill
Matthew Brown
Sholom D. Comay
Robert T. Cutler
Emanuel Dannett
Stuart Durkheimer
Theodore Ellenoff
Edward E. Elson
Annette S. Eskind
Natalie Fielding
Howard I. Friedman
Lowell J. Friedman
Arnold B. Gardner
Frank M. Goldsmith
Jerome R. Goldstein
E. Robert Goodkind
Lois Gould-Rafaelli
George J. Grumbach
Robert H. Haines
Rita E. Hauser
Robert T. Hexter
David Hirschhorn
Selma G. Hirsh
Alvin S. Hochberg
Bee Hoffman
Philip E. Hoffman
Charlotte G. Holstein
Robert L. Horowitz
Robert S. Jacobs
Miles Jaffe
Harris L. Kempner, Jr.
Arthur L. Kimmelfield
Francine Kittredge

Benedict M. Kohl
Rik Kohn
Eleanor S. Lazarus
John D. Levy
Benjamin S. Loewenstein
Richard Maass
James Marshall
Herbert T. Mines
Alfred H. Moses
Leo Nevas
David H. Peirez
Charles I. Petschek
Elaine Petschek
Norman S. Rabb
Robert S. Rifkind
Edward A. Ring
Mervin H. Riseman
Ruth L. Robinson
Gordon S. Rosenblum
Mena Rosenthal
Mary Shapero
Robert I. Shapiro
Jerome J. Shestack
John Slawson
Stanley W. Snider
Emily W. Sunstein
Barton S. Udell
Elise D. Waterman
Margaret Weinstock
Maynard I. Wishner
Maurice Zilber
Marshall L. Zissman

Staff

Shula Bahat
Hy Bookbinder
Eugene DuBow
Arthur Feuer
George Gruen
David Harris
Irving Levine
James Rudin
Phylliss Sherman
William Trosten
Marsha Turken

Guests

Naomi Banks
David M. Gordis
Felice Gordis
Alex Holstein
Jerry Koch
Judy Mellon
David Mesnekoff

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING
Monday, June 25, 1984
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

Theodore Ellenoff, Presiding

INTRODUCTION OF NEW BOARD MEMBERS
AND OPENING REMARKS

Mr. ELLENOFF opened the meeting by introducing a number of new Board members who were in attendance -- Philip Berman, Jerry Biederman, Donald Blinken, Robert Brill, Frank Goldsmith, Francine Kittredge, Rik Kohn, Leon Silverman, Stanley Snider and Maurice Zilber. He then invited those Governors who have not previously participated in a Hilda Katz Blaustein Leadership Training Institute to attend the one scheduled for September 20-23, 1984 at the Harrison House Conference Center in Glen Cove, Long Island.

Mr. ELLENOFF announced that a reception was scheduled for June 26 in Washington D.C. to introduce Ambassador Max Kampelman, chairman of AJC's new National Advisory Committee. Howard Friedman, Alfred Moses and David Gordis are hosting the reception, which will give AJC leaders an opportunity to meet with Washington officials and establish a greater presence in the community.

He next noted that the departure date for the 1985 Board Institute in Israel is Thursday, January 31, 1985, with the group scheduled to leave Israel on Sunday, February 10, 1985. A planning committee composed of Robert Goodkind, Elmer Winter, Idelle Rabin and all commission chairs will be appointed to develop the conceptual focus of the program, and questionnaires will be sent to all Board members shortly to get their input during the planning stage.

Mr. ELLENOFF then went on to discuss the period of flux which the agency has gone through over the past year and the concerns expressed by the Governors over the lack of direction in agency priorities. He stated that AJC has come through this period in very respectable fashion and that our goals are now set in the minds of both staff and lay leaders, among the most important being our concern with church/state issues, responding to questions of human rights and forging ties with foreign chancellories around the world for the purpose of forwarding Jewish concerns and American interests. He feels that incoming Executive Vice President David Gordis will be taking over a revitalized agency which is well on its way to accomplishing these goals.

REPORTS ON MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN
LEADERS

Mr. ELLENOFF noted that AJC has conducted a series of meetings with foreign leaders over the past year, including French President Mitterand, German Chancellor Kohl and United Nations Secretary General de Cuellar. At all of these meetings, AJC leaders stressed our concern over the assault on Israel in international forums, which we view as an attack on western values.

MEETING WITH UNITED NATIONS
SECRETARY GENERAL DE CUELLAR

U.N. Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar shortly before he left on his visit to the Middle East, at which time he expressed his positive reaction to the warm welcome he received at AJC's Annual Dinner in May. At this meeting, the group stressed AJC's deep concern over the abominable treatment of Israel in United Nations bodies. Mr. de Cuellar and his assistants agreed that this was distasteful, and we urged him to set forth his disagreement with this type of behavior in the United Nations Annual Report. Mr. de Cuellar asked to speak with us again upon his return from the Middle East, and this meeting should take place in the near future.

Mr. FRIEDMAN added that he felt the Secretary General was full of good will toward AJC and saw us as a group he could speak frankly with and receive helpful advice from. He noted that de Cuellar wants to insert the U.N. in the peace process in the Middle East, thus creating a broader frame of reference toward solving the Arab/Israel conflict, which would also include the participation of the Soviet Union. We responded that we believe such an approach would only result in a more unified hardline stance by the Arab nations, and that the Soviet Union has not been constructive in its previous involvement in this area. We advised Mr. de Cuellar that limiting such expectations might be a more productive course of action and that the appropriate place to start is with the existing U.N. resolutions which served as the basis for the one-on-one negotiations which resulted in the Camp David Accords. Mr. FRIEDMAN stated that he was also looking forward to meeting with Mr. de Cuellar again after his trip to the Middle East and further discussing the situation.

MEETING WITH MEXICAN PRESIDENT
DE LA MADRID

Mr. ELLENOFF briefly commented on AJC's meeting with Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid, which was held after his visit with President Reagan in Washington last month. Their discussions touched upon a broad range of international issues of concern to AJC, with particular focus on the attack on Israel in international forums. He noted that Mr. de la Madrid listened politely to our concerns and was particularly responsive on the subject of the Sakharov case.

MEETING WITH GERMAN CHANCELLOR KOHL

Mr. ELLENOFF then asked Mr. Friedman to report on his recent meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Germany. Before speaking about this visit, Mr. FRIEDMAN noted that he also felt that AJC had come through the interregnum in very good health, in large part due to the efforts of William Trosten in his role as Acting Director, as well as the cooperation of the department heads and staff.

He then discussed the trip to Germany, where he and William Trosten met with Chancellor Kohl and other West German government officials. He found the meeting with Mr. Kohl constructive and gratifying and noted that the Chancellor considers AJC to be the agency which has contributed most to West German/American understanding through the regular visits of AJC leaders, as well as the Adenauer and Ebert Foundation exchange programs. Mr. FRIEDMAN suggested additional programmatic activity such as joint conferences on topics of interest to both countries, and Mr. Kohl responded favorably with a suggestion for such a meeting on the international human right to leave a country.

On the subject of the sale of German arms to Saudi Arabia, Chancellor Kohl reacted positively to AJC's approach, which stressed the American concern with western states supplying arms to countries which might use them to undermine any democracy, i.e. Israel. He indicated that the sale was still "up in the air" and Mr. Friedman felt Kohl had some personal misgivings about it. Chancellor Kohl also noted that his government had refused Spain permission to manufacture Leopard tanks because there was no way to be sure of their ultimate destination.

Mr. FRIEDMAN also raised the issue of anti-Israel/anti-Semitic behaviour in international forums, with particular reference to the efforts to expell Israel from the International Postal Union, and Mr. Kohl assured him that he was strongly opposed to any such efforts. The meeting ended with a brief discussion on Soviet Jewry, including an AJC request that the German embassy in Moscow take the same kind of symbolic actions that the U.S. embassy does, i.e. assigning personnel to circulate outside the Moscow synagogue on Saturday evenings.

Mr. FRIEDMAN concluded by reporting that he and Mr. Trosten made a brief stop in Paris on their way home to follow up on their prior discussions with French government officials. They again raised the issue of the French embassy in Moscow being supportive of Soviet Jewry, which had been promised during their previous visit but had not materialized, and presidential advisor Charles Salzman assured them that such assistance would be forthcoming. They also discussed cooperation with the French and German governments in coordinating activities for the United Nations Conference on Women in 1985 in Nairobi to avoid the anti-Israel politicization which occurred at the previous meetings in Mexico City and Copenhagen.

Mr. ELLENOFF added that follow-up on these meetings was extremely important and that the International Relations Department has been very responsive to this, giving careful attention to dealing with the officials and staff with whom AJC leaders have met. He mentioned that Marc Tanenbaum was presently in Europe, where he was exploring how AJC might act as a catalyst to encourage the Vatican to recognize Israel.

AJC'S DELEGATION TO OBERAMMERGAU

Mr. ELLENOFF then introduced Interreligious Affairs Commission chair Mimi

Alperin to report on the AJC delegation which traveled to Germany to view the 350th anniversary production of the Oberammergau Passion Play.

Ms. ALPERIN stated that the delegation she led to Germany included two Christian clergymen, as well as AJC lay leaders and staff members, and that efforts to publicize their visit were successfully made in advance of the group's arrival. They met with the mayor of Oberammergau, who took a hardline stance against any further changes, as well as with the leader of the German group which has been trying to reform the play, who felt that major changes were still needed. Most of the people who met the delegation agreed that the play's tremendous economic success in terms of increased tourism to Germany seriously diminishes the chances of those who seek textual changes, and that economic pressure is the only method that will be effective.

The delegation's reaction to the performance was that it is still devastatingly anti-Semitic, despite some minor changes in the text. Ms. ALPERIN reported that the two Christian members of the group were the most horrified and their reactions were highlighted at AJC's Munich press conference which was covered by the local and international press. She also noted that 5,000 people will

view each of the 100 performances this season, 40% of whom are North Americans and many of whom return to put on local productions. AJC should, therefore, continue to put pressure on American institutions which offer tours including Oberammergau.

Ms. ALPERIN concluded by describing the stop the group made in Krefeld, where they met with members of the local Christian-Jewish Cooperative Society. There are 130 Jews left in Krefeld today, down from 16,000 before World War II, and the Cooperative Society is composed mostly of Christians who are interested in creating an atmosphere where Jewish communal life can thrive. Among the projects they have initiated is a reconstruction of the Jewish history of the town composed of correspondence with former Jewish residents now located all over the world.

James RUDIN, who led the delegation along with Ms. Alperin, added that AJC's continuing efforts to mount economic pressure on U.S. groups which sponsor tours to Oberammergau have met with some recent success. He mentioned that a large New England travel wholesaler recently cut the prices of such tours due to the decreased demand and that a major Boston department store has also cancelled its promotion of Oberammergau.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS -
THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. ELLENOFF next introduced the new International Relations Commission chair, Leo Nevas, to report on recent international developments.

Mr. NEVAS discussed our most recent efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry. AJC leaders have raised this issue in a number of meetings with foreign government officials, urging them to cooperate with the U.S. embassy in Moscow in providing support to Soviet refuseniks and to publicly express their disapproval of Soviet policy in this area.

In the United States, AJC lay leaders and staff have been meeting with ambassadors from countries including Sweden, Great Britain, Austria, Italy and Belgium to stress our concern about Soviet Jewry and urge their cooperation. While most of the ambassadors were sympathetic and promised to transmit our message to their governments, the only concrete results came from our visit to the Swedish embassy, where we were promised assistance in broadcasting additional Jewish cultural and religious materials into the Soviet Union. We also raised the matter of the increasing anti-Semitic/anti-Zionist behaviour at the United Nations with these ambassadors and asked them to alert their governments as well as their colleagues at the U.N. to this disturbing phenomenon.

Mr. NEVAS also headed an AJC group which recently met in Washington with the President's Advisor on Soviet Affairs, State Department officials and a number of Congressmen who are interested in this issue. We were assured that the question of Soviet Jewry is kept on the front burner at the White House and that Secretary of State Shultz raises it with Soviet officials at every opportunity. Representative Dante Fascell, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, informed the delegation that the Voice of America will be doubling the airtime of its weekly radio program aimed at Jewish audiences in the Soviet Union, a move which AJC has been urging for some time.

Mr. NEVAS concluded by noting that the International Relations Department is attempting to alert every delegation planning to visit the Soviet Union about the plight of Soviet Jewry, providing them with written material on the subject

and urging them to raise the issue with their counterparts in Russia. He stressed that the department is paying constant attention to this problem and, even though the situation currently looks bleak due to the estranged relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., we will insure that our level of activity does not wane.

Mr. ELLENOFF asked a number of Board members with expertise in the area of foreign relations to offer their opinions on AJC's efforts to establish contacts with foreign government officials. Maynard WISHNER replied that he felt this program represented AJC at its very best. Harris KEMPNER, co-leader of AJC's 1980 Leadership Mission to Mexico, stated that there is little AJC can do except keep up our ongoing contacts with government officials until Mexico overcomes its pressing internal financial problems. Jerome SHESTACK, former U.S. Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, indicated that he felt AJC had been pretty effective in highlighting this issue during our meetings with foreign leaders. He added that we should not be discouraged if we see no immediate progress, but should keep it in the forefront of our agenda.

Mr. ELLENOFF then asked Marshall Zissman, co-chair of AJC's National Jewish Education Committee, for his comments on the issue being discussed. Mr. ZISSMAN stated that, while he felt we were doing a great deal to express our concerns with the plight of Jewry abroad, he believes we are not doing enough within the American Jewish community to increase Jewish awareness and familiarization with Jewish principles. He feels this merits some additional allocation of resources by the Board of Governors.

REVIEW OF LCSD PROGRAM
FOR PLANS 1984-85

Leadership and Community Services Department in the areas of program and membership.

Mr. ELLENOFF then introduced Community Services Committee chair Meta Berger to review the year-ahead plans for the

Ms. BERGER began her remarks by noting that both the LCSD professional staff and Community Services Committee members feel that the leadership and community functions of the agency have become much more closely integrated over the last year, thus reinforcing each other's strengths. She described the varied functions of the department, which include managing focused programming in the local communities, coordinating the Annual and NEC meetings and overseeing the complex computerized membership and recruitment mailings, thus making the department an important developmental and administrative arm serving the entire agency.

Ms. BERGER stated that the major LCSD program thrust over the next year will be to get the chapters to respond more closely to national program priorities in the development of their local activities. She described the success of focused programming in several chapters over the last program year and mentioned that two additional chapters are now planning new focused programs --in Pittsburgh, working with the French government on adapting to technological change, and in San Francisco, dialoging with the emerging Asian-American community. Ms. BERGER cited the recent collaboration between LCSD and the National Affairs Department, which resulted in the impressive mobilization of AJC forces on the school prayer amendment, and with the Interreligious Affairs Department, which resulted in three successful seminary conferences.

In terms of communication with chapter leadership, Ms. Berger noted that AJC's computer now houses the names of all chapter Executive Board members, thus

enabling us to communicate with over 3,000 people on urgent programmatic and institutional matters. LCSO has also begun issuing an additional newsletter to chapter leaders, "AJC Program Notes," which focuses on upcoming programmatic activities.

Ms. BERGER next mentioned the ongoing work of the Leadership Division in recruiting, training and utilizing our leaders; coordinating the Blaustein Leadership Institutes, which play an important role in their training; assisting the chapters in conducting their own leadership development programs; and servicing the Chapter Leadership Cabinet and Board of Governors. She noted that AJC's exciting Family Missions to Israel are now scheduled twice yearly, in August and December. Also, the second Leadership Mission to Germany is scheduled for September, and a similar delegation to France is being considered in the near future.

Ms. BERGER concluded by reporting on the plans of the Membership Division of LCSO, whose major priority for the coming year will be implementation of the recently-approved dues increase without significant membership loss. New membership materials are now being introduced for use in the chapters, and an effort is being made to reach out to AJC members in cities where we have no chapter staff through the newly-formed "Community Network," which includes mailings of a regular newsletter and op-ed pieces for distribution to local media.

AJC'S ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON

As there were no comments from the floor, Mr. ELLENOFF moved the agenda and introduced Alfred Moses and Hy Bookbinder to report on AJC's recent activities in Washington D.C.

Mr. MOSES described the formulation of the Democratic Party platform and Jesse Jackson's input in this process. He noted that Jackson's representatives on the Platform Committee had attempted to include a provision favoring a Palestinian state, which was soundly defeated. He sees this attempt as an effort to reward his Arab supporters, rather than a key issue to the Jackson camp, which is more concerned with reducing defense spending, obtaining a pledge for a non-nuclear first strike and affirmative action. Mr. MOSES feels that the Jackson forces are not in a position to seriously affect the outcome of the convention, but rather that Jackson is important symbolically as a rallying point for Black voters, with little support among non-Blacks. He pointed out that Jackson supporters include a disproportionate number of Arab-Americans, Black activists and traditional left-wingers (many of them Jewish). Mr. Moses ended by stating that the problem facing the Jewish community as a result of this candidacy is how to express our legitimate anti-Jackson feelings without causing further schisms in Black/Jewish relations.

Mr. ELLENOFF asked Jerome Shestack, as a member of the Democratic Platform Committee, for his observations on this process. Mr. SHESTACK noted that a compromise had been worked out with the Hart representatives on the committee on the matter of a non-nuclear first strike, and that this would not be an issue at the convention. He also mentioned that the two Jackson representatives on the committee were "half-hearted" in their attempt to offer a provision on a Palestinian state.

Mr. BOOKBINDER began his remarks by noting that AJC had correctly perceived the challenge of the Jackson candidacy from the start and has handled it adroitly by stating that Jackson had a right to run and, also, an obligation to accept

criticism if he did. AJC, as well as most of the organized Jewish community, recognized the problem of separating criticism of Jackson from an attack on Black aspirations. He noted that Jackson's support is actually strongest among more educated and higher income Blacks, and that we must take cognizance of this fact in setting our policy. Mr. BOOKBINDER reported that former Vice President Mondale is fully aware of the dangers of the Jackson candidacy and his strategy is to build up alternative Black support to Jackson, a process to which AJC should also contribute. He found most ominous the fact that representatives of the Jackson campaign have publicly stated that Mondale must choose between 3 million Jewish voters and 19 million Black voters.

Mr. BOOKBINDER also noted that AJC has been prominently involved in Washington in issues such as school prayer and equal access, and that these efforts help the American public understand that the Jewish community is involved in a broad agenda of social issues. He mentioned that cooperation between the Washington and national offices has never been so good, and he commended his assistant, Howard Kohr, for the excellent job he is doing. He stated that there are many issues which the Washington office will be monitoring in the months to come, including the Packwood bill, which deals with the fairness doctrine; legislation on redressing Japanese-Americans interned illegally during World War II, on which AJC will be testifying before Congress; and the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, where AJC is leading the effort to keep it filled at a maximum level.

Mr. BOOKBINDER noted that AJC must stay on top of the pending immigration legislation when it goes into conference, where there will be efforts to eliminate the guest workers provision and further debate on employers' sanctions and worker identification cards. On the subject of equal access, he warned that there is new legislation pending in the Senate (the Hatfield-Denton bill) which still threatens our tradition of church/state separation, although it has been modified to eliminate some of the more harmful provisions contained in the earlier version.

Mr. ELLENOFF then opened the discussion to questions and comments from the floor.

Robert HOROWITZ commented that the remarks of Louis Farrakhan provide an opportunity for Jews to discredit Jackson and force him to take a more moderate stance.

Mr. BOOKBINDER replied that Farrakhan does, indeed, present a target for us to attack and that we have a right to demand Jackson's disassociation from him, but he noted that many Blacks see this as going too far on our part.

Harris KEMPNER pointed out how much Jesse Jackson means to the Black community, embodying their highest aspirations, and the fact that any attack on him is seen as an attack on the Black population as a whole.

Mr. MOSES noted that Jackson represents a phenomenon in that he presents himself as an authentic Black who has not become culturally-assimilated. This approach thrills many Black Americans, but it also raises the question of whether it will lead their community into the mainstream of the Democratic Party or leave it on the fringe -- an important decision which they will have to make.

Meta BERGER pointed out that Jesse Jackson's personal life actually differs greatly from that of the Black masses he claims to represent, with his children attending private schools and his family enjoying many luxuries out of the reach of most Black Americans.

In conclusion, Mr. BOOKBINDER pointed out that on the issue of affirmative action, the Democratic Party platform presently mirrors AJC's stand -- approving goals and timetables, but specifically rejecting quotas.

JUDAICA SALE AT SOTHEBY PARKE BERNET Stanford ADELSTEIN raised the issue of the pending sale of Jewish historical objects at the Sotheby Parke Bernet Galleries. He suggested that the Board pass a resolution urging delay of the auction until the questions concerning ownership rights of the items are answered satisfactorily.

Leon SILVERMAN reiterated Mr. Adelstein's concerns. He stressed that the important moral and legal issues involved called for action on the part of AJC.

Mr. ELLENOFF pointed out that this issue had been discussed thoroughly by the officers and that William Trosten had reviewed the situation with lawyers representing the gallery. As a result of these discussions, it was decided that no additional action by AJC should be undertaken at this time.

After some additional discussion, the Board voted to accept Mr. Ellenoff's suggestion that the officers continue to closely monitor the situation and use their discretion in making any public statement on the issue.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS: CONCERNS
AND OPPORTUNITIES

Mr. ELLENOFF next introduced National Affairs Commission chair Sholom Comay and National Affairs director Irving

Levine to report on a number of issues which the department is currently following.

Mr. COMAY began by referring to AJC's work in the area of asylum policy, which is touched upon in the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill recently passed by Congress. A task force has closely examined the issue and reported to the National Affairs Commission, and their deliberations will result in a suggested AJC policy statement on how to determine who deserves political asylum and what administrative machinery should be set up to handle the procedure.

On the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, Mr. COMAY noted that AJC's efforts were very successful in blocking the inclusion of a cap on legal immigration and insuring the right of brothers and sisters to join their relatives in the U.S. He praised the staff effort led by Gary Rubin on this complicated issue.

Mr. COMAY noted that the National Affairs Commission had voted unanimously not to join a suit which seeks to enjoin the appointment of an American ambassador to the Vatican. He also noted that the Commission reiterated its belief that AJC should take a very strong public stand against any equal access legislation, even though it looks as though the Hatfield-Denton amendment will pass the Senate.

Mr. COMAY concluded by referring to a set of guidelines on Black/Jewish relations which were drafted by the National Affairs Department (a copy of which is attached) for use during the Democratic convention and the ensuing election campaign. These guidelines resulted from AJC's concern with improving these relations, which have been exacerbated by the Jackson candidacy, and are aimed at three audiences -- elected officials, in an effort to encourage them to follow the example of some Black and Jewish officeholders who have joined together to minimize the divisiveness which has emerged; the media, which

sometimes misrepresents the issues involved or reports statements out of context, thus aggravating the situation; and Black and Jewish communal leaders, in an effort to introduce civility into the discourse and avoid unbreachable rifts between the two groups. Adoption of these guidelines were authorized by the board. Mr. COMAY then asked Irving Levine to offer any additional observations he might have.

Mr. LEVINE noted that there are no Jewish leaders with the type of divisive image which Jesse Jackson has created for himself and, also, that the problems which have resulted from his candidacy have led to some vicious and overtly anti-Semitic articles appearing in the Black press. He stated that Black and Jewish politicians must be moderate on the subject of their relations with each other, due to the large number of concerns the two groups have in common. AJC is encouraging joint statements by Black and Jewish elected officials which minimize our differences and favor a moderate, conciliatory approach.

Mr. ELLENOFF then opened the discussion to the audience.

Leo NEVAS questioned whether AJC was exploring meeting with Arab-Americans to discuss peace in the Middle East.

Mr. LEVINE replied that there has been long-term interest in doing this on our part, but it has met with little results. He noted that the National Affairs Department has been examining the influence of the Arab-American community on the domestic political scene. Mr. COMAY added that it should be part of AJC's policy of "domestic diplomacy" to develop such relations with Arab-Americans, who are becoming a cohesive ethnic political group.

James RUDIN noted that the first meeting between AJC and Black church leaders was recently held in Washington, D.C. The discussions touched upon domestic issues such as affirmative action, education and welfare, and international issues, including the Middle East, South Africa, Central America, and NATO. Rabbi RUDIN mentioned that the Blacks involved were very reluctant to go public with their criticisms of Louis Farrakhan, and he also noted that most of the funding for the Jackson campaign has come from the Black churches. The overall tone of the meeting was very positive, and plans have been made for further discussions early this fall.

As there was no further business, Mr. ELLENOFF adjourned the meeting.

R058-LCSD/gn
July 1984



Guidelines for Reducing Conflict:

Black-Jewish Relations During the Party

Conventions and Political Campaign

The upcoming Presidential campaign season, beginning with the Democratic Party Convention on July 16, will have important implications for Black-Jewish relations in the U.S. Personalities and issues that have generated strong reactions in both communities will come into sharp focus. There is potential for both intergroup tensions and constructive joint initiatives, depending on how key leaders and organizations define their aims and develop their strategies over the next few weeks.

The party conventions and campaign will highlight Black-Jewish relations in several ways. Much attention will be directed at Rev. Jesse Jackson, whose candidacy has both galvanized wide Black support and caused great concern in the Jewish community. The positions adopted by the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees and the party platforms and their impact on Black and Jewish communal interests will also be closely watched. The way the media report these events will have a significant effect on public reactions to them. In addition, the leadership role played by major Black and Jewish organizations will figure prominently in future relations between the two groups.

In an atmosphere so volatile, it will be necessary to develop clear guidelines for approaching Black-Jewish relations during the conventions and campaign. Representatives of each community and of the party and the media need to understand both their own roles and the impact their activities will have on the perceptions and reactions of others. The weeks ahead should be devoted to increasing this awareness and planning for constructive initiatives by all key political participants.

Guidelines for the conventions and campaign should rest on the following principles:

- Blacks and Jews, like other ethnic and social groups in the U.S., have real and legitimate interests that should be reflected in party platforms and, more generally, in the American political system.
- All forms of extremism and bigotry should be unequivocally denounced. Any manifestation of anti-Semitism or racism should be condemned by Blacks, Jews and others.
- Prominent Black and Jewish public officials and communal leaders should take the lead in forging constructive ties between the two groups by identifying common issues, promoting coalitional efforts and developing strategies to achieve mutual aims.



These principles have important applications for various participants in the conventions and campaign. Specifically, we believe the following groups will have significant roles in influencing Black-Jewish relations:

I. Candidates, Public Officials and Platform Committees: These public party representatives will have especially visible roles in upcoming political events. They will have several opportunities through their statements and actions to affect Black and Jewish interests:

- In their statements on issues, the nominees and party spokesmen should highlight positions important to the Black and Jewish communities. These include the security of Israel, church-state separation, a generous immigration policy, sexual equality, and human rights for Jews, and political access, affirmative action, sensitive family support programs, increased aid to education, employment, civil rights and anti-apartheid policies in South Africa for Blacks. These points deserve wide support from the spectrum of political views in the party and the nation.
- At the same time, political leadership should speak out clearly on the issues that threaten each community. They should oppose vigorously any effort to weaken Israel, lessen commitments to civil rights programs, deny the legitimacy of either group's concerns, or take any other action that will seriously harm Jewish or Black interests.
- It is particularly important for prominent officials and candidates to condemn any appearance of anti-Semitism or racism. The entire society is hurt when bigotry is condoned by any important political figure or institution.
- Prominent individuals in the political arena need to participate actively in improving the state of intergroup relations in America. Black and Jewish office holders and candidates should themselves provide models for cooperative efforts by both groups to achieve mutual aims. Moreover, non-Jewish and non-Black leaders should articulate the national significance of maintaining strong Black-Jewish ties.

II. The Media: The media wield an enormous amount of influence on public perceptions of controversial events. Since most people never see actual leaders in action, but rather read or watch reports of their activities, their opinions are shaped by journalists and news analysts. The following considerations will aid media personnel to deal fairly with the difficult topic of Black-Jewish relations:

- It is important to present a balanced view of intergroup ties and not to concentrate on individual sensational events that may capture momentary attention but distort larger patterns of communal behavior. In particular, single instances of conflict often receive widespread publicity and create an impression of ongoing hostility when in fact there may exist consistent but

unreported points of constructive contact between groups. Media should strive to project a full picture, including positive as well as negative aspects, of Black-Jewish relations.

- Care should be taken in choosing spokesmen for group interests. Media should avoid the temptation to elicit statements from flamboyant or shrill activists who often represent no real constituency. They should turn instead to leaders with a proven record of community service and support.

III. Communal Leaders and Major Black and Jewish Organizations: The key black and Jewish communal organizations will remain actively involved in the intergroup relations field after the electoral season is completed. They have, therefore, a special ongoing responsibility for promoting constructive work in this field. During the conventions and campaign, they should aim to perform several functions:

- Drawing on their experience in this field, the major Black and Jewish organizations should define the salient issues and address them in ways that candidates and officials can put into action.
- Black and Jewish leaders should monitor politicians' influence on intergroup relations and, when appropriate, encourage positive activities or criticize harmful initiatives.
- Especially during times of heightened public concern, leadership in both communities should organize visible events, joint statements and common initiatives to stress both the principles and payoffs of intergroup cooperation. At the same time, key communal representatives should meet privately to discuss hard issues, exchange frank evaluations and develop mutual understanding and plans for action.
- Community leaders have a responsibility to make known, both publicly and privately, the limits of what they regard as acceptable behavior toward their group and what statements or actions they view as racist or anti-Semitic and therefore intolerable.
- Communal organizations, because they are permanent institutions, should also provide a long-range perspective to the give and take of convention and electoral politics. Intergroup relations leaders will have to deal with the lingering effects of the campaign on Black and Jewish relations and should actively point out the continuing implications of various policy options.

As the convention season and subsequent national election campaign draw increased attention to group politics, interest in Black-Jewish relations will continue to intensify. This could lead either to heightened conflict or increased cooperation. It is important now to generate agreement on the principles and guidelines that will realize the positive potential in the challenges that lie ahead.

