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בצוע מחקרים כלכליים וסטטיסטיים, משאלי דעת קהל, שרותי מחקר, ייעוץ

September 2, 1984

TO: The American Jewish Committee
FROM: Hanoeh Smith, Smith Research Center
SUBJECT: Proposal for Closer Cooperation

Since the opening of the A.J.C. office in Jerusalem we have, from time to time, conducted joint projects to the mutual benefit of both sides. The main efforts have centered around Israeli elections where I have prepared for you both preliminary and post-election analyses of all Israeli elections since 1973.

Another important joint project was the survey of 1983, "Attitudes of Israelis toward America and American Jews", which gained a good deal of positive publicity in Israel for the A.J.C. and opened a new page in the Israeli-American dialogue in comparing attitudes on common subjects. This survey first revealed the intensity of political differences among Israelis on key issues and of consensus and disagreement with American Jews on certain issues.

In recent years a great many American Jewish organizations have opened offices in Israel, whose purposes are to strengthen their relationships with Israel and to gain recognition among Israeli leaders and the public in general, of their importance and activities.

To meet this organizational challenge, the A.J.C., as one of the first American Jewish organizations to see the importance of Israeli-American connections and, as a result, one of the pioneers in this whole area, needs to revitalize its well-established programs and enter new areas, where it can make new, important contributions to the Israeli-American dialogue.

As an outsider, but with close associations with A.J.C., I have been observing the changing scene here. In the areas in which I have been working together with you, Israeli elections and public opinion polling, the A.J.C. enjoys a relative advantage and this advantage can be further exploited.

In this connection, I make the following suggestions:

- (1) Annual or bi-annual surveys, parallel in the United States and Israel, comparing attitudes of American and Israeli Jews, on common issues (using the 1983 surveys as a basis), stressing changing views and consensus. I propose the next survey for 1985. Given the opportunity to analyze changes, the report should receive good publicity in both countries and establish the A.J.C. as the central information agency on this subject.
- (2) Current surveys on a small scale, dealing with important current subjects, such as views on Cahane, attitudes towards the Jewish terrorist organization in Judea and Samaria, and the like, and other subjects that arise on a current basis. For this you can purchase blocs of questions in one of our on-going surveys or conduct quick, inexpensive telephone surveys. Timeliness is the key here, the exposure would be excellent for A.J.C. and it would be observed in action frequently.
- (3) To use Smith Research Center's store of current information to brief delegations and important persons sponsored by A.J.C., arriving on study missions in Israel.
- (4) Most important, to use our close relationships with key Israeli political leaders to strengthen the recognition and importance of A.J.C. on the Israeli scene.

The first two of these suggestions involve allocations of budgets for survey activities. The other suggestions would involve my being attached to A.J.C. on a retainer basis. I suggest this because I feel that because of my long experience with A.J.C. and my knowledge of the Israel scene, I can be of important service to the A.J.C. in developing new vital programs and in meeting new challenges.

In further developing the ideas expressed above, I shall be in close touch both with your Israeli and New York offices. I hope our joint work in the past will serve as a basis of strengthening bonds between us.

HS:swh

M.T.

D. News (50)

The Israeli dream and the Yankee dollar

W.F.R. Co., 9.2.84

WASHINGTON — We had one of those sentences in the paper the other day that can make your blood run cold. A State Department official, discussing a likely Israeli request for an additional \$1 billion in American aid, said, "If they can show us they have a real program [of economic austerity] and we are not simply throwing money down a rat hole, we will respond."

So it has come to this: After 2,000 years of Zionist yearning, followed by a bitter, 50-year struggle for Jewish nationhood, the 36-year-old independent and sovereign state of Israel has to prove to American bureaucrats that it is a nation, not an economic rat hole.

Henceforth, American experts will look askance at Israeli wage levels, frown upon the indexation of Israeli salaries to keep up with inflation, disapprove of foreign imports, monitor cash flows and investments and generally seek to enforce a belt-tightening reduction in the Israeli standard of living. Israel will be just another less-developed country, like those in hock to the International Monetary Fund, that has to accept the dictates of foreign economists.

The clock has gone back 100 years. In 1882, struggling Zionist settlers in Palestine turned to Baron Edmond de Rothschild for support, and he granted it. But, like the State Department, he wanted to make sure that his money was well spent, so he sent out his own experts from France to make sure.

"The experts," writes Howard M. Sachar in *A History of Israel*, "became his overseers, charged with the day-to-day administration of the settlements. Before long, a radical change took place in the [Jewish] farmers' status. . . . Eventually they were stripped of all authority to determine the crops they might plant and sell."

"This kind of paternalism not only eroded the farmers' initiative, it undermined their morale as well. They resented their dependence on the caprice of the overseers, who soon took to interfering in the most personal minutiae of their existence. Although well aware that they might starve without Rothschild's funds, the colonists openly voiced

bitterness at their transformation into 'serfs.'"

Israel currently receives \$2.6 billion in U.S. aid—or about \$1,000 for every Jewish man, woman and child on its soil. The new Israeli national unity government wants \$700 million to \$1 billion more.



Lars-Erik Nelson

How did this happen? Until the 1973 Yom Kippur War, when Egypt's Anwar Sadat tried to recapture the Sinai, Israel got along with virtually no American grant aid. To rebuild its armed forces, Israel received an emergency, supposedly one-time infusion of \$2.6 billion in 1974—and aid has continued at or near that level ever since.

U.S. aid has become an addiction. The Israeli government wants its people to live well. One finance minister even proposed making the dollar the national currency. And Israel has been smothered by its American friends. Democrats and Republicans compete with each other in generosity.

The United States has financed Israel through thick and thin. U.S. aid

continued while Israel built settlements on the West Bank—in violation of what former President Carter thought was a U.S.-Israeli agreement. Aid continued during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon—an invasion the U.S. sought strenuously to prevent.

If the new aid request is approved, the U.S. will be pouring money into Israel at the rate of \$1 million a day. And our officials will be watching how it is spent.

CAN A COUNTRY receive that much foreign aid and maintain its independence? A lot of Israelis wonder. One Israeli is disturbed at the rhetoric shown at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions.

"Nobody talked about us as an ally," he said. "Everybody talked about how they would aid us and protect us and take care of us. These are not words we are very comfortable with. We have always taken pride that we protect ourselves, that we are independent. Unfortunately, we are moving in the direction of even greater dependence on the United States, not independence."



COVINGTON & BURLING

1201 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.

P. O. BOX 7566

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20044

(202) 662-6000

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

(202) 662-5196

H. THOMAS AUSTERN
FONTAINE C. BRADLEY
EDWARD BURLING, JR.
HOWARD C. WESTWOOD
CHARLES A. HORSKY
JOHN T. SAPIENZA
JAMES H. MCGLOTHLIN
ERNEST W. JENNES
COUNSEL

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF COUNSEL

TWX: 710 822-0005 (CB WSH)
TELEX: 89-593 (COVLING WSH)
TELECOPIER (202) 662-6290
CABLE: COVLING

September 5, 1984

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PERSONAL

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

Dear David:

On your forthcoming trip to Israel there are two persons you may wish to contact concerning the future staffing of the Jerusalem office. One of them, Lionel Kestenbaum, is a professor of law at Tel Aviv University; the other, Michael Oren, is completing his doctoral work in Israel with the expectation of receiving his Ph.D from Princeton in 1986.

Kestenbaum practiced law in Washington for a number of years before making "aliyah." He represented the Jewish organizations in the Bechtel litigation which led to a consent decree enjoining Bechtel under the antitrust laws from agreeing to comply with those provisions of the Arab boycott that operate as a restraint of trade. Lionel was held in high esteem by his professional peers in this country where he had earned a national reputation as an outstanding attorney. He is in his fifties, married, and living in Tel Aviv or environs. I do not know if he is interested in a position with AJC, but if he is he would certainly qualify for consideration for the top job in Jerusalem based on intelligence, sensitivity, knowledge of Israel, and integrity.

Dr. David M. Gordis
September 5, 1984
Page Two

I am enclosing a copy of Michael Oren's curriculum vitae. I have not met Michael, but he has been highly recommended by a very special person in Israel who knows of our needs and interests in staffing the Jerusalem office. Oren is fluent in Hebrew, knows Arabic, served in the I.D.F., and makes a very good impression. He is available immediately for part-time employment and will presumably be available on a full-time basis upon completion of his dissertation. He is 29 years old and, although not presently suitable for the top position, could have the potential to fill the spot in a few years.

I look forward to seeing you later in the month in New York and here in Washington early in October.

Regards,

Sincerely yours,



Alfred H. Moses

nd
Encl



M.T.



CSA (2) 9.6.84
Poles at church parley object to film on religion in USSR

USSR - Religion Rome
Members of the Polish delegation to the second world congress on religious liberty here tried to block the showing of a film on religion in the Soviet Union because they considered it anti-Soviet, organizers said Wednesday. The hour-long film "Candle in the Wind" includes interviews with dissidents and Soviet émigrés.

The congress is sponsored by the International Religious Liberty Association.

Chris Science Mon. (14) US aid to Israel

9.6.84 N.E.P.R. C.A.

FOR the fiscal year 1984, which ends Sept. 30, United States aid to Israel was \$2.61 billion. Of this, \$850 million was an outright gift. The balance of \$1.76 billion was in the form of loans.

The budget for US aid to Israel for the new 1985 fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1, stands at the moment at \$2.6 billion — all of it in outright grants.

Both this newspaper and the Wall Street Journal have reported that by the end of this month Israel will ask Washington for an additional \$700 million for fiscal 1985 to help tide Israel over its immediate financial crisis.

Inflation is now running at over 400 percent. Israel's hard-currency reserves are down to \$2.3 billion. The current Israeli trade deficit is running at between \$4 billion and \$5 billion a year.

The Jerusalem Post, in its issue of Aug. 12-18, quoted Israel "Treasury sources" as saying that Israel will "present the US with a \$5 billion aid request for the coming fiscal year."

If the emergency request for an additional \$700 million for fiscal 1985 goes through and if Congress agrees to boost the Israeli grant for fiscal 1986 to the figure reported in the Jerusalem Post, but since repudiated by the Israeli government, then the actual outright US grant to Israel will go up from \$1.76 billions for fiscal '84 to \$3.3 billion for fiscal '85 and to \$5 billion for fiscal '86.