S026-NAD 7/6/84 GR/ar/sm/gn

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Aug. 14...The overwhelming support of the Sephardi community of Islamic-country origin for the Likud bloc is the central feature of Israel's politics today, according to a well-known authority on Israel's society.

In a study of the highlights of Israel's recent election results, prepared for the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee, Hanoch Smith, Director of the Smith Research Center, a leading Israeli public opinion and economic research institution, attributes the outcome to "polarization, fragmentation and ethnicity."

Pointing out that the 1984 elections demonstrated once more the "powerful propensity" of the Sephardis to support Likud and allied parties, Mr. Smith concludes that the demographic factors — higher birth rate and younger overall population than those of Ashkenazi origin — indicate an increasingly important role for them.

"No government can last long without winning their support," he declares.

In an introduction to the report, Dr. George E. Gruen, Director of the American Jewish Committee's Israel and Middle East Division, observes: "Americans who have been watching with deep interest the developments in Israel's vigorous parliamentary democracy can only hope that a sufficient number of Israeli parties will put aside their ideological and personal rivalries and respond to President Haim Herzog's appeal to create a united government strong enough to reform the electoral system and tackle the pressing economic and social problems facing the country."

Leo Nevas, Chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, noted that the Committee had commissioned in-depth studies by Mr. Smith on each of

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Note to Editor: For a copy of the Smith Report, Highlights of Israel's Election Results: Polarization, Fragmentation and Ethnicity, write to Morton Yarmon, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees; David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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the past three Knesset elections as part of AJC's ongoing program to increase understanding in the United States of Israel's democratic society.

The current study is the second on the 1984 elections by Mr. Smith. In the first, issued in June, he maintained that "the public is strongly polarized on key issues as never before," a finding confirmed by the July 23rd election.

"The results of the 1984 Knesset elections stunned the Israeli community," Mr. Smith declares. "For most of the election campaign the Labor Alignment (Ma'arach) and its allies held a solid advantage over the Likud. Suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, the lead began to erode before the election."

Those who had voted Likud in 1981 and who said in polls that they now favored Labor began streaming back to the Likud, Mr. Smith notes. Specifically, Sephardi and Oriental Jews, whose families had immigrated from Arab and Islamic countries, returned rapidly to the Likud. The wave continued until Election Day.

As in 1981, Mr. Smith states, "the Likud did just enough on the economic scene to reestablish the faith of this (the Sephardi) community that the Likud is the party for helping them obtain parity with the European-originated community. These Jews apparently feel 'socially' at home in the Likud." He adds:

"More determinedly than ever, the Sephardi community of Islamic-country origins continued to back the Likud and their own ethnic religious parties and failed to give increased backing to the Labor Alignment and its allies, even in the face of economic difficulties and the unpopular war in Lebanon. Not only were they responsible for the election of [Rabbi Meir] Kahane, but even split the religious camp by giving most of their vote to ethnic religious lists, Shas and Tami."

Against this, Mr. Smith makes clear, the European-originated voters gave more support to the labor bloc and centrists like Yigal Hurwitz and Ezer Weizman. But, at best, even with the anti-Likud Arab vote, they could not produce a clear majority.

Dr. Gruen observes that Labor Party Leader Shimon Peres appeared to be reaching out to the Jews of Middle Eastern origin in Israel when he pledged to "work to form a government of reconciliation, a government whose laws will be nurtured on good will, a government that will bridge the social gap, ethnic differences, the spiritual spectrum and the national diversity." Dr. Gruen further noted that President Herzog, Mr. Peres and Likud leaders all strongly rejected the

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anti-Arab position of Rabbi Kahane and refused to consider him as a potential coalition partner.

The Smith study is illustrated by five comprehensive tables detailing pre-election polls and actual results, comparison of the final results of the 1981 and 1984 elections, distribution of vote of Oriental Jews and of European-origin Jews, and the Islamic-country origin vote by religious party.

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

#84-960-327

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CLARENCE D. LONG
2D DISTRICT MARYLAND

COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN OPERATIONS

MEMBER:
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TREASURY POSTAL SERVICE
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"OFFICE ON WHEELS"

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

August 14, 1984

Dear Friend of Israel:

This year Israel will receive the best aid package ever from the United States. For Fiscal Year 1985, I recommended, as Chairman of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, and won approval of not only an increase in aid to Israel, but an entirely different aid package than had ever been considered before.

With the Israeli economy facing difficult internal stress, as well as 300% inflation, Israel cannot afford to incur further debt. So, I recommended grant aid, instead of loans. The result:

- \$1.4 billion in military aid, in grants not loans, an increase of \$550 million over last year.
- \$1.2 billion in economic aid, in grants not loans, an increase of \$290 million over last year and \$350 million more than the administration's request.

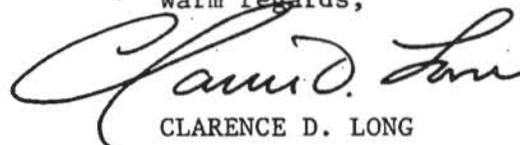
Additionally, to ease cash flow problems in Israel, I inserted a provision that will allow all of Israel's economic aid to become available in the first quarter, rather than have it disbursed throughout the year.

Other programs also received increases, such as the American Schools and Hospitals Abroad (ASHA) program, which received \$30 million (200% more than the administration request) for the several academic institutions in Israel currently funded. Also, the Lavi fighter aircraft program was approved, with the special stipulation that Israel could expend \$150 of its military aid inside its own border for R&D, and an additional \$250 million may be spent inside Israel for procurement. These stipulations mean a major breakthrough, allowing the Israeli defense industry to become less dependent on the U.S.

Israel's security needs were also addressed by language regarding her neighbors, Jordan and Egypt, where the Subcommittee recommended that sophisticated weaponry should not be sold to either of these countries until they join in serious peace negotiations and abide by the spirit of the Camp David Accords.

Israel's security is one of my paramount concerns because a secure Israel is in the best interests of American Foreign Policy. As Chairman, I will continue my efforts to maintain a secure State of Israel.

Warm regards,



CLARENCE D. LONG

CDL:klb

JOINT STATEMENT BY SPOKESMEN FOR
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNAL, COMMUNITY RELATIONS, AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS
ON PROPOSALS TO AMEND ISRAEL'S LAW OF RETURN

We speak today on behalf of eleven leading Jewish communal, community relations, and religious organizations in the United States and Canada. Our combined constituencies comprise the overwhelming majority of the organized Jewish community. Among ourselves, we differ on many things -- the primacy of halakhah in Judaism; the importance and manner of observance of such mitzvot as kashrut and Shabbat; and other religious and secular matters. We are, however, in complete agreement both on our respective rights to differ and on the supreme importance of Israel in Jewish life. Our presence here together this morning is an earnest of our recognition of the vital symbiotic relationship through which Diaspora Jewry supports Israel, and is in turn nourished by it.

After the Roman destruction of the Temple more than 1900 years ago, Jews were forced to wander the face of the earth. Although often subjected to persecution and exile, they were sustained by a yearning for restoration of the Jewish homeland and by their fervent prayer, "Next year in Jerusalem."

One of the first acts of the newly constituted Knesset in 1948 was passage of the Law of Return, which granted to every Jew the right to enter Israel and receive automatic citizenship. The new law electrified the Jews of the world. They came from the Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa, from India and Ethiopia, from the Americas, and above all -- the survivors of the Holocaust -- from wartorn Europe, all enabled by the Law of Return to come to Israel as of right.

The democratic society which the immigrants created served immeasurably to strengthen the Diaspora. The effect of their achievement became clear in the terrifying days preceding, and the euphoric days following, the Six-Day War.

Then Diaspora Jews -- even those who had separated themselves from the community -- rushed to identify with their Israeli brothers and sisters, and to demonstrate unprecedented support. That sense of solidarity continues to this day.

As representatives of major institutions and currents in Jewish life, we turn to the leaders of the State of Israel to sustain this nurturing relationship by rejecting the demand of the Orthodox rabbinate for a change in the Law of Return.

Jews in Israel and Jews in the Diaspora need each other. The self-serving demand of a group of Orthodox spokesmen in Israel that they be recognized as the sole interpreters of Jewish religion, and specifically that their authority to determine the legitimacy of conversions performed outside Israel be spelled out in the secular law of Israel, is morally and religiously offensive to us.

And it is contrary to the interests and welfare of world Jewry. The proposed change in the Law of Return would do violence to the principle of Jewish unity and jeopardize the sense of solidarity that binds the Jewish people everywhere to the State of Israel. In deciding whether a conversion performed in the Diaspora is or is not authentic -- basing their opinion not on how the conversion was performed, but on who performed it -- the Israeli rabbinate and, if they achieve their purpose, the State, would arrogate to themselves authority over the religious lives of Jews throughout the world. By explicitly rejecting the legitimacy and authenticity of non-Orthodox movements, the Knesset would be taking a judgmental action totally beyond its competence. This would damage the capacity of the State to call upon every Jew equally for support and weaken the appeal for aliyah. The State of Israel, the major unifying force in Jewish life, would thus become a force for injecting divisiveness.

The Knesset, a democratic national political body, should not attempt to legislate religious homogeneity. Religious differences are to be resolved neither by majority vote nor by coalition politics. The issue of who is a Jew must ultimately be resolved among the religious groups involved. Meeting in a

spirit of good will, we should be able to reconcile divergent views in ways which will at once respect the differences among us, and emphasize our common concern for the unity of the Jewish people.

We strongly urge the citizens of Israel and its leaders in the government and Knesset to continue to recognize the reality and importance of religious diversity and pluralism among the Jewish People, and therefore to reject all demands for revision of the Law of Return.



American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
Americans for Progressive Israel
ARZA-Assn. of Reform Zionists of America
B'nai B'rith
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation
Jewish Theological Seminary of America
MERCAZ-Conservative Zionist Movement
National Jewish Resource Center
NFTS-National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
Rabbinical Assembly
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
United Synagogue of America
Women's League for Conservative Judaism
World Union for Progressive Judaism
World Council of Synagogues

August 13, 1984

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16 JEWISH GROUPS PROTEST TO ISRAEL

8.14.84

U.S. Coalition Opposes Move by Orthodox to Amend Law of Return on Converts

BYTIMES

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

Sixteen major American Jewish religious and community groups yesterday protested a suggested change in Israel's law of return that would bar all converts from the Reform and Conservative movements from gaining entrance to Israel as Jews.

The groups included Reform and Conservative rabbinic and synagogue organizations and all three large community service agencies, which rarely take sides in religious disputes. Spokesmen said it was the largest coalition ever to take such action and represented 85 percent of American Jews.

"We have a history of avoiding partisanship for the sake of unity," Daniel Thurstz, executive vice president of B'nai B'rith, said at a news conference. "But on this issue, we must speak out. There is already a dangerous gap between Israel and the Jewish diaspora."

In a three-page statement, the group said the suggested change was "morally and religiously offensive to us" and warned that it would cost Israel support among American Jews.

Orthodox Condemn Protest

Responding to the protest, five American Orthodox groups immediately condemned it.

Five religious parties that won seats in Parliament in the recent Israeli elections have demanded an amendment to the law of return as a condition for supporting efforts by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir or by the Labor Party leader, Shimon Peres, to form a new government. The amendment would insist that conversions be performed by Orthodox rabbis "in accordance with halacha," or Jewish law.

Israeli law now condones Reform and Conservative conversions done according to Jewish law, which under the usual interpretation does not require Orthodox rabbis.

In 1981, a similar attempt to amend the law of return failed. Religious parties, negotiating with Prime Minister Menachem Begin for votes to build a coalition, demanded a change but were assuaged by an agreement to shut down El Al, the Israeli airline, on the Sabbath.

The current issue is heightened by increasing demands by Reform and Conservative groups for religious parity in Israel, which recognizes only Orthodox Judaism as legitimate, and by a Reform effort to gain converts.

At the news conference at the headquarters of the American Jewish Committee in New York, the coalition said the proposed amendment would "do violence to the principle of Jewish unity and jeopardize the sense of solidarity that binds the Jewish people."

Theodore Ellenoff of the American Jewish Committee, who read the statement, said the coalition represented the 85 percent of Jews in the United States who are not Orthodox.

"By explicitly rejecting the legitimacy and authenticity of non-Orthodox movements," the statement said, "the Knesset would be taking a judgmental action totally beyond its competence. This would damage the capacity of the state to call upon every Jew equally for support. The state of Israel, the major unifying force in Jewish life, would thus become a force for injecting divisiveness."

"The self-serving demand of a group of Orthodox spokesmen in Israel that they be recognized as the sole interpreters of Jewish religion," it said, "and specifically that their authority to determine the legitimacy of conversions performed outside Israel be spelled out in the secular law of Israel, is morally and religiously offensive to us."

But the five Orthodox groups, in their rejection of the coalition's stand, argued that it wrongly tried to "pressure the Government of Israel on matters of internal policy." They said the coalition had further split Jews.

"Rather than being divisive," the Orthodox statement said, "a formal codification of conversion according to halacha would unite Jews by removing any questions as to the validity of conversions and any barriers that may flow therefrom."

The statement was signed by the Rabbinical Council of America, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, Young Israel, Religious Zionists of America and Agudath Israel of America.

Coalition Denies Meddling

Coalition supporters denied at their news conference that their protest meddled in internal Israeli affairs. They contended that the law of return was a special case since it primarily affected outsiders.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, said the change could "lead to massive alienation of American Jews from Israel."

Rabbi Schindler has been chief promoter of an aggressive Reform conversion program, which is aimed primarily at converting non-Jewish spouses in mixed marriages and has increased tensions between Reform and Orthodox Judaism.

The coalition groups were the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Association of Reform Zionists of America, B'nai B'rith, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, Jewish Theological Seminary, Rabbinical Assembly, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, United Synagogue of America, World Union for Progressive Judaism, National Jewish Resource Center, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, the Conservative Zionist Movement, the World Council of Synagogues and the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.

The statement was also signed by Max M. Fisher, former president of the Council of Jewish Federations.

8/15/84 ✓

Sotheby Is Accused in Case About Sale of Rare Books

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—At a hearing today, New York state will seek to nullify a sale of rare Hebrew books and manuscripts by Sotheby Parke-Bernet Inc., the auction house.

State Attorney General Robert Abrams asserts that Sotheby auctioned the materials June 26 knowing that the seller couldn't prove ownership.

The state, in a civil proceeding, is charging Sotheby and the unidentified seller with fraud.

It wants to nullify the sale, have the buyers reimbursed the \$1.5 million they paid, and have the books placed in a public institution to be determined by the court. The identity of the buyers hasn't been disclosed.

In an affidavit, New York state says the manuscripts belonged to a renowned rabbinical institution in Berlin that was closed by the Nazis in 1942. The state contends that the books weren't legally held by the seller.

Spokeswoman for Sotheby said the auction house will submit legal papers to the court today that "will demonstrate that the attorney general's position is based on a callous disregard for both the law and the facts."

The attorney general had tried unsuccessfully to restrain

AUG 17 1984

Memorandum from

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-0600

August 15, 1984

TO: Mr. Warren Eisenberg
Mr. Ted Freedman
Rabbi Henry Michelman
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓

FROM: Mark Friedman

I received the following telex from Jean Halperin concerning the WCC/IJCIC meeting in November:

"AT THE RECENT COLLOQUIUM OF ICCJ IN VALLOMBROSA I MET GERSHON WEISENBERG, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR FOR WORCESTER COUNTY AND A FORMER GRADUATE FROM HARVARD. HE IS MOST ANXIOUS TO ATTEND OUR CONSULTATION WHICH HE THINKS COULD HELP HIM A LOT IN HIS WORK. SINCE THERE WOULD BE NO TRAVEL EXPENSES INVOLVED I WOULD STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT HE BE ALLOWED TO ATTEND AS OBSERVER IF THERE ARE NO OBJECTIONS FROM OTHER IJCIC MEMBERS."

Please let me know if you have any objections.

MF:rz

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WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

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11, HERTFORD STREET
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JERUSALEM
P. O. B. 4293
4, ROTENBERG STREET
TELEPH. 635546-635544

Geneva, August 13, 1984

To: All members of IJCIC
From: Jean Halpérin

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

7th Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation

Further to the report dated August 6, 1984 which you received from Dr. Riegner, you will be interested in the attached releases issued by the LWF.



It is appropriate that the first person of other than Christian faith to address the LWF Assembly should be a distinguished member of the world Jewish community and a man who has for a lifetime labored on behalf of all who are in need, whatever their faith.

Born in Berlin, trained in law, Dr Gerhart M. Riegner became legal officer of the World Jewish Congress when it was founded in 1936. From 1948 to 1983 he was its Secretary General. In 1942 Dr Riegner was the first to inform allied governments and the world in general of Hitler's systematic extermination of the Jews of Europe. Later he wrote of those lonely years that "the human understanding, friendship and the helping hand of some of our Christian friends were the only signs of light in the darkness that surrounded us." In succeeding years he has been engaged in an unending series of undertakings, not only for the Jewish community but for the cause of human rights, human freedom and dignity and for religious understanding among all people. Since 1967, when he and a colleague founded the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations, he has led the Jewish community in talks with the WCC and various Christian communions. It was at his initiative that recent Jewish-Lutheran talks began. We welcome among us ^{our friend,} today the co-chairman of the World Jewish Congress and chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations, Dr Gerhart M. Riegner.

X
L W F ASKED TO RESPOND TO ISLAM CHALLENGE
 =====

BUDAPEST, Aug. 7 (lwi)--A Tanzanian bishop Aug. 3 asked the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) to respond adequately to the challenge posed by Islam in a number of developing countries, especially in Africa. Bishop Sebastian Kolowa spoke during debates on a three-part report and recommendations of a working group on "Mission and evangelism today." The recommendations, including one asking the LWF to provide continuing information to study other faiths, were passed unanimously.

He said Islam is gaining momentum in a number of African countries. Rich Muslim countries especially in the Middle East, are pouring large sums of money into Africa to influence the people to become Muslims, he said. Kolowa said these countries have gone as far as offering scholarships and other inducements to young people wishing to pursue further studies.

President Daoud Haddad of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan urged the LWF to approach the Christian-Muslim dialogue more directly, suggesting that a study of Christianity and Islam should also be strengthened. The recommendations included recognizing mission as central to the church and its theology, and that member churches be encouraged to understand the church as mission.

It also recommended that the LWF draw together member churches to reflect upon and critically examine the dynamics of church, culture and society. The LWF was also asked to become more involved in mission at the global and regional levels. (by Mingusa Kosoro)

* * *

X
JEWISH LEADER SEES 'TURNING POINT' WITH LUTHERANS
 =====

BUDAPEST, Aug. 7 (lwi)--A Jewish leader for interreligious relations told the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Assembly here, Aug. 1, he expected a "real turning point in our relationship." At the same session, the Assembly sent to its 99 member churches a major statement on Jewish-Lutheran relations for their "study and consideration." The statement was developed at a July 1983 interreligious consultation in Stockholm.

Before the statement was approved, delegates heard the first address before an LWF Assembly from a non-Christian. Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner, Geneva, is retired general secretary of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) and cochairperson of the International Jewish Committee on Inter-Religious Consultations. Riegner described the Stockholm statement as affirming "the dignity and integrity of our two faith communities and repudiated any organized proselytizing of each other."

The concept of proselytizing was carefully considered at Stockholm, and proved to be an issue for some Assembly participants following Riegner's address. The tension comes between the witness (evangelism) as an "essential trait of the Christian community" and the need for Lutherans to show "respect for Judaism

(M O R E)

as a living reality and for our faith," said Riegner. In condemning proselytism, the Stockholm group had dealt with "immoral and indecent methods of persuading others to change their faith," Riegner said.

A separate statement by Lutherans at the Stockholm gathering specifically repudiated Martin Luther's "anti-Jewish remarks" which were later used by antisemites, particularly during the Holocaust. Luther's polemic against the Jews was similar to his polemic against any whom, he felt, were misinterpreting Scripture, the document said. "The violence of his attacks on the Jews must be acknowledged with deep distress," the document said. "And all occasions for similar sin in the present or in the future must be removed from our churches."

This separate Lutheran statement was also endorsed by the Assembly and sent on to the member churches. The first proposal was to send the statement on to the member churches for "guidance," but this concept was changed by a floor amendment to "study and consideration" because the LWF constitutionally cannot instruct its members. Disappointment on the amendment was registered by the Rev. Käthe Mahn of West Germany who was a member of the Assembly committee that drafted the original proposal. She said it was "rather regretful that the LWF cannot use forceful terminology" in such an important matter.

Other action on committee proposals called for further work by the LWF department of studies and for further Jewish-Lutheran consultations with special consideration of the issue of witness and proselytism. The concern about "proselytizing" occupied much of the floor discussion, especially the rejection of "organized" efforts to win Jews to the Christian gospel. Several speakers said Lutheran ministries operate in Israel and elsewhere, and asked whether the LWF is becoming "hesitant" in the area of evangelism. Dr. Georg Kretschmar of Bavaria (West Germany) noted the topic of proselytization is included in the next round of consultations and said, "We cannot here thoroughly clear up this matter."

In his address, Riegner pointed out that relations between Christians and Jews are different than relations between Christians and "other faiths and ideologies." Both Jewish and Christian traditions are "rooted in Scripture," but traditions have gone in "different directions." Acceptance of each other and acknowledgment of the differences are keys to establishing a "meaningful relationship," he said.

In introducing Riegner, LWF General Secretary Carl H. Mau Jr. noted his long service (1948-83) as general secretary of the World Jewish Congress. He had been the first, Mau reported, to alert the Allies in 1942 that the Nazis were exterminating Jews. The International Jewish Committee of Inter-Religious Consultations includes the major Jewish organizations: the WJC, Synagogue Council of America, the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish Council in Israel for Inter-Religious affairs. (by Richard Mueller)

HUNGARIAN RABBI GREET'S ASSEMBLY

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BUDAPEST, Aug. 7 (lwi)--Chief Rabbi Laszlo Salgo of Hungary brought greetings, Aug. 1, to the Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) from Hungary's 89,000-member Jewish community. He said that the "action and enthusiasm" of newly-elected LWF President, Bishop Zoltan Kaldy of Hungary "is a guarantee for the further life of the LWF." Salgo wished Assembly participants "good work, good health and the blessing of God for the benefit of your believers and all mankind," and said before the Assembly the "Aaronic blessing," a prayer common to both Jewish and Christian religious traditions.

In May this year, Salgo said, the Jewish community commemorated the 40th anniversary of the deportation of 600,000 Jews "who were dragged away to camps and suffered martyrdom." The rabbi said that after the liberation of Hungary in 1945, the Jewish community "took its share in reconstruction" and could enjoy a new relationship with their sisters and brothers as "members with equal rights in the new Hungarian society." He spoke of the "full freedom of religion" in Hungary where "all ideologies and religious convictions can work together" for the "benefit of people (and) against war." (by Stephen Brown)

* * *

PALESTINIAN SUPPORT SOUGHT

=====

BUDAPEST, Aug. 7 (lwi)--A Middle Eastern Lutheran leader is asking the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) to support the Palestinian cause. Many Christians are very one-sided on the Israeli-Palestinian issue, said Bishop Daoud Haddad of the 1,600-member Evangelical Lutheran Church of Jordan. His comments came in an interview after an Assembly peace and justice working group decided against mentioning Palestine in its report.

In May, Middle Eastern Lutherans sent a statement to LWF General Secretary Carl H. Mau Jr. asking to have it published for the Assembly. In the statement, the Middle Eastern Lutherans asked the West not to justify the policies of Israel, and condemned all forms of terrorism. The Palestinians want a common state, Haddad said. "We are second-class citizens, under the Israelis. We are deprived of justice and human rights." (by Eva Hansson)

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X SWEDISH DELEGATION REMEMBERS WALLENBERG
=====

BUDAPEST, Aug. 7 (lwi)--The Church of Sweden delegation praised the contribution of Raoul Wallenberg in saving the lives of "tens of thousands" of Budapest's Jews at the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Assembly. In a prepared statement, Archbishop Bertil Werkström here Aug. 1 noted Wallenberg's efforts at the end of World War II "in rescuing thousands of people, predominantly members of the Jewish community in Budapest."

Earlier in the Assembly LWF General Secretary Carl Mau also issued a statement praising Wallenberg, who was a Swedish diplomat stationed in Budapest during the war. Mau said what happened to Wallenberg has never been determined. (The diplomat, who was taken away by the Soviet army, is reported by the Soviets to have died in prison in 1947. But others feel he may still be alive.)

The Swedish statement noted that Wallenberg has a street in Budapest named after him. The statement also noted his upbringing "in a tradition founded on sound biblical and Lutheran principles of witness and service." Werkström said Wallenberg stood up "for those in danger" and was helped by two Hungarian Lutheran leaders, Gabor Szteblo and Bishop Lajos Ordass.

Despite his disappearance, the statement said, Wallenberg is still remembered: "Raoul Wallenberg risked his life to save the persecuted. God help us to take risks to save a humankind in despair."
(by Richard Mueller)

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אלה יעקב

Marc Janenbaum



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Affairs

B A C K G R O U N D E R

IRVING M. LEVINE

Director, National Affairs Department

THE BATTLE OVER JERUSALEM

by

Lois Gottesman
Program Specialist

Arab-American organizations, several religious and secular groups and Arab governments have begun an all-out effort to defeat passage by the Congress of proposed legislation to move the U. S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) and the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) have launched national campaigns to mobilize opposition to the bill. Several Arab states have threatened to break diplomatic relations with the U. S. if the embassy is moved and have talked of the "serious jeopardy" in which such a move would put U. S. national interests in the Middle East. Also lobbying against the bill are several prominent former U. S. government officials, among them former Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter, and representatives of some Catholic and Protestant churches.

Background

Late in 1983, Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY) introduced a bill (S. 2031) to require the transfer of the U. S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the city officially designated by Israel as its capital. A companion bill (H.R. 4877) was introduced in the House of Representatives by Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA). Bipartisan majorities in both houses of Congress have signed on as cosponsors of the bill -- 51 in the Senate and 226 in the House, to date. A series of Congressional hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee have been held, during which interested groups and individuals (including the American Jewish Committee) submitted public testimony on both sides of the issue. Since the hearings ended, however, there has been little movement on the legislation.

Senior Administration officials, from President Reagan on down, strongly oppose the draft legislation and have ruled out any compromise with Congress. In an interview with the New York Times on March 29, 1984, Pres. Reagan stated that it would be "most unwise" for the U. S. to move its embassy in Israel, and suggested that he would veto the legislation if it passed. In May, Administration spokesmen reaffirmed this position, adding that watering down the legislation to a non-binding "sense of Congress" resolution would not lessen their



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

opposition to the bill. The Administration's arguments, like those of previous Administrations, are based not only on the political grounds that moving the embassy may damage U. S. Middle East interests, but also on the Constitutional grounds that Congress is infringing on the President's authority to conduct foreign policy. These arguments formed the basis of the testimony presented by former Presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter.

The Jerusalem bill very quickly became a focus of special attention in this election year, with candidates for public office, particularly the Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination, rushing to sign on as cosponsors of the bill in an apparent effort to woo Jewish voters by demonstrating their support for Israel. Some Jewish and non-Jewish groups criticized the Democrats for stressing this issue to the exclusion of others. It must also be noted that the Democratic Party's platform has consistently included support for the move since 1976.

Sponsors of the bill hope it will pass through committee and reach the floor of both Houses for a vote sometime in August. Lobbying against the bill will thus increase considerably in the next few weeks.

Arab-American Lobbying

Key national Arab-American organizations have made defeat of the Jerusalem bill, in any form, a major priority. They are concentrating their efforts on three specific areas: influencing Congress, courting the media and mobilizing grassroots support.

The NAAA, which is the official registered lobby of the Arab-American community, has spearheaded the effort to convince members of Congress to oppose the bill. Its "Save Jerusalem" campaign, launched early in 1984, has included giving public testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, sending letters detailing its opposition to all members and mobilizing its chapter presidents and Congressional district coordinators throughout the country to meet with every member of Congress. The NAAA has also contacted various church groups and urged them to present testimony outlining their denominations' objections to the embassy move.

Furthermore, NAAA representatives from its more than forty chapters around the country have contacted their Congressmen and Senators, particularly those who cosponsored the proposed legislation, to express their opposition. According to the NAAA's official publication, The Voice, seventy thousand action alert kits were mailed to members and supporters, urging them to take action against the Jerusalem bill.

In addition, NAAA officials appeared on television and radio, op-eds and letters to the editors were submitted to newspapers across the country, and a number of paid ads ran on Washington area radio stations. NAAA also contacted American businessmen in order to stress the potential harm that passage of the bill would cause to America's relations with the Arab world. The message and its implications were clear: "Vote for peace. Vote Tel Aviv, not Jerusalem."

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee began its campaign in April, focusing on mobilizing its 20,000 members to organize public events such as a national petition drive, church services and candlelight vigils. The ADC, like the NAAA, has asked its chapters to lobby their Congressmen and to write articles and letters to local newspapers. In Washington, ADC arranged a briefing for Congressional staffers, sent letters to all members of Congress outlining its objections to the bill, and sent two of its Advisory Board members, former Congressmen Pete McCloskey and Paul Findley, to testify before Congress.

A key element in the ADC's campaign has been its efforts to reach out to church and other religious bodies, peace activists, and other ethnic groups to enlist their support in circulating petitions and lobbying Congressmen. The ADC's principal argument is that the proposed legislation demonstrates once again that "Israel is dictating U. S. foreign policy in this election year." Because of the unique position of Jerusalem as "a religious center" of great significance to the three major faiths, "it should not become a political pawn in the game of American electoral politics."

Other Arab-American organizations such as the Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) and the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) have focused on this issue. The PHRC and ADC cosponsored a national petition drive highlighted by an ad in the Christian Science Monitor (4/24/84) that garnered over 100 signatures, including those of clergymen, human rights and peace activists, two current members of Congress and public figures such as Noam Chomsky, Philip Berrigan and Jack O'Dell.

The AAUG issued a strong statement opposing the Jerusalem bill, arguing that "any move on the U. S. part to 'legitimize' exclusive Israeli control over the city will be the final trigger to a new and determined anti-American policy by the Arabs." The AAUG went even further than the ADC in decrying the lack of an "even-handed approach" by the U. S. in the Middle East, and cited "three clear weapons of pressure" the Arabs can utilize to influence American policy in their favor: "the oil weapon, ... withdrawal of funds from treasury bonds and notes, ... and limiting U. S. imports which would cost a number of jobs in America." In the AAUG's view, the Jerusalem bill is clearly a test case of U. S. will to stand up to the "powerful" pro-Israel lobby.

Arab Governments

Several Arab governments have made their opposition to any initiative to alter the status quo in Jerusalem equally clear. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak threatened to break diplomatic relations with the U. S. if the embassy in Israel were moved, just as he did with Costa Rica and El Salvador after they opened embassies in Jerusalem. Likewise, the six member-states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates) stated that they would break diplomatic ties with any country that moved its embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. In an editorial on March 13, 1984, one UAE newspaper, Al Fajr, which reflects the government line, went beyond endorsing the call to sever diplomatic relations and called for measures that would have an immediate adverse economic impact on the U. S., such as boycotting one or two U. S. commodities being sold to Arab markets in order to

"have a serious effect on the U. S. producers...[which] will in turn be reflected on the merchants who deal in commodities, politics, weapons or even principles."

In an unprecedented move, the Islamic Conference Organization organized a group of diplomats from Muslim countries -- Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal, Jordan, Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia -- to lobby the White House and Congress. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia particularly emphasized Islamic sensitivities regarding Jerusalem, describing the moving of the embassy as "an affront" and "a challenge to the feelings and sentiments of the Islamic nations and the Arab world."

Religious and Other Groups

In their appeals to Congress, the media and the public, some Christians and Jews have also stressed the fact that Jerusalem is holy to all three faiths and should not be considered the exclusive domain of one (i.e., Judaism). This point was made by Rabbi Elmer Berger, a notorious anti-Zionist, in a letter to Sen. Charles Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as by the Muslim World League and the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Diocese of North America in telegrams sent to President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz and Senator Percy. Similar arguments were put forth in testimony to Congress by representatives of various church groups, including Rev. Charles Kimball, National Council of Churches; Father J. Bryan Hehir, U. S. Catholic Conference; Rev. John T. Walker, Episcopal Bishop of Washington; and Father Milton Efthimiou, Orthodox Conference of Canonical Bishops.

Other organizations such as the American Arab Affairs Council and the National Council on U. S.-Arab Relations, both fairly new, non-profit organizations whose goal is to increase American understanding of and sympathy for the Arab world, have issued special bulletins and published newspaper editorials explaining that moving the embassy would have "dramatic and negative consequences on the nature of U. S.-Arab relations." Another tack was taken by Fred Dutton, a Washington lawyer and registered lobbyist for Saudi Arabia who helped get the controversial 1981 AWACS sale approved by Congress. In a recent op-ed in the New York Times (7/30/84), Dutton warned not only about the reaction by Arab and Muslim states, but also about a "constitutional confrontation" between Congress and the White House. The proposed legislation, in Dutton's view, is "not only bad government but dubious politics."

Conclusion

The vigorous efforts of the groups opposing passage of the Jerusalem bill, which are within the bounds of legitimate lobbying activity, will have to be matched by its supporters in the coming weeks if the measure is to pass. Thus far, the majority in Congress in favor of the Jerusalem bill remains firm. This does not mean, however, that the bill will automatically pass, given the Reagan Administration's opposition and the pressure it can bring to bear on members of Congress in this election year. Given the vehemence of the opposition from Arab-American and other groups, defeat of the bill would be a serious blow to Jewish interests.

AUG 22 1984

Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 16, 1984
to Marilyn Rothman
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Staff Seminar, August 3- 16, 1984

I thought you would like to know the following additional activities and programs over and above those listed in the itinerary of the Staff Seminar (Document 84-585-15).

Group Activities

Monday, August 13 - Meeting with Brother Joseph Stiasney, Father of Zion, Superior, Ratisbonne Monastery, at the monastery.

Tuesday, August 14 - Review of Israel's hasbara problems, over dinner, with Moshe Yegar, Assistant Director-General, Ministry for Foreign Affairs

Wednesday, August 15 - Informal consultation with former members of the Black Hebrew nation in Dimona, meeting at AJC office.

Individual Appointments

1. Meeting for William Gralnick with George Hantalion, Secretary, Armenian Patriarchate, to visit tomb of an Armenian lady, at the request of a Florida friend.

2. Meeting for Harriet Bogard with Archbishop Vailios, Metropolitan of Caesarea, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, to discuss the dialogue program with Chicago's Hellenic community.

3. Meeting for Harriet Bogard with Don Nichol, Rector, Ecumenical Institute, Tantur, to discuss inter-religious activities. (The meeting was subsequently cancelled due to illness.)

4. Meeting for Joyce Galpern with Mr. Aaron Levy, office of the Deputy Director-General, Ministry of the Interior, to discuss the problems of Black intake at Israel's ports of entry.

Regards.

cc: Shula Bahat
Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen

AUG 22 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 16, 1984
to James Rudin
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject

Please note that the attached material I filched and am forwarding to you is confidential.

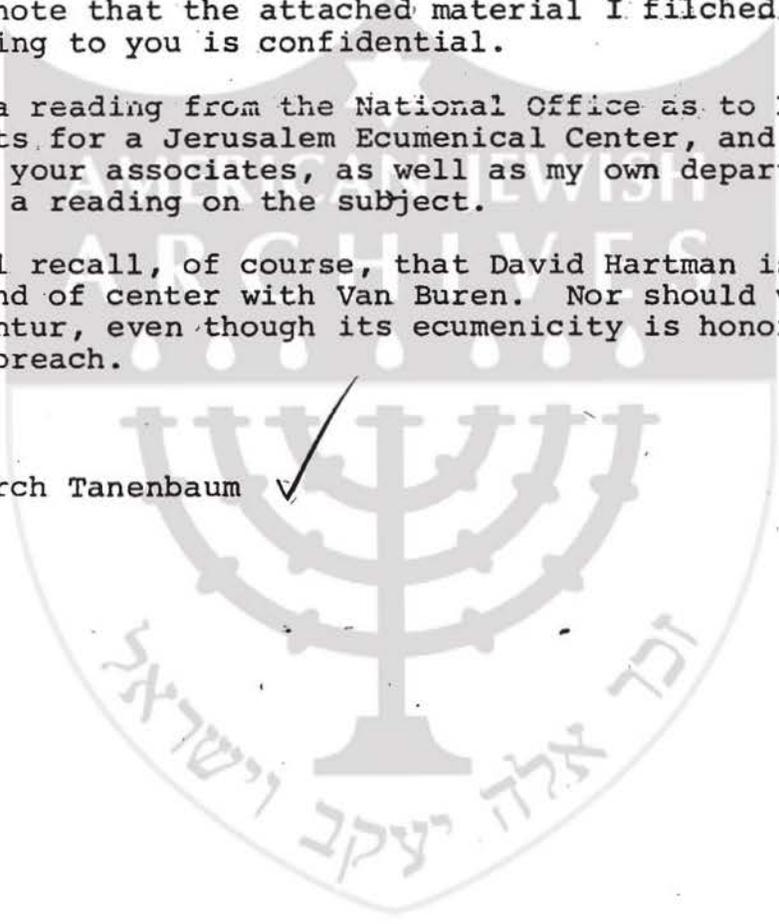
I need a reading from the National Office as to Frank's prospects for a Jerusalem Ecumenical Center, and I invite you and your associates, as well as my own department, to give me a reading on the subject.

You will recall, of course, that David Hartman is setting up a kind of center with Van Buren. Nor should we overlook Tantur, even though its ecumenicity is honored more in the breach.

MBR:swh

cc: March Tanenbaum ✓

Encl.



MEMO

DATE: 7/24/84

TO: Selected Contacts

CLASSIFICATION:
Confidential

FROM: Franklin H Littell, POB 172, Merion PA 19066

SUBJECT: Proposal for a Jerusalem Ecumenical Center

Summary Statement

The time has come to establish a Jerusalem Ecumenical Center.

The Center will provide certain major services: 1) a Seminar for Christian seminary students and doctoral candidates from many countries (cf. Appendix #1); 2) a Library of books basic to ecumenical and Christian/Jewish dialogue, available for the use of both resident and visiting scholars; 3) lecture-discussions with Israeli and foreign scholars suitable to further Christian/Jewish dialogue; 4) a hospitality house for students and professors, with services to include "home visits" to Israeli families, tours conducted by selected guides, and a social room to meet friends and make new ones; 5) a hostel to arrange temporary housing until students make longer-range arrangements; 6) a registry to help visiting students and professors locate friends and colleagues.

The Center will operate in leased quarters, using its financial resources primarily for program, fellowships and services.

The Center will be affiliated with Hebrew University in Jerusalem and with Temple University in Philadelphia, and it will welcome also the sponsorship of agencies of ecumenical and interfaith concerns - in Europe as well as in America and Israel.

Advisory committees will function in Jerusalem and in Philadelphia, and will be constituted in West Germany and elsewhere as soon as developments warrant.

The Senior Staff of the Center will be Franklin H Littell and Marcia S Littell (cf. Appendices #2 and #3).

Narrative

There is at present no ecumenical center in Jerusalem to which seminary students, doctoral candidates, professors and visiting churchmen can turn for the cultivation of Christian/Jewish understanding. There are Christian institutions for special purposes, most of them now open to other denominations and communions, but none which concentrates upon the development of an informal and friendly interaction of Christians and Jews. Some, indeed, are passively hostile to Israel - more corruptive than helpful of reconciliation.

Post-Holocaust Christian theology is being developed in a growing number of centers, and in reference to the two major events of recent history: the Shoah and a restored Israel. The major agencies of the Christian Establishment, such as the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches (USA) and the Vatican, still operate in the theological and political setting of 19th century Christendom. Among younger theologians, however, especially in the last decade and a half since the founding of the Annual Scholars Conference on the Holocaust and the Church Struggle, there is a notable change in attitude. The new concerns are revealed in the selections of thesis and dissertation topics and in the number of Christian students studying in Jerusalem or planning to do so if they can work it out.

For the newcomers in Israel, most of whom use little or no spoken Hebrew, every step is torturous - learning the bus routes, calculating taxi fares, using the telephone, arranging for housing, etc. First impressions are sometimes the most lasting, and for the Christian tourist it is often (1) the guide (with his stops at tourist traps), and the (2) hotel, with its Arab personnel, and (3) the travel agency (in East Jerusalem). It is an open secret, often discussed among Christians friendly to Israel, that these three personnel sectors often have a shockingly anti-Israel impact. The Center proposes to select guides and to train others to produce a more positive set of first impressions.

Christian newcomers and occasional visitors want to establish contact with old friends in the city. Jews from abroad, as well as Israelis, have no idea of what a problem this is for those who do not have a family or community contact when they come. This is one of the most frustrating (and frequent) experiences for Christian foreigners - to know that a professional colleague or friend is in town and be unable to locate him. The Center will maintain a registry for Christians, assist the visitors with language problems, and provide a ready place for reunions.

Because of the special relationship of the Department of Religion at Temple University with the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, we have frequent inquiries from our own Ph.D. students and from seminary students in other parts of the USA, as to how they may manage a semester or a year of study in Israel. In addition to proffering suitable services, the Center will each year circularize the seminaries and graduate schools of Religion with an offering of fellowships. A parallel program will be developed with other countries, especially with the Federal Republic of Germany - which has an admirable support program for German students and professors going abroad.

Israel is a sacred area, a place of sites and shrines, for four faiths - Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Baha'i. In the founding of the modern state, there are citizens who come from no less than 107 different countries. Events in Israel are reported and discussed all over the world. Over 70% of the tourists now coming to Israel are Christians. For both religious and political reasons, it is of utmost importance that there be a Center where transient and longer-term Christian visitors are made to feel welcome and assisted to a positive commitment to Christian/Jewish cooperation, to Jewish survival, and to the well-being of Israel. In addition to serving visitors, the Center will produce a Newsletter, mailed to friends and colleagues and alumni - carrying news from Israel, discussing issues of special interest to Christian friends in Israel, consolidating a pro-Israel constituency among the churches.

It is no secret that formal ecumenical and interfaith relations have been set back in recent years. In part this is due to the endemic Kulturantisemitismus in Christendom, which the Center will help to combat. In part it is due to a grievous deficiency in Christian education, especially in the education of the clergy, which neglects "the essential Jewishness of Christianity." In seminary education this is evident in the neglect of Hebrew language and literature. It is further marked by a neglect and consequent ignorance of Jewish history from 70 C.E. to 1928 C.E., and it has only begun to change in recent years as some seminarians are picking up attention to Jewish history and concerns by way of occasional courses on the Holocaust. Lecture-discussions will be scheduled in the Center, featuring both Jewish and Christian scholars, on issues important to Christian/Jewish understanding and mutual trust.

Instruction in the formal sense will also be offered. Professor Littell has been for a number of years an adjunct professor in the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, and his works in modern religious history - including matters affecting Christian/Jewish understanding - are well known. Both he and Mrs Littell have taught for several years in the Summer Teachers Institute of Yad Vashem. The curricular offerings will be on the European Seminar pattern, making use of the Littell library and archives.

Implementation

Facilities will be leased.

An endowment of \$500,000 is being sought to guarantee the program. Of this, one month after launching of the proposal, \$150,000 is in hand.

AUG 22 1984

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 16, 1984
to from Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
 M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Black Hebrews

Even though the members of the AJC Staff Seminar were in Dimona on August 15 to meet with that city's mayor to discuss the current status of the Black Hebrews, an additional meeting with them was requested. This derived, in part, from the expressed need of the staff members themselves for a more intensive understanding of the problem so that they, themselves, might deal more effectively with the echoes of this problem in their home communities. In addition, interest in the subject was spurred by George's fine update on the issue, as well as the exchange of correspondence between him and Prince Asael, now in Chicago.

As a result, the Israel office whipped up, on one day's notice, three former members of the Black Hebrew nation still living in Israel, who came to the office at our expense for an intensive and confidential consultation on August 15.

Participating were three Black ladies originally from Detroit, Gary and New York City, all of whom have been in Israel ten years or longer and all of whom spent at least five years as members of the Black Hebrew nation. Thus, they were able to talk about and were questioned on the reasons they joined the Black Hebrews in the first place and why they subsequently left.

I will not repeat here what is already known about the nation or the material appearing in George's report, except to indicate that the conversations with our guests confirmed George's report. In addition, they extended the report further by, for example, describing the deteriorating health care for the community, the sicknesses that are prolonged and the deaths that are unaccounted for. Blaming much of the problem on malnutrition, there were allegations left hanging concerning serious neglect of members of the nation.

The names and addresses of the three participating Blacks are on record in the israel office.

Herewith, some of the highlights of our findings:

1. Original motivation to join the group stems from some kind of religious or spiritual animus. Thus, one member was able to say that her grandfather was a minister and she remembered

him saying over and over again, "We are the people of the Bible". Another recalls her father saying, "Some day we will visit Jerusalem".

2. Affiliation with the nation called for the surrender of total assets. One member of the group sold her home in the U.S. and gave the proceeds to the cult upon the promise that when she arrived in Israel a home would be waiting for her -- it is not necessary to add that no such home was available.

3. People like those attending, who asked too many questions or who badgered the nation's administrators too often, are "expelled" from the nation, as our informant was. Such action includes forbidding any member of the cult to speak to the person so expelled.

4. Two of the three guests have members of the family still registered as cult members and they report that those people continue to be "brainwashed".

5. With reference to a story in the local press this week to the effect that no medical attention is given to members of the group nor is any requested from the Israel authorities, allegation was made that there were only 20 graves available for inspection when there were as many as 115 deaths during the tenure of our informants. "Three-quarters of our people are starving" and nothing is being done about it.

6. Many members of the cult were encouraged to burn U.S. passports upon arrival in Israel, and the members are now in a condition of statelessness. We were informed that consular officials of our government, both in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, are sometimes hampered from doing as much as they would like to because of the absence of these passports and failure to provide evidence of identification. Thus, there are Black Hebrew defectors who are quite ready to return to the U.S. but are stymied from doing so.

7. In answer to a question, two of our three informants responded with, "Yes, this could become another Jonesville".

8. Concerning education for children of the nation, most of the education is on Black history. There are no textbooks, except for the Bible, and therefore, students are described as being culturally deprived.

9. In answer to a question, our informant said that the problem is not the Israel government nor its attitude; the trouble is the leader of the group, Mr. Ben-Ami Carter.

10. Polygamy is rampant in the nation, with a maximum of seven wives allowed to one man. In answer to a question, the leader of our group said, "There are no happy marriages in the group".

11. If there are evidences of reduced friction between the nation and the citizens of Dimona, it is because the nation is on its best behavior, because they know that the Israel government has its eye on them.

12. Admission was made, as has been alleged, that some individual members of the nation have difficulty in returning to the U.S. because some of them issued bad checks and were involved in the wholesale stealing of credit cards.

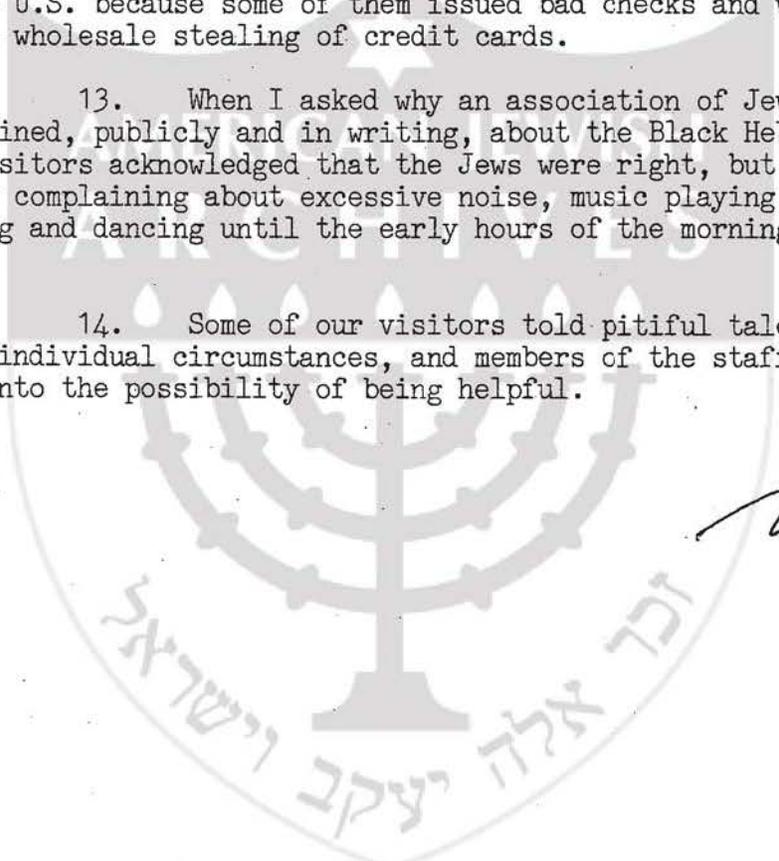
13. When I asked why an association of Jews in Dimona complained, publicly and in writing, about the Black Hebrew nation, our visitors acknowledged that the Jews were right, but that they were simply complaining about excessive noise, music playing late at night, singing and dancing until the early hours of the morning, and so forth.

14. Some of our visitors told pitiful tales about their individual circumstances, and members of the staff agreed to look into the possibility of being helpful.

MBR:vn



MBR



AUG 22 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 16, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Law of Return

Spurred by and in association with the news conference organized by 11 national Jewish organizations that took place at the central AJC office earlier this week, representatives of nine American Jewish organizations in this country held an emergency meeting with the President of Israel, at his official residence, on August 15 at 12:00 noon.

Represented at this conference were these organizations: American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, ADL (despite the fact that the home office did not participate in the U.S. press conference), Hebrew Union College, Jewish Theological Seminary, World Union of Progressive Judaism, Masoreti (Conservative) Movement in Israel. Prominent personalities in this delegation included Rabbi Simon Greenberg and Dr. Fred Gottshalk.

A day before the consultation I caused to be distributed to the participating organizations the August 13 news release of the 11 national Jewish organizations, the joint statement, and the Greenberg statement that George facsimiled to me August 13. This material was effectively used at the consultation and my colleagues expressed gratification at our initiative.

Each participant was given an opportunity to make his own presentation and I will not repeat here the litany of familiar arguments that are generally understood to be the main issues involved in the proposed amendment to the Law of Return. However, I now summarize some of the fresh points made:

1. Fred Gottshalk reported that the Hebrew Union College on King David Street has already received two bomb threats by telephone. This has been reported to the police. In light of the social conditions which make violence appear to be a legitimate option of responding to social pressures, these threats, Gottshalk said, must be taken seriously.

2. Rabbi Spector, from the Conservative Movement, reported that two older olim from the U.S. who met in the Conservative synagogue in this country and wished to be married were denied a license. It was pointed out by Dr. Greenberg that this couple was perfectly prepared to be married by a rabbi certified by the Rabbinic Court, and he must conclude that the only reason that the license was not granted was because there was objection to the wedding taking place in the Conservative synagogue.

3. The problem emerging is not so much "Who is a Jew" but "Who is a Rabbi?" The clear inference here was that the phrase "according to Halakha" is really a euphemism for approving or disapproving religious functionaries.

4. With the ingathering of exiles and establishing a refuge for the Jew, wherever he is, as the raison d'etre for the State of Israel, the whole dream of the Zionist movement is now vitiated by the inclusion of this "means test" which, for all intents and purposes, radically modifies the primary purpose of the creation of the state.

5. Making full use of the eloquent statement by Bob Rifkind, as reported to me in George's memo to me of August 13, I pointed out that whereas the Conservative and Reform movements have a direct and institutional stake in this issue, this is not merely an inter-demoninational struggle; I pointed out that both in the U.S. conference and here, there are a number of non-religious organizations, including representatives present at this meeting, who see the proposed amendment to the Law as striking a fatal blow to what still passes for the unity of the Jewish people.

Following a leisurely discussion, where it became clear that the matter was so vital that the President took time out from the significant negotiations going on to meet with us, a number of points emerged. That is to say, there was a dialogue, with free-flowing discussion and interruptions allowed in the informal setting that was created. Listed below are the conclusions summarized by the President:

A. This is not, repeat not, a Halakhic issue. If we keep arguing on the substance of Halakha, we miss the boat. The fact is that the issue here is pure and naked power. This fight for power is not confined to the halls of the Knesset but to the Diaspora as well. Thus, it was alleged for a second time, that the pressure from the Diaspora to amend the Law comes from the Lubavitch, which is concerned about retention of its power and containing the other religious demoninations in the United States.

B. The key to solving this problem is electoral reform. This was clear years ago and it is certainly prominently clear at this time. Thus, those who are concerned about the "Who is a Jew?" issue are really guilty of not having worked hard enough to change the electoral system. What is obviously needed is either raising the threshold of the number of votes needed to get a representative in the Knesset or switching to a constituent form of representation, which, admittedly, is not possible now. One imagines what would happen in the U.S. if, under the threshold system, Congress would include representatives of KKK or other extremist groups.

C. To be sure, this will be most difficult because the smaller parties obviously will not welcome such reform. In the same way, the larger parties are reluctant to initiate such action lest they alienate the smaller parties they are still wooing in order to form a government.

D. One of the key parties in this issue is the National Religious Party, which, despite the uneven quality of their leadership over the years (as reflected in Zalman Abramov's recent article, a copy of which was forwarded to you) continues to be the key in understanding the issues because it has so many associations and contacts with Jewish leaders in the United States.

E. Surprisingly, and for the same reason, the Aguda would understand our concerns, even if they won't do much about it. The President firmly believed that Avraham Shapira would certainly understand our position and, with our vigorous agreement, offered to arrange an appointment with him.

F. On the other hand, Shas can simply be ignored on this issue because its members in the Knesset would not begin to understand the problems we are discussing.

G. The Liberals might have been key in this whole arrangement and might have been counted on to press vigorously for electoral reform but they are now in disarray and cannot be relied on as allies.

H. The President concluded that while, obviously, he cannot make any public statements, he shares our concern and will do what he can, speaking to a number of people quietly, including party leaders and Knesset members he will be seeing later in the day.

MBR:vn



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FROM: LOTTE ZAJAC

DATE: 8/14/84

TO: M.T.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

FOR YOUR INFORMATION RETURN

AS REQUESTED LET'S DISCUSS

REMARKS: _____

8.16.84

C.S.M. 17

Political overkill

SPOKESMEN for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the central pro-Israel lobbying organization in the United States, have been telling regional Jewish audiences around the country that Sen. Charles H. Percy (R) of Illinois is one of their primary targets for 1984.

This is overkill. AIPAC has long since demonstrated its ability to influence the Congress.

A letter from former Republican Congressman Paul Findley of the 20th Illinois District to the Wall Street Journal July 19 is relevant. It says that "in 25 years [AIPAC] has lost only two legislative battles, each time failing narrowly to block military sales to Saudi Arabia."

AIPAC did not lose the fight against Representative Findley in 1982. It contributed the bulk of the funds used by Mr. Findley's opponent, Richard J. Durbin — \$685,000 out of a total of \$750,000. Mr. Durbin won on a pledge of full support for Israel. Mr. Findley had committed two sins in the eyes of AIPAC. He had favored suspending US funds to Israel to dissuade Israel from using American weapons in its invasion of Lebanon. He had favored inviting Yasser Arafat to the United States for peace talks and had twice met with Mr. Arafat.

Mr. Findley concludes from his own experience with AIPAC that its "future defeats are unlikely. AIPAC is seen as being able to elect its friends and defeat its enemies."

Senator Percy has committed no such sins in

AIPAC's books. He is credited by such staunch Jewish friends and supporters as Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R) of Minnesota with putting through Congress last year an extra appropriation of \$475 million for Israel above the budget recommendation of the Reagan administration.

He was endorsed during his recent primary campaign by former Sen. Jacob Javits of New York. He is supported now by many prominent Illinois Jewish leaders, including Rabbi Seymour Cohen of Chicago's Anshe Emet synagogue.

But he has so far refrained from favoring the transfer of the United States Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. And he supported the Reagan administration on selling American arms to Saudi Arabia, at the urgent request of President Reagan.

There is an issue here of AIPAC's reputation for political power. Does it in fact have the ability it seemed to show in the Findley election to set up or pull down senators and congressmen?

Senator Percy cannot in fairness be called unfriendly to Israel. But he has on two issues failed to conform to AIPAC's wishes. He supported his President and the leader of his party, President Reagan, on the matter of selling arms to Saudi Arabia. (That arms deal was proposed and strongly favored at the Pentagon and supported by President Reagan.)

And Senator Percy has so far refrained from committing himself on the location of the US Embassy in Israel. (Even the friendliest Arab countries have said

that they will break diplomatic relations with the US if the embassy transfer takes place. This could mean even Saudi Arabia and Morocco breaking with the US and turning to Moscow for support.)

Why does AIPAC make political war on Senator Percy when the senator's only AIPAC faults have been to support his President on two points of marginal concern to Israel itself?

In logic the plausible reason is that AIPAC feels that it needs more control over the Congress in the dangerous days for Israel which lie ahead.

Israel is suffering from 400 percent inflation. It has just had an election with inconclusive results. The new government will be a weak and unstable coalition. Nothing else is politically possible. This weak government will not be able to go over from the old Menachem Begin policy of military expansionism to a new policy of peace with the Arab neighbors. Since a peace policy is impossible in the foreseeable future, Israel must have increasing American aid.

Israel is today America's most heavily subsidized client. On a per capita basis it is the most subsidized client of a great power in history. But even this has not headed off 400 percent inflation.

Senator Percy is vulnerable. He is a liberal Republican in conservative political times. The AIPAC attack could make a decisive difference on election day. If he does go down under AIPAC attack, then AIPAC's reputation as a setter up and a puller down of congressmen and senators — will be enlarged.

ANALYSIS

Israeli Aid to the Third World

Rep. Howard Berman has introduced legislation (HR 5424) to provide \$20 million for joint U.S.-Israeli development programs in the Third World. The bill is designed to take advantage of Israeli expertise in developmental and technical assistance. Israeli technicians already cooperate with Americans in helping Third World countries. In Venezuela, for example, Israeli technicians used American grains to improve dairy production from an average 1,500 liters per milk cow annually to 5,500 liters.

Jerusalem already has many requests for assistance it cannot fund now. These include \$100 million in requests from Africa alone. Yitzhak Abt of Israel's Ministry of Agriculture told the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. In most cases, Israel can provide the technical expertise, he said, but cannot afford the equipment. One example is a project based on a technique Israeli doctors have developed to cure an eye disease with which Western countries have no experience; Liberia asked Israel for help but, although Israel is willing to provide the doctors, it lacks the funds to equip the clinics. Kenya wants Israeli help to start an agricultural school because it perceives Israel as a role model for keeping people with advanced education interested in agriculture.

Elsewhere, Bolivia wants assistance for five irrigation and development programs. Sri Lanka is interested in developing agriculture.

Abt testified that many projects are so small that they would not receive proper attention from the United States or other large countries, yet would have a great impact in recipient nations at the local level.

Dr. Susan Gitelson, co-editor of *Israel and the Third World*, gave the subcommittee four reasons why developing nations are eager for Israel's help:

- Israel was one of the first countries to extend aid to newly-independent Third World states;

- Israel provides appropriate technologies for small-scale enterprises, as contrasted with larger assistance programs offered by the United States;

- Israeli experts have faced similar problems at home and work closely with people in the Third World;

- The smaller scale of Israeli projects often minimizes the amount of bureaucratic interference.

Berman noted that Israel—itsself a small and relatively young country—often has been cited as a model for development. "Third World countries recognize that Israel has developed unique technical expertise in many areas, and that Israel's recent economic development experience is particularly appropriate to their needs."

Technical assistance to African nations in particular is nothing new for Jerusalem. In the mid-1950's, then-foreign minister Golda Meir initiated assistance programs with many newly-independent states, hoping to outflank Arab diplomatic isolation, expand trade, and reemphasize Israel's commitment to humanitarian goals.