At the fiscal '84 figure of \$2.61 billion, Israel was the largest recipient of US foreign aid. The fiscal '84 US budget provided a total of roughly \$12 billion for all foreign aid. Egypt is second after Israel, at \$2.05 billion.

US aid to Egypt is the price the US pays Egypt for keeping the peace with Israel, hence it is part of the cost of Israel to the US taxpayer.

If US aid to Israel climbs to the \$5 billion level for fiscal '86, Israel and Egypt together will be receiving more than half of all US foreign aid.

Israel's need for more US aid is due largely to three

factors: (1) Israel's unsuccessful invasion of Lebanon, (2) the program of planting settlements for Israelis in occupied territories, and (3) the indexing of wages to inflation.

The indexing of wages is a political luxury which the US does not accord to its own wage earners.

The program for planting settlements for Israelis in the occupied territories is contrary to the wishes of the government of the US. Previous US administrations have called it illegal. The Reagan administration has requested that it be suspended to make possible a resumption of negotiations with the neighboring Arab countries aimed at a lasting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

The invasion of Lebanon was launched against urgent representations in Washington. It was condemned overwhelmingly in the United Nations.

If the US gives Israel what Israel is planning to request, it will be subsidizing for Israel the luxury of indexed wages, plus the continuation of two points of foreign policies that block the way toward a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. The Arabs will not begin peace talks unless Israel first withdraws from southern Lebanon (an occupation left over from the invasion of Lebanon) and suspends building and populating the settlements in the occupied territories.

If the government in Washington were free to do what it would like to do about the Middle East, it would inform Israel that there could not be one more penny of aid to Israel of any kind unless or until it embarked on economic austerity at home, suspended the Israeli settlements in occupied territories, and withdrew totally from Lebanon.

Washington is not free to do what it would like to do in this matter. The pro-Israel lobby has repeatedly proved that it can outvote the administration in both House and Senate on any issue touching Israel. There are now over 50 pro-Israel political-action committees (PACs) raising funds to defeat any senator or congressman who might vote against Israel's wishes.

M.T.

Blame US, Israel for Liberia unrest

Is. F.R. Asia & Africa

By J. ZAMGBA BROWNE

Present wave of political upheaval in Liberia, Africa's oldest republic is being instigated by the U.S. and Israel, a group representing the Liberian community in this country and Canada charged in Washington last weekend.

The group, Union of Liberian Community Associations whose membership exceeds 50,000 met in Washington to study the situation and adopted a resolution which made the following allegations against the Reagan Administration and the State of Israel:

It accused the administration of encouraging bloodshed in Liberia by providing funds and sophisticated military hardware to a repressive regime headed by Samuel K. Doe.

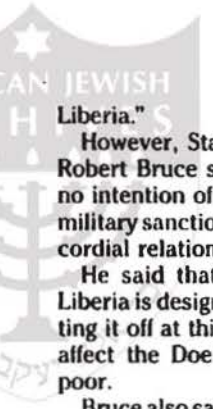
The Union cites in a resolution, the use by Doe of American-supplied M-16 rifles in recent reported killings of three university students and the wounding of scores of

The Union said it has written to the Reagan Administration asking that it denounces waves of human rights violations in Liberia, and imposes both military and economic sanctions against the Doe government.

Union President Jucontee T. Woewiyu told the Amsterdam News that present crisis in Liberia is not the result of a struggle against socialist elements in the country's political system as Doe has been trying to impress upon the free world.

"By history and culture," Woewiyu explains, "Liberians have no tolerance for socialism, but we must strongly warn that if the U.S. fails to aid the process of return to civilian rule, the so-called socialists will succeed."

Woewiyu said his group has also asked the U.S. government to use its influence to compel Israel to pull its military personnel and intelligence network out of Liberia be-



Liberia."

However, State Department spokesman Robert Bruce said the Administration has no intention of imposing any economic or military sanctions against anyone it has had cordial relations with for a long time.

He said that current economic aid to Liberia is designed for the masses and shutting it off at this time wouldn't necessarily affect the Doe regime, but the country's poor.

Bruce also said that military assistance to Liberia is not in the form of hardware, but rather funds to build a modern barracks for the soldiers whom he said were living in deplorable conditions under previous administrations.

He added that the primary purpose of U.S. aid is not to keep anyone in power. "Only

who they want to lead them. The U.S. has nothing to do with the electoral process," he declared.

However, Bruce would not confirm or deny charges by the Union of a U.S. Israeli collaboration to keep the Doe regime intact. "I will not comment on this, I think the best person to talk to would be people at the Israeli Embassy," he said.

Bruce also declined comments on widespread reports of a fake coup in Liberia. However, he said the Doe government has assured the U.S. that Dr. Amos Sawyer, the university professor and several others now being detained on charges of plotting to topple Doe, will be given fair trial.

Meanwhile the Israeli Embassy in Washington said it takes strong exception to allegations made by the Union, and added that the

charges were unfounded.

Spokesman Victor Harel also denied that Israel has military personnel or intelligence network in Liberia. "We have no secret agreement with that country. Our presence there is only for agriculture, health care and to cement a friendly relation," said Harel.

A highlight of the Union's meeting in Washington meanwhile, was the drafting of a memorandum calling for Doe's immediate resignation.

"You have wasted the precious blood of our people in the same manner as your immediate predecessor, but we are merciful and smart and don't want to hurt you.

"Therefore, we demand that you step down from the leadership of the Liberian government immediately. If you fail to yield

to this demand, we the Liberian people will do everything that is humanly possible to topple you," the memorandum to Doe declared.

Last Thursday, following reports of widespread killings and mysterious disappearances of a number of persons in Liberia, the Union's New York Chapter echoed similar demands for Doe's resignation and held a day-long sit-in at the Liberian U.N. Mission here.

The demonstrators left the Embassy only after they were told of a telephone call which Acting Ambassador Macus Kofa was supposed to have received from a top Doe aide in Liberia, noting that a reply to their demands would be forthcoming within a day or so from the government. The group said it has received no response so far.

date September 11, 1984

to File

from David A. Harris

subject Meeting with Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations Gregory Newell

AJC Participants

Leo Nevas
David Harris
Howard Kohr

Other State Dept. Officials

Jean Berghaust, Assistant for the Nairobi Conference
Lacy Wright, Director of UNESCO and Communication Affairs

After a brief presentation by Leo of the purpose of our visit, Newell explained at some length that the UNESCO decision was made only after careful consideration and approval by a number of key government actors, including Shultz, Eagleburger, Kirkpatrick, Abrams and Douglas. He made it very clear that the U.S. intends to withdraw at the end of 1984 unless reforms are implemented, and that postponement of the withdrawal decision was not a policy option. If UNESCO does not institute reforms, the U.S. will have made the correct decision to withdraw; if UNESCO does institute reforms, said Newell, the U.S. will still have been correct in its threat to withdraw.

Newell stressed that the U.S. continues to press for reform and has not abandoned hope, though his tone was not optimistic about the prospect of change. Also, though he shared with us his letter to UNESCO of July 13 outlining in detail the U.S. criticisms, he was not specific about the type of reform necessary between now and December that would cause the U.S. to reverse its withdrawal decision. He did note, however, that there were some reforms that both the Director-General and the Executive Board could make before October, whereas other, more far-reaching changes needed General Conference approval. He has met with M'Bow five times; Shultz has also met with the UNESCO head. There is "nothing encouraging in M'Bow's personal attitude," but, in response to a question, Newell would not comment further on M'Bow's stewardship and indicated the U.S. would not challenge M'Bow's continued leadership.

On the other hand, Newell noted the flurry of activity in Paris, generated by the U.S. initiative, the includes "strongly-worded" letter of criticism of UNESCO from Britain, Denmark and The Netherlands. He also noted the five working groups, the Western Information Group, the temporary commission preparing for the Executive Board meeting (which Newell will attend) later this month, and the U.S. UNESCO monitoring panel, a bipartisan group of prominent scientists, educators and communicators. Following the Executive

FILE

Meeting with Assistant Secretary of State Newell/2

Board Meeting comes the November General Conference in Sofia, a site Newell feels that does not augur well for the forces of reform.

Newell and his staff have been travelling extensively to explain the U.S. position and generate support, and he reported considerable sympathy for the U.S. position not only among some Western allies, but also in Black Africa. Confidentially, he levelled criticism at the French for their "dirty business" in the manner in which they have sought to undermine the U.S. effort. The Israelis, noted Newell, have been consulted frequently and Kimche and Eliav, the latter Newell's Israeli counterpart, have characterized the U.S. decision as "salutary" even though, added Newell, UNESCO has not been too bad on Israel since 1976."

Finally, Newell reported that the U.S. is very carefully studying other multi-lateral, regional and bilateral channels to replace UNESCO in the event of U.S. withdrawal.

Leo then described to Newell AJC's meeting with Perez de Cuellar, our discussions with foreign leaders and embassy officials concerning politicization of the U.N. system, and our ongoing U.N. program.

Newell made the following comments:

- 1) Iran is likely to introduce a General Assembly resolution calling for the expulsion of Israel. If Israel is ousted, the U.S. will leave the U.N., withhold funding and not return until Israel's full membership is restored.
- 2) The U.S. expects a challenge to Israel's credentials at the International Atomic Energy meeting in Vienna on September 24.
- 3) The U.S. is aware of the proposed Kuwaiti resolution at the forthcoming Inter Parliamentary Union meeting and is seeking to forestall it. At the same time, U.S. embassies worldwide have been alerted and asked to convey U.S. concern to the respective countries. The State Dept. is seeking to be helpful to the Congressional delegation that will be attending.
- 4) Concerning Nairobi; the U.S. regards the conference as a priority issue and State Dept. representatives have been travelling extensively to gather support for a conference that focuses on substantive women's issues, such as women and development, and not on extraneous matters. The head of the U.S. secretariat will be named after the elections and the head of delegation thereafter. To avoid the problem of an inexperienced U.S. delegation that occurred in Copenhagen in 1980, much more attention is being paid to adequate preparation this year, including a mock conference in May.

The U.S. is not optimistic and expects a major effort to politicize the conference, thus the State Dept. will be carefully monitoring and assessing developments between now and the summer, ever mindful of the Kassebaum Amendment.