Within the next 10 years Israel had opened formal diplomatic relations with 33 black African states and provided development assistance to most of them. Between 1958 and 1971, 2,673 Israeli experts served in Africa and nearly 7,000 Africans went to Israel for training.

Most African countries—pressured by

Arab oil suppliers—broke diplomatic relations with Israel in 1973. Even so, Israeli technical assistance programs continued. Although only Zaire and Liberia have re-established diplomatic relations so far, Israel has development projects in more than 20 African states. Thousands of Israelis work in Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Zaire, Gabon and Tanzania, at several times the pre-1973 levels. They specialize in irrigation, soil management, early childhood education, literacy in countries with a variety of native languages, health care, training programs for women in rural development (women from around the world have received training in Israel), and economic strategies for newly-independent states with small markets.

Dr. Jeffrey James told the subcommittee that one advantage for the United States in working with Israel on Third World assistance is that Israel "shares many of the same values that we have . . . and we have a particular interest in attempting to foster democratic practices around the world."

Some officials of the Administration for International Development (AID) oppose the U.S.-Israeli approach, concerned that even a small amount of U.S. backing would be interpreted as an admission that AID is not capable of handling these projects itself. Berman argues that the United States and Israel have common objectives and that cooperation would help to achieve them. □

—Ralph Nurnberger

Ralph Nurnberger is a legislative liaison with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

HEARD ON CAPITOL HILL

Israel Aid Markup

The House Foreign Operations Subcommittee on Appropriations finished work on Aug. 8 on its foreign aid markup for fiscal 1985, and included \$2.6 billion for Israel. With Congress recessed until after Labor Day and adjournment set for the first week of October—and controversy over sections on Jordan, El Salvador, Greece, and Turkey—the bill is not likely to reach the House floor. However, the figures included

may still be used in a continuing resolution.

The \$10.8 billion aid bill has \$1.4 billion military and \$1.2 billion economic grant aid to Israel. The \$1.4 billion in military aid includes \$400 million for continued development of the Lavi attack aircraft—\$150 million to be used for research and development in the U.S. and \$250 million to be used in Israel for procurement and research and development. The \$1.2 billion in economic assistance would be disbursed as an expedited cash transfer in the first quarter of fiscal 1985 rather than in four quarterly installments. These grant figures

are identical to those in the Senate bill.

Free Trade Moves

The Senate version of the Free Trade bill (S 2746) to authorize the President to negotiate a Free Trade Area between the U.S. and Israel has gained ten more sponsors bringing the total to 22. The most recent sponsors are:

BOB KASTEN (R-Wis.)	JOHN TOWER (R-Texas)
ROGER JEPSEN (R-Iowa)	DON NICKLES (R-Okla.)
BOB PACKWOOD (R-Ore.)	GARY HART (D-Colo.)
MARK ANDREWS (R-N.D.)	DANIEL INOUE
WILLIAM ROTH (R-Del.)	(D-Hawaii)
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG (R-Colo.)	

Near East Report. Published weekly at 444 N. Capitol St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. Subscription \$25 per year.

Second Class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional offices

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Postmaster: Address changes to Near East Report, 444 N. Capitol St., N.W., Suite 412, Washington, D.C. 20001

MODERN LIVING

Skinheads, the sort of neo-Nazis the neo-Nazis don't really want

More than 1,000 police officers and 120 medical orderlies were rushed to the centre of Hanover on the first long shopping Saturday this month to try and prevent an international meeting of punks being invaded by a force of skinheads mouthing Nazi slogans and hell bent on mayhem. Not much shopping was done: sales were down 30 per cent in the city centre. Official estimates say that about 130 skinheads came to engage 800 punks, but others say that the total warring forces were nearer 2,000. The total number of

injured is not yet known, but at least one punk was serious hurt and 26 policemen and two medical orderlies were injured. Most of the injuries came from empty beer bottles and cans hurled from both sides as police attempted to keep the battlelines apart. There were 289 arrests, 13 shop windows were smashed, 10 police patrol cars and 26 private cars demolished. A police motorcycle was damaged beyond repair. Police collected a mountain of weapons including iron bars, chains, and wooden boards with

nails. The punks had come from all over Europe, from Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Norway, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France and Austria. Before the big day, a skinhead had warned: "We'll get those punk pigs." A Dortmund skinhead said: "If those punks come to this town, then we shall get our baseball bats and DO them until there's not a whimper left." In this article, Gerd Kröncke, writing in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, looks at the sub culture of the skinheads and their connection with right-wing politics.

Lots of people come to Duisburg from surrounding areas in the Ruhr when, one Saturday a month, the shops are open all day long. On this day shoppers arrive at the Hauptbahnhof (main railway station) to find the concourse crowded with a group of loud, shaven-headed youths grasping cans of beer and dancing a sort of hopping dance.

The noise echoes loudly through the concourse. The cry from hoarse throats announces that "We - are - Germans, we - are - German."

Fifty skinheads hop to the staccato sound of each syllable. They are on the warpath, looking for foreigners, as one of their newssheets puts it.

This day, it doesn't get far because the police block off both exits to the station. So they have to confine themselves mainly to noise.

A ringleader whips up excitement with angry cries of death to the reds and Germany for the Germans and foreigners out.

Sometimes a refrain can be heard reassuring that "skinheads are for peace, they don't want violence." Some raise their hands in the Nazi greeting. Some hold up three fingers, as they have seen Michael Kühnen do on television. Kühnen is the leader of the banned neo-Nazi party, *Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten* (ANS). He has now gone underground.

The cult of the skinheads originated in the big cities of Britain where youths adopted the tribal badges of shaven head, rolled up jeans, hard leather lace-up boots and military style jackets.

At the end of the 1970s the cult started appearing in Germany, particularly in the heavily industrialised Ruhr area, but also notably in Hamburg and Hanover.

Many of them were former punks who became converted and came under the influence of Nazi ideas and were brought under the influence of various extremists of the political right.

Skinheads have adopted a battle cry of "OI", which is sometimes sprayed on walls or even tattooed on an arm.

Kühnen was once asked where he wanted to get his recruits from. He replied from among skinheads and football fans who, he said, "help us a lot but do not, politically, totally belong to us."

Since then the number of skins has grown and they have become more extreme.

North Rhine-Westphalia Interior Minister Herbert Schnoor says right-wing groups have for some time been making intensive efforts to use skinheads as "draughthorses for their political cart."

This was made easier because of social factors — youths without personal ties, without work and with, in their own words, no future (the English expression "no future" is actually part of skin jargon).

Feelings of attraction towards a tyrannical form of government and xenophobia were being exploited by the extreme right.

When the ultra-right-wing National Democratic Party (NPD) held its North Rhine-Westphalia conference at Wiehl, in the mountains near Gummersbach, a force of skinheads appeared as a sort of bodyguard unit.

The police were heavily outnumbered and called for reinforcements as the situation threatened to explode in violence against anti-NPD demonstrators.

One older man, a former concentration camp inmate, was badly beaten up and had to spend several days in hospital. According to a government spokesman, the skinheads chartered two buses themselves to get to the meeting, but the cost was met by a party member.

"Germany awake" and "Jews out", screamed skinheads as they burst through the door of a Duisburg disco. In separate incident, also in Duisburg, a man was beaten up and robbed by skinheads, who

Alles" over walls. Some wear steel helmets with SS insignia.

When the right-wing Free German Workers' Party celebrated the 90th birthday of Rudolf Hess in Hagen, skinheads went along to a football match and sang *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*.

It was not wise to get too close. A Cologne paper reported 10 to 15 of them either clothed or disguised as punks had attacked a man lying on the ground with iron bars, pieces of wood and stones.

The philosophy is spread somewhere between extreme right and some other point somewhere. It is hopelessly confused.

One 18-year-old bricklayer, for example, told the alternative Cologne newspaper *Stadtrevue* that he was not a fascist. "I say it all the time. I am a Nazi. Most of the others are fascists."

This now unemployed youth went on: "I want a pure Germany, a clean Germany. I want the right people to get into power." The "right people" are those who



Skinheads in Hanover looking for punk scalps confront police with Nazi salutes. Germany's skinheads sometimes allow their hair to grow a little. Which must upset the purists among them. (Photo: dpa)

told him that he was a wino and a foreigner and should get out of Germany.

Sometimes it doesn't matter if somebody is really Turkish or not. A dark moustache can be enough to set the skins off.

Police later caught one of the skins who bashed and robbed the man and searched his house. They found his room sprayed with Nazi slogans such as Heil Hitler and Long Live the SA and the SS, together with an embellishment of swastikas.

Another was caught red-handed daubing "Muslims out" and "Deutschland über

will act ruthlessly against "that which has got no business here."

However, it is interesting that the NPD itself regards skins with suspicion, at least in certain quarters.

Klaus Schultz, the party leader in North Rhine Westphalia, says: "Skinheads have their origin in Britain, the motherland of democracy." But they tended towards the political direction of Kühnen.

This seems to be grounds enough for suspicion. At the NPD party Land headquarters in Wattenscheid, the doors are open for assorted groups of rightists, but

Schultz has shut the door entirely to the skins: "In political terms, they have no idea what The Right means."

Two had, in fact, applied to join and their applications were being given thorough consideration.

Frank Schulz (no relation) is 19 years old. He completed his apprenticeship as a butcher, but the shop ceased to trade because of the competition, and Frank now draws dole money and moonlights as a labourer on construction projects.

He first shaved his head two years ago, when he took to being a leisure-time skinhead. His boots have strengthened toe-caps so he can kick better.

Frank describes his philosophy: "If I became a punk, that would mean that I would be against Germany." He is a good German. He believes he knows where he belongs.

His friend is Sigi, who heads a skinhead group. (Sigi is known as SS Sigi because of his manner of speech and willingness to get into a punch up. But Sigi finds his nickname undeserved. And wrong. Because it was making a mockery out of the SS and in the SS there were only very fine, upstanding Germans.)

Frank had not thought about joining the NPD or the young National Democrats. "They're too democratic for me."

Frank looks up to his friend Sigi. It doesn't disturb him that Sigi has been before the courts on several occasions.

The attitude over the Turks is all clear in his mind. Sigi was meant to have said that the Turks should be gassed, just like the Jews.

But, protests Frank, Sigi could not possibly have said that because Sigi knows full well that no Jews were gassed. None.

"How," says Frank, swilling the dregs of his fourth can of beer, could three million be gassed in three years.

"Not possible," he says, and then went into a macabre calculation about how much wood would have been needed for the furnaces to burn the bodies. The answer was clear, of course: there just wasn't enough wood.

The only solution was a dictatorship here in Germany. A führer had to be found among the masses. The masses had to be convinced.

Frank can take a lot of beer: "When I'm full, I'm as full as a bull and I lie down and go to sleep," he explains.

As he was further elaborating his plans for the future of Germany with the new dictatorship, another skin called No Name came across to join in. No Name (used in English) had had a bit to drink and found it a little difficult speaking. But eventually he got the message out: "All nig nogs have got to go so that all Germans get work. Stuff the 35-hour week. We want to rise up again with Germany. Why don't I get work?" No Name, no work.

Frank, who is gangling rather than powerfully built, meanwhile warns that if anybody has a go at him, he wades right in and thumps them.

He suddenly remembered what he was meant to be talking about. The wogs had to go. First the unemployed wogs, then the criminal wogs, then the violent wogs. But it didn't really matter in what order. All the wogs had to go.

Frank also knew who was responsible for the entire misery of Germany, not just the unemployment. And was not just the nig nogs in Germany. No. It was the Jews. And Frank could tell us a thing or two about them, he could.

Jews rule the world, they do. Look at Wall Street. They're all Jews. That rings a bell and he gets back to concentration camps. There were camps, Frank admits. But they were for criminals and homosexuals. Which was only right and proper. But they weren't for Jews. Gerd Kröncke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 July 1984)

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No. **27** August 1984

ISSN 0334-052X

THE BAR-KOCHBA REVOLT AND THE LEBANON WAR

Yehoshafat Harkabi, KOTERET RASHIT, 4 July 1984

The writer is Professor of the History of the Islamic Countries and of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a former director of military intelligence.

(...) Awareness of the importance of history burns like a flame within me. We are historical beings, the product of historical developments. The institutions of the present are the ideas of the past: to the extent that we modify our perception of the past, so do we change ourselves, our attitudes, our behaviour. If the failure of the Bar-Kochba revolt stemmed from a mistaken assessment of the possibility of defeating the Romans - well, mistaken assessments are frequent to the point of banality in the annals of mankind. The question is not how Bar-Kochba and his coevals erred, but why we should treat their error as something to be revered; how it is that a people comes to admire its own destruction and to elevate that which permitted the Gentiles to subjugate it. This positive evaluation of the revolt is, moreover, a manifestation of appalling national callousness, disregarding as it does the price of the revolt in loss of life and in the suffering of tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of victims, the masses of Jews who were sold into slavery, the Jewish girls who were thrown into whorehouses to service the lusts of Roman soldiers who were not permitted to marry during their twenty years of military service - as though all this were of no account, a price that we, today, could afford to pay. Is it not faulty thinking to venerate one who inspires heroism without regard for its consequences? (...)

Historians will continue to study the Bar-Kochba revolt, but the image the public has of a given historical episode has less to do with the real nature of the event than with the mental world of that public. The fact that I have been taken to task for having undermined the Bar-Kochba "myth" suggests that there is a cognitive imbalance in this country, reflected in the belief that national disadvantage derives from a lack of daring (as though daring always paid off), overlooking the fact that daring can be disastrous. The same holds for national aggressiveness, which instead of bringing benefits can lead to ruin. The blind worship of daredevilry and a policy of recklessness causes every fantasy to become a kind of vision and fantasists to appear as statesmen (is ideology only a group of concepts or is it related to character traits?). True, it was not the Bar-Kochba revolt that engendered this cast of mind, but our attitude to that revolt is symptomatic. It is no accident that 'Betar' (Bar-Kochba's last stronghold) has become a byword in our generation.

A parallel mind-set is also to be found in the military. Daring is certainly important at the tactical military level, but not at the strategic level, where leeway for recovery exists. Hence a tactical achievement is not definitive, and it is possible to win battles without winning the war. At the strategic level wisdom is required to transform tactical victories into strategic and political achievement; and intelligence to predict the long-

Published by International Center for Peace in the Middle East

107 Hahashmonaim Street, Tel Aviv 67011. Tel. (03) 267399, 252285/6

term consequences. However, as a result of their military service at tactical levels, many Israelis have become convinced of the importance of daring, and go on to project this conclusion drawn at the tactical levels onto the strategic level. Thus we find it generally taken as axiomatic that tactical achievements are sufficient and the strategic level will take care of itself. That is the trouble with the "tacticalization of strategy": the perception of war as a battle. Under these circumstances, the officer corps, whose experience has been formed at the lower and intermediate levels, is liable to regard the general staff as a company, a battalion or an enlarged brigade, and to view the conduct of the war as unrelated to the pursuit of the battle.

In the Bar-Kochba revolt the Jews were able to defeat (tactically) the Roman troops stationed in Judea at the time the revolt broke out, but not Rome itself (strategically). I suspect that the entanglement in Lebanon came up against the same stumbling block: failure to recognize that the attainment of tactical and operational goals does not necessarily entail realization of a war's political objectives. In Lebanon it was possible to defeat (tactically) the PLO, but not to change (strategically) the regime. The land shall not, therefore, know quiet for forty years /as promised by Mr Begin at the outset of the war - Ed.].

It is precisely a critique of the Bar-Kochba revolt, as an example of a disaster that resulted from an excess of daring, that might serve as corrective to the popular and politico-military attitudes prevalent here, and cause people to reflect on the damage that can be done by a national policy of recklessness. I know of no better medicine. National self-criticism need not be self-destructive, it can be a source of pride and spiritual growth through the attainment of a certain level of maturity - that maturity which allows the individual, like the public, to examine himself. The intoxication of self-aggrandizement is bound to end in defeat. Only he who criticizes his past can map out a rational path for himself in the present and for the future. In the absence of such a critique we are liable to stumble from one blunder to the next. I believe in the importance of a critique of the Bar-Kochba revolt. The more widespread it becomes here, the surer our future will be. A people that can change its view of the past can change its future.

CIVIL REVOLT UNDER AN ALIGNMENT GOVERNMENT

Eliakim Ha'etzni, NEKUDA, 6 July 1984

The writer, a lawyer, lives in Kiryat Arba and is a leading spokesman for Gush Emunim and the West Bank settlers. Nekuda is the official organ of the "Judea, Samaria and Gaza Council", for which the Hebrew acronym is YESHA, meaning "salvation".

My eye was caught by a remark, quoted in the Ma'ariv series, by one of those accused of having committed the attack on the West Bank mayors. /See Background to IPB No.26 on these Ma'ariv articles./ "We didn't take Israeli law into our own hands," he said; "What we did was to pick it up off the ground, where Ezer Weizman had thrown it." We shall see below whether this is actually what happened from the purely legal point of view, but a similar situation is undoubtedly likely to arise in the not-so-distant future, perhaps as soon as during the first hundred days of an Alignment government - if, heaven forbid, such a government comes into being. (...)

A State of Israel that relinquishes sovereignty in Judea and Samaria will do so in its name alone: that is, in the name of a political entity which, by that very act, will already have become estranged from the heritage of the Jewish people and will have cut itself off from its role of emissary of the Jewish people. (...)

The Jews /emphasis here and elsewhere in the original/ in YESHA will not be bound by such an act of alienation and disavowal, nor will the Jewish communities in the State of Israel or the Jews throughout the world. No one will be able to prevent the Jews of YESHA from remaining in their places in the abandoned and betrayed Eretz-Israel, or from rallying their fellow-Jews from all corners of the earth and from that dwarf State contiguous to them which

will continue to be called, for a time, the "State of Israel". They will call on the Jews to save them and to save the Land. (...)

The Jews of YESHA, once they have been left to fend for themselves by the IDF, may well do what they can to remove the flags of Jordan and the PLO and the other symbols of foreign power and their bearers. Thus, we can expect an all-out war in YESHA: a second Lebanon. The Alignment, committed to the "demilitarization" of the region, will not be able to permit the entry of significant Jordanian or PLO military forces to put down the violent clashes and disturbances. (...)

Under these circumstances, will it be permissible to "take the law into one's own hands" ?

If the Alignment gains power, this is the kind of question that will arise ever more pressingly, and on both sides of the Green Line. In order not to be taken by surprise again, in order not to be "stunned" by new "undergrounds" or new waves of Jewish terrorism, we must immediately launch a public debate, with the participation of jurists, rabbis and other men of the spirit, in order to determine: What is sanctioned and what is prohibited by morality and the law alike ? (...)

A public discussion of this kind must take place immediately so that we can prepare ourselves inwardly for the shock of the appearance of Jordanian and PLO flags ("first") in Jericho and Gaza and then in the rest of the YESHA hills; and also to forestall terrible deeds, graver by far than anything attributed to the "underground" - the difference in degree will be comparable to the difference between the security problems which, it is argued, led to the response of "Jewish terrorism", and the colossal betrayal of Zionism itself which we are assured under the Alignment; when the State of Israel, instead of giving the Jewish people the Land of Israel, will deprive it of the Land, as acids eat away the stomach, as an errant missile deviates from its course.

This kind of public clarification might also serve as a warning sign to the people of Zion so that they will refrain at the last moment from taking the fatal step into the abyss of divisiveness, alienation and the rending in two of the people of Israel.

Such a clarification - and this is the prayer of the undersigned - will, perhaps, also deter many as well as good people in the Alignment from casting the country into a vortex from which it is unlikely to emerge intact, even within the absurdly truncated borders their leaders long for. (...)

ECONOMICS AND SECURITY

Moshe Hazani, YEDIOT AHRONOT, 9 July 1984

The writer, who is close to the National Religious Party, is the son of the late Michael Hazani, who served in the Cabinet on behalf of the NRP.

In the midst of the election campaign Navy Day passed quietly, and not enough attention was paid to the remarks on the occasion of the Israel Navy Commander, Rear-Admiral Ze'ev Almog.

"For the first time," he said, "Israel is threatened also from the sea, with the full range of advanced technology represented by state-of-the-art weapons." (...) The Arabs, it emerges, have decided to invest heavily in building up their navies. Sooner or later, this will necessitate additional Israeli expenditures in the development of new equipment, which will prompt the Arab States to purchase still more sophisticated and more expensive weapons systems. That will necessitate further Israeli expenditures... which will spur on the Arab States... and so on and so forth, until one of two things happens: either Israel will launch an operation to demolish the Arab naval "infrastructure", or... Saudi Arabia and Libya will run out of money.

In the meantime, Arab funding isn't falling off, but the arms race in all branches of the IDF is driving Israel into prodigious expenditures which are mounting from one Israeli

victory to the next. For what is the outcome of an Israeli victory? Initially it stuns the enemy. Then it propels him into an arms build-up. In the wake of that build-up we are swept into an unscheduled race right out of the field we had wanted to play in. In lieu of a military struggle we are faced with an economic struggle. And instead of the advantage resting with the tactically superior, it passes into the hands of the economically powerful.

From this point of view, the Lebanon war was our worst mistake. (There are some who argue that an equally horrendous mistake was our disregard of the Arabs' ability to rally after the Six Day War. Be that as it may, it is clear that the Likud and the Alignment share the distinction of having made terrible mistakes.) In the Lebanon war, the Israeli pilots were not anxious to eliminate the Syrian missile bases. They knew that if they did so, the Syrians would come to know where our advantage lay, and would proceed to set up more sophisticated defensive systems, which would require us to expend even greater efforts. But the view of the statesmen (!) prevailed, and the missiles were eliminated, to the applause of all. All, that is, save those who think ahead and who know that every such victory precipitates us into yet another round of staggering security expenditures. Thus, the navy commander was talking not only of his own arm; he was speaking also on behalf of the air force and, in fact, on behalf of the Israeli economy. His comments were certainly weightier than any of the pronouncements we are currently hearing from the politicians.

Ever since the War of Independence, as we have gone from victory to victory, we have also gone from complication to complication. Instead of trying to keep our conflict with the Arabs within the narrowest possible bounds, we have been dragged along in the wake of our own victories to broaden the conflict. In 1950 there was a simple barbed-wire fence between the Arabs and ourselves. In 1970, following our victory of three years earlier, there was the Bar-Lev line. In 1982, spurred by an unaccountable megalomania, we decided to administer Lebanon and set up a new order in the Middle East. In so doing, we played into the hands of the enemy. The enemy observes what is happening, draws his conclusions and bides his time. Ultimately the ball will land in the economic court, where the enemy has the advantage. And our leaders in the Likud and the Alignment? Instead of showing us how the conflict may be reduced to the smallest possible dimensions, they feed us with nonsense in their TV election ads. Let them go to the commander of the navy, or to the commander of the air force, and learn from them about Israel's economy and security alike.

SHAMIR AND NE'EMAN, DEFENDERS OF TERRORISM

Editorial, HA'ARETZ, 13 July 1984

Minister Yuval Ne'eman has said, on emerging from the prison where he visited the group of detainees who are suspected of having planned and perpetrated acts of terrorism against Arabs; that he does not regard them as members of a terrorist organization, but as no more than an unauthorized organization for defensive activity. He also concurred with the detainees' contention that the government and its security branches failed in their duty to provide effective defence for the settlers in the administered territories.

The ideas of the head of the Tehiya party have been public knowledge for some time, so there is nothing surprising in his remarks. However, it might have been expected that a Cabinet minister would not flout the principle of collective responsibility that should bind all ministers. How can Prof. Ne'eman justify his criticism of the defence establishment or his attempt to minimize the force of the charges for which the detainees are to be tried? After all, the persons whom the judiciary has remanded in custody until the end of the proceedings against them were arrested on 29 April and detained thereafter on the instructions of the Prime Minister, to whom the General Security Service is responsible.

Yet it is pointless to note Prof. Ne'eman's disavowal of Cabinet solidarity when all he is doing is to reiterate what the Prime Minister himself has said. In an interview with the

Washington Post Shamir spoke in the very same terms as Ne'eman. On 8 March he excused the arrests and the trials by saying that it was "the duty of the government not to permit unauthorized military activity by Jews, and we fulfilled our duty." (...)

We cannot forbear from asking one question: what are the feelings of the Attorney-General, the State Attorney and the judges who have already convicted two of the accused and who will preside at the trials of most of them, when the country's leaders view the main fault of those accused to be their having committed "unauthorized" actions, and are doing their best to create a public atmosphere in which serious crimes (including murder and attempted murder) are regarded as actions which are, in truth, deserving of understanding and sympathy?

THE FRENCH CASE

Arieh Yaari, AL HAMISHMAR, 15 July 1984

Dr Yaari is Academic Director of the ICPME.

(...) In the past, many have tended to dismiss the nightmare of a nationalist-fascist dictatorship with the cliché, "It couldn't happen here!" Recent events are bound to undermine this naive complacency. The ramparts of democracy are crumbling before our eyes. Power-based nationalist zealotry, nourished by the ongoing state of war and the protracted occupation, is on the increase. Its spearhead, the terrorist underground, is no longer so marginal or isolated. It enjoys the blessing of the Rabbinate, the backing and assistance of ranking personalities in the political and defence establishments, and forgiving or sympathetic treatment from part of the mass-circulation press.

In seeking a way out of the unprecedented shambles in which the country finds itself, /many/ cite the case of France in 1958, holding up as an example the leadership of Charles de Gaulle, who saved French democracy while instituting bold national reform. However, it is essential to clarify the essence of the Gaullist reform. (...)

Twice in his life General de Gaulle, a military man with conservative views, rose to the stature of salvationist leadership. The first time was when he led the resistance to the Nazi occupation, the second when he brought the French colonial occupation of Algeria to an end. On both occasions the French nation was deeply riven.

The prolonged wars - seven years in Indochina, seven in Algeria - not only shed the blood and ruined the economy of France, but also led to the rise of the OAS, a nationalist-terrorist organization headed by illustrious generals who conspired to topple the "soft and defeatist" regime in Paris itself, and vowed to defend Algeria as an "integral part" of metropolitan France.

De Gaulle's greatness lay in his recognition of the futility of continuing the occupation and in the courage he displayed in thwarting the plot of the generals and the OAS while launching talks with the enemy - the heads of the FLN, the Algerian national liberation movement - which all previous French governments had refused to recognize. In so doing, de Gaulle pitted himself against the nationalist Right and the military junta that had put him in power - and emerged victorious.

Menachem Begin also knew a moment of historic stature when, against the expectations of his own camp, he signed the Camp David accords. Unfortunately, this shining episode was also an exceptional one. It was the right act with the wrong intentions: Sinai was ceded in the hope that in return Israel would be able to annex the West Bank. The sequel to the peace process was not reconciliation with our Palestinian neighbours but escalation of the settlement race and the catastrophic war in Lebanon. Thus were frustrated the hopes of those who thought that Begin would become the Israeli de Gaulle.

Following the agreement with the FLN, France went on to establish intensive and beneficial economic relations with Algeria, as with its other former colonies. Hundreds of thousands

of French soldiers returned home, along with a million French colonists. The money that had for years gone into the bottomless barrel of war expenditures was now applied to the renewal of France's industry, enabling the country to take a competitive place among the countries of the West. A great shift occurred in France's economic situation and international standing: once she had divested herself of her colonies, France gained high esteem among the countries of the Third World,

That is the illuminating lesson of the French case. Comprehensive national reform is necessary in Israel, too, but like France, the *sine qua non* for resolving all of our economic, social and political problems (both internal and external) is the country's liberation from the occupation.

Thus, resolving the conflict with the Palestinian people, and hence with the countries of the region, is a necessary condition for comprehensive national reform. Naturally, no one expects the Likud to abandon its sacrosanct credo. There is no Israeli de Gaulle in the offing, nor will Ben-Gurion suddenly come back to life. Even if the Alignment wins the elections the task will be an awesome one. We should already be sounding a tocsin against the violent wrath of a fanatical and ruthless Likud-led Opposition. Nor can we ignore the Alignment's internal weakness: even though it is showing a united front in the election campaign, it has yet to overcome its acute internal contradictions.

The history of the twentieth century has shown how difficult it is to contend with nationalist demagogy. Those who, instead of confronting it with steadfast determination, have tried to come to terms with it have ended up becoming its victims. (...)

THE AWALI, ELON MOREH AND THE REAGAN PLAN

Pinhas Inbari, AL HAMISHMAR, 15 July 1984

(...) Why doesn't Defence Minister Arens press for the removal of the IDF from Lebanon? The main reason is not military. Just as the Lebanon war was not launched primarily for the sake of the peace of Galilee, so, too, the reasons for the IDF's continued presence there are unrelated to the peace of Galilee. Sharon and Rafal /former chief of staff Rafael Eitan/ moved the IDF into Lebanon because of Judea-Samaria, and it is because of Judea-Samaria that Arens is not removing the IDF from Lebanon.

When King Hussein met with President Reagan in Washington, following the announcement of the Reagan plan, the Jordanian monarch asked the US president who would guarantee to him that the United States would be able to compel Israel to withdraw from the West Bank, since Washington was not even able to persuade Israel to leave Lebanon. Thus, for Jordan, Lebanon became the touchstone of the United States' ability to implement the president's political programme. If he could get Israel out of southern Lebanon, that would be a signal and an indication of his capability in the West Bank. If he failed in Lebanon, he would obviously do no better in the West Bank.

So the IDF is stuck in Lebanon because Israel rejected the Reagan plan. Safeguarding the peace of Galilee is of prime importance for Arens - no one disputes that. But Arens knows what the Opposition also knows: that there is no need to hold the Awali line in order to protect Kiryat Shmona. On the Awali the IDF is protecting Elon Moreh more than it is protecting Kiryat Shmona.

In fact, it did not take the Reagan plan to reveal the essential connexion between the problem of Lebanon and the Palestinian problem. The fact that Lebanon is host to the largest number of Palestinian refugees in any Arab State is sufficient to drive home the connexion. The tremendous damage caused by those 700,000 refugees to Lebanon's fragile political-communal fabric hardly needs elaborating by now. So it is perfectly clear that the problem of Lebanon and the Palestinian problem are veritable Siamese twins that cannot be separated.

If and when the Alignment returns to power, an IDF withdrawal from Lebanon will constitute a first step in implementing the Reagan plan in the West Bank, but it will also contribute to Lebanon's political rehabilitation. (...)

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO RAFUL

Gideon Samet, HA'ARETZ, 17 July 1984

"Raful" is the nickname of former chief of staff Rafael Eitan, now a Knesset Member on the far-Right Tehiya list. Senior correspondent Samet attended an election campaign meeting at which Eitan spoke, whence the following report.

(...) "Basic Zionism without novelties: what has been so in the past should continue to be so in the future" - that is Raful's ideology in a nutshell. The meaning: "Where we are today - apart from Lebanon - is ours. The Land of Israel is ours and one people lives in it, the Jewish people. The rest are minorities... As for the minority that says it is hostile to me, I will even let it live here. But let it determine the composition of the Knesset, occupy places in the universities, get national insurance payments - that, no!"

The solution is appallingly simple: civil rights will be given only to those possessing a military reserve registration card. /This would automatically exclude all Arabs, who do not do military service./ If the Arab citizen is ready to swear allegiance to the State ("And if I believe him," Raful adds), fine. He will serve in the reserves (not in the army, but in national service, he stresses) and he will have rights. "If you've got the registration card - fine. If not - get out of here!" That is his solution for 1.6 million Arabs, Raful says. And it can all be put into effect immediately. If Tehiya gets enough power in this Knesset, "there won't be a single one of them in the next Knesset." Or in the universities. Or in government jobs. "Let them be here, but let them keep quiet," Raful says.

Demography? "They can't scare me with demography. There are 1.6 million Arabs. There are twice as many Jews. The gap isn't decreasing, even without immigration or incentives to have children. So when the government increases immigration and does offer incentives for having children, the gap will get even bigger."

Regional relations? "Anyone who wants to make peace with us can make peace with our borders. If not, not. That's their problem. Lots of countries in the world live without peace, all wars break out where there is peace." The Arabs have problems? So we have to be the ones to help them solve them? We have to rack our brains for them?

In his view, this is the kind of language the world understands. "When I was in uniform I often made these same comments to the Americans. They asked me why we don't talk like that all the time - 'then we'd understand you'." We're not understood only because there are all kinds of opinions and everyone says what he pleases. If it was otherwise, everything would have been fine by now. (...)

Finally, of course, the Lebanon war. "I don't know why on the third day of the war the Prime Minister said in the Knesset that it had been decided to stop at 40 km. No one decided that. That's a lie. The government decided to get to the Damascus highway and lay siege to Beirut. And that's fine. If in '67 we'd gone deeper into the Golan Heights, the whole Yom Kippur War would have looked different. We'll stay in Lebanon as long as we need to. Just as we sat on the Suez Canal and just as we're on the Golan Heights. Until we're certain that everything is okay. We were at Suez for six years, we've been on the Golan for seventeen years - but in Lebanon it's not possible?"

Thus spake Raful. Not everyone in the audience agrees with him. Some ask questions. For example, how we are to live with the Arab world and how we are to get arms from the West? But the replies are simple: "And if you give in to them, will the Arab world disappear? If you leave this place, will the Arab world disappear? Either you fight, or you get out

of here." We can live without Western arms, We're strong enough,...

And this man served for five years as the IDF's chief of staff. If the Likud wins the elections there is a good chance that he will be a minister. Frightening.

THE SEVEN LEAN YEARS

Nehemiah Stressler, HA'ARETZ, 18 July 1984

The writer is the economic editor of Ha'aretz.

Particularly exasperating this week was the Finance Ministry's official communiqué following the announcement of the June inflation rate: "The non-curbing of inflation is due to the Histadrut's refusal to agree on a social contract." Not government spending, not the squandering of resources in the territories and in Lebanon, not the accelerated devaluation - only the Histadrut. As though it devolved upon the Histadrut to curb price rises.

Did the present Finance Minister request the Histadrut's endorsement of the major devaluation that brought in its wake steep price rises, eroding wages by some 17 per cent between October 1983 and March 1984? The Treasury saw no need for a "social contract" at that time. Only the salaried workers were to bear the brunt of the economic programme - until the dimensions of its failure became apparent. And that failure is now manifest: when the Likud came to power in 1977 we had an annual inflation rate of 40 per cent; it is today running at 400 per cent. At that time the country's foreign debt stood at \$11 billion, mainly for the long term; today it is \$23 billion. These two comparisons are more revealing than anything else of the Likud's economic failure - a failure which for some reason is currently being softpedalled in the TV election ads.

At one time it was thought that the comprehensive linkage arrangements in Israel almost completely offset the harm done to the public by inflation. However, the past seven years of inflation have had a significant outcome: the growth of the gap between rich and poor. It is of no relevance here whether one's objective situation has improved; what counts is whether one's relative situation has improved. And there are indeed some who have bettered their situations: those in the top two percentiles. But the 20 per cent constituted by the low-income earners have become poorer. It is they - most of whom are Likud voters - who have suffered most from the fluctuations of economic policy.

At the same time, the existing laws have enabled corporations and the self-employed to delay payment of their taxes. And a postponement, if only of a few months, reduces the real value of their tax payments by half or even three-quarters. In contrast, the share of salaried workers in tax revenues has increased to the extent of eroding their net wages, thus giving rise to labour disputes and production losses. Nor should we overlook the fact that up to 1979 many firms received unlinked loans for ten years. Given the high inflation, these loans became, in effect, grants that generated considerable "inflationary profits" in a large part of the private sector. Obviously, then, that sector had no interest in lowering the rate of inflation.

When the tax authorities tried to tackle the problem through legislation, a new monster was born, called "The Law of Taxation Under Conditions of Inflation". This labyrinthine law resulted in a situation where productive activity in many plants became marginal in relation to the heightened importance of financial manoeuvring. The figures say it all: between 1979 and 1983, 14,400 new workers joined the financial sector, as against 5,800 who entered the industrial and agricultural sectors. (...)

The fluctuations in the Israeli economy during the past seven years can be categorized according to the shifts of focus from a war against inflation to an attempt to improve the balance of payments, and back again. From 1977 to 1979 the emphasis was on liberalization. But then the inflation rate began to soar and the balance of payments deficit grew. So an

effort was made to deal with the deficit until about halfway through 1981. At that point the government changed its anti-inflationary tactics by cheapening imports and the subsidized commodities in an effort to steady the public's expectations. Following the failure of the 5-per-cent policy /Aridor's monthly 5-per-cent price rises for subsidized items/, we made another right-about turn at the end of 1983, back to dealing with the balance of payments.

Throughout all those years the government failed to take the elementary step required for the success of any economic programme in Israel: a cut in the government budget. A worrisome expansion of the budget began, driving it up from 70 per cent of the GNP in the mid-Seventies to 100 per cent today. This state of affairs naturally called for stepped-up government printing of money - which in the past year hit a new peak of 300 billion shekels.

In an open economy such as ours the new money is directed towards the purchase of imported goods, and in fact the import surplus, which in 1977 stood at \$2.4 billion, grew to \$5 billion per annum in 1983.

The danger now is that in the event of a world banking crisis, such as might be triggered in the United States by the deferment of debt payments to American banks by Third World countries, those banks will decide to freeze credit lines to many countries, among them Israel. Such a decision, even by one bank, would set off a chain reaction: the freezing of all credit lines. Without these loans, which serve exporters and importers alike, the economy will grind to a total halt, causing unemployment and emigration. In the face of this danger, the new government must move immediately to rescue the economy by focusing on two tasks: combating inflation and reducing the import surplus.

THE ROAD TO WEIMAR

Yoram Peri, DAVAR, 25 July 1984

The writer is a sociologist at Tel Aviv University.

Israeli democracy has this week slid down the slope towards a Weimar-type republic. There have been five warning signs: the political paralysis resulting from the balance between the two major political blocs; the extremism that has surfaced on both sides of the political spectrum; the disintegration of the Knesset into a multitude of small factions; the intensified processes of delegitimation of government; and, gravest of all, the entry into the Knesset for the first time of political groups seeking explicitly to change the democratic rules of the game.

There is no need to dwell on the first. The hope that the nation would choose between two opposing camps has not been realized. The "national camp" and the "Zionist camp" now have to square off with more or less equal strength. Even if one side manages to form a government the nation will remain torn between the two. Any move by the government will encounter the hostility of an Opposition whose strength is equal to that of the government.

The deepening of the rift between the blocs is seen also in the radicalization that has occurred in both camps. The Likud lost votes to Tehiya, Morasha and Kahane; the Alignment lost votes to the dovish Left - Shulamit Aloni, Shinui and Lova Eliav (even if the latter didn't enter the Knesset), and one might also add the Progressive List for Peace.

The attempt by politicians in both large parties to win the support of the floating voters in the centre failed dismally. The public moved in precisely the opposite direction, towards greater polarization.

As for the atomization: the Eleventh Knesset will have a record number of factions - no fewer than fourteen - four more than the Tenth Knesset - including three one-man factions, three two-member factions and three three-member factions.

This situation will also affect the government. Even if the Likud is able to put together

a government, it will set another record: the largest number of coalition partners in Israel's history. Instead of the four parties that made up government coalitions in the Fifties, and the five that formed the Rabin and Begin governments, there might well be nine parties in the next coalition.

How will a government comprising so many groups with conflicting interests be able to function? The same way a Knesset with fourteen parties will be able to function. All one need do is look at what happened to France's Fourth Republic or Weimar Germany. It is also worth reflecting on the fate of those two democracies.

But the slide down the slope was given still greater momentum by the fifth phenomenon listed above. The Israeli parliament this week opened its portals to Rabbi Kahane, a declared racist who openly seeks to undermine the basic principles of the Proclamation of Independence. The new Knesset also sees the strengthening of Tehiya, whose leaders have explicitly expressed their sympathy for the illegal acts of the Jewish terrorist organization. And the Knesset is also welcoming the members of another party, Morasha, which views the establishment of a fundamentalist *halachic* State as a preferable alternative to a democratic regime.

And finally, the Eleventh Knesset will begin its career after an election campaign in which the incumbent party deviated from the democratic rules of the game. The Likud did not portray the Alignment as a party seeking the good of the country but mistaken in its approach, but rather as a party seeking to please the Gentiles, to ingratiate itself with the Arabs, a party whose leaders are concerned with their own good alone. (...)

On 23 July 1984 a new chapter opened in the annals of the State of Israel. How the history books are likely to record it is chilling to contemplate.

THE NEW "SECOND ISRAEL"

Mike Levin, DAVAR, 27 July 1984

(...) There is no doubt that the Likud succeeded in imbuing hundreds of thousands of 'Oriental' Jews with a sense of pride and partnership. Sociologists and psychologists will be studying for years to come the bizarre love affair between Menachem Begin, the typical East European Jew, and the masses of his followers from the Islamic countries. The restoration of self-respect to the 'Oriental' communities was not effected through their active participation in national undertakings. The partnership between the political Right and the inhabitants of the underprivileged neighbourhoods and development towns is based on an alliance of the deprived and on the Likud's promises to "do well by the people."

In its seven years of rule the Likud released safety valves and gave legitimation to the undermining of the socio-political foundations on which the State of Israel rests. Elements of racism, power worship and contempt for the rule of law are to be found in every country. The difference between democratic regimes and other forms of government is that in a properly-functioning democracy everything is done to ensure that such elements remain far removed from the centre of the political map.

The Likud government never dissociated itself from the attitude - and at times even encouraged it in its supporters - which regarded political opponents as defeatists and traitors. The government did not come out in defence of the Kahan Commission Report; indeed, it viewed with complacency the growing belief among large segments of the public that the Inquiry Commission, which comprised two Supreme Court justices and a retired general, was a tool in the hands of the Alignment to harm the interests of the State. The authority and prestige invested in justices of the Supreme Court since the establishment of the State were undermined with the blessing of at least two ministers, to the thunderous silence of the rest of the Cabinet. The personal involvement of the Likud leaders and the personal request of Yuval Ne'eman that members of the Jewish underground be pardoned before

their trials had even begun also showed contempt for the rule of law. (...)

The ideological petrification of the Labour movement has created a vacuum, and in place of the democratic, humanistic and egalitarian concepts that once guided the Zionist leaders, ideas based on power, violence, messianism, ethnic superiority and contempt for the law have begun to pervade Israeli society. (...)

Even if we assume that the Likud freed the 'Oriental' communities of their sense of deprivation, it brought into being during its period of office a problem no less serious.

The Likud's simplistic nationalist ideology has generated among the public hatred and contempt for a not inconsiderable portion of the population which includes intellectuals, writers and liberal humanists in general. A disturbing phenomenon is emerging among this public, one of alienation, vilification and paranoia. (...)

Under the Likud we are witnessing the crystallization of a "second Israel" of a totally new kind. The alienation and distancing of this stratum from the mainstream is no less fraught with peril than was the case with the earlier "second Israel".

THE ARAB VOTE

Yehuda Litani (Arab affairs reporter), HA'ARETZ, 27 July 1984

One of the most interesting shifts in the elections this week occurred among Israel's Arabs. For the first time since the establishment of the State most of the country's Arabs voted for parties defined as non-Zionist, while the minority cast their ballots for Zionist parties. Another significant result was the serious setback sustained by the Alignment in the Arab sector: it lost half of its strength.

This week 205,000 Arabs voted in the elections, as compared with 164,000 in 1981 (an increase from 68 per cent of the eligible voters among the Arab population to 76 per cent). The main reason for the increase was the Progressive List for Peace, headed by lawyer Muhammad Miarri and Dr Matti Peled. The formation of this list brought out thousands if not tens of thousands of voters who would otherwise have stayed at home on election day. Other reasons were: the heightened involvement of Israel's Arabs in these elections due to the fierce rivalry between Hadash (Communists) and the Miarri-Peled list; and the new Zionist list in the field, that of Ezer Weizman, which received over 8,000 votes from the Arab sector. Yet another factor was the increased number of young voters.

Three years ago 63 per cent of the Arab voters cast their ballots for parties defined as Zionist, while only 37 per cent voted for Hadash. This week 52 per cent voted for non-Zionist parties (Hadash and the Progressive List), while 48 per cent voted for all the Zionist parties, from the Alignment to the Likud and the NRP.

This would seem to be the most important fact to emerge from a perusal of the voting in the Arab sector: a shift from Zionist parties to lists that stress the Arab-national background. Up to the previous elections the Arabs of Israel had hoped that it would be possible to improve their national situation in general and their personal conditions through the established Zionist parties. The Arabs of Israel were and continue to be concerned first and foremost with their own problems in such areas as equal rights, land expropriation, Jewish-Arab relations and so forth. The resolution of the Palestinian problem and of the Middle Eastern conflict had always been second in the order of priorities. Now a change appears to have occurred, and the Israeli Arabs are showing more interest in the Palestinian problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. (...)

A major shift has also occurred in the Arabs' attitude towards the Alignment. In 1981 the Alignment received 29 per cent of the Arab vote directly and another 12 per cent via separate Arab lists which were known to be ideologically and organizationally affiliated with the Alignment. This week the Alignment obtained only 23 per cent of the Arab vote - a drop of almost half compared with the total of direct and indirect votes it received in

1981. (...)

The Progressive List for Peace has become the third largest party among Israel's Arabs, and if present trends continue there is no doubt that it will soon become second largest and - another two Knessets hence - possibly the largest party in the Arab sector. Experts in the field say that the future belongs to the Progressive List, not to Hadash. Tens of thousands of Arab voters who wished to make a political protest or to assert their national distinctiveness have hitherto voted for Hadash, even if they have not espoused that party's Communist ideology. Now these voters have found a natural base of support in the Progressive List for Peace. (...)

THE ETHNIC VOTE

Interview with Prof. Sami Smooha, head of Haifa University's Department of Sociology and Anthropology, by Aliza Wallach, DAVAR, 27 July 1984

(...)

Q: Are the Oriental communities more hawkish than the Ashkenazis ?

A: I don't accept that view. In my opinion, eastern Jews see the Likud as a force for change in Israeli society, and have done so since the late Fifties. The last two election campaigns have borne out this analysis. They do not regard the Alignment as a force for change but as a force for conservation /of the status quo/. If it wants to change this situation the Alignment will have to take some drastic steps.

The Alignment expected time to soften the hostility towards the party, on the assumption that the underlying reasons for it were emotional or imaginary rather than rational. That was correct so far as it went, and in the 1984 elections there was undoubtedly less rejection of the Alignment than in the past. In the Sixties the rejection of the Alignment implied by those who voted Likud was more conspicuous, but what determined matters ultimately was the positive attraction of the Likud and other parties. Alignment tacticians said that if Yitzhak Navon were to head the party, he would bring in the extra seats that would ensure victory. It may be assumed that disappointed Likud supporters might have switched allegiances if Navon had headed the Alignment, but it is by no means certain. In the long run the tactic would not have worked, since we have seen that the Sephardis continued to support the Likud even without Begin. Another tactic now being mooted is the formation by the Alignment of a national unity government with a view to currying favour with the Oriental communities. I think these are cheap solutions. They are just manipulations: they do not demonstrate a serious approach. A historic alliance has been formed between the large blocs and the ethnic groups. This is something deep-rooted, and an examination must be undertaken to determine what it is in the Alignment that antagonizes the Oriental communities, and then deal with it in depth. Demographically, time is on the Likud's side; the communal rift exists largely among the young.

Q: Do you see voting patterns as predetermined, then ?

A: Only if the Alignment goes on as in the past without paying any price. Even in opposition the Alignment could have done a great deal, since it controls certain sectors of the economy. But it did not. It didn't involve the Oriental communities in a partnership of strength and means. The Alignment's approach of seeing no call to reward those who don't vote for it is perhaps understandable, but it is short-sighted; in the long run, for the good of the party, the Alignment will have to address itself seriously to this matter. It will have to bring about /ethnic/ integration in its regional plants and effect a fundamental change in the entire apparatus of control and administration in Hevrat Haovdim /the Histadrut Labour Federation's holding company/.

Culturally, too, the Alignment will have to modify itself. The elite sticks to the

Alignment and the Alignment has remained elitist. It will have to open itself up to genuine integration.

THE KAHANE SYNDROME

(1) KU KLUX KACH

Editorial, THE JERUSALEM POST, 11 July 1984

The Israeli public was on Monday night subjected, on its TV sets, to what for many was probably a first direct taste of Rabbi Meir Kahane's particular brand of racism.

The experience was extremely sobering, and raises again, in acute form, the question of what place there is, in Israel's democracy, for an organization that quite openly incites to violence against the almost two million Arabs currently living under Israeli jurisdiction.

(...) The real danger of a party like Kach lies outside the Knesset - in its open incitement to violence against Arabs and Jews whom it decides to brand as enemies of the people.

The serious question is whether such a party is consistent with the simple preservation of law and order - something that is, or should be, immeasurably simpler to judge than the more intricate question of whether it is a danger to democracy. It is also more important, given, on the one hand, the extremely volatile relations between Arab and Jew in this country, which Kach appears determined to exacerbate, and, on the other hand, the unquestionable robustness of Israeli democracy.

It is quite easy to imagine Kahane and his cohorts precipitating clashes between Jew and Arab. It is more difficult to imagine him bringing down Israeli democracy and replacing it with his kind of racist dictatorship.

The pressing question, then, is not whether Kach should be barred from a democratic process where its potential to do harm is limited, but whether it should be allowed to continue as a legally tolerated movement, where, by incitement to violence, its potential for damage is very great indeed.

And that is a question which should be exercising the Attorney-General, whose brief it is to preserve law and order.

(2) KAHANE THE DAY AFTER

Zadok Yehezkeili, YEDIOT AHRONOT, 24 July 1984

"The voters have given me an atomic weapon - the Knesset - and I'm going to use that weapon to drive the country crazy. With me, every day in the Knesset will be a field day." Thus, his eyes red with lack of sleep and rubbing his hands together in anticipated pleasure, did MK-designate Rabbi Meir Kahane yesterday explain the "slight" difference between the Knesset as it was without him and as it will be with him.

Kahane's first decision: support for the Likud only in return for an assurance that the imprisoned members of the Jewish underground will be released.

The Kach movement of the day following the elections bore no resemblance to the same movement the day before. Kahane was well aware of his new strength as an elected representative of the people and lost no time in availing himself of that strength. Nor did his followers. In their yellow T-shirts bearing the movement's symbol of the clenched fist, they are set to become the nightmare of every Israeli who is not of the Jewish faith.

It started yesterday. A few dozen "yellow-shirts", fully conscious of their new-found power, made their way raucously to their victory celebration at the home of their leader's brother, Nahman, who lives in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City. "Kahane is the

Messiah !" they bellowed, eyes blazing with hatred, at the Arab merchants who stood at their shop entrances in the narrow lanes of the Old City. No response. Another attempt: "What's better, a dead dog or an Arab ?" And their own boisterous reply: "A dead dog !"

"Now you won't hold your head so high," they warned an elderly Arab shopkeeper. "Kahane's here !" The Arab watched silently. But he and his friends said afterwards that they believed every word uttered by the Kach people. "Now we'll have real trouble," they said. (...)

(3) HOOLOGANISM

Levi Yitzhak Hayerushalmi, MA'ARIV, 26 July 1984

It is not hard to imagine how Jews anywhere in the world would react to a march by hundreds of gun-toting youths through a Jewish neighbourhood, brandishing their fists at the local residents and yelling, "Jews out !"

And it would not only be the Jews who were upset: anyone with a semblance of humanity would be revolted by such insensate racism - and would not remain silent.

When such a manifestation of hooliganism takes place in our midst, before our very eyes, it is not only frightening and appalling, it must also fill us with shame. At all events, that is my feeling as a Jew, as a human being, as a citizen of this country.

Shame, that such hooliganism can exist in our country.

Shame, that an "event" of this kind can transpire quietly and be met with such apathy.

I don't know which is more frightening: the racist march of gun-toting youths carrying Rabbi Kahane on their shoulders through the lanes of the Old City and shouting "Arabs out !", the embrace of Rabbi Kahane by soldiers and Border Policemen stationed at the Western Wall, or the indifference of hundreds of Jews, residents and passersby at the sight of the monstrous spectacle presented by the Kach people in the Old City. The fear to be seen in the eyes of the Arab shopkeepers as they quickly gathered up their wares continues to haunt me. (...)

(4) "LEGITIMIZING" KAHANE.

Danny Rubenstein, DAVAR, 27 July 1984

It is quite possible that Kahane is right when he says that his political star has only just begun to rise. There is no doubt that he is the faithful representative of political desires that are no longer so covert and are to be found throughout Israeli (Jewish) society.

The fact is that Kahane says aloud what Yuval Ne'eman and his colleagues mutter beneath their breath and the Druckman group think. But it goes further than that: hundreds of thousands of Likud voters and supporters feel a deep sympathy for "Rabbi" Kahane. Expressions along the lines of "They (the Arabs) have to be dealt with," "Truck them" (i.e. deport them) and the like are today widespread in the Israeli marketplace, and there is hardly anyone who does not encounter them almost daily. You hear this kind of talk on street corners, in buses, in the markets. (...)

There is no doubt that in recent years Kahane has secured legitimacy for his views, long before he was elected to the Eleventh Knesset. He has got cordial receptions, accompanied by embraces and applause, on the streets and in the public squares. None of his information display tables has ever been overturned, as has often happened to Peace Now or the Alignment.

Kahane is a phenomenon that was bound to emerge against the background of the bi-national situation, the political terror, the atmosphere of quasi-mystical nationalism. Kahane embodies the only possible end-result of the unceasing statements and declarations by

public figures such as Herut's Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen-Avidov ("I would gouge their eyes out and rip out their intestines"), Rafael Eitan ("drugged cockroaches in a bottle"), and also Begin ("two-legged beasts"). The backers of the "national camp" may feel, with some justice, that it is distasteful for their leaders to talk like Kahane, but basically they think as he does. (...)

The greater the polarization in the country and the more heated the arguments about settlements and annexation, about Arab and Jewish terrorism, the brighter the prospects for Kahane. (...)

(5) WHO REALLY PUT KAHANE IN THE KNESSET ?

Eliakim Ha'etzni /see note on page 27, HADASHOT, 29 July 1984

(...) It was the Attorney-General, Yitzhak Zamir, who as a matter of principle gives licence to extremist expressions by Right and Left alike, who put Kahane in the Knesset. Except that in practice the murderous verbal violence originated almost entirely on the Left.

He permitted Sharon to be called "murderer" in public, he allowed Uri Avnery to kiss and embrace and express sympathy for Yasser Arafat in the midst of beleaguered Beirut even as the terrorist chief's murderers were firing at IDF soldiers. He allowed PLO symbols to appear in the daily press when monuments were dedicated to the terrorist murderer Sartawi. He made a joke of the "order for the prevention of terrorism" - he put Kahane in the Knesset. The vicious, terrifying, unrestrained style of Kahane was invited by the violent, licentious, murderous style of the Left.

The kibbutznik who filled a field with symbolic images of fallen IDF soldiers, the bereaved mother who said "There is no forgiveness in my heart for those who sent my son to die in vain" and those who gave her a platform and taught her that style (Begin the "man of blood", the "Job-ean commandos", "cannon fodder") - they put Kahane in the Knesset. (...)

The government and the defence minister also had a hand in putting Kahane in the Knesset; by allowing the papers of East Jerusalem to become overt PLO organs, by transforming all the universities in Judea-Samaria into institutions controlled openly and publicly by the Fatah, by abandoning internal security in the fields of Galilee and on the roads of Judea-Samaria to stonings, PLO flags, rat poison thrown into the national water carrier, hate graffiti, fire-bombs, abuse, night sabotage against orchards, irrigation pipes and other equipment.

Anarchy invites anarchy. Yes, Shamir and Arens also conjured up Kahane.

The High Court of Justice, which defended the Knesset from the Al-Ard group /a radical Israeli Arab organization which was outlawed in 1965/ spoke of "democracy defending itself". But how is it to defend itself? In view of the dual threat, of Kahane in the Knesset and of Miarri-Peled /heads of the Progressive List for Peace/ in the Knesset, we would do well to understand that they are twins, those two groups, that one produces the other, and that the defence against them must be simultaneous: against the extremist lunacy of the Right and of the Left alike.

(6) WHERE KACH GOT VOTES

Hanoch and Rafi Smith, INTERNATIONAL JERUSALEM POST, 30 July 1984

The writers run a Jerusalem-based polling agency.

Kach leader Meir Kahane, whose election to the Knesset was one of the most important developments in the elections, scored well among voters of Islamic-country origin and poorly among those originating in Europe.

His success constitutes another chapter in the Sephardi voter rebellion that started in the 1977 elections and continued last week when those Sephardi Jews who were dissatisfied with the Likud's performance switched, not to Alignment but to anti-Alignment parties such as Kach and Tehiya.

Contrary to what was believed at first, Kahane's vote was well above the minimum of one per cent needed to enter the Knesset. Results give him 1.3 per cent of the vote, about the same percentage as obtained by Shinui or the Citizens' Rights Movement in 1981.

In small development towns like Beit She'an, Ofakim, Beit Shemesh, Dimona and the like, Kahane, who came here from the US, gained 3.3 per cent of the total vote. He got almost as much in religious moshavim (overwhelmingly of Asian/African origins).

In the poorer areas of Jerusalem (Katamonim, Nahlaot), Kahane drew 2.7 per cent and again almost as much in the Asia/African-origin moshavim of the moshav movement.

In large development towns like Beersheba, Ashdod and Ashkelon, almost 2 per cent voted for Kahane.

In contrast, in veteran cities with European-origin majorities, Kahane did not clear the one-per-cent barrier. In the richer areas of Tel Aviv and Haifa, he did not even clear 0.5 per cent of the vote. In veteran moshavim and kibbutzim his vote was negligible.

The European-origin population, as in the past, rejected Kahane overwhelmingly.



Background

"The Alignment didn't win and the Likud didn't lose" - that, in a nutshell, is the prevailing interpretation of the 23 July vote. To the extent that this reflects the inconclusiveness of the poll where coalition politics are concerned, it is an accurate enough appraisal. Neither of the two major parties can form a stable, durable government on its own, and the alternative - a "national unity" government - will be so fraught with internal contradictions that it is just as likely to be a "national disunity" government, even if it can somehow be patched together.

What has received considerably less notice in the aftermath of the elections is the actual number of votes garnered by the four main political blocs in the country: left-of-centre, right-of-centre, centre and religious. Here, a rather different picture emerges. In fact, while the number of persons voting for the right-of-centre parties remained virtually static as compared with 1981, no fewer than 100,000 more voted for left-of-centre parties in 1984 than in 1981. Three years ago the Likud and its peripheral parties (Tehiya, Kahane) received 768,769 votes; in 1984 the same parties obtained 769,500 votes - that is, there was merely a redistribution of voters on the right, in the direction of radicalization. On the left, however, there was actually a net gain of 100,000 voters over 1981: in that year the Alignment and its peripheral parties (Shinui, Citizens' Rights, Sheli, Independent Liberals, Hadash) received 851,662 votes; on 23 July 1984, this bloc (Alignment, Shinui, Citizens' Rights, Lova Eliav, Hadash, Progressive List for Peace) got 952,000. (In fact, since about 100,000 new voters were added to the rolls this time, the performance of the right-of-centre is even less impressive than it seems.) Reinforcing this trend is the increase in votes for the centre parties and the slight decline in support for the religious parties, as the following table shows:

	<u>Percentage of the Total Vote</u>	
<u>PARTIES</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1981</u>
Left + Shinui	45.8	44.5
Right + Kahane	37.1	40.7
Centre (Telem/Hurvitz, Weizman)	3.4	1.6
Religious (incl. Tami)	11.4	11.8
Others	2.3	1.4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The election campaign itself will continue to be analysed for a long time to come, but it is already clear that both major parties, and particularly the Alignment, were wooing a chimera. Like the Loch Ness monster, this mythical best - the so-called "floating voter" - made waves but was never actually seen. When it did surface, on election day, it turned out that any floating that may have occurred was in the old direction: those who were oriented to the right but were disappointed in the Likud's performance did not suddenly turn around and swim against the current of their former inclination; on the contrary, they swam even faster in that direction but out of the mainstream, into a side-current. The same holds for the left. Indeed, to change the metaphor, wherever one looks along the political spectrum one sees radicalization: on the right, we have already noted the swing to Tehiya and Kahane; on the left the Citizens' Rights and Peace Movement and Shinui gained substantially, while the Progressive List for Peace made an impressive debut. The centre, while doubling its strength - and possibly even holding the balance of power in terms of coalition politics - still gained only 3.4 per cent of the vote.