The meeting lasted more than one hour and was characterized by warmth, cordiality and candor.

dah;rpr

WASHINGTON, D.C. TRIP - September 11, 1984

MEETING WITH RICHARD COMBS, DIRECTOR OF OFFICE OF EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Re East Europe:

The Soviet leadership crisis is real and is a major influence in all their policy. Their economy is very weak and the prospects are bleak. It can be expected, therefore, that the USSR may not only be unable to assist countries in Eastern Europe at current levels, they may also have to squeeze them for more assistance. East European countries are aware that the USSR is weak, and that awareness, plus the rise in nationalism which has historically been an instrument for achieving greater independence, means that we may see more moves by Eastern Europeans similar to some of the recent statements and actions which seem to contradict Soviet policy. Also we should remember that East Europeans feel that the USSR is very much at fault for current East/West tensions. In fact, notwithstanding public statements to the contrary, they were very much opposed to the deployment of Soviet missiles in their countries. The USSR, nevertheless, continues to push for greater defense buildup in Eastern Europe.

Secretary Shultz met with the Hungarian and Romanian ministers in Washington and, according to protocol, it means that he in turn should be invited by them. He may go some time in the fall.

Re Yugoslavia:

They are undergoing some rather serious economic problems (inflation is growing ... approximately 60% now and IMF is pressing harder) and their collective presidency (9 members) has been rather ineffective. In addition, the economy

in the north is better than the south and there are increasing pressures by those with greater problems for what they consider a fairer distribution of the wealth. Hardliners are getting more influential and they are very wary of dissent. In cracking down there have been human rights violations.

Re Bulgaria:

Mei Livitsky has been named Ambassador to Bulgaria. It will probably clear the Senate but Helms may give him some trouble.

Re Romania:

As tough as ever internally and they must be watched carefully. There have been some recent cases of arrests and torture (one man died under torture) which the government has been trying very hard to cover up.

A bill has been introduced in Congress, HR 147, by Lantos and Siljander, regarding cultural rights in Romania. The resolution was introduced to help the Hungarians in Romania and is being pushed by Hungarians in the U.S. but the bill itself uses the Jewish issue in order to highlight violations of cultural rights.

Re Hungary:

Combs, informed of our intention of sending a mission to Hungary, thought it was a good idea. The Hungarians like to consider themselves a bridge between East and West and will probably welcome our visit. He did not think we would have a very good chance to meet with Kadar because he is ill and has severely limited his activities in terms of receiving visits.

The relationship between Hungary and the U.S. is very good. The Hungarians speak to the Americans quite openly and factually. The Hungarian Foreign

Minister Barkony is a very impressive personality. The No. 2 man, Havashi, will be coming to the U.S. shortly in return for the visit Bush made to Hungary.

Re Poland:

Walesa and representatives of the Church seem to be very optimistic about the situation in Poland. They believe that there will be much greater trade union pluralism than in the past. The U.S. has expressed some concern about political prisoners still be detained who were among ~~those~~ ^{the 682} promised amnesty. The Polish Government claims that these people had committed political and criminal offences, and the amnesty removed the political offences but they must still be tried for criminal offences.

The Church Foundation continues to be the conduit for a significant amount of assistance to agricultural communities in Poland. Some \$10 million in U.S. assistance has been funneled through them.

MEETING WITH JOSE LUYZ-GOMEZ, MINISTER COUNSELOR, EMBASSY OF PORTUGAL

The Minister was very resentful of what he alleged to be the underhanded way in which the Justice Department had engineered Trifa's entrance to Portugal. The Minister claimed that there was no indication on any document of Trifa's past crimes and, in fact, the documents included police reports from Michigan indicating that he had been a good citizen with no criminal record. His coming to Portugal has caused great embarrassment and much political ferment. Left-wing newspapers are trying to embarrass the government by accusing them of gross negligence and inefficiency. The right wing is attacking the left and claiming that Trifa is a victim of communist manipulation and machinations. The Minister expressed some admiration at the way that Trifa has managed to get a great deal of media coverage. In fact, in Trifa's interviews he has

managed to come across as a not-too-unsympathetic character. The Minister informed us that Trifa's application for a permanent visa has been denied. He told us that this was still confidential and asked us not to report it. He also shared with us a rumor that he had heard regarding Trifa's possible emigration to Greece.

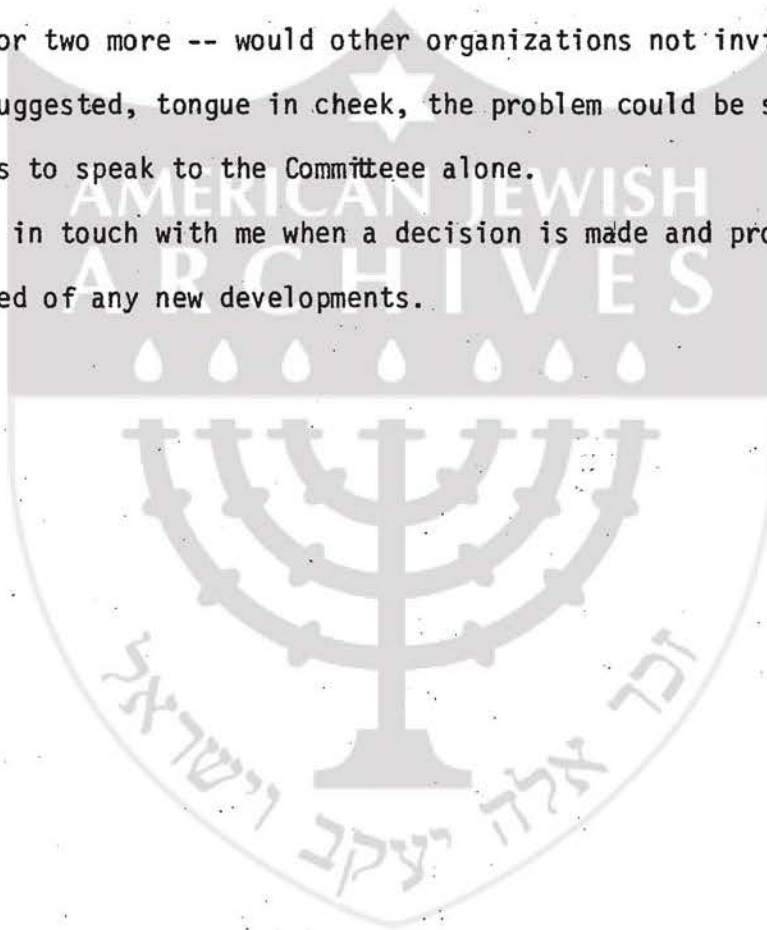
Regarding Israel, the Minister said that Israel is not the only country with whom Portugal has diplomatic relations but where no Portuguese embassy has been set up. Partly it is because "Portugal is a poor and small country" but there are other political problems as well, one of them being that they would have to put their embassy in Jerusalem and this would anger some of the Arab governments with whom Portugal has important relations. At the time that Portugal established diplomatic relations with Israel Mario Suárez had been quite friendly with Shimon Peres through their membership in the Socialist International/ Nevertheless, the Minister is not sure that Peres' ascension to the office of Prime Minister now will make a difference in terms of establishing an embassy in Israel. In general, however, it should be remembered that the bilateral relationship between Portugal and Israel is good.

COUNSELOR
MEETING WITH ROBBIE SABOL, / EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

Mr. Sabol shared with me some information on Spain but it was information that we already had. I told him that AJC was planning to visit Spain and that we want to make sure that we are fully informed of the current status of Israel-Spain relations. I asked if Shmuel Hadass would be coming to the States. Robbie said that they had been thinking of inviting him to meet with several Jewish organizations for a briefing because Sabol was concerned that some Jewish organizations may decide to go to Spain or meet with the Spanish ambassador

here and make statements based on flimsy and/or faulty information. On the other hand if Hadass did come, Robbie felt it would be a problem if he had to speak for the full Presidents Conference because that would preclude discussing some of the more delicate issues. If Hadass met with only two or three organizations -- AJCommittee, AJCongress, B'nai B'rith, ADL and maybe one or two more -- would other organizations not invited get their backs up? I suggested, tongue in cheek, the problem could be solved by inviting Hadass to speak to the Committee alone. Robbie will be in touch with me when a decision is made and promised to keep us informed of any new developments.

9/13/84



MEETING WITH SPENCER OLIVER, STAFF DIRECTOR, COMMISSION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE)

Spencer Oliver expressed great frustration and sadness at the rather bleak outlook for the near future. The Soviet leadership crisis and the coolness in the US/USSR relationship represent major obstacles to an improvement in the implementation of the Helsinki Accords. There is a need to rethink our strategies. Given the magnitude of ^{the} serious economic problems in the Soviet Union it is reasonable to assume that our best leverage remains in the economic sphere. There have been suggestions that when the time is ripe, the US should offer MFN to the Soviets. Mr. Oliver, however, believes that this will not help the situation as much as people think because there are many ways in which the Soviets can get around MFN. Furthermore, it will be very difficult to get Congress to agree to extend MFN to the Soviets unless there is a rather dramatic improvement in the human rights situation.

Accordingly, Mr. Oliver feels that we should be establishing close connections with major corporations and banks (Felix Rohatyn) which have extensive economic relationships with the Soviet Union. He indicated that he had discussed this with Jerry Goodman who informed him that a Business Advisory Council had been created for this purpose. It never got off the ground, partly because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the political fallout that followed.

Oliver believes that we might want to investigate the possibility of creating human rights criteria based on the Helsinki Accords for the granting of business licenses. In addition, we must inform and sensitize the representatives of the corporations and banks to the problems of Soviet Jews and urge them to raise the issue in conversations with their Soviet counterparts.

Regarding the US CSCE Committee, they are well funded and the threat of a takeover of that Committee by the Senate and especially Senator Dole has been averted for the time being. Dante Fascell remains the head of the CSCE Committee but he is looking for some replacement; given the fact that he is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, he does not have the time to devote to it. Originally he was going to suggest Congressman Yates but that idea has been discarded because given the grave illness of Yates' wife, he is not willing to undertake new and major responsibilities at this time.