Probably the most talked-about result of the elections was the showing of Meir Kahane's

'Kach' party which received 25,000 votes, five times its 1981 total (though it should be remembered that this list polled some 15,000 votes in the 1973 elections). Had the party obtained enough votes to place two representatives, the number-two candidate on the list was Yehuda Richter, currently in prison and charged with belonging to the Jewish terrorist underground group.

Yet Kahane, for all his pathological appeal to the basest of human drives (see the 30 July article by Rafi and Hanoch Smith on where Kahane's votes came from, p.15 above), may prove more of a Mussolini than a Hitler type: mostly bluster and, ultimately, buffoonery. Indeed, his election may actually have a positive result if it induces the Knesset to pass a law against racial incitement, thus ensuring Kahane's permanent future disqualification.

But while Kahane may be the visible manifestation of the cancer, he is not the cancer itself. For that, we must probe deeper, to the very heart of the current political leadership. We must look at the Tehiya party, whose constitution debars Arabs from membership and whose leader, Prof. Yuval Ne'eman, has come out in support of the Jewish terrorists: in fact, like Kahane, he has said that the apparent ringleader of the Jewish underground, Menahem Livni, currently in prison, would make the ideal director-general for his Science Ministry. (See also the item of 17 July, "The World According to Rafal", p.7 above.) In this connexion, it was particularly disingenuous of former Prime Minister Menachem Begin, the hermit of Jerusalem, to dissociate himself from Kahane ("His way is not our way") in one of his rare radio interviews. For it was Begin's appeal to the emotions and instincts of the mob, and - the reverse side of that coin - his unrelenting attempts to delegitimize the entire political left in Israel, that unleashed the forces which put Kahane in the Knesset.

R.M.



KENNETH LIBO
365 West Twentieth Street
New York, New York 10011

August 20, 1984

Dear Marc,

I am both flattered and intrigued by your suggestion that I consider working on an article and/or book focusing on your experiences and reflections on Vatican II.

I know you have been working long and hard on a book on Billy Graham; however, I would like you to consider the possibility of incorporating this together with Vatican II into a book with the following breakdown:

1. A MIXTURE OF VALUES -- i.e., the tensions, harmony, conflicts and resolutions between the values of Yiddishkeit as exemplified by your parents and the charm and attraction of America.
2. FROM SEMINARY STUDENT TO RABBI -- developing and strengthening American Jewish self-awareness
3. LITERARY HORIZONS -- your work as journalist, editor, publicist, novelist
4. REACHING OUT TO THE GENTILES -- your experiences as executive vice president of the Synagogue Council of America
5. VATICAN II -- the changing world of Catholicism as perceived from a Jewish perspective
6. BILLY GRAHAM -- Explaining Christianity to a Jew; explaining Judaism to a Christian. Changing perceptions on both sides.
7. BIAFRA AND THE BOAT PEOPLE -- Jews and Christians uniting for a common cause
8. ANTI-SEMITISM AND AMERICA. What? Where? Why? Who? How Many? What's Been Done? What's To Be Done?
9. COMING TO TERMS WITH CHRISTIANITY. Reconciling oneself to Jesus, replacing fear and hatred with love and forgiveness

Of necessity, this outline is but the bare bones of a book idea, at most a point of departure which, if it interests you, we might want to discuss together or, perhaps, start with VATICAN II once my work with Leonard diminishes sufficiently for me to take on a new project.

One thing occurs to me over and over, and that is taping, transcribing and editing what you have to say on these subjects on a regular basis, for I like very much your speaking style and think it would be exciting to try to convey it in writing, perhaps with lengthy quotes.

Finally, I am providing you with a copy of the bound galleys of WE LIVED THERE TOO as I said I would when last we talked. If you like the book, perhaps you might drop a few lines to Joyce Engelson, Editor-in-Chief, St. Martin's/Marek Press, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10010.

Cordially,

Ben



From the desk of ...

Maurice Spertus

Aug 20-84.

Dear Sam a Shura,

It was good to see you
in such a nice living
environment. May the Allmighty
give you many happy and
healthy years.

Inclosed material I
promised to send to you.

P.S.

Maurice

Oriental Heritage Trust.

3-A, Kumaram, 10, Abdul Gafarkhan Road, Worli, Bombay-400 018 Tel.: 899806

August 21, 1984.

Mr. Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum,
American Jewish Committee,
165 E 56 N.Y.,
New York,

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

I'm sure you'll recall our meeting last year when you so kindly offered to help us out with collecting the funds to finish our film 'A Quest for Zarathushtra' (which is likely to be renamed).

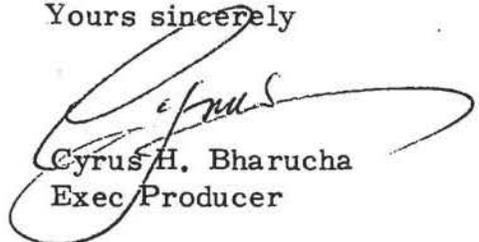
Our lawyers are now preparing a prospectus for 25 investors, in \$20,000 units, to collect the \$450,000 required to complete this production for a distributor. We hope to have it ready in September so to meet the demands of tax deductions for people in the 50% tax bracket.

William Frankel mentioned that you would get a well-known friend of yours to host a party for Zubin. May I suggest that you look into that possibility and think of inviting 20 couples sometime in early October. Zubin is in New York from the 25th September to 10th October. He then goes to Isreal. If you feel you could definately do something this time I'll get some dates from Kathy Hat (Zubin's PA) or you could call her directly (that would save time) and fix a date. Along with the dinner we'll be able to show a video tape of the film (12 mins promotional film).

We want to premier the film in January 1985 to coincide with the World Zoroastrian Congress. Then United Way of America would like to have a US Charity premier at the Kennedy Center, and then one in Jerusalem when Zubin returns to Isreal in '85.

I shall ask Meherji Madan to be in touch with you. I'd be most grateful if you could see him. You mentioned that this is an important film from a historic and religious point of view, therefore please help us during this final phase.

Yours sincerely



Cyrus H. Bharucha
Exec Producer

Regd. Office : Jeevan Tara Building, Parliament Street, New Delhi-110 001 .

Is US responsible for Israel's inability to form a government?

15.81. and
8-21-84

By Ned Temko
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Jerusalem

Ever so slowly, Israel's feuding politicians are coming to agree that 400 percent inflation, a huge foreign debt, and a fall in state reserves equal economic crisis.

But while economic experts and political pundits foresee serious long-range perils in the situation, it is still an open question when the powers that be will get around to doing something about it.

**Labor Party's
battle — P. 9**

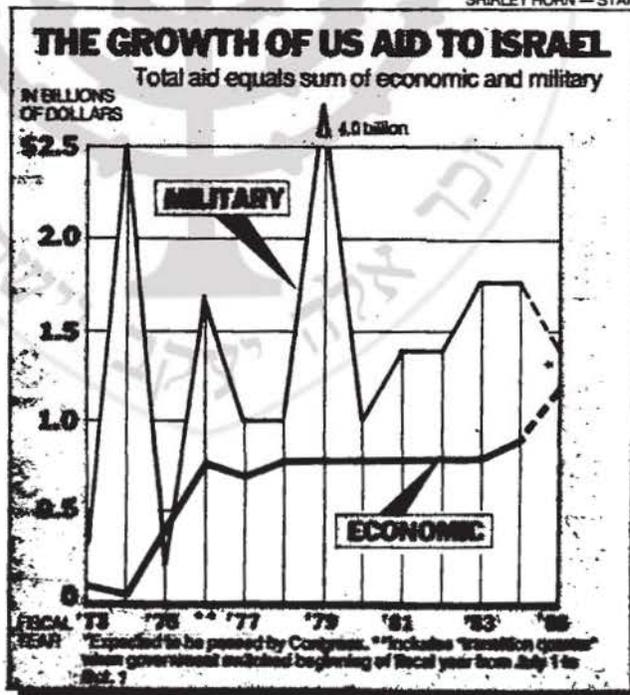
There are two reasons — one foreign, one domestic — to suppose it may be hazardous for observers to hold their breath on that score.

The first is the "American factor." The US government is now providing annual aid of more than \$2 billion. And though Israel suspects that sooner or later the US may press its aid beneficiaries to put their economic house in order, the parallel assumption is that no US administration would do so in an election year.

Out of Israel's foreign debt of some \$23 billion, the largest chunk is owed to the US government.

Please see ISRAEL page 12

SHIRLEY HORN — STAFF



At home, meanwhile, Israeli politicians are getting nowhere fast in efforts to piece together a new government on the basis of last month's inconclusive election.

The incumbent Likud Party, though edged out by the left-leaning Labor opposition at the polls, still hopes it will be the one to form a new coalition cabinet. This is because even Labor fell well short of a majority in parliament.

It is still conceivable that a "national unity" government including both Likud and Labor will be formed, with each sharing the onus of a logically necessary economic austerity program. But both disagree on who should head such a set-up.

And at least some leaders in Labor, arguing that Likud's seven-year tenure is what produced the economic mess in the first place, still seem to feel that a unity regime would unfairly cushion the incumbent Cabinet from reaping the unsavory political returns from the economic crisis.

The election — held a year early following parliament's vote of no-confidence in Likud Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir — went a good way toward negating the initial austerity measures undertaken by him. Starting late last year, Likud moved slightly to shave automatic "linkage" between prices and wages. This system dates from Labor's earlier three-decade dominance of Israeli politics and what has in effect institutionalized inflation in the past few years.

Other roots of Israel's economic problems include a military budget claiming fully one-third of state outlays. Also,



Israeli shop: a pricey 400 percent inflation

Likud's free-market economic approach has undone Labor-era restrictions on foreign currency dealings, and fueled a surge in consumer imports.

The country's overall payments deficit, always running at least around \$2 billion, had soared to \$5 billion for 1983.

Late last year, Likud made a move to begin reversing these trends. It began a series of hefty devaluations in the country's extremely overvalued currency, the shekel. Getting US dollars was made a bit

tougher, in part by imposing limits on the amount of hard-currency made available for Israelis heading abroad.

The Shamir government also made some halting moves to cut the government budget, despite resistance from individual ministers whose happiness was key to maintaining the coalition's narrow parliamentary majority.

But in what local news media promptly dubbed "election economics," the government put a brake on the austerity process during the campaign period.

Since the election, the national bill for that exercise has come due. Inflation is surging anew. The country's hard-currency reserves dropped a record of some \$700 million in July. And in another record, the authorities printed an unprecedented \$360 million shekels to pump into the economy before election day.

Shortly after the election, Likud's caretaker Cabinet closed Sinai-sized loopholes in the limitation on purchasing dollars for travel abroad. The government also tightened rules on imports. And a few days ago, the Finance Ministry in effect slashed future inflation "linkage" payments to workers by stopping the practice of adjusting their tax brackets to exclude the bonuses. The national trade-union federation, dominated by Labor, promptly hinted at the possibility of protest strikes.

There has also been a post-election freeze on new hiring by the government.

Yet if the recent behavior of foreign banks toward Israel is any indication, none of these moves amounts to a convincing package of serious austerity measures.

"Financial institutions want to see a trend before they lend," explains Rafael Benvenisti, the economist who heads the Israeli government's Investment Authority. "They read about the 'post-election' political situation here and don't see any successful measures. . . ."

He and other economists confirm that the Israeli government has recently had to agree to increased interest terms on foreign loans. In essence, say economists, Israel is now classed with other major world debtors in Latin America or East Europe on the world credit market.

At home, Mr. Benvenisti argues that mere economic logic may sooner or later threaten Israel's long record of nearly full employment — a development that could exacerbate political tension.

At a minimum, a cutback in government expenditures, imports, and domestic consumption levels is assumed as part of any overall new economic policy package.

For political figures — like onetime Labor Party spokesman Meron Medzini, the most worrisome implications of a delay in such measures may be political. He notes that Israel's close alliance with the US has always hinged on the concept that the Jewish state is the region's one "stable democracy."

"But the danger is that the US will look at Israel and say, 'If your economy will collapse, you are no longer a democracy and therefore all our strategic considerations are wrong.'"

For Benvenisti, this seems unlikely at least until the US elections are past. And he argues that the "American connection" has in fact had a debilitating effect on Is-

Please see ISRAEL page 14

ISRAEL

from page 12

rael's approach to the economy.

"There is always the belief, among the public and politicians, that no matter how bad things get, somebody — basically, the US — will come to our aid. The idea is 'If you have the bank behind you, who cares?'"

But he and various other economic experts do expect that any US administration after polling day will want to impose conditions like those of the International Monetary Fund for speedier austerity moves on future aid.

This, too, may have political implications.

Any major government budget cut, for instance, would seem unlikely to spare expenditures on two politically controversial fronts that claim huge outlays.

These are the festering war in Lebanon and the implanting of Jewish settlements among the majority Palestinian population of the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

In the Arab world, disappointment over the Labor Party's failure to defeat Likud convincingly in the election has

been tempered only by the hope that the Israeli economic crisis will indeed force changes in Lebanon and West Bank policy.

But independent political analysts in Israel doubt whether a truly significant change — that is, one that might help break the Arab-Israeli diplomatic deadlock — is in the cards.

As for Lebanon, virtually all Israeli politicians agree on the need to find a surrogate force to facilitate a reduced Israeli military profile there. The economic crunch might push up the timetable, but not radically, since no Israeli government wants to risk a pullout before "alternative security arrangements" are possible.

On the West Bank, a Likud-era proliferation of Jewish settlement is nearly complete in any case. The name of the game now is to move greater numbers of settlers into the outposts. Labor — on the still chancy assumption it manages to form a government — might indeed like to withhold most funds from this enterprise.

But the inconclusive election result means that any coalition Labor manages to form would necessarily include political parties insistent on the need to hold on to — and settle — the West Bank.





August 23, 1984

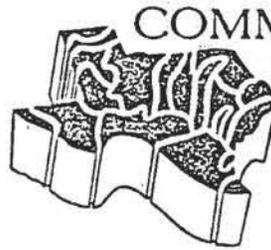
Commissioner Hightower thought you would be interested in receiving a copy of a letter he recently sent to the Texas Delegation urging their support of the U.S./Israel Free Trade Bill.

Mary Sanger

Mary Sanger
Texas Department of Agriculture

Enclosure





COMMISSIONER
OF AGRICULTURE

P. O. BOX 12847
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78711 • (512) 475-2760

August 21, 1984

2

E.R.C.	_____
S.B.	_____
M.L.H.	_____
OTHER	_____

Dear Texas Delegation:

There is precious little that Ronald Reagan and I have in common, but one plot of shared ground is that both of us favor establishment of a U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area. A proposed Free Trade Agreement between our two countries will be considered soon by the Congress, and I urge you to lend your support to it.

As you might know, we at the Department of Agriculture have been working to develop our own direct relationship to Israel, and we presently are creating an ad hoc, joint committee of agricultural interests, which will be called the Texas-Israel Exchange. The TIE Committee will work to develop trade, scientific exchanges, joint ventures and other mutually beneficial projects.

For example, both Israel and Texas are developing promising new wine industries that use the same grape varieties grown in very similar soils and climates, so there is great potential for scientific cooperation in this area. As for trade possibilities, we are very interested in having Texas producers supply a large part of Israel's beef and wheat needs, and we are just as interested in importing some of their water-management technology and expertise.

At present, only about 60% of U.S. products have duty-free access to Israel, while 90% of Israeli products come into the U.S. duty-free, so the proposed Free Trade Agreement can help U.S. producers if it is used, as we certainly plan to do in Texas. The agreement would pose practically no insurmountable trade problems for U.S. industries while it would expand opportunities for producers of both countries and strengthen the special bilateral relationship between our two, great democracies.

The U.S.-Israeli Agreement will also help us compete with the European Economic Community, who has already concluded a free trade agreement with Israel. Without the Agreement, European exports will continue to displace American products in the Israeli market.

It is my understanding that about 150 Members of the House have publically agreed to support this Agreement, including several members of the Texas delegation. I know that you will give this proposal careful consideration, and I hope you'll call on me if I can provide any useful information for you.

Best regards


JIM HIGHTOWER

JH:aeh

SEP 5 1984

M. Tanenbaum
G. Gruen

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

memorandum

date August 26, 1984

to Shula Bahat

from M. Bernard Resnikoff

subject Board of Governors Institute - February 1985

I thought it would be useful if you found on your desk when you return from vacation this schedule of points made, questions raised and issues discussed, when we met here last week. You may wish to use this, as I intend to, as a kind of checklist.

1. Should we have different guests at each free dinner, for small group discussions, as a way of enlarging the variety of interests that are represented in our Board membership?
2. Provide special baggage tags, for quick location.
3. Should we or should we not, as in the past, provide, upon arrival, a petty cash allowance for each Board member.
4. Provide rooming lists in advance.
5. Specify when we will want photographers.
6. Act on the suggestion that we designate one of the Sabbaths as "AJC Sabbath", arranging for AJC members to be honored at different synagogue services, and consider the possibility of guest sermons.
7. What do you think of the idea of a closing banquet in the Knesset Chagall hall.
8. Provide me, in advance, ready for the printer, a short biography of all participants, for prompt and advance distribution to all the people they will be seeing.
9. Discuss the possibility of retaining a PR person to help us extract the maximum public relations benefit from the visit.
10. Should we have a special AJC service at Yad Vashem.
11. Should we reserve the VIP room at the airport?
12. Should we have a major cocktail party, hosted by us, to which we would invite the elite and VIP's we won't get a chance to see.

Shula Bahat
August 26, 1984
Page Two.

13. Arrange with Mort Yarmon for the distribution of a news release on arrival, highlighting an eye-catching story.

14. Should we have a press conference?

15. How about banners, for the hotels, busses and dais?

16. Seek authorization for part-time help, if and as necessary, both on the administrative and clerical levels.

17. How about kits. Will national be providing them? If so, what is to be included? We may wish to supplement with local material.

18. Let's make up a list of simultaneous optional tours, in order to take into account people who are here for the first time, and those who are veterans, as well as the variety of interests of our board members.

19. Should we or should we not provide home hospitality.

20. We discussed attractive program covers and approval was given to two shown to you.

21. We also talked about providing tikim for the collective materials in Israel and we agreed that we might try Ampal, provided their logo would be a little less conspicuous.

22. All of the above is separate from the themes discussed for the program, as follows:

- a. Inter-group relations in Israel;
- b. Israel-Diaspora relations;
- c. Israel politics and foreign policy, 1985;
- d. The Arab-Israel conflict;
- e. The Jewish component of Israeli society;

Shula Bahat
August 26, 1984
Page Three.

- f. Israel's economy;
- g. The role of AJC in Israel.

It is clear, that given a maximum of five and one-half working days, our thematic emphases will have to be reduced.

MBR:vn
cc:

~~Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen~~
Yaacov Pnini



SEP 5 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 26, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject 1984/85 Projection, Program to Promote Tolerance

In response to a recent inquiry from Kenneth Bandler, I explained why the proceedings of our April consultation on combatting intolerance in Israeli society would not be ready until next month, at the very earliest.

Still, there has been forward movement in dealing with the findings of that conference. It will be recalled that this conference was prompted by a growing concern about manifestations of intolerance in Israeli society which appeared to be accelerating towards verbal and physical violence. There were 30 participants in that conference, including two Knesset members, the Director-General of the government ministry, the head of Jerusalem's self-government council, heads of a number of institutions dealing with Arab-Jewish relations, the former president of a university, producers of instructional TV, and academicians from a number of disciplines.

A preliminary eight-page summary of that conference was issued by this office and copies were forwarded promptly to the national office. That record, plus an unedited transcript of the proceedings and active recollection were some of the tools used by me and my associates when we met a number of times, together with selected consultants, to take counsel on how to proceed. And, if anything, events following that consultation have added urgency to plans for tackling, within our limited means, the mounting evidence of group antagonism and misunderstanding. Expression of this unease includes the recurring issue of "Who is a Jew?", as well as the social consequences of the election to the Knesset of Meir Kahane.

The subjects of concern expressed in our April consultation were analyzed for the purpose of determining whether, in a laboratory kind of situation, we could separate them into distinct categories, for special treatment as indicated. This was indeed the case, with the following distribution agreed upon:

- a. Religious pluralism;
- b. Ethnic relations and intolerance;

Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
August 26, 1984
Page Two.

- c. Nationalism and its counter-productive expression;
- d. The quality of political debate;
- e. The role of women in Israeli society.

It was agreed that each area would be considered independently but that the findings and activities of each area would have to be related to the others. According to our plan of action, this would call for five specialist coordinators, each assuming responsibility for his assigned area and who would locate and enlist the participants and consultants having competence to deal with the particular area. The work of all five coordinators would be directed by an overall project director, operating out of the Israel office.

To this end, a number of people have been recommended to serve as coordinators, but their recruitment and selection will have to wait until the end of the holiday season. Meanwhile, we have already secured the cooperation of Avraham Burg, who agreed to write an initial paper for the area of religious pluralism.

The participants easily and quickly agreed that the American Jewish Committee would be the convenor and facilitator for all these sessions, because it is perceived as objective and apolitical.

The methods to be used in achieving objectives may very well differ from one area to another. For example, exhortation may well succeed in one area but be doomed to failure in another. In the same way, use of publicity trying to effect legislative changes, use of mass media, meeting with public officials and the like, will vary from area to area and, for that matter, from time to time. In any case, the method to be used will be determined by each sub-group.

As can be seen, we are shooting for an eclectic approach, leaning, in part, on the tools of the change agent in the field of cultural anthropology, as well as the methods of a Saul Alinsky. In all cases, our eye is on the broad subject of human relations, and what we are aiming for is to promote respect for another point of view, the art of listening, the suspension of prior prejudice while entertaining fresh ideas, and a recognition of the need for accomodation in a voluntary, democratic and pluralistic society.

Suggestions from our and other departments are welcome.

MBR:Vn

cc: Mordechai Gazit, Y. Pnini

SEP 5 1984

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 27, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject "Who is a Jew"

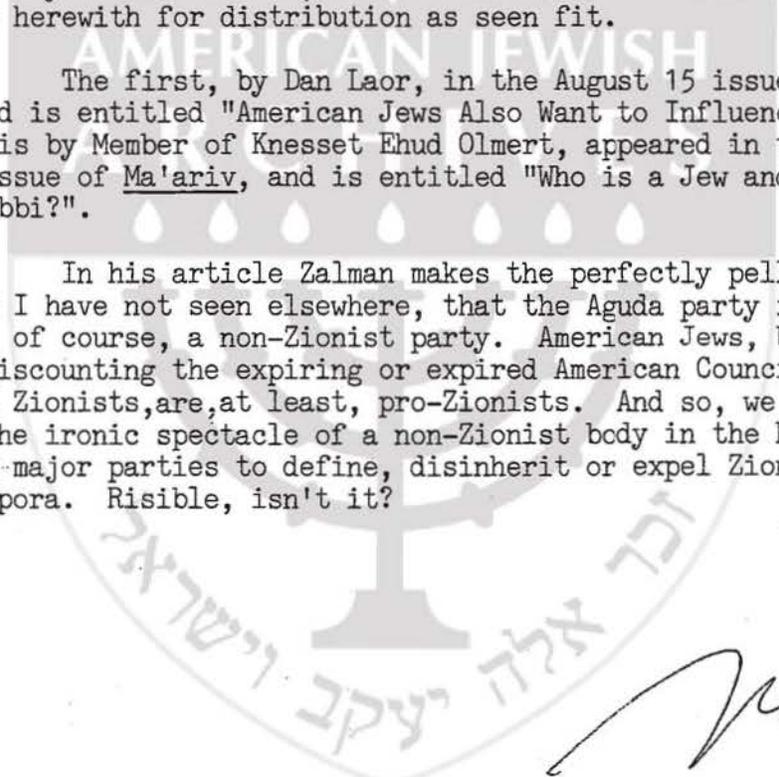
As might be expected, there have been many new stories and a spate of articles in the local press in response to the continuing debate on the issue of "Who is a Jew?". Out of the abundance of material available, including a magnificent backgrounder by Zalman Abramov, I selected two for translation and attach them herewith for distribution as seen fit.

The first, by Dan Laor, in the August 15 issue of Ha'aretz and is entitled "American Jews Also Want to Influence". The second is by Member of Knesset Ehud Olmert, appeared in the August 17 issue of Ma'ariv, and is entitled "Who is a Jew and Who is a Rabbi?".

In his article Zalman makes the perfectly pellucid point, that I have not seen elsewhere, that the Aguda party in the Knesset is, of course, a non-Zionist party. American Jews, by and large and discounting the expiring or expired American Council of Judaism and Zionists, are, at least, pro-Zionists. And so, we are left with the ironic spectacle of a non-Zionist body in the Knesset forcing the major parties to define, disinherit or expel Zionists in the Diaspora. Risible, isn't it?

MBR:vn
Encl.

memorandum



AMERICAN JEWS ALSO WANT TO INFLUENCE

By Dan Laor
(Ha'aretz, 15 August 1984)

The writer is a lecturer in the Faculty of Humanities at Tel Aviv University.

Among those expressing their opinion lately on the desired image of the next government in Israel, is also heard the voice of American Jewry. Statements from that direction have related mainly to the renewed debate over the question of the Law of Return, and to the connected issue - giving a new legal answer to the question, "Who is a Jew." The latter was accomplished in a unilateral decision, according to which the identity of a Jew is determined by the accepted criteria of Orthodox Jewry: a Jew is someone born of a Jewish mother, or alternatively, someone who underwent "conversion according to halacha." This term has lately become, and understandably so, a common phrase in nearly all statements of M.K. Avraham Shapiro, one of the leaders of Agudat Yisrael.

The attitude of the Jewish community in the United States to this question found public expression in trenchant remarks by two of its notables: Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and Theodore Mann, chairperson of the Presidents Club. The two met at their own initiative with the heads of the two major parties and even held a press conference. On those occasions they warned of the danger that one of the parties comprising the next coalition might indeed bow to the historic demand of the religious factions and change the "Who is a Jew" law. Bronfman and Mann reminded the partners to the coalitionary negotiations as well as the Israeli public that there are millions of Reform and Conservative Jews in the United States, many of whom have a deep love for Israel and help strengthen it materially and politically. Changing the "Who is a Jew" law - cautioned Bronfman and Mann - would alter the relationship between the State of Israel and the American diaspora by excluding from the people of Israel a

significant part of this diaspora. The two speakers used strong language - speaking explicitly of the danger of a split or rift in the Jewish nation.

As a postscript to the news about the remarks of the American Jewish leaders, another news item appeared which, on the surface, had no connection to the words of the two leaders - yet which at second glance does after all prove to belong to the same issue. Reference is to the annual event called the "American-Jewish Dialogue" which closed last week in Jerusalem. This year, in the spirit of the times, the dialogue was devoted to clarifying the status of the Jewish woman in Israel and abroad. Since the conference convened purely by chance at the same time as negotiations over the formation of the government, its participants - among them speakers from the diaspora - voiced their deep concern lest the agreements on which the next coalition will be based will further undermine the status of women in Israel. On this matter, a manifesto was formulated at the close of the conference, and a selected representation even brought the subject to the attention of the Israeli prime ministerial candidates. Here one sees once again, although reference is to an entirely different subject, that American Jewry is making itself heard on the subject of coalitionary negotiation. Despite the dissimilarity, in both cases explicit opposition is expressed to any step, taken most likely at the direct or indirect inspiration of the religious circles, which might undermine the status quo and thereby also eat away at the democratic, liberal, and "Western" character of the State of Israel.

This keen involvement on the part of American Jews in the internal affairs of the State of Israel is no longer surprising: being in constant need of their financial aid, and depending upon their political support, we appear to have learned over the years to reconcile ourselves to the ineluctable fact that these Jews retain a certain right to voice an opinion on various topics on our political agenda. Against this background no one would question, and rightly not, the very demand of Bronfman and Mann, and of the women's representative Betty Friedan, to approach heads of state and party leaders and present them with their demands concerning what is desirable and what is undesirable in all matters of the

coalitionary agreement on which the next government in Israel will be based. This is certainly nothing new.

Nonetheless, at this particular time and precisely against the background of the topics now under discussion, one cannot but call to the attention of American Jews and their leaders - and to a certain extent ^{to} our own attention as well - the chief limitations of the "arrangement" which determines our relationship with the diaspora in general, and with American Jewry in particular. For despite all the good will of many among us to preserve and safeguard as well we can the Western liberal character of the State of Israel alongside its Jewish and Zionist uniqueness, and despite the aspiration to check the momentum of the clerical-nationalistic coalition that has been gaining tremendous ground lately - American Jewry must realize that our strength to stand watch over this crucial matter is finite and our human resources quite limited. The recent elections proved, among other things, that a very fine balance - one might even say a fragile one - was struck between the two social and political forces which for years have been struggling with each other over the task of determining the image of the state. Furthermore, the sociological analyses that accompany election returns only served to heighten the impression that this delicate balance cannot long endure, and that the votes of our young are signalling that over time the scales will be tipped in favor of the clerical-nationalistic coalition - even if for now the other side may hold a temporary, perhaps technical, advantage. One might add that this process will have much graver and more far-reaching consequences to the image of the State of Israel and its status in the Jewish world than was conveyed by, or might have been implied from the words of warning of the aforementioned persons.