The CSCE Committee is now very much involved in preparations for the cultural conference in the fall of '85 and the human rights meeting in Ottawa in May of '85. Oliver expressed concern about the Canadians, indicating that the man chosen to coordinate the conference for the Canadians was someone who was very reticent about taking a strong position on human rights. Oliver thought it might be a good idea for us to get in touch with Alex Rose and see how we might bring some pressure to bear to elicit more cooperation.

We were informed that Jack Scanlon, the former Ambassador to Poland, would be in charge of the preparatory meeting for the cultural conference in Budapest. There was some concern that the Hungarians were trying to make this largely ceremonial and were taken up with a variety of artistic performances as a way of deflecting the participants from dealing with the critical issues involved in freedom of culture.

We were told that October 17th there would be a briefing for NGOs on the status of the various upcoming meetings and he hoped we would attend.

M.T.

Religion and *politics* is the real issue

I HAVE never heard so many persons comment in high passion (and even higher misinformation) on a single talk, as on President Reagan's famous prayer breakfast in Dallas on Aug. 23.

The New York Times called the talk "divisive" and "dangerous."

But the President said: "We establish no religion in this country, nor will we ever. We command no worship. We mandate no belief. . . The tolerant society is open to and encouraging to all religions, and this does not weaken us; it strengthens us, it makes us strong."

On the Agronsky Show, Martin Agronsky, Elizabeth Drew and Carl Rowan vied with one another in condemning the President

9.17.84 By MICHAEL NOVAK

for violating the separation of church and state and for excluding some citizens.

But the President spoke of all those who "practice a religion, whether you're Catholic, Protestant or Jewish, or guided by some other faith. . ."

Such words are neither exclusive nor intolerant nor divisive. And when he earlier used the term "the church," he immediately added: "and by that I mean all churches, all denominations."

Further, the President explicitly defended the separation of church and state:

"The churches of America do not exist by

the grace of the state; the churches of America exist apart; they have their own vantage point, their own authority. Religion is its own realm; it makes its own claims."

The President also defended the rights of non-belief:

"All are free to believe or not believe, all are free to practice a faith or not. . ."

The President also said: "Without God, we're mired in the material." But there are, in fact, atheists who are not materialists.

And the President went too far in saying: "Without God. . . democracy will not and cannot endure."

There are many atheists who are humanistic, democratic, and conscientious, sometimes more so than religious folks. Yet, what if everyone were atheist?

The lines that galled the critics most follow this argument: In the early 1980s, the President said, certain groups began to file suit to limit the traditional activities of religion in the public sphere: banning compulsory prayer and the reading of the Bible in public schools; eliminating tax exemptions for churches; removing "Under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance; and removing "In God we Trust" from U.S. currency.

Then the President jabbed his critics: "The frustrating thing is that those who are at-

tacking religion claim they are doing it in the name of tolerance, freedom and open-mindedness. Question: Isn't the real truth that they are intolerant of religion? They refuse to tolerate its importance in our lives."

It is galling to people who believe they are tolerant to be called intolerant.

There is an ancient and traditional interplay of religion and politics in America, from the Mayflower Compact and the Declaration of Independence ("endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights") to Jesse Jackson's registration drives in black churches. Parts of this interplay have always offended someone.

Democrats have certainly made public use of religion — in civil rights, the nuclear

freeze, a partisan interpretation of "compassion," and an ideological definition of "social justice" and "the social gospel." And now so do Republicans.

"Religion is in its own realm; it makes its own claims," the President said. "Those who believe must be free to speak or act on their belief, to apply moral teaching to public policy."

Yes, indeed. But no party ought to pretend that it is the party of the Almighty. Unfortunately, every party does.

We must and do separate church from state. It's much harder, impossible really, to separate religion from politics.

But we can recall our national motto: "In God we trust." In politics, the best translation of that is: "Nobody else."



RECEIVED
SEP 24 1984
L GREENBERG

September 19, 1984

Editorial Page Editor
Hartford Courant
285 Broad Street
Hartford, CT 06115

Dear Sir:

In this morning's edition (September 19) of the Courant, an editorial written by nationally, syndicated, columnist Morton Kondracke appeared in which Mr. Kondracke stated that all of the delegates at the Republican National Convention in Dallas were furnished a copy of the New Testament. He inferred the New Testament was part of a packet of materials provided by the Republican National Committee. I was a delegate to the convention. I received no packet of materials from the Republican National Committee and no copy of the New Testament from anyone. All of the Connecticut delegates and alternates lived for the week in the same hotel. Each delegate received the same amount of literature and other items and none that I am aware of received a copy of the New Testament.

This morning I called the editorial offices of the New Republic magazine and spoke with Mr. Kondracke. He apologized to me and said, "I was wrong. I had been given incorrect information". He told me that the "real story" is that some members of the City of Dallas Host Committee had proposed to include a copy of the New Testament in a bag of small gifts and mementos for each of the delegates and alternates but that the White House, once it learned that the New Testament was among the items being considered, requested the Committee not to include it. The Committee agreed and the New Testaments were not placed in the bags.

When I read Mr. Kondracke's article and his conclusions concerning Jewish voters, namely, many who were going to consider voting Republican this year would not

because of this specific incident, I became incensed. It's bad enough that clergy of all denominations and all of the candidates have engaged in an inane discussion about religion during this campaign but it is even worse when heretofore well respected writers carelessly write stories that haven't been checked out for the truth. Equally bad in this case, I think, is that Mr. Kondracke said he has no present intention of retracting his story even though it was factually incorrect and even though he knows thousands of people will believe it.

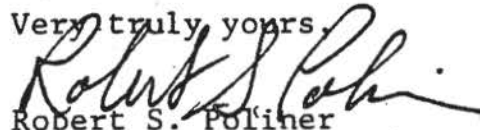
As a Jew, I found the convention a place where I was as welcome a participant as any other person. My party took a strong stand against anti-semitism in its platform (pg. 41) which the Democratic party refused to take. My party took a strong stand in favor of the individual's qualifications regardless of race, religion, etc. and against the use of quotas in determining how people should be hired and promoted or admitted to schools.

The Vice President and the President spoke out strongly against those people including Jessie Jackson and Louis Farakhan who during this election year have slandered the Jewish people and against those other people who did not speak out for fear of losing the votes of a few delegates at the San Francisco convention.

I learned from discussions and meetings attended by people such as Vice President Bush, United Nations Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Senator Robert Kasten of Wisconsin, and Representative Jack Kemp of New York, what Congress and the President are doing to strengthen ties between the United States and the State of Israel, and in particular, to assist the State of Israel in getting its economic affairs in order. None of this was lost on me or most of the other Jewish delegates, alternates and guests who were in attendance.

We left Dallas feeling the party had dealt with issues which mean a great deal to Jewish people with intelligence and was seriously competing for the majority of their vote.

Very truly yours,


Robert S. Poliner

SEP 25 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date 19 September, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Information

When you met with Yael Vered and her staff at the Foreign Office, you were apparently promised certain information. Here it is.

1. I attach a copy of "Redemptionis Anno", an apostolic letter of John Paul II.
2. The book the Foreign Office people were referring to is:
Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis:
Christians & Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the Functioning of a Rural Society.
Vol. I - The Central Lands
Vol. II - The Arabic Speaking Lands
Holms & Meier, New York & London, 1982.



APOSTOLIC LETTER OF JOHN PAUL II

REDEMPTIONIS ANNO



JOHN PAUL II
SUPREME PONTIFF
APOSTOLIC LETTER
TO THE BISHOPS, PRIESTS,
RELIGIOUS FAMILIES
AND FAITHFUL
ON THE CITY OF JERUSALEM,
THE SACRED PATRIMONY
OF ALL BELIEVERS,
AND THE DESIRED MEETING
PLACE OF PEACE
FOR THE PEOPLES
OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Revered Brothers and beloved Sons,

health and Apostolic Blessing.
As the Jubilee Year of Redemption draws to a close, my thoughts go to that special land which is located in that place where Europe, Asia and Africa meet and in which the Redemption of the human race was accomplished "once and for all" (Rom 6:10; Heb 7:27; 9:12; 10:10).

It is the land which we call holy, indeed the land which was the earthly homeland of Christ who walked about it "preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every disease and every infirmity" (Mt 4:23).

This year especially I was pleased to be touched by the same sentiment and the same joy as my predecessor Pope Paul VI, when he visited the Holy Land and Jerusalem in 1964.

Although I cannot be there physically, I nevertheless feel that I am spiritually a pilgrim in that land where our reconciliation with God was brought about, to beg the Prince of Peace for the gift of redemption and of peace which is so earnestly desired by the hearts of people, families, and nations—in a special way by the nations which inhabit this very area.

I think especially of the City of Jerusalem, where Jesus, offering his life "has made us both one, and

has broken down the dividing wall of hostility... bringing the hostility to an end" (Eph 2:14, 16).

Before it was the city of Jesus the Redeemer, Jerusalem was the historic site of the biblical revelation of God, the meeting place, as it were, of heaven and earth, in which more than in any other place the word of God was brought to men.

Christians honour her with a religious and intent concern because there the words of Christ so often resounded, there the great events of the Redemption were accomplished: the Passion, Death and Resurrection of the Lord. In the City of Jerusalem the first Christian community sprang up and remained throughout the centuries a continual ecclesial presence despite difficulties.

Jews ardently love her and in every age venerate her memory, abundant as she is in many remains and monuments from the time of David who chose her as the capital, and of Solomon who built the Temple there. Therefore they turn their minds to her daily, one may say, and point to her as the sign of their nation.

Muslims also call Jerusalem "Holy", with a profound attachment that goes back to the origins of Islam and springs from the fact that they have there many special places of pilgrimage and for more than a thousand years have dwelt there, almost without interruption.

Besides these exceptional and outstanding testimonies, Jerusalem contains communities of believers full of life, whose presence the peoples of the whole world regard as a sign and source of hope—especially those who consider the Holy City to be in a certain way their spiritual heritage and a symbol of peace and harmony.

Indeed, in so far as she is the homeland of the hearts of all the spiritual descendants of Abraham who hold her very dear, and the place where, according to faith, the created things of earth encounter the infinite transcendence of God, Jerusalem stands out as a symbol of coming together, of union, and of universal peace for the human family.

The Holy City, therefore, strongly urges peace for the whole human race, especially for those who worship the one, great God, the merciful Father of the peoples. But it must be acknowledged that Jerusalem continues to be the cause of daily conflict, violence and partisan reprisals.

This situation and these considerations cause these words of the Prophet to spring to the lips: "For Zion's sake I will not keep silent, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her vindication goes forth as brightness, and her salvation as a burning torch" (Is 62:1).

I think of and long for the day on which we shall all be so "taught by God" (In 6:45) that we shall listen to his message of peace and reconciliation. I think of the day on which Jews, Christians and Muslims will greet each other in the city of Jerusalem with the same greeting of peace with which Christ greeted the disciples after the resurrection: "Peace be with you" (In 20:19).

The Roman Pontiffs, especially in this century, have witnessed with an ever anxious solicitude the violent events which have afflicted Jerusalem for many decades, and they have followed closely with watchful care the declarations of the United Nations which have dealt with the fate of the Holy City.

On many occasions the Holy See has called for reflection and urged that an adequate solution be found to this difficult and complex situation. The Holy See has done this because she is concerned for peace among peoples no less than for spiritual, historical and cultural reasons of a nature eminently religious.

The entire human race, and especially the peoples and nations who have in Jerusalem brothers in faith: Christians, Jews and Muslims, have reason to feel themselves involved in this matter and to do everything possible to preserve the unique and sacred character of the City. Not only the monuments or the sacred places, but the whole historical Jerusalem and the existence of religious communities, their situation and

future cannot but affect everyone and interest everyone.

Indeed, there should be found, with good will and farsightedness, a concrete and just solution by which different interests and aspirations can be provided for in a harmonious and stable form, and be safeguarded in an adequate and efficacious manner by a special Statute internationally guaranteed so that no party could jeopardize it.

I also feel it an urgent duty, in the presence of the Christian communities, of those who believe in the One God and who are committed to the defence of fundamental human values, to repeat that the question of Jerusalem is fundamental for a just peace in the Middle East. It is my conviction that the religious identity of the City and particularly the common tradition of monotheistic faith can pave the way to promote harmony among all those who in different ways consider the Holy City as their own.

I am convinced that the failure to find an adequate solution to the question of Jerusalem, and the resigned postponement of the problem, only compromise further the longed-for peaceful and just settlement of the crisis of the whole Middle East.

It is natural in this context to recall that in the area two peoples, the Israelis and the Palestinians, have been opposed to each other for decades in an antagonism that appears insoluble.

The Church which looks at Christ the Redeemer and sees his image in the face of every man, invokes peace and reconciliation for the peoples of the land that was his.

For the Jewish people who live in the State of Israel and who preserve in that land such precious testimonies to their history and their faith, we must ask for the desired security and the due tranquillity that is the prerogative of every nation and condition of life and of progress for every society.

The Palestinian people who find their historical roots in that land and who for decades have been dispersed, have the natural right in

justice to find once more a homeland and to be able to live in peace and tranquillity with the other peoples of the area.

All the peoples of the Middle East, each with its own heritage of spiritual values, will not be able to overcome the tragic events in which they are involved—I am thinking of Lebanon so sorely tried—unless they discover again the true sense of their history which through faith in the One God calls them to live together peacefully in mutual cooperation.

I desire, therefore, to draw the attention of politicians, of all those who are responsible for the destiny of peoples, of those who are in charge of International Organ-

izations, to the plight of the City of Jerusalem and of the communities who live there. In fact, it escapes no one that the different expressions of faith and of culture present in the Holy City can and should be an effective aid to concord and peace.

On this Good Friday when we solemnly recall the Passion and Death of the Saviour, we invite you all, revered brothers in the episcopate and all priests, men and women religious, and the faithful of the whole world, to include among the special intentions of your prayers the petition for a just solution to the problem of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and for the return of peace to the Middle East.

As this Jubilee Year of Redemption draws to a close, a year which we have celebrated with great spiritual joy whether in Rome or in all the dioceses of the universal Church, Jerusalem has been the ideal goal, the natural place to which we direct our thoughts of love and thankfulness for the great gift of the Redemption which the Son of Man accomplished for all people in the Holy City.

And since the fruit of the Redemption is the reconciliation of man with God and of every man with his brothers, we ought to pray that also in Jerusalem, in the Holy Land of Jesus, those who believe in God may find reconciliation and peace after such sorrowful divisions and strife.

This peace proclaimed by Jesus Christ in the name of the Father who is in heaven thus makes Jerusalem the living sign of the great ideal of unity, of brotherhood and of agreement among peoples according to the illuminating words of the Book of Isaiah: "Many peoples shall come and say: 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths'" (Is 2:3).

Finally we gladly impart our Apostolic Blessing.

Given in Rome at St Peter's on Good Friday, 20 April 1984, the sixth year of our Pontificate.

IOANNES PAULUS PP. II

PRESS-TELEGRAM

604 Pine Avenue, Long Beach, California 90844-0001 (213) 435-1161

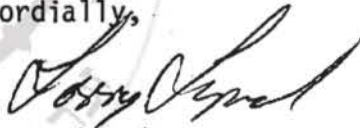
September 20, 1984

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Director of International Relations
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, N.Y.
10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Enclosed is a tear sheet which ran on September 16
on our church-state spread featuring your comments.

Cordially,


Larry Lynch
Editorial

LL/1ke
encl

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, Sept. 26..... Howard I. Friedman, president of the American Jewish Committee, today praised the Administration's decision to seek the release and admission to the U.S. of 10,000 political prisoners now in reeducation camps in Vietnam and to allow entry here of Amerasian children.

At the same time, Mr. Friedman cautioned against instituting the policy "at the expense of other aspects of our refugee program."

In a letter sent today to George P. Shultz, Secretary of State, Mr. Friedman said: "We applaud your plans for vigorous efforts on behalf of this population. AJC has been a strong advocate of Vietnamese refugees since their plight became a matter of public concern."

However, Mr. Friedman emphasized, "If we gain their release, it should not come at the expense of other aspects of our refugee program," adding, "it will be important to remain flexible on admission numbers for this group."

In his letter, Mr. Friedman hailed the Reagan Administration's announced initiative on the Vietnamese as "further evidence of our country's commitment to those who choose to flee to freedom."

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.

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/ar
9/25/84
84-960-384
A, EJP, FD, ETH, Z

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

September 28, 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

Mr. Mordon Yarmon
Pub. Educ. and Interpretation
American Jewish Committee
165 East 65 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Yarmon:

Because of your concern and involvement with this issue, I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have sent Secretary of State George Shultz urging the State Department to take more vigorous action in deporting Nazi war criminals from the United States, and expressing my concern about the Department's failure to prevent a former Nazi from entering our country.

The State Department granted an entrance visa to Franz Hausberger, a former sergeant in the First SS Infantry Brigade, who entered the U.S. to receive an award in Miami Beach. During World War II, this SS brigade engaged in the murders of Jews and other civilians in Nazi-occupied areas. Hausberger was granted a visa even though federal law specifically excludes from admission to the United States any alien who during the period of Nazi rule in Germany "ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution" of any person because of their religion or national origin.

The Hausberger case raises another equally serious concern about suspected Nazi war criminals still living in our country. A recent report of the House Judiciary Committee found that the State Department "seems unwilling to pursue the subject (of deporting war criminals) aggressively."

Hundreds of Nazi war criminals entered the United States illegally after World War II. Yet the U.S. government did nothing to uncover and deport suspected war criminals until the late 1970s, when Congress assigned the Office of Special Investigations of the Justice Department the task of locating, bringing to trial, denaturalizing, and deporting proven Nazi war criminals.

Currently, the OSI has filed more than 30 cases against suspected war criminals and commenced investigations on more than 300 others. The State Department, however, has failed to aggressively encourage other governments to accept these criminals.

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

Mr. Mordon Yarmon
Page 2
September 28, 1984

It is imperative that our government take prompt and vigorous action against those Nazi war criminals who continue to find safe haven in our country. I am certain we share a commitment to this important matter.

For further information please contact my Washington office.

Sincerely,



TED WEISS
Member of Congress

TW/el
Enclosure



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**

September 25, 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

Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20307

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am dismayed by the State Department's inadequate screening of the visa application of Franz Hausberger, a former sergeant in a notorious Nazi brigade. I find it particularly appalling that Mr. Hausberger was permitted to enter our country this past week to receive an award in Miami Beach, a city with a large Jewish population.

Federal law [8 U.S.C. 1182 (a)(33)] specifically excludes from admission into the United States any alien who during the period of Nazi rule in Germany "ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution" of any person because of their religious or national origin. Mr. Hausberger was a member of the First SS Infantry Brigade, which was responsible for the murders of Jews and other civilians in Nazi-occupied areas during World War II.

The Hausberger case raises another, equally serious concern about suspected Nazi war criminals who still live in the United States. I was alerted to this fact and the State Department's responsibility for delays in deporting these war criminals by a recent report of the House Judiciary Committee (Rept. 98-759).

The Committee was "deeply concerned about the efforts of the State Department to assist the Justice Department and the OSI (Office of Special Investigations) in arranging the deportation of war criminals ordered to leave the United States." It also criticized the Department for failing to aggressively encourage other governments to accept these criminals. The report concluded:

District Offices

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

Honorable George Shultz
September 25, 1984
Page 2

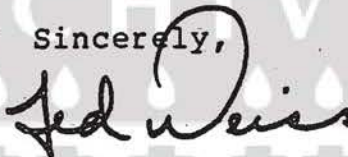
"The State Department's apparent failure to recognize this fact seriously undermines the work of OSI and tarnishes its numerous victories in court."

I need not remind you of the gross injustice of allowing these Nazi war criminals to continue to find safe haven in our country.

There are currently more than 30 Nazi war criminals discovered by OSI who are awaiting deportation. I would appreciate an accounting of the State Department's activity on these cases, and urge that the Department vigorously pursue the deportation of these individuals.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

Sincerely,



TED WEISS
Member of Congress





קונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK N Y 10017

OXford 7-5500

ROSH HASHANAH GREETINGS
FROM THE PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL, MR. CHAIM HERZOG
TO JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE DIASPORA
=====

To Jewish Communities throughout the World:

As we approach the New Year of 5745, we reflect on the turmoil and problems, the achievements and aspirations that mark Jewish life everywhere.

During these very months millions of human beings are commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the defeat of the Nazi forces. Bonds of blood and horror and never to be forgotten loss bind Jews uniquely to that savage episode in history. We look back in deepest sorrow, and we must examine with absolute honesty whether we have fully learnt the lessons of those years.

Certainly in the course of four decades the innate vitality of the Jewish people has come to the fore. Survivors have been rehabilitated, communities have been strengthened; above all, the independent State of the Jewish people has risen, has overcome incredible obstacles, absorbed many hundreds of thousands, has to its credit remarkable achievements in many a field of endeavor. The dry bones of the prophet Ezekiel's vision have taken on flesh, breathed again, become a nation in their land.

Yet we must wonder sadly why so soon after the overwhelming historic experiences of Holocaust and national revival, assimilation claims so many; effective Jewish education reaches so few; the impulse to link one's own life with Israel, the center of the Jewish people's life, has not touched more than a brave and dedicated minority. Our generation has been granted the opportunity longed for, prayed for, during two millenia, and not now to be missed.

Chapters in history are not neatly closed. Forty years after the defeat of the Nazis, we are witness to rising anti-Semitism. We are called upon to combat it and we are called upon as well to respond to the urgent needs for aid and rescue of Jews in the

Soviet Union, Syria, Ethiopia and other foci of intolerance and unrest.

In Israel itself we must battle on many fronts -- for peace and security, for political stability, economic recovery, adequate absorption of newcomers, mutual tolerance among all sections of the population, retention of the high standards we have been reaching in the arts and sciences, education and research, both theoretical and industrial. But not least we must battle against any expression of extremism and intolerance which are a disgrace to the Jewish people, an aberration from Jewish history, and no less than a violation of the Torah.

It is gratifying to note the healthy, adverse reaction of the majority of Israel's people to such manifestations at both extremes. Israel's elections, have been truly democratic. Only a minority of the world's countries can make this claim. By the same token, we are encouraged to hope and believe that Israel will be able to face and solve its political and economic difficulties, through a responsible government translating the will of the electorate into reality.

We look forward to a year of peace, development and human understanding, a year of dedication to Jewish education and to the realization of the ideals of the Jewish tradition, in Israel and in every community where Jews live.

Leshanah tova tikateivu vetechateimu!

Jerusalem, September 1984
Elul 5744



**INTERGROUP RELATIONS
PRACTICE IN ISRAEL**

A Preliminary Survey

Esther Perel

**INSTITUTE ON AMERICAN JEWISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**



INTERGROUP RELATIONS PRACTICE IN ISRAEL

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Esther Perel, a consultant with the Institute for American Pluralism of the American Jewish Committee, is a psychodramatist and group therapist who has specialized in the field of ethnic identity and its implications for mental health. She has practiced in the United States, Europe and Israel.



INTRODUCTION

Most people tend to think of Israel as a beleaguered Middle East state, to concentrate their attention on its security problems and international relations, and to give little thought to day-to-day life within the country. For a long time, domestic problems -- the economic, social, political and cultural issues that concern people in a dynamic, pluralistic democracy -- have been overshadowed by events outside. Today, however, these internal problems, always simmering quietly beneath the surface, have become serious enough to demand far greater attention.

Not least of these concerns is the tension among Israel's different ethnic, religious and national groups, which is a rapidly growing preoccupation in government circles, the local communities, the universities, and the elementary and secondary school systems. These pages attempt to survey what Israelis are thinking, and actually doing, about this problem, especially about relations between Arabs and Jews, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, and religious and secular Jews.

Each of these group relations problems, regardless of how it is expressed, is rooted in its own particular complex history, but it also reflects broader social and political conditions in Israel today.

Tension between Israeli Arabs and Jews stems from the confrontation of two peoples and two national movements claiming the same land. Efforts to promote their coexistence in some semblance of harmony raise even more fundamental questions, among them: What does democratic pluralism mean in Israel? How Jewish is the Jewish State? And, always, to what extent can Arab complaints be satisfied without endangering the nation's security?

In relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, the issue is the acculturation and integration of hundreds of thousands of Jews transported from African and Asian countries into a democracy led by Westernized Jews, how to help them develop an indigenous leadership, and how to narrow the gap between the two groups in educational, economic and cultural achievement. Most Israelis recognize this gap as a fact of life, and there is wide support for efforts to do something about it; the government itself, largely through the Ministry of Housing (Project Renewal), the Ministry of Education and the Army, is accelerating its endeavors in this area.

Tensions between religious and secular Jews, sometimes acrimonious, revolve around questions of belief and the separation of religion and state. Here, too, different concepts of Judaism in the Jewish State stand at the center of the controversy.

There are several tendencies in the developing theory and practice of intergroup relations in Israel today, but two concepts and methods appear to dominate, one favoring personal face-to-face encounters to help people understand each other, the second depending on massive help to raise the living standards of the disadvantaged. Most Israelis, including many respected scholars, take the second view, arguing that only government policy and action can determine the effectiveness of intergroup relations, especially Arab-Jewish relations. Other scholars, equally respected, argue that even if large political forces and government action are essential, the encouragement of personal respect and understanding is indispensable.

Of course, before any intergroup relations program can begin, it must be acknowledged that something is wrong, and that the problem is important enough to warrant the necessary effort to deal with it. This is still not universally acknowledged in Israel, but certainly more widely than before. It is encouraging, however, that serious work has begun, and that carefully planned intergroup relations programs are already in place. Their underlying assumptions and various modes of functioning are the substance of these pages.

This preliminary survey is based on a series of interviews, conducted in the summer of 1983, with leading figures in the field of intergroup relations in Israel. It covers aspects of the country's social life that are too rarely examined, focusing on practice, with discussion of theory when necessary for clarification. It is hoped that professionals will find this information both enlightening and useful in their work.

ARABS AND JEWS

There are three distinct groups of Arabs in Israel today, each with different rights, goals and expectations: those who remained in the new Jewish state during and after the 1948 War of Independence, and are now a minority of 535,000 Israeli citizens; more than one million in the territories "administered" by Israel since the Six Day War in 1967; and another 65,000, neither citizens nor refugees, who live in East Jerusalem. However, intergroup relations work in Israel is almost entirely limited to its Arab citizens, although there is some minor activity in East Jerusalem.

Historically, the term that best describes Arab-Jewish relations in Israel is "separation." The 1948 war and the establishment of the Jewish State changed the Arabs from a majority under the British Mandate into a minority under a Jewish government. The change for Jews was equally radical, for after centuries of living as a minority in other countries, they became a majority in their own. Their new nation had to develop policies and institutions consistent with the principles in its Declaration of Independence, which had pledged full social and political equality to all Israeli citizens regardless of race, creed or gender, and to guarantee full freedom of conscience, worship, culture and education.

Several factors have shaped these relations, reinforcing the pressures toward separation. For example, "democratic pluralism" has been the dominating principle of Israeli government policy toward the Arab minority, although its meaning is often debated. Sami Smooha, professor of sociology at Haifa University, points out that Arab citizens enjoy civil rights in Israel and that their basic demand for a separate identity is respected. Assimilation has never been encouraged, and full integration has been discouraged. Some observers believe that, at least for the time being, this combination of pluralism with autonomy is the most viable situation.

The fact, Smooha says, is that "Israel is a Zionist Jewish state" which, from the beginning, established the concept of unity of religion and nation. Israel's name is Jewish, as are its official language, national symbols, official holidays, and its Law of Return. The millennial hope for a homeland with a dominant Jewish majority and a dominant Jewish-Zionist culture, in which the Jewish people would gather and become a unified nation, was and remains Israel's reason for existence. In such a nation, the Arabs would be a permanent minority; and the reality today is that both Jews and Arabs reject assimilation.

The weightiest separating factor between Arabs and Jews is the

problem of national security and its exigencies. From its inception, Israel has been at war with an Arab world to which Israeli Arabs belong. They are viewed by the nation's leaders and Jewish citizens as security risks, as a minority affiliated to the enemy. Until 1966, they were ruled by the military, which relocated some Arab villagers to the interior, and until today Arabs are not subject to compulsory military service. These and other military and legal differentiations between Jewish and Arab citizens arouse Arab resentment which, in turn, arouses Israeli fear and suspicion about their loyalty.

On their side, the Arabs must struggle to reconcile their national, cultural and religious identification with their responsibilities as loyal citizens of the Jewish State. This struggle is not made easier by a tendency in the media to present Arab-Jewish differences largely in terms of social and political conflict or dramatic confrontation.

Referring to the writings of Professors Smooha and Lustic, Professor Tsiyona Peled of the Hebrew University has summarized Israeli policy toward the Arab minority: "It was aimed," she says, "at institutionalizing efficient control over the Arab citizens and their resources in order to insure their loyalty, maintain their vulnerability as a minority group, and shape their identity as an ethnic religious and cultural, rather than a national minority. Equality and integration, the officially declared objectives of governmental and quasi-governmental activities, were means to achieve this end, rather than an end in themselves. Two well-known mechanisms for control, economic dependence and political supervision, meant the Arab minority could progress socially, but also that their political progress would be slow; for example, teaching about Arab nationalism was conspicuously absent from both the stated goals for Arab education and the school curriculum."

Nevertheless, there have been changes over the years. First of all, the Arab population has increased, and made steady economic and social progress. A young educated elite and political leadership have emerged, who openly express their frustration with the existing situation and make demands for change.

Both Arab and Jewish ideologies have been growing more radical. Dr. Peled believes that the Arabs' radicalization is accelerated by the dynamics of the Israeli-Arab conflict -- occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the growth of PLO power and influence, both of them decisive factors in strengthening Palestinian self-identification and intensifying political activism. The first major outburst of discontent occurred on March 30, 1976, Israel's Land Day, after the government had expropriated some inarable and uninhabited land in the Galilee; during riots in five Arab villages, six Arabs were killed when security forces opened fire. This expropriation exacerbated old feelings of deprivation that have not subsided to this day.

Among Israeli Jews, nationalist ideology and political radicalism took a similar turn. After the occupation of the West Bank, a new religious movement arose whose declared ideology was a return to the whole area of Judea and Samaria. At first held principally by members of the Gush Emunim movement (Fidelity Bloc), this doctrine, for many years the tenet of the Herut Party, has gradually won acceptance by a large portion of the Jewish population, and has materialized in systematic settlement of the territories.