The key to changing the situation and to halting this process rests in the hands of American Jewry. This change, however, will not come about through petitions and press conferences, nor through urgent meetings between such notables as Edgar Bronfman and Theodore Mann with Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres. These

procedures might perhaps provide a temporary way out, yet they will not fundamentally solve the problem. There is only one solution to the situation: aliyah. Only an actual immigration of American Jews to Israel in the coming years, if even in relatively small numbers, might possibly stop the indicated dynamics. This alone might succeed in tipping the scales significantly in favor of that element in Israeli society that ^{is} not prepared to forego the synthesis between the Zionist idea and humanistic, liberal, and democratic values of Western culture. I do not wish to cite figures, nor do I have any desire to embark on far-fetched electoral speculations; however, one can easily imagine what the election results would have been were, for example, another hundred thousand American Jews to have participated - "new immigrants" who arrived not long ago, among them also Reform and Conservative Jews; of the sort who become alarmed whenever it seems to them that "reactionism" is on the rise and that the enlightened, open and progressive character of the State of Israel is being eroded.

American Jews, and especially their energetic leaders, must become more keenly aware of this basic truth. Instead of devoting their best energies these days to lobbying with the heads of state for this or that clause in the coalition agreement - lobbying which will most likely lead to actual results - they should read closely the social and political map that is reflected in the election results; and they should realize that if the State of Israel is indeed dear to them, and if they are resolved that it be counted among the enlightened countries for yet a long time to come - then they must participate actively in bolstering those forces in Israeli society which, to a large extent, guarantee Israel's existence as an enlightened state. Otherwise, their lobbying will in the long run be of no consequence - not on the "Who is a Jew" issue, not on the subject of the status of women, not even on far more basic issues concerning our free and democratic existence; and the threat directed at them we see clearly today. It is a mockery of fate that the meager aliyah of American Jews that has been taking

place in recent years comes to a great extent from the clerical, right-wing fringes of American-Jewish society - thereby reinforcing that element of Israeli society about which the masses of American Jewry and the American-Jewish establishment are complaining.

Not only the American Jews but we too must read the map well, so as to draw the correct conclusions, and especially to strive to translate as quickly as possible the conclusions into deeds. During the last elections, that in general had no breadth of vision, the subject of aliyah was omitted altogether - perhaps with the exception of that farce called the "Aliyah and Youth Faction" and some other sporadic remarks by various party spokespersons. Amazingly, both candidates to the prime ministership refrained from including the subject of aliyah in the basic principles put forward in their credo at the close of the famous television debate.

However, we are still not too late. Precisely now, on the threshold of the establishment of a new government in Israel, this demand should be made with renewed forcefulness. And it should be directed particularly to the Jewish community in the United States, which is the largest and most constructive reserve of aliya that can be hoped for. At the moment there are promising signs that Shimon Peres will head the government. Perhaps this is the opportunity to remind Mr. Peres, as well as his colleague Yitzhak Navon, of the firm positions of their teacher David Ben-Gurion who for most of his life was in dispute with American Jewry for remaining safe in its haven. Our justifiable fears concerning the future of the delicate social and political fabric of the State of Israel, and similar apprehensions expressed, if only indirectly, on the part of American Jewry, certainly create the right opportunity for renewing the assault by the State of Israel and Israeli society on American Jewry with a strong demand for a deep soul-searching which will lead - at least among a certain percentage of American Jews - to a renewed awareness of the ^{unadulterated} Zionist idea, and perhaps even to the decision that is so vital to all sides - to leave the diaspora and come.

WHO IS A JEW AND WHO IS A RABBI?

By Ehud Olmert

(Maariv, 17 Aug. '84)

Even if a unity government does arise, the Who-is-a-Jew question will require discussion, and such a government would do well to begin talks toward an accepted solution with the various schools of Judaism

Even if a national unity government does arise with the participation of the Likud and the Alignment, urgent discussion of the question, Who is a Jew? will be necessary. It is illusory to assume that if a political situation is created lowering the bargaining ability of the religious parties, this problem can be pushed into a corner. First of all, not even a unity government can last forever. Sooner or later the political situation will change and the demands over religious issues will be back on our agenda. Beyond chance circumstances, however, it is vital that efforts be made to deal with this problem - and not necessarily under pressure of coalitionary agreements and government crises.

Thus, even if a unity government does arise - and perhaps especially if it does - initiating a true dialogue with the heads of the various schools of Judaism is advisable, so as to reach an accepted solution to this pressing problem.

Generally, when the question comes up for public debate, an image of sharp confrontation between two camps almost instantly arises: on the one side orthodox Judaism with its demand for a change in the Law of Return, and on the other side the Reform and Conservative Jewish leaders in the United States who are vehemently against the change.

Admittedly, a substantial part of the Israeli public, as well as the Jewish public in the United States, does not sense the acuteness of the problem, except in relation to the demands and reactions of the two groups that are seemingly involved in the confrontation.

It would be no exaggeration to say that to the majority of citizens in the

State of Israel, it makes no difference which formulation is accepted. First and foremost the issue affects those who some day might conceivably make aliyah, ^{at any rate} and since most Israelis regard the chances of mass immigration to Israel as slight, they are not troubled by the subject. Whether there is aliyah or not, however, the question of conversion according to the halacha is essential to the way of life of the American Jewish community, and to its basic perception of Jewish identity; and to a large extent it envelops some of the basic problems in the relationship between the State of Israel and the Jewish community in the United States.

The chief argument against changing the Law of Return is that it would alienate a significant segment of the American Jewish community from Israel, and would arouse against the state a Jewish public which has been making efforts to preserve its attachment to Judaism and Israel under complex circumstances of life which encourage a process of dissociation. In particular, ^{goes the argument,} it would cause a rupture between the State of Israel and a central component in the American Jewish community which constitutes a dominant stratum in the political strength of the local Judaism - a strength which stands totally at the service of the interests of the State of Israel. One of the side-effects of a predicted crisis in relations with American Jewry would be a significant drop in contributions to the various appeals for Israel and Israeli institutions.

The truth of the matter is that today an accelerated, dramatic process of assimilation of American Jewry is underway, in proportions unheard of in Jewish history.

I do not have available precise numerical data. Yet I do know that mixed marriages total in the tens of percentages. A great number of these marriages results in the Jewish member of the couple moving away from Jewish community life and from any involvement with Judaism. Clearly, the next generation of such marriages will be totally cut off from all ties to Judaism and the Jewish community.

Already today one can say with great certainty that in actuality, the active

segment of the American Jewish community is far smaller than its traditionally cited figures. There do not exist today six million Jews who live as Jews, feel Jewish, or sense any attachment whatsoever to the State of Israel.

The phenomenon of assimilation is virtually unavoidable when one considers the common way of life of American Jewry. This Jewry turned integration into the non-Jewish community, involvement in it, and the ability to have an impact upon it, into its primary goal. No such integration can, by the nature of things, stop only at the political and economic sphere. By its very nature, it must also be expressed in the social domain and in the end create total assimilation.

The claim as though by enacting in the Knesset one type of legislation or another, we will be contributing toward estranging a substantial part of the Jewish nation, is at best an empty argument - since in any event a significant segment of the Jewish nation is pushing itself beyond the embrace of Judaism due to its lifestyle in a non-Jewish society.

The sad truth is that Reform Judaism, which had set as one of its aims to try and check the erosion of assimilation precisely by creating a more flexible, modern lifestyle, capable of adjusting to the needs of a large segment of the Jewish community lacking a background in orthodox Jewish education - not only did it fail to stem the escape from Judaism, but to a large extent it is gradually adopting ingredients of a lifestyle that is alien to Judaism.

Already, rather than stopping the accelerated process of assimilation, it is accommodating itself to it.

The second argument raised against legislation on the Who-is-a-Jew issue focuses on the expected alienation of the American-Jewish community from Israel.

No doubt this is a painful and troubling problem. Yet one must recall that in recent years, unrelated to any legislation by the Knesset in Israel and with no connection to an event or string of events in Israel, there has been a growing trend in the American-Jewish community to attend to itself and its own needs, and the beginnings of a disquieting shift away from the State of Israel as the world center of Jewish life.

It is no secret that from the time the state was established until today, only about 15% of all of American Jews have visited Israel at least once. Lately the extent to which Jews are visiting Israel has not noticeably changed. Regrettably, the vast majority still prefer to spend their yearly vacation in the Caribbean, on the Pacific islands, or even in Europe - rather than taking their first trip to Israel.

Only a small proportion of American Jews contributes to the various appeals for Israel. There are no exact figures, since the precise number of Jews in the United States is not known. Yet it is safe to assume that fewer than 20% of American Jewry contribute to the appeals. All the rest remain uninvolved.

An ever-increasing conviction has been forming in recent years that a substantial amount of the money that at the source is collected for Israel should remain in the hands of ^{the} American Jewish community. Already today Israel receives on the average less than 50% of the money collected for us in the United States.

At the same time a growing number of important Jewish institutions and organizations are run by those who no longer view Israel as the center of Jewish life, and who openly preach a way of life which will in the future even further weaken the ties of American Jewry with Israel.

In other words: American Jewry is undergoing a deep identity-crisis both in relation to Jewish lifestyle in all its ramifications, as well as in connection to Israel. This crisis does not depend on, nor does it derive from the expected legislation on the subject of who is a Jew. Its roots are deeper and more complex, and are anchored in an unresolvable contradiction between the desire of the Jewish community to integrate into the American community, and its need to preserve a unique identity of its own. The question, Who is a Jew, cannot serve as a solution to this problem, yet it would be a mistake and an illusion to claim that this would be the basic cause of a further alienation between the millions of Jews living in America, and the State of Israel.

The urgent need, despite everything, to deal with the question, stems from the simple fact that each year thousands of conversions are performed, particularly

in the United States. In the absence of consent on them, these conversion practices raise sharp controversy. There is also the potential danger that the controversy will deepen, mainly in light of the possibility that various groups in the Jewish community in America and Israel might maintain lists of "kosher" and "nonkosher" Jews for fear of mixed marriages between the two.

In the Israeli context, argue those in favor of changing the law, the fear that new immigrants - primarily from the United States - would register in Israel as Jews although they were not converted according to the halacha, would create serious problems in the area of matrimonial law. This problem, they claim, could be solved by an agreement to establish conversion according to halacha as the sole basis for registering Jews as Jews upon their arrival in Israel as new immigrants.

In this same context, the response of Reform and Conservative Jewry about the effect this legislation would have on aliyah is unconvincing. Hardly any Reform and Conservative Jews come on aliyah to Israel even without a change in the law.

The major difficulty which this question raises ought to be examined in the narrower context of relations among the various schools in Judaism, and chiefly among the founders of those schools.

In the end, there can be no debate, since conversion can take place only according to the halacha. The reason for this, beyond the ideological arguments, is more practical: on such a basic and profound subject as conversion, only a procedure that could be accepted by all schools of Judaism can serve as the unifying factor. Such a procedure, by the nature of things, can only be according to the halacha, since not even Conservative and Reform rabbis - despite their having adopted a simpler and less demanding procedure - would ever argue that conversion according to the halacha was unacceptable to them; whereas for orthodox Jewry, conversion in any other format is invalid from the start.

I believe that in the end the question of conversion comes down to the

problem of who will conduct the conversion ceremonies, and not of which procedure will be used. To the best of my knowledge, the Conservative and Reform Jewry in the United States could have been persuaded to consent to conversion according to the halacha, yet the inevitable price that these groups demand in return is recognition of Reform and Conservative rabbis. Without such recognition, the representatives of these establishments fear that they will forfeit their status altogether. The question is: Within the framework of true dialogue leading to an agreement by all schools of Judaism on one method of conversion, according to the halacha - could an agreement be reached on the status of the rabbis who would be responsible for these conversion procedures?

This question cannot be solved through legislation, but rather through a lengthy process of dialogue. This the government of Israel can and must initiate, alongside any legislative step it may take.

If it turns out that the political circumstances allow this issue to be dealt with at a more convenient time, the government that arises would do well to address itself to the matter in an organized fashion, at its own initiative, ^{and} without the pressure of political factors, which inevitably leads to polarization, feelings of frustration and inner tension. Rather it should proceed on the basis of a dialogue with all the important segments of the Jewish people whose sleep is still troubled by this problem.

- THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 - Plaza 1-4000, Ext. 268

DATE: August 27, 1984

TO: Marc H. Tanenbaum

I spoke with Howard Friedman this morning and cleared this letter with him. The letter - copies of - was sent to Friedman, Nevas, IRD staff, Haskell Lazere and Dr. Gordis.

Please let me know if you would like it sent to others.

Allan Kagedan

Enc.



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

August 27, 1984

Mr. Walter B. Wriston
Chief Executive Officer
Citibank
399 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Wriston:

It was gratifying to learn of the New York Philharmonic's decision to cancel its planned performance in Malaysia in light of the Malaysian demand that the orchestra not perform a musical composition by Jewish composer Ernest Bloch. Yet it is disturbing that this episode, which involved American acquiescence in undisguised religious intolerance, should have proceeded as far as it did.

Religious freedom is fundamental to America's constitutional democracy; succumbing to religious discrimination in artistic endeavor is contrary to international law. It is also subversive of basic human rights established by the United Nations Charter. There have been allegations that Citibank employees played a role in initiating Malaysia's discriminatory test; considering Citibank's reputation, we cannot believe that Citibank knowingly lent its support to Malaysia's discriminatory act. The episode seems to indicate, nevertheless, that those active in the field of foreign cultural exchange must issue clear policy directives to avoid such incidents.

We are certain that Citibank, a leading supporter of foreign cultural exchange, should like to ensure that religious tolerance, a value cherished by all Americans and all decent people, remains an important principle of international cultural understanding. We sincerely trust that Citibank will take the necessary steps to prevent the violation of these fundamental principles in the future.

Sincerely,

Howard I. Friedman

HIF/es

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President ■ THEODORE ELLENHOFF, Chair, Board of Governors ■ EDWARD E. ELSON, Treasurer ■ EDWARD E. ELSON, Treasurer ■ SHIRLEY M. SZABAD, Secretary ■ ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council ■ EMILY W. SUNSTEIN, Associate Treasurer ■ ROBERT S. JACOBS, Chair, Board of Trustees ■ RITA E. HAUSER, Chair, Executive Committee ■ HONORARY PRESIDENTS: MORRIS B. ABRAM, ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, RICHARD MAASS, ELMER L. WINTER, MAYNARD I. WISHNER ■ HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS: NATHAN APPLEMAN, MARTIN GANG, RUTH R. GODDARD, ANDREW GOODMAN, RAYMOND F. KRAVIS, JAMES MARSHALL, WILLIAM ROSENWALD ■ MAX M. FISHER, Honorary Chair, National Executive Council ■ EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENTS EMERITI: JOHN SLAWSON, BERTRAM H. GOLD ■ VICE-PRESIDENTS: NORMAN E. ALEXANDER, Westchester; RICHARD J. FOX, Philadelphia; HOWARD A. GILBERT, Chicago; ALAN C. GREENBERG, New York; ROBERT H. HAINES, New York; CHARLOTTE G. HOLSTEIN, Syracuse; ROBERT L. PELZ, Westchester; IDELLE RABIN, Dallas; GORDON S. ROSENBLUM, Denver; DAVID F. SQUIRE, Boston; RICHARD L. WEISS, Los Angeles ■ DAVID M. GORDIS, Executive Vice-President ■

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 8/28

FROM: DAVID A. HARRIS

TO: _____ KENNETH BANDLER
_____ DAVID GELLER
_____ GEORGE GRUEN
_____ ALLAN KAGEDAN
_____ JACOB KOVADLOFF
_____ SIDNEY LISKOFKY
 _____ MARC TANENBAUM

For approval

For your information

Please handle

Read and return

Returned as requested

Please telephone me

Your comments, please.

REMARKS:

August 28, 1984

Rabbi Abraham B. Hecht
Shaare Zion Congregation
2030 Ocean Parkway
Brooklyn, NY 11223

Dear Rabbi Hecht:

Thank you for your mailgram in which you stated your position on the issue "Who Is A Jew."

The American Jewish Committee has for many years seen as one of its areas of concern religious freedom for all Jews everywhere. Any step taken to reduce that freedom, whether in the U.S. or elsewhere, is cause for concern and response. The Committee stands by the statement that was issued, as well as by our previous statements affirming our commitment to religious pluralism and religious freedom.

Sincerely,

David M. Gordis

DMG:JG

cc: David Harris, Haskell Lerner

SHAARE ZION CONGREGATION J MATUT
2030 OCEAN PKWY
BROOKLYN NY 11223 24AM

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DIRECTOR OF SPECIAL PROJECTS MR GELLER
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 65 ST
NEW YORK NY 10021

WE WERE SHOCKED TO READ THAT YOUR ORGANIZATION WAS ONE OF THE PRIME MOVERS IN THE OPPOSITION MOVE TO AMEND THE LAW OF RETURN ON CONVERTS. WE HAVE ALWAYS MAINTAINED THAT THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE SHOULD BE CONCERNED WITH PROBLEMS EFFECTING THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE USA AND SHOULD NOT GET INVOLVED ON IMPURELY RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS. WE CONTEND THAT THE ISSUE OF CONVERSION ACCORDING TO HALACHA IS NOT DIVISIVE BUT RATHER COHESIVE. OUR CONCERN IS THAT ONE WHO IS NOT A JEW ACCORDING TO THE RELIGIOUS DEFINITION WILL BE ADMITTED INTO THE JEWISH NATION UNDER FALSE PRETENSE. WE ARE NOT QUESTIONING WHO IS A JEW, SINCE ALL MEMBERS OF OUR FAITH ARE JEWS. WE ARE TRYING TO PROTECT THE INTEGRITY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE, AND WE THEREFORE PROTEST VEHEMENTLY YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN A PURELY RELIGIOUS ISSUE FOR WHICH YOU ARE NEITHER COMPETENT NOR AUTHORIZED TO MAKE STATEMENTS.

YOUR INVOLVEMENT HAS CAUSED MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING THROUGHOUT THE USA AND HAS PROMOTED A GROUNDSWELL OF PROTEST IN OUR COMMUNITY. WE FEEL THAT YOU SHOULD DISASSOCIATE YOURSELVES AT ONCE AND PUBLICLY FROM THE GROUP AND THE STATEMENT WHICH APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES. WE WOULD APPRECIATE HEARING FROM YOU
RABBI ABRAHAM B HECHT
SHAARE ZION CONGREGATION

10:43 EST

MGMCOMP

Received 8/27/84

Aug. 29, 1984

Dr. David Gordis
Executive Vice-President
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Dr. Gordis:

With permission of Mr. Maurice Spertus, my brother-in-law, I am enclosing information regarding the Precious Legacy collection. Perhaps the question he poses has already been examined in depth, or not; I do not know.

He is eager to learn what position, if any, AJC may have on the ultimate disposition of the collection. As you will note from the first Xerox enclosed, Maynard Wischner has a copy, too. Incidentally, Maynard and Maurice know each other through Jewish communal work in Chicago.

What can be done? Who is looking into the issue? Can AJC prepare a position paper? Etc. Clearly, even if efforts to get the collection transferred to more authentic custody may never get off the ground, should not a major effort be attempted?

My wife and I are leaving next week for a fourteen day holiday in Spain. On my return, I plan to get in touch with you for your reactions to this letter.

By now, "your feet must be thoroughly wet" in AJC affairs. I hear nothing but good things about your adjustment and reception.

Cordially yours,

Sam

cc: Maurice Spertus

August 29, 1984

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum,

Just a note to thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to appear on 'Video Edition'.

Please find enclosed the 'unedited interview'. It was a pleasure to meet you and May God continue to bless you and your loved ones.

gratefully,

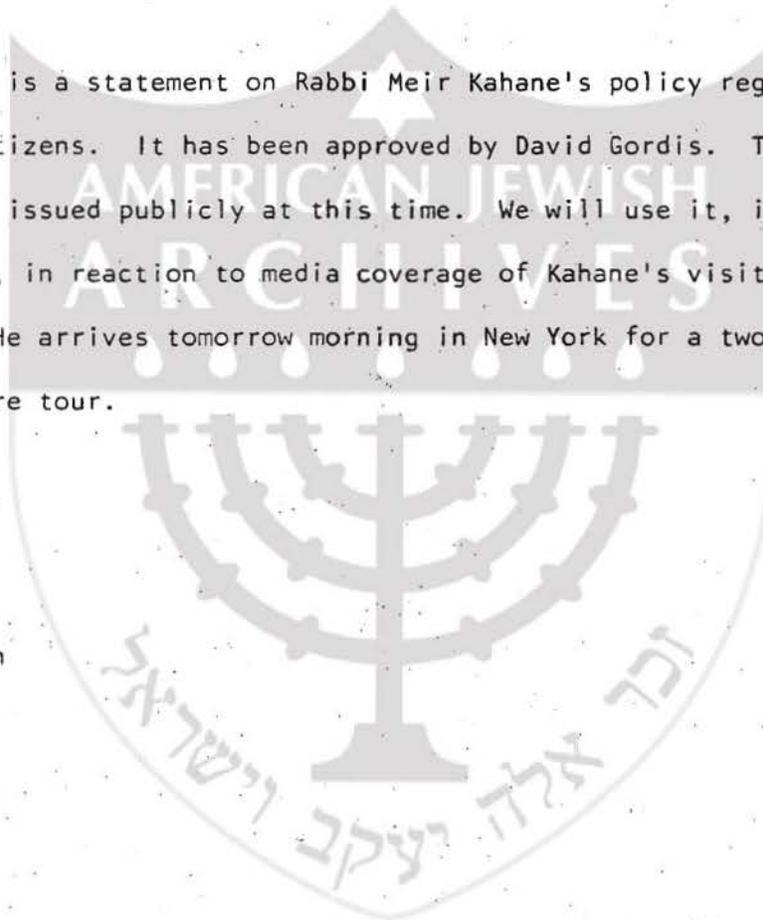
Sister Jane Heckathorn, M.M.
Producer
Video Edition

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 30, 1984
to IRD Professional Staff
from Kenneth Bandler *KB*
subject Rabbi Kahane

Attached is a statement on Rabbi Meir Kahane's policy regarding Israel's Arab citizens. It has been approved by David Gordis. The statement will not be issued publicly at this time. We will use it, if it is deemed necessary, in reaction to media coverage of Kahane's visit to the United States. He arrives tomorrow morning in New York for a two week nationwide lecture tour.

cc: Bill Trosten
Bert Gold
MOrt Yarmon



STATEMENT ON RABBI MEIR KAHANE'S POLICY REGARDING ISRAEL'S ARAB CITIZENS

Rabbi Meir Kahane's inflammatory statements calling for the expulsion of Israel's Arab citizens are reprehensible. His positions contravene Israel's Declaration of Independence and legal system, which guarantee the human rights of all citizens, including the Arabs, who today constitute some 17 percent of the country's population. The Israeli laws and basic democratic system that protect Kahane and allow for his views to be heard are the same ones that protect everyone else in Israel. It is a perversion of those moral and legal codes for Rabbi Kahane to advocate discrimination and incitement against Israel's peaceful Arab community. The cooperation of Israeli Arabs and Jews in opposing Kahane's racism, as evidenced by the recent demonstration in Umm el Fahm, is encouraging. We deplore Rabbi Kahane's positions and actions because they threaten not only the Arabs in Israel but undermine the prospect for Arab-Israeli reconciliation and violate the basic humanistic values of Judaism upon which the State of Israel was created.



Lemkin and Trifa: memory and justice

M.T.
CSM 11

8.30.84

By William Korey

WINSTON Churchill called it "the crime without a name." He was referring to the mass slaughter of a racial, religious, or ethnic group, a phenomenon that reached a climax during the Holocaust.

Raphael Lemkin, a transplanted Polish-Jewish lawyer, gave the crime a name — genocide — he stirred mankind to create international law that would deter and punish perpetrators of such crimes. The Genocide Convention, adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly in December of 1948, was largely his handiwork.

His extraordinary achievement merits noting this week, the 25th anniversary of his passing. Lemkin died on Aug. 28, 1959, a disappointed man, his hopes for US ratification of the genocide treaty unfulfilled.

Genocide may have entered the lexicon of international discourse, and 92 countries may have ratified the treaty, but strangely, Lemkin is all but forgotten. The name is inscribed nowhere at the UN, not on the walls or in the cases that adorn its corridors or in special UN documents.

Even more distressing is the failure of the United States to give expression to Lemkin's heritage by becoming a contracting party to the genocide treaty. Not surprisingly, Lemkin looked to US ratification as "an inspiration to the world." He was deeply fearful that people would forget the Holocaust. In his own time, he observed that not a few "already believe that Dachau, Auschwitz, Buchenwald, are manufactured war propaganda."

The US, his adopted homeland, could make the difference, he thought. It had already done so at the UN. Warren R. Austin, the American ambassador, assumed

the leadership in winning adoption of a resolution that declared "that genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns and for the commission of which principals and accomplices are punishable."

And the US championed the fight for the treaty in the General Assembly and, once adopted, was the first to sign it. Soon afterward, on June 16, 1949, President Harry Truman sent it to the Senate, seeking its advice and consent.

Opposition at the time came from the American Bar Association, which questioned the constitutional appropriateness of human rights treaties. That view no longer obtains, and the ABA is in the forefront of the effort to win ratification.

For more than 35 years, the US has failed to act. Sen. William Proxmire (D) of Wisconsin has observed that "there is not a single proposal that has been before the Senate as long." The consequence has been embarrassment in international forums, most recently at the Madrid conference of the Helsinki accord signatories, where the Kremlin exploits US failure to accede to human rights treaties.

Nonratification weakens America's leadership role in advancing human rights even as it raises a question about the administration's commitment to commemorating the Holocaust. Indeed, the official US Holocaust Commission has urged accession to the genocide treaty.

For Raphael Lemkin, adoption of the Genocide Convention would constitute "an epitaph on my mother's grave." She and 46 members of his family had been exterminated in the Holocaust. The "epitaph" has remained unfinished.

Dr. William Korey is director of international policy research with B'nai B'rith International.

By A. James Rudin

SOMETIMES a person's name permanently enters our vocabulary and is used to describe an entire class or group of people. We often forget that there really was a World War II Norwegian traitor named Vidkun Quisling, that Nicolas Chauvin was a 19th-century French super-patriot, and that the Marquis Donatien de Sade took delight in cruelty.

In our own day the name "Trifa" may become the term given to war criminals who illegally entered the United States after 1945.

Just last week, Valerian Trifa, the best-known war criminal living in our midst, left the US and turned up in Portugal. The Portuguese authorities claim they did not know who he was when he entered the country, and he claims the accusations against him are false. Just how Trifa was able to enter Portugal is still a mystery, but one thing is clear, the charges are not false.

Because Trifa is the archbishop of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America, his case has attracted worldwide attention. In 1975 the Justice Department began legal action to strip Trifa of his naturalized US citizenship. The government charged that he had lied when he became a citizen. At that time, the archbishop swore he had never been a member of any Nazi or Fascist organization, including the Iron Guard, a Romanian Fascist group that carried out murderous attacks against Jews during World War II. Membership in such groups prohibits a person from acquiring US citizenship.

In 1980, after a half decade of legal maneuvers, Trifa's legal defenses crumbled. The evidence showed that he had been a member of the Iron Guard. The evidence also directly linked him with the infamous

January 1941 anti-Jewish pogrom in Bucharest. As many as 6,000 Jews were murdered during that attack.

To avoid a court trial Trifa surrendered his US citizenship four years ago and remained in the US as a stateless person, until he suddenly appeared in Portugal.

Why should the case of Valerian Trifa concern us, nearly 40 years after the end of World War II? Why has the Justice Department, with congressional prodding, established a special office to prosecute Nazi war criminals who reside in the US? Why has the American Jewish Committee, along with others, been involved in the Trifa case? The answer is a single word of compelling power: justice.

There must be justice for the murdered victims of the Holocaust, men and women who cannot offer testimony on their own behalf. They cannot press their case in a court of law, but we can and must do so to honor their memory. And US citizenship is too precious to be granted to people like Trifa, who lied to obtain it.

Portuguese authorities are investigating how the archbishop entered Portugal so easily. His presence in that country is an embarrassment to the Portuguese.

Trifa will likely be deported to his native Romania and placed on trial in Bucharest, the scene of his crimes. Ironically, in 1946 Trifa was sentenced *in absentia* to life imprisonment by a noncommunist Romanian government. One wonders why the present communist government in Romania, a self-proclaimed foe of all forms of Nazism and fascism, is reluctant to claim and try Trifa. Only the Bucharest authorities can write a just ending to Trifa's unredempted case.

Rabbi A. James Rudin is director of National Interreligious Affairs for the American Jewish Committee.

The name 'Trifa' may become the term given to all the war criminals who illegally entered the United States after 1945.

1985-11-20

A danger for Israel

8-30-84

NY News

BACK IN THE 1930s, a standard Fascist technique consisted of sending the bully boys marching through Jewish neighborhoods in Berlin, Paris or London, baiting the Jews, starting fights, trying to drive them out. A few years back, American Nazis tried the same thing in Skokie, Ill., a town with many survivors of Hitler's Holocaust. Now Rabbi Meir Kahane, a newly elected member of the Israeli parliament, is trying the same thing in Israel.

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He and his thugs marched on an Arab village yesterday. The object was to cause trouble, and although the police stopped the march, he succeeded. There was a riot. The Arabs rose to the bait and attacked the police. Kahane wants to drive people he calls "Arab dogs" out of Israel. He's an evil racist, a true Nazi, and unfortunately he's an American.

His policies and methods have been bitterly denounced by every shade of political opinion in Israel, starting with President Chaim Herzog and Prime Minister Yitzak Shamir. They want no part of someone who advocates mass expulsion of the Arabs. It's important to remember that Kahane won a little more than 1% of the vote in the elections. He doesn't represent a new Fascist wave of opinion in Israel, just a tiny, deluded minority.

Now he's coming to the United States, to spread his evil message here and to raise money. He must be denounced as comprehensively by American Jews as he has been in Israel.

Israel, which is enduring a severe economic and political crisis, with 400% inflation and no government, depends for its survival on American support. U.S. subsidies amount to about \$1,000 a year to every single Israeli. The money is voted willingly because Israel is an ally, a democracy and a light of freedom in a dark and dangerous world. Americans' only reservation, and it's important, concerns Israel's policy toward Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories. Israel would lose all its support here if Kahane's policies were implemented. He must be repudiated, for Israel's sake.