Finally, several political events have advanced these developments. Soon after the Likud coalition was elected to power in 1977, it endorsed systematic Jewish settlement of the West Bank; in the meantime, the Palestinians have declared that a separate Palestinian state is the only solution to their problems, and that the PLO is their sole representative.

Some people in Israel, among them Lova Eliav, Chairman of the Board of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, do not believe this is a majority-vs-minority issue. "You cannot divide between Israeli Arabs and Arabs in the [administered] territories," he says. "It is one all-encompassing problem like all problems between two peoples. The solution to this conflict between the two nations lies in a general policy that involves the national, political and security components."

Dr. Smooha acknowledges that the separatist ideologies of the Arab and Jewish national movements have become part of their self-definition. Jews call themselves Jews or Israelis, and most of them believe the two go together; the Arabs call themselves Arabs or Palestinians, and are torn between these identities and their Israeli citizenship; and the two self-definitions reinforce alienation of each group from the other, as well as the stereotypes that feed it. Many Jews think the Israeli Arabs are inferior and dishonest, and suspect they hate Jews; in turn, Arabs think that Jews are arrogant and manipulative. In this vicious cycle, Jewish distrust fuels and is fueled by Arab dissidence.

Nevertheless, Smooha sees some hope in what he calls "interpersonal accommodation." However, actual social contact between Israeli Jews and Arab citizens falls far short of the readiness for it on either side, and many observers who agree that more contact is desirable, doubt that it is possible. Arabs are more willing to reach out than Jews, a fact that Smooha and Yehuda Amir, professor of psychology at Bar Ilan University, attribute to the material and symbolic advantages available to members of a minority group who have connections with the majority. Indeed, Dr. Smooha explains the recent increase in Israeli Arabs' readiness for social contact with Jews by their greater economic independence as well as their greater self-esteem and assertiveness since the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

Significantly, while the social distance between Jews and Arabs has narrowed, both sides are aware of their growing political polarization. Smooha notes that young, educated, urban Arabs who say they have good relations with Jews, also have reservations about Israel's right to exist, or may even deny it entirely. Dr. Yochanan Peres, professor of sociology at Tel Aviv University, believes that with advancing modernization, this trend will continue, that as Arabs approach Jews more closely on a personal level they will withdraw farther on the political level.

The same tendency appears among Jews who seek personal contacts with Arabs. Peled found that they are usually Israeli-born residents of mixed Arab-Jewish towns, often highly educated and, regardless of their parents' origin, more tolerant of the "different" and the "stranger"; but they, too, admit to suspicions about Israeli Arabs' loyalty to the state, which they know is diminishing.

Nevertheless, Dr. Peled and Professor David Bar-Gal of the Hebrew University have argued that Arab-Jewish intergroup relations programs are an "important means" to counteract the accumulated negative impact of unsolved political problems. If expanded and properly handled, they "may change for the better the state of mind and behavior of individual Arabs and Jews...for mutual trust, respect and understanding are the main cornerstones of a working, peaceful and normal coexistence of the people of the two nations destined to live together in the State of Israel."

Practice

Many individuals and organizations in Israel are trying to narrow the gap between the readiness of Arabs and Jews for social relations and the rarity of real contact. In a major study sponsored by the Ford Foundation, Intervention Activities in Arab Jewish Relations: Conceptualization, Classification and Evaluation, Drs. Peled and Bar-Gal focus almost exclusively on practice in the field, describing important existing programs. They classify these efforts according to stated goals, targeted population (students, non-students, gender, age and so on), voluntary or obligatory participation, subject matter (especially political topics), format (length of program and procedures), number of workers and methods. In another study, An Annotated Inventory of Organizations Promoting Arab-Jewish Interactions in Israel and Ways American Jews Can Participate, Jay Rothman concentrates primarily on the structure, goals and methods of grassroots organizations.

These studies reveal that most intergroup relations programs are targeted to students and educators, and are conducted in the schools, in youth movements and in the community. They try not only to advance the Arabs' and Jews' knowledge of each others' language and culture, but also to discuss their political differences and to encourage the social communication in which tolerance can grow.

Some organizations start and run their own projects, some have been invited to work in other institutions. For example, because most school curricula do not include intergroup relations, a teacher may volunteer to initiate an encounter between a Jewish class and an Arab class, and call on an organization to help plan and operate the program. Student attendance is mandatory. However, communities wishing to conduct group relations programs find very few published outlines of subject matter to work with, and virtually no teachers' guidelines. There is a crying need for carefully prepared materials that can be distributed to classroom teachers, group leaders and specialists in education. Experts would also like to see more opportunities for training leaders in the skills, methods and rationale of intervention programs and intergroup encounters.

Some intervention programs are integral units of government institutions, some are run by volunteer groups. Nitzanei Shalom, or Interns for Peace, is an important organization that, without government subsidy, conducts work projects and training programs for group workers within and between the Arab and Jewish communities. Pairing the two around a common interest, it tries to set up coordinated activities that encourage social and economic coalitions. Interns for Peace works not only with students and young people, but with adult members and leaders of whatever groups it can reach.

Beit Hagefen, partially sustained by the national government and the Haifa municipality, is actually a community center whose activities provide a natural environment for meetings between Arabs and Jews. It conducts a nationwide educational project, including seminars for young leaders, and meetings of secondary-school students which are carefully designed to encourage interaction.

The atmosphere of cooperation and coexistence at Neve Shalom, a privately funded mixed Arab-Jewish settlement established in 1970, exemplifies its ideals of equality, respect and mutual trust. The teaching at its school is consistent with these principles, and its mode of operation attracts people to the intense encounter workshops at the settlement, its training programs, methodology, research and special projects.

Dr. Arie Ya'ari, educational coordinator of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, has stated that it acts as an advocate of education in democratic principles and pluralism, especially as the foundation for a more humanistic approach to Jewish-Arab coexistence. Hundreds of education leaders of youth movements attend its seminars for teachers to discuss "humanistic education under conditions of conflict" and related issues; its Jewish-Arab Council for Peace Education provides them with substantive materials and counseling. The Center publishes books and fliers on the Arab image in Hebrew-language literature for children and adults, and runs a speakers bureau on the Middle East conflict. Among its most recent projects is a study of school curricula and programs to evaluate their

effectiveness in promoting better intergroup relations. In cooperation with Neve Shalom, it conducts four-day workshops for Arab and Jewish -- mostly Sephardi -- high school students from development towns.

Professor Amir has described a two-year program of monthly seminars at Bar-Ilan University for Arab and Jewish faculty from all of the nation's universities, who examined research projects and their implications for relations between the two groups. In his judgment, the effort was unsuccessful largely, but not only, because the proportion of academics among Jews is so much higher than among Arabs. Nevertheless, this seminar will present a paper to the public authorities outlining some intervention programs in Arab-Jewish relations.

All the interviewees in this survey agree that the solution to the Arab-Jewish conflict really rests on decisions taken at the highest political level. Dr. Ya'ari warns that "the situation is grave and directly related to the occupation. It influences moral and cultural values. In such conditions it is difficult to talk about pluralistic coexistence. Yes, the solution is political." However, he adds, "a political solution is also based on what you see in the society, on the psychology of the people and the norms or morality. To carry on an educational program is a contribution. What counts is not so much the method as the motivation to do such work."



ASHKENAZIM AND SEPHARDIM

In the fall of 1983, the Van Leer Institute of Jerusalem conducted a conference on Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations in Israel, whose title itself, "Social Inequalities: The Way Out," acknowledged the educational, social, and economic gap that all intergroup efforts try to narrow. Dr. Smooha, an expert in this field, classified these widely differing positions, which reflect various social and political opinions on the nature of the gap and what can be done about it.

In one view, differences between Ashkenazim and Sephardim are social and cultural, and tensions between them will gradually blur and disappear through assimilation. Therefore, the Oriental Jews must be helped to progress toward the Israeli standard. Smooha believes this is the position of the establishment and of most Israeli social scientists.

The principal spokespersons for another theory -- described by Smooha as neo-Marxist -- are Shlomo Swirski, an economist, and Raphael Ben Shoshan, who is an active member of Tami, a political party organized along ethnic lines. Both hold that the Ashkenazi-Sephardi division is based on ethnicity and class. Ben Shoshan argues that ethnic-class division is reflected in the division of labor in Israel, and that the cultural encounter is in fact a class encounter. Consequently, Oriental Jews who have an autonomous interest in social change, justice and equality must strive for sufficient political power to influence the economic structure.

Smooha, among others, claims that his pluralist position embraces both the class and cultural views of interethnic relations in Israel today. Furthermore, the erosion of Ashkenazi dominance, an increasingly important factor, "is not recognized in the cultural perspective, and the process of assimilation is not recognized in the class perspective." The combination of ethnic separation and cultural assimilation has encouraged Sephardi political organization on the one hand, and on the other, aroused ethnic tensions and forced the Ashkenazim to consolidate, organize and develop their own ethnic consciousness.

To probe more deeply the issue of political organization on the basis of ethnicity, Smooha has been conducting research on Sephardi leadership, and on the representation and voting patterns of Oriental Jews in the major parties, Labor and Likud. Finding far more speculation than systematic study of ethnic culture in Israel, he asks what the differences are between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. "For example," he wants to know, "are cultural differences still apparent in the middle class?"

Professor Amir claims that, at least in the universities, the general feeling is that the Ashkenazi-Sephardi problem is becoming less important, notwithstanding the impression left by political authors and press reports.

Ami Bouganim and Shlomo Elbaz, both active in the East for Peace movement, declare that it is still official Israeli policy to fuse all ethnic communities into one, rather than think through an ideology and policy for advancing cultural pluralism. To ignore the natural development of this pluralism, and the particular cultural characteristics of Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities, inevitably leads one patrimony to impose itself at the expense of the other.

Elisha Baabad of the Hebrew University, who has done research on bias, prejudice and stereotyping, argues that although they lie farther beneath the surface in Israel and are less openly acknowledged than in the United States, they indeed exist, even if the separation between Askenazim and Sephardim is not nearly so sharp as that between America's blacks and whites, and the confrontation not nearly so fierce. Nevertheless, the problems are quite dissimilar. In Israel, members of different groups -- Arabs and Jews, religious and non-religious Jews -- meet every day in most neighborhoods and in the integrated schools. The Army provides many opportunities for personal contact, but although it encourages all groups' realistic views of each other, it has not abolished prejudice.

Baabad thinks real integration into Israeli society is essential to relieving Ashkenazi-Sephardi tension. In addition to encouraging intergroup meetings to discuss ethnic differences, Israel has quite properly invested a great deal of money and energy in improving the living conditions of its disadvantaged Sephardi population -- in anti-illiteracy campaigns, helping mothers, creating comprehensive schools, improving the technical competence of workers, encouraging college education and so on. "It is the planning of society -- education, housing, money -- and not the psychological intervention which determines cultural change," he insists. "It is more important to give a good education than to educate about this particular issue."

Having considered the various theories on intergroup relations, Amir concludes that "whereas the Arab-Jewish problem today more than ever is seen by the public as a conflict with few possibilities for solution," most Israeli Jews are deeply concerned with Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations and support measures for integration. But, he asks, how much can be done? How can differences be taken into account without exaggerating their importance? What is the proper direction for intergroup relations efforts? Should the Jewish State stress the distinctive cultural and ethnic heritages of its Sephardim and Ashkenazim, or should it concentrate on the common history and customs that bind them together? Amir does not question, however, that the integration effort is essential.

Practice

While most intergroup relations work in Israel is devoted to the education of the young, the Army, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Education do pay special attention to Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations.

An important Ministry of Education project, inaugurated in 1976, is the Center for Integration of the Heritage of Oriental Jewry in Education and Culture, headed by Nissim Yosha. Seeking integration through cultural pluralism, it emphasizes the specific and unique characteristics of both Sephardim and Ashkenazim. Its programs to build self-esteem appear in every Israeli university, and the findings of its scholarly research have been the basis for books, audio-visual programs and other teaching materials. Its voluntary teacher-training programs, conducted in about 500 schools, stress both study of subject matter and the sharpening of sensitivity.

Whereas the Ministry's integration of Israel's schools was an attempt to effect social change by changing the structure of the education system, Amir's Institute for the Promotion of Social Integration in the Educational System, at Bar-Ilan University, stresses teaching methods. He insists that even granted the sensitivity and good will of education officials, structural change is not enough unless it is translated into good programs and skillful teaching in the integrated schools. His Institute, therefore, focuses on preparing detailed programs, curricula, written materials and training for teachers of history, language and literature, the arts and other subjects, as well as creating games, classroom discussions and other devices to encourage rapprochement. "We should not confront the conflict in the beginning," Amir says, "but first deal with the commonalities so as to create closeness. Conflict increases hate, and then there is no bridge." Sephardim and Ashkenazim, he adds, should be given every opportunity to meet, so he does not believe in separate enrichment programs.

These efforts notwithstanding, Miriam Zagiell, an activist in the Israel's Black Panther and Ohalim movements, and a worker with intergroup relations programs in ethnic neighborhoods, claims that no neighborhood organization in Israel has a consistent position on the problems of Oriental Jewry. There are, however, several individual efforts, such as the recently formed grassroots Cooperative Project, which plans to build a textile factory in Katamon, a Sephardi community in Jerusalem, with financial support from Kibbutz Tsora. In Jerusalem, the community center of Gonenim, headed by Josef Teitelbaum, tries to promote and revitalize Kurdistan culture. The Adler Institute conducts a school for parents, who come with their children to discuss questions of their rearing and development; families from several ethnic communities attend this one-year program.

Some Israelis think the ethnic gap between Ashkenazim and

Sephardim will eventually narrow naturally, largely through inter-marriage and the entry of more Oriental Jews into the mainstream. Israeli demography today supports this view, for almost a fourth of Jewish marriages in the state are between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. However, less optimistic observers believe the conflict has become more political, or that ethnic separation will turn into economic and class division. It is still too early to predict with certainty how Israel's great investment -- of money, research and hard work -- in creating a more just and egalitarian society will turn out. There is no question, however, that this question concerns everyone in the Jewish State.



RELIGIOUS AND NON-RELIGIOUS JEWS

Israeli Jews define themselves as religious, secular, and traditional. The religious group is divided between the Orthodox and ultra-Orthodox, with the traditionalists situating themselves somewhere on a continuum between religious and secular.

Ever since the foundation of the State, the controversy between religious and secular Jews has been at the center of Israel's political and legal systems. The fundamental question -- to what extent Israel is to be a Jewish State -- reaches to the heart of nation's self-identification. Disagreement over the place of religious belief and practice in everyday life has created deep divisions in the society, and the implications of this issue for Jews in the Diaspora are equally profound.

Most of Israel's Orthodox Jews believe that strict adherence to religious law and tradition are crucial, that Judaism must be a continuous, living religion in the Jewish homeland. Indeed, some of the Orthodox refuse to recognize the secular state at all, and reject the possibility that a third Jewish commonwealth can be created without the intervention of the Messiah. On the other hand, Israeli Jews who identify themselves as secularists tend to believe that Judaism is simply a natural part of the nation's history, attach less importance to the observance of halakhah (religious law) and believe the country should continue to be a liberal state in the Western tradition.

These fundamental differences manifest themselves in continuous confrontation over religious laws adopted and codified by the Israeli Knesset, which are binding for the whole population and encompass virtually all aspects of life. Birth, marriage, divorce, death and other major life events are completely governed by halakhah; the rabbinical courts, which are supervised by the Chief Rabbinical Council, have exclusive jurisdiction over all marriages and divorces if both parties are Jewish. On the other hand, local authorities decide on Sabbath observance -- which establishments may be opened or closed, how much transportation is permitted, and so on -- so that control over these matters must be negotiated after every new election to the municipal councils, and becomes a constant irritant in relations between very religious and more secular Jews.

Ultra-Orthodox Jews have sometimes violently manifested their objections to Sabbath violations, throwing rocks, for example, at moving automobiles on Saturdays. New public transport regulations ban the operation of buses on the Sabbath everywhere in Israel, except in Haifa, which has a large Arab population and is commonly known as a workers' city. In 1977, after several cabinet ministers had ridden to

the airport late on a Friday afternoon to witness the arrival of the first F-15 jet fighters from America, political maneuvers by the ultra-Orthodox precipitated a government crisis and a call for new elections which brought down the Labor administration. More recently, they vehemently opposed plans to build a sports stadium in Jerusalem because the chosen site was near a religious neighborhood and soccer games would be played there on the Sabbath. They have tried to physically disrupt archeological excavations near the Western Wall, claiming that they are at the exact location of a cemetery, a holy place where digging is forbidden.

Orthodox Jews do not want to send their children to secular schools, and the ultra-Orthodox will not send theirs to any school ruled by the state, so Israel has to maintain three separate educational systems -- secular state schools, religious state schools, and independent religious schools.

Over the years, political leaders have put off a serious confrontation with the religious problem, and dealt with it on an ad hoc basis, that is, whenever it precipitated a crisis that demanded immediate action. However, all political groups in Israel must reckon with the powerful, efficiently organized parties representing religious Jews. They make sure that their views are expressed in the nation's laws, or at least can prevent the passage of any law that offends them. They have succeeded in pushing through legislation that severely limits the freedom of physicians to perform autopsies. They have campaigned vigorously for laws stipulating that halakhah decides such issues as "who is a Jew," and would recognize only those conversions to Judaism performed according to halakhah. Some Orthodox groups say this rule should apply also to the Law of Return, which could make it difficult for Diaspora Jews -- for example, women converted to Judaism under Conservative and Reform ritual, and their children -- to be recognized as Jews in Israel.

These are a few of the theopolitical disputes that not only embitter relations between secular and religious groups, but can also periodically topple the government or threaten to do so. Increasingly, the secularists resent Orthodox pressure tactics and interference in their personal lives. They believe that the powerful religious bloc inhibits the state's economic and cultural development, indeed its security. They attribute the government's settlement policy in the West Bank to the influence of the exclusively religious and rightist Gush Emunim movement. Although the religious groups themselves are divided on the issue of the territories, much of the hostility between religious and secular Jews is linked to political differences between the Left and the Right.

The chasm is institutional, educational and interpersonal; individuals on both sides of the religious issue keep their distance from each other. Secular Jews complain about "religious coercion," while the religious community condemns Israel's secular way of life and emulation of Western morality and mores as corrupt and degenerate.

Practice

Most overtures toward better relations between religious and secular groups have been made by modern religious Jews, many of them Americans. Out of concern that so many young Western Jews in the 1960s were looking outside Judaism for spiritual direction, Americans in the Geshher (Bridge) program decided to sponsor activities in Israel that could attract not only these young people but also Israeli secularist youth. Indeed, many educators are worried about the widespread ignorance of the Jewish religious heritage among Israeli students.

Many modern observant Jews reject coercive methods in favor of education and persuasion to change this situation. The Geshher program, started 15 years ago, was among the first efforts of its kind. Benjie Levene, its Education Director, holds that Judaism and Western thought are not mutually exclusive, that the "Torah was given to all Jews," and that we are "all children of God, more similar than different." But, he complains, "the students' objectivity towards religion has been clouded by politics and by the atmosphere towards the Orthodox religious establishment."

Geshher is funded by the Ministry of Education, contributions from abroad and participation fees, and like most intergroup relations programs in Israel, operates mainly in the schools and follows normal education practice. However, rather than impose itself on captive classroom audiences, it organizes study weekends in Safed for the boys and girls who join, and sponsors meetings for parents. Meetings between religious and non-religious students devote considerable time to reducing mutual tension, often through educational games. Indeed, Levene says, these gatherings force the young to think, for they "have to answer questions coming from the other side."

Shilo is a nonpartisan, totally independent group whose members are rabbis, professors of law and Judaism, and high school teachers, mostly from the religious community. However, their academic achievements give credibility to their familiarity with the secular world -- an important factor for the 16 and 17-year-olds to whom this organization reaches out. It tries to dispel stereotypes and superstitions about religion by offering facts and enlightenment, and by encouraging students to ask frank questions that help them make knowledgeable choices. On study days, they discuss such questions as Jewish sexual ethics, the individual and society, Judaism and modern technology, and other perplexing issues. For many of them, this is the first exposure to such an experience.

At Machon