The Justice Department was reportedly examining the question whether he had forfeited his American citizenship by winning election to the Knesset. It sounds reasonable, and certainly we don't want him here.



DAILY NEWS REPORTS

A daily interfaith news service with offices in New York, Washington, and Dallas

Religious News Service: EDITORIAL OFFICE ★ 104 West 56th Street New York, NY 10019 ★ Tel: 212-315-0870

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DOMESTIC NEWS

08-31-84

4683

Church-state lobby condemns GOP's 'Dear Christian' letter

By Religious News Service

WASHINGTON (RNS) — A Baptist minister who served in the administration of former President Jimmy Carter has sent an appeal to 4,000 churches and synagogues urging them not to become an "extension" of President Reagan's re-election campaign.

The Rev. Dr. Robert L. Maddox, now executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, reacted to a recent campaign mailing by the Republican Party addressed "Dear Christian Leader."

Signed by Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.), chairman of Reagan-Bush '84, the letter said Mr. Reagan had a perfect record on issues of "Christian concern" and appealed for voter-registration drives by ministers to "help secure the re-election of President Reagan and Vice President Bush."

This unusual appeal for partisan action by churches drew immediate fire from the Rev. Charles Bergstrom, government-affairs director of the Lutheran Council in the USA, and Rabbi David Saperstein, of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. In a joint statement on Aug. 26, they said: "This presumptuous attempt to equate party politics with Christianity is deeply offensive."

In his appeal to churches and synagogues which participate in Americans United, a Washington-based group with a politically and religiously diverse following, Mr. Maddox wrote:

"The present political campaign, especially the Republican effort, seems determined to mobilize ministers and congregations behind Mr. Reagan. Such a blatant, crass outreach to the nation's religious communities on behalf of a candidate offends our sense of Americanism" and damages the notion that church and state should be separate.

While acknowledging that, as a pastor for 20 years in Texas and Georgia, he initiated voter-registration drives in his own churches, Mr. Maddox added: "But I used none of these efforts to promote a candidate! Such a thought never entered my mind!"

In a separate letter to President Reagan, dated Aug. 27, Mr. Maddox urged the President to "rethink" his use of religion and said he was "dividing the nation, rather than healing it." He wrote: "By injecting personal, sectarian religion into the political arena you trivialize religion, making it a tool of the state."

Mr. Maddox, appointed earlier this year to head Americans United, served in the Carter administration as liaison to the religious community. He is ordained in the Southern Baptist Convention.

08-31-84

4689

WCC appoints communications director for NY office

By Religious News Service

NEW YORK (RNS) — Andrea Cano, head of a Los Angeles-based ecumenical communications project, has been named communications director for the New York office of the World Council of Churches, effective Oct. 1.

Ms. Cano, 36, a member of the United Church of Christ, has for the past two years been executive director of Ecumedia, a communications agency sponsored by 10 denominations and interfaith groups in Southern California.

Ms. Cano's appointment is part of a reorganization of the WCC's New York office. She succeeds Nancy Clark, who left at the end of March.

The office has long been the subject of internal disagreement in the WCC, which has its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, and the topic of discussion at Central Committee meetings. The New York operation is unique in the structure of the WCC; no comparable office exists in any other country where the council has member churches. What role the New York office should play in promoting the WCC in the U.S., and whether it should even continue to exist are perennial questions.

A former WCC official said that cost-cutting had left the office inadequately funded and understaffed, and that it was not always clear whether the New York office was to take its orders from the Geneva staff or from U.S. church officials.

A reorganization, in 1982, downgraded the agency by eliminating the position of executive secretary, and Dr. Keith Bridston, a Lutheran theologian who had held the post since 1978, was dismissed.

But earlier this year, the WCC moved to strengthen the office with the appointment of the Rev. Joan Campbell as interim director. Ms. Campbell, a Disciples of Christ minister, is serving half-time in the position and half-time as director of a National Council of Churches agency that relates to regional and local ecumenical programs. Her interim appointment runs until Jan. 1, when the Rev. Emilio Castro takes over as top executive of the WCC. At that time, long-range decisions about the future of the office are expected to be made.

William Jones, who has been administrator of the office since the departure of Dr. Bridston, said he expected to remain with the restructured office.

In a telephone interview, Ms. Cano said she will relate to both secular and religious media. Tentative plans for the office, she said, include establishing a speakers' bureau, preparing exhibits for denominational meetings, creating a new publication, and training interns in communications.

A native of Los Angeles, she attended California State University at Fullerton, was a television reporter for KCET-TV, and served as a public affairs program host for KNBC-TV, KNXT-TV and KOCE-TV, all in Los Angeles.

An executive council member for Church Women United, she also is a member of a National Council of Churches study committee on theology, education and electronic media. She is on the board of directors of the United Church of Christ's Southern California Conference.

Ms. Cano is the drafter of a major policy statement on racial justice currently under consideration by the National Council of Churches.

08-31-84

4686

Sale of mailing list to Helms campaign upsets Baptist leaders

By Mack Webb
Religious News Service Correspondent

RALEIGH, N.C. (RNS) — A former president of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina has apologized for making the convention's mailing list available to Sen. Jesse Helms' re-election committee.

"Looking back on it, I made an error in judgment," said the Rev. Coy C. Privette, who is now executive director of the Christian Action League, a conservative interdenominational organization.

Although the Baptist convention was angered by the sale of the list, the controversy coincides with a groundswell of political activity among North Carolina fundamentalists.

The league purchased the convention's 18,000-member computerized "Key Leadership List" for \$450 and sold it to the Helms campaign for the same amount. It was used to distribute a letter signed by Mr. Privette and three other North Carolina Baptist leaders endorsing Sen. Helms' re-election effort.

"I know that you can plainly see that Sen. Helms is a man who believes in traditional family values and morality and, as such, he deserves our support," the letter said, adding, "I also trust that you are asking yourself what you can do to help re-elect Jesse."

The letter urged recipients to contact Robert Touchton of the Helms campaign committee to arrange visits to local churches by registrars after Sunday services. "Every ultra-liberal organization — NOW (National Organization for Women), the national union bosses and the homosexual community — has targeted Sen. Helms for defeat," it said. "Conservative-minded Christians must fight back."

In addition to Mr. Privette, the letter was signed by the Rev. B. J. Morris of Lincolnton, president of the Baptist Pastors Conference; Henderson Belk of Charlotte, a lay leader; and the Rev. C. Mark Corts, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church at Winston-Salem, and also a past president of the state convention.

Robert J. Rosser, assistant director of the Helms campaign, said acquisition of the Baptist mailing list "was all above board." He noted that Mr. Privette "purchased it from the convention, and we purchased the use of it from him."

Mr. Privette said that when he sold the list to the campaign committee in June, he was aware that it would stir a controversy in Baptist circles. But he added that it did not violate any written policy of the state convention.

He has now apologized to Roy J. Smith, general secretary-treasurer of the Baptist convention, saying it was a "mistake of judgment" and would not occur again. And the state convention's executive committee has decided to draft a written policy to guard against a recurrence.

All three of the other signers of the letter said they were unaware that the Helms committee had used the convention's mailing list. Mr. Morris, whose letterhead was used for the letter, said, "I don't know anything about the mailing list. I just signed the letter."

Mr. Corts said he was "concerned" about how the mailing list had been used. "I think my feelings as a pastor and as a former president of the Baptist State Convention are pretty strong that the church office per se should not be used to promote one political side over another," he said.

The resale of the list was also criticized by the Rev. Thomas M. Freeman, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Dunn, and president of the Christian Action League. "I am personally non-partisan in politics," he said. "I feel that the Christian Action League ought to be non-partisan."

Mr. Privette said that the four men who signed the letter "did it purely as individuals. Our thinking was that in Sen. Helms we had a fellow Baptist, a strong Baptist who has been very active in Baptist causes we believe in. We thought we ought to say something for him."

While the Southern Baptists have traditionally stressed church-state separation and avoided political involvements, some prominent North Carolina fundamentalists are getting more active in politics.

The Rev. Kent Kelly of Calvary Memorial Church in Southern Pines has sent out a statewide endorsement list of candidates for offices ranging from the presidency to the state legislature.

He said he tells his congregation from the pulpit "that they ought to vote, and who I plan to vote for. I tell them that I've done a tremendous amount of research into candidates' voting records and that I would be glad to show it to them if they're interested."

The Rev. H. W. Corey of the Neuse Baptist Church in Raleigh, said he supports candidates with bumper stickers on his car and announcements from the pulpit. "I never tell people who to vote for, but I tell them that I am embracing such and such a candidate," he said.

08-31-84

4682

Protestant groups to challenge U.S. ambassador to Vatican

By William Bole
Religious News Service Staff Writer

WASHINGTON (RNS) — At least four Protestant denominations and a national association of evangelical churches have decided to sue the United States for sending an ambassador to the Vatican.

Representatives of the churches said in interviews that they will join in a lawsuit challenging U.S. diplomatic recognition of the Holy See on grounds that it violates the constitutional separation of church and state.

The four denominations are the Presbyterian Church (USA), American Baptist Churches, Church of the Brethren, and the black Progressive National Baptist Convention. Their members total around 5.5 million.

Joining them will be the National Association of Evangelicals, which has 38,000 member congregations and 44 denominations with a combined membership of 4.5 million, a spokesperson said.

Supporting the suing church bodies in a "friend-of-the-court" brief will be the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, which represents nine Baptist denominations, said John Baker, legal counsel for the group.

Meanwhile, the National Council of Churches is considering whether it should join in the court challenge, said the Rev. Dean Kelley, an NCC staff member who specializes in religious and civil liberty issues. The council has 31 Protestant and Orthodox member denominations.

The NCC has been on record, since 1951, as opposing U.S. diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and Mr. Kelley pointed out that he testified against it twice last year in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

But he said the Council had not decided whether an uphill battle to reverse U.S. recognition of the Holy See was "practicable," and added there was concern about the "effect it could have on relations with the Catholic Church."

Spearheading the legal drive is Americans United for Separation of Church and State, a Washington-based group with 44,000 members, including 4,000 churches, synagogues and local religious groups.

Joseph Conn, a spokesperson, said Americans United has tried to get Catholic groups to join in the challenge, but so far has attracted only one — the National Association of Laity, a reform-minded group which claims about 1,500 members.

He refused to name all of the groups and individuals planning to join in the suit, but indicated that the four Protestant denominations and evangelical association were the only major religious bodies which have agreed to do so.

The religious groups plan to file suit in a yet unspecified federal court on Sept. 19. That same day, they also have scheduled a press conference in Washington to announce the action.

They will argue that U.S. diplomatic ties to the Holy See represent the "favoring of one religion over others" and "creates the potential for the government to entangle itself with the Catholic Church," said Mr. Conn.

Response by church groups to the legal bid, however, has not been "overwhelming," Mr. Conn added. He attributed this in part to improved Protestant-Catholic ties, which have made the issue of a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican less emotional than it was in the past.

Backers of the legal action have also been unable to get any Jewish organizations behind the effort. Marc Stern, legal counsel for the American Jewish Congress, said the group decided against entering the case after "long consideration."

Influencing the decision was the fact that there is less "distrust" of the Vatican among American Jews these days, and the difficulty of reversing a U.S. diplomatic decision in the courts, he said.

Jews also do not want to get involved in a "replay of the Protestant Reformation and Thirty Years War," Mr. Stern said. Some quarters of Protestantism, he said, still oppose Vatican recognition out of "hostility" to the Catholic Church.

The suit would challenge the action by Congress, last November, to lift a 116-year-old ban on diplomatic ties to the Vatican, and President Reagan's appointment, in January, of William Wilson as ambassador to the Vatican. Archbishop Pio Laghi, papal delegate to the American Catholic Church, was named ambassador to the U.S.

Archbishop Laghi has become the object of controversy over the use of an Air Force jet to fly him from a meeting with President Reagan, in California, to a religious service in the Virgin Islands on Aug. 1.

In an Aug. 31 editorial, in the form of an open letter, the independent National Catholic Reporter said the archbishop "erred" in accepting the White House offer of a ride, and proposed that he "pay them the \$16,300 and chalk it up to experience and an expensive plane ride."

The liberal weekly newspaper added that in an election year the Vatican's ambassador should "surface" with Democratic Party officials as well as with the President, who has the right to summon all accredited ambassadors.

William Ryan, a spokesperson for the U.S. Catholic Conference, said the church agency had no comment on the Protestant bid. He cited a statement by the Conference, last January, which "welcomed" the diplomatic exchange as a "reflection" of the international leadership role played by the pope.

08-31-84

4690

Embargoed until 6 a.m. Monday, Sept. 3

Vatican issues strong criticism of liberation theology

**By William Bole
Religious News Service Staff Writer**

WASHINGTON (RNS) — A document issued by the Vatican and approved by Pope John Paul II charges that the movement known as "theology of liberation" has developed in a way which is incompatible with Christianity.

At the same time, the statement cited positive elements of the movement, which emphasizes liberation of the poor from oppressive social structures, and said its criticism should not "serve as an excuse" for those who are indifferent toward the plight of the poor.

The 35-page "Instruction," which is an authoritative explanation of church teaching, was issued by the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, headed by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, a critic of liberation theology. The statement was released here by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Bishop James Malone, of Youngstown, Ohio, who is president of the bishops' conference, issued a statement endorsing the Instruction as an important warning of the "serious dangers to which certain theologies of liberation may lead."

The Vatican document, entitled "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation," criticizes the movement for incorporating Marxist notions such as violent "class struggle." By politicizing Christianity, it says, theology of liberation damages mysteries of the faith and Christian moral living.

Therefore, the statement declares, while professing to help the poor, the movement will lead people into a new kind of poverty — a “spiritual poverty” of the loss of faith.

Liberation theology is a pastoral and theological movement which has its roots in Latin America and has spread throughout the Third World. In recent months, the Vatican has come in conflict with some of the movement’s key proponents in Latin America.

In citing elements of what it views as an authentic theology of liberation, the document states: “Liberation is first and foremost liberation from the radical slavery of sin. Its end and its goal is the freedom of the children of God, which is the gift of grace.”

Authentic liberation, it continues, “calls for freedom from many different kinds of slavery in the cultural, economic, social and political spheres, all of which derive ultimately from sin, and so often prevent people from living in a manner befitting their dignity.”

But the flaw in the theology of liberation movement, the document asserts, is that it uses “concepts uncritically borrowed from Marxist ideology.” This has led to a new interpretation “which is corrupting whatever was authentic in the generous initial commitment on behalf of the poor,” it says.

For instance, the Instruction condemns what it calls “the systematic and deliberate recourse to blind violence, no matter from which side it comes.” It says: “To put one’s trust in violent means in the hope of restoring more justice is to become the victim of a fatal illusion: violence begets violence and degrades man.”

While there is a need for “radical reforms” of social structures which perpetuate poverty and injustice, the Instruction says, this “should not let us lose sight of the fact that the source of injustice is in the hearts of men.”

Therefore, it states, “it is only by making an appeal to the moral potential of the person and to constant need for interior conversion that social change will be brought about which will be truly in the service of man.”

The instruction also expresses concern that an emphasis on class struggle will lead to a rejection of the “hierarchical structure of the church.” It adds that the movement will inevitably erode individual faith by equating the “Kingdom of God” with “the human liberation movement.”

08-31-84

4680

Bishop Tutu to teach fall course at General Theological

By Religious News Service

NEW YORK (RNS) — Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, will teach a course at General Theological Seminary here this fall.

The African bishop, an outspoken critic of the South African government and its policies of racial separation, is scheduled to arrive in New York Sept. 8. The Rev. R. E. Hood, a faculty member at the Episcopal school, is in charge of arrangements for the bishop’s three-month stay in the United States.

As visiting professor of Anglican studies, Bishop Tutu will live at the seminary and will teach a Thursday evening seminar on contemporary ecclesiology in Third World countries, Father Hood said.

The bishop’s schedule of speaking engagements during his U.S. visit is not being released, according to Father Hood, because many of the events will be private, off-the-record meetings.

The 53-year-old Anglican cleric, a native of Klerksdorp, in the Western Transvaal, was elected bishop of Lesotho in 1976. He became the first black to head the South African

Council of Churches in 1977. The SACC's member denominations have a total of 13 million members, 80 per cent of whom are black.

Bishop Tutu, an articulate spokesman for black liberation, is considered a moderate within South Africa's black community. But the South African government withdrew his passport in 1981, after a tour of Europe and America, in which he attacked Pretoria's segregationist policies.

He was subsequently refused permission to leave the country on several occasions. But in recent months, he has traveled abroad frequently, under a special travel permit which must be reissued for each trip.

08-31-84

4677

Southern Baptist leader indicted on charge of misusing funds

By Religious News Service

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (RNS) — A grand jury has indicted a former official of the South Carolina Baptist Convention on charges of breach of trust for allegedly misappropriating convention funds.

Baptist Press, the news service of the Southern Baptist Convention, said the Rev. N. Larry Bryson was indicted by a Richland County grand jury. Mr. Bryson, the former director of the state convention's missions department, was charged with having converted funds "to his own use and purpose with the intention of defrauding the South Carolina Baptist Convention."

Mr. Bryson resigned on March 21, after 10 years in the state convention post. He had just been promoted to director of missions and evangelism under a major reorganization.

In resigning, Mr. Bryson admitted that he had misappropriated funds. Convention officials said he returned \$36,732, including \$7,680 for a special audit that was conducted after a misappropriation of slightly more than \$1,400 was discovered.

No officials of the state convention pressed charges against Mr. Bryson. The indictment was sought by Fifth Circuit Solicitor James Anders.

In a prepared statement, Ray P. Rust, chief executive officer of the state convention, said that "although the General Board's executive committee voted not to initiate action against Mr. Bryson, our staff cooperated, voluntarily and fully, with the solicitor's office."

08-31-84

4687

Billy Graham announces four-city Soviet trip

By Religious News Service

Evangelist Billy Graham has accepted invitations to preach in four major Soviet cities in September.

In an announcement released by his evangelistic association in Minneapolis, he said he will be going to Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn and Novosibirsk between Sept. 9 and 21, and will preach in Baptist and Russian Orthodox churches.

The evangelist relayed his announcement from Western Europe, where he and his wife, Ruth, were vacationing after major preaching missions Mr. Graham made to Great Britain and South Korea. An aide said Mr. Graham declined to reveal where he was so he and his wife could have some privacy before embarking on the Soviet trip.

"I agonized over this decision as much as any of my entire ministry," Mr. Graham said in a statement. "But after much prayer, I feel God has opened a rather remarkable and historic door in the Soviet Union for me to proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

Two years ago, Mr. Graham was involved in one of the sharpest controversies of his career after he visited Moscow. He had been invited to preach at two churches and to attend a religious peace conference sponsored by Patriarch Pimen, primate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The controversy involved his comments while in Moscow, that there was more religious freedom in the Soviet Union than some Americans might think, and that he had seen no religious persecution. The evangelist later said the comments had been taken out of context.

Mr. Graham stressed that on his upcoming visit, "there will be no restrictions on my message. During my brief visit to the Soviet Union in 1982, I sensed a deep spiritual hunger on the part of many people of all ages."

While expressing the hope that his trip may "help improve relations between our two countries," the evangelist declared that "I intend to avoid any political statements or entanglements. I am going solely as an ambassador of Jesus Christ."

08-31-84

4666

Religious orders criticize Vatican action against authors

By Religious News Service

Administrators of Catholic men's religious orders in the U.S. have expressed concern about the withdrawal of the Vatican "imprimatur" from two books published in the United States.

Meeting in Atlanta for their 28th national assembly, the Conference of Major Superiors of Men urged that "such action not be taken without previous dialogue with the U.S. Bishops' Committee on Doctrine and due process involving authors and publishers."

According to the Rev. Wilfrid F. Dewan, president of the Paulist Fathers and Brothers, and author of the resolution, the recent Vatican action against two books, "Christ Among Us" and "Sexual Morality," appeared to be somewhat arbitrary and apparently bypassed the American bishops.

In other action, the conference:

— Called for the expansion and improvement of regular meetings between bishops and the leaders of men's and women's religious orders.

— Expressed support for "the 150 churches and synagogues which have opened their doors as havens" for political refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala.

— Endorsed the positions of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops opposing abortion, nuclear and conventional war and capital punishment.

— Urged the American bishops to include in their forthcoming pastoral letter on the economy information on "how the militarization of the economy hurts the poor," both at home and overseas.

Almost 200 abbots, provincials and other administrators from men's religious orders attended the meeting.

08-31-84

4635

Threat of jail persuades guru to testify

By Religious News Service

PORTLAND, Ore. (RNS) — The threat of a jail sentence prompted guru Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh to do something he has not done for years — make a public statement.

The 52-year-old guru was ordered by Multnomah County Circuit Judge Clifford Olsen to testify in a \$1-million civil defamation suit brought against the Rajneesh group by Donna Smith Quick, a former member of the city council of Antelope, Ore.

Ms. Quick has charged that she was defamed in a letter written by Ma Anand Sheela, Rajneesh's secretary. The letter, published in the Rajneesh Times on April 29, 1983, called Ms. Quick and nine other critics of the Rajneeshees "religious bigots and insolent racists," and said they were "barbaric and violent."

After being threatened with a jail term if he refused to answer a subpoena, Ranjeesh answered questions in a 75-minute deposition that was taped Aug. 19, at his central Oregon ranch. He said he agreed to testify because of the effect his arrest would have had on his disciples.

Rajneesh gave his testimony in a building in the Jesus Grove area of Rajneeshpuram, the town of 1,500 people created by his followers in 1982. Due to death threats against the guru, Rajneeshee security guards armed with semi-automatic rifles surrounded the building while he was inside.

The guru took his oath on a copy of the Book of Rajneeshism rather than a Bible. He said he knew nothing about Ma Anand Sheela's letter until two days before the deposition. Several times during the questioning, he sharply criticized Garry McMurry, Ms. Quick's attorney. "I have never come to such a stupid person in all my life," Rajneesh said at one point. Later he added, "You have not asked even a single relevant question to your case."

Rajneesh testified that he has transferred authority on all non-religious matters to Ms. Sheela.

In response to a question, Rajneesh said, "I have rarely come across a person who is not a bigot." He said that although he did not think Jesus Christ was a bigot, most Christians are, as well as most Moslems and Buddhists.

Rajneesh and about 300 followers moved to the Antelope area in central Oregon in 1981, and founded a commune on a nearby ranch. The settlement later was incorporated as Rajneeshpuram. In its early years, it faced strong opposition from the residents of Antelope, most of whom have since moved out of the area.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

08-31-84

4688

Norway's 'God-fearing tradition' follows oil boom

By Religious News Service

STAVANGER, Norway (RNS) — This small west coast city has a fair share of bright lights as Norway's oil capital. But instead of advertising soft drinks or the usual fare, most of the neon messages spell out "Jesus Saves."

Only 20 years ago an obscure fishing town, Stavanger has been transformed into a bustling oil center where concrete office blocks compete for space with traditional wooden houses.

Although the oil boom has brought the city wealth, it has not swept away western Norway's God-fearing tradition.

Apart from the neon signs inviting visitors to "Come to Christ," one of the most popular local radio stations pushes the evangelical message as well.

Mayor Kari Thu says residents have managed to retain their religious roots while adjusting to the sight of swank restaurants and cocktail lounges opening up.

"We are not Dallas and do not want to be," Ms. Thu said recently. "But we are proud to be an oil town, and the church has followed, opening its doors to the new people and becoming more modern."

Recently an estimated 30,000 foreigners swarmed through the city for the Offshore Northern Seas Conference, the world's largest outside the United States.

In addition to the conferences and exhibitions that swell the 90,000 population, about 5,000 foreigners are permanent residents, most of them American, French or British.

Mayor Thu said the oil people have "injected life into this town, and we are soaking up the different cultures they bring in."

The mayor is carrying on traditions of two decades ago, when a town group was prescient enough to see that the North Sea's oil treasures could transform the fading prospects of the fishing port.

"Most people laughed, but they believed in oil and went to the government in Oslo and said, 'Let us be the headquarters,' " she related.

Today Stavanger is home of the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate and the state-owned oil company, Statoil. Unemployment has been cut to well below the 3.8 percent national rate, but there are social problems surfacing. Prostitution is on the increase and more drunkenness has been noted among young people, a policeman said.

The prostitutes also have exploited the boom, according to informed sources, increasing their rates tenfold during the recent oil conference.

Mayor Thu acknowledges that the loss of the oil business would be a catastrophe. "Stavanger would not turn into a ghost town because the people are too strong to let that happen," she said. "But we also can't afford to let it happen."

08-31-84

4685

Third papal trip to Poland being planned

By Vivienne Heston
Religious News Service Correspondent

VATICAN CITY (RNS) — The groundwork is being laid for a third papal trip to Poland, the Italian news agency Kronos reported.

Citing sources close to Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, the agency said a pastoral visit was "probable in the near future."

"We cannot say exactly when the pope is coming, there are still many factors to be worked out. But Cardinal Glemp has mentioned the possibility many times in his recent homilies," a member of the Polish hierarchy told Kronos.

"We do not believe there will be insurmountable obstacles. The situation in Poland has notably improved since amnesty was given to political prisoners. The Polish church has judged these new signals as positive," the source said.

The pope has already visited his homeland twice, once in 1979 and again in 1983.

08-31-84

4684

Church of England bishop has his own ghost story

By Religious News Service

LONDON (RNS) — A senior bishop of the Church of England has been telling how he believes in ghosts, and of a personal experience to support his view.

The Rt. Rev. John Baker, Bishop of Salisbury and one of the church's leading theologians, related the ghostly episode in his diocesan newsletter.

It happened, he recalled, when he was four. The ghost was that of his grandmother and it appeared about the time of her death.

Bishop Baker explained: "She was apparently very specially fond of me and, on the last night of her life, she said good-bye to my parents who, with the rest of the family, were at her bedside, and begged them not to stay, but to go back home to make sure I was all right.

"This they did and learned by telephone two hours or so later that she had passed on."

The bishop wrote that he had been told nothing of this, not even that his grandmother was ill. But at breakfast the next morning he told his mother: "I saw Gran last night."

When his mother replied he must have been dreaming, he retorted: "No, I wasn't. I was awake. She came in and kissed me goodnight and walked round the bed, and then she went.

"But she did look funny. She was wearing a white sheet."

Bishop Baker, now 56, tipped by some churchmen as a future primate, said this psychic episode was "a real experience."

"Christians should not be ashamed to look intelligently at religious and scientific explorations of the spiritual order," he said. "It was good to know that personal life was not forever tied to the body."

08-31-84

4681

Waldensian Synod focuses on sexuality, reformed terrorists

By Elizabeth Guider

Religious News Service Correspondent

ROME (RNS) — Sexuality and terrorism dominated the discussions at the recent annual synod of the Waldensian Church in the Alpine mountain village of Torre Pellice near Turin.

At least 180 pastors, male and female, and as many lay believers representing more than 100 communities as widely scattered as Germany, the U.S. and Uruguay, participated in the colorful ceremonies and heated round-table discussions.

The synod is the highest doctrinal authority and organizational body for the approximately 200,000 members of this highly active protestant body, founded in the 12th century. In Italy, Waldensians have been united with the Methodist Church since 1980 and have been traditionally interested in social reform, ecumenism, the problems of individual faith and moral behavior.

Despite an overcrowded agenda, delegates dwelt at length on the ticklish problems regarding homosexuality and birth control in an attempt to bring the position of their congregations into line with modern times and the needs of the young.

"We live in this age, not in the past," said one of the official speakers, Pastor Ermanno Genre, "and it's necessary, while keeping anchored to scripture, to review our rules and judgments."

In open disagreement with the position of the Roman Catholic Church, delegates told the press that Waldensians try to live the experience of sexuality freely, "as a gift of God" while Catholic teaching, they claim, "prescribes one's behavior, condemns homosexuality, birth control and divorce."

Despite an openness on sexual matters, the synod also gave consideration to an open letter from 800 of its more conservative members who have formed a separate movement within the congregations to criticize growing permissiveness on such issues.

Most impassioned debate, however, was sparked not by sexual questions, but by a letter from two repentant terrorists still serving terms in a Rome prison. The two have called for a public debate on their disavowal of armed struggle as a legitimate method of social change.

In the last several months, a growing number of Italian terrorists have made public admission of their errors and of their desire to do something useful for society. Several have expressed the need to be brought closer to institutionalized religion, either Catholic or Protestant.

At week's end, the synod decided to refer discussion of both sexuality and terrorism to congregations "to enrich the dialogue" rather than to issue any official document on the subjects.

This year's gathering at Torre Pellice was held just as a new accord between the Italian state and the Waldensian church, originally inked last February, went into effect. The "intesa," or understanding, regulates relations between the two parties and is the first such agreement signed by the Italian government with a Protestant church.

"The pact," explained the synod moderator, Pastor Giorgio Bouchard, "is an agreement of separation, not a concordat, in which church and state decide not to ignore each other, but to distinguish clearly their reciprocal rights and fields of action." The discussion on the long-awaited pact took place behind closed doors and centered on what initiatives to undertake during the year to put it into operation.



Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

August 31, 1984

Dr. Charles H. Kremer
30 West 70th Street, Apt. 6B
New York, New York 10023

Dear Dr. Kremer:

AMERICAN JEWISH

The deportation of Valerian Trifa on August 13, 1984, was a tremendous victory for the Office of Special Investigations in its concerted efforts to uncover and deport Nazi war criminals and collaborators living illegally in this country. No one knows the significance of the Trifa case more than you. During the nine years that the case was in active and fiercely contested litigation, your interest and resolve in pursuing justice never diminished. Indeed, OSI Director Neal Sher has told me about your persistent efforts in this matter over the past thirty years; Trifa's deportation should be a great source of satisfaction for you.

The important work of the Office of Special Investigations continues to be a priority in the Department of Justice. The successful resolution of the Trifa case is a triumph for justice. It demonstrates that the deportation of those involved in persecution and murder is not an idle threat. Your dedication and resolve have not gone unnoticed. You are to be commended for your years of dedication to the pursuit of justice.

Sincerely,

William French Smith
Attorney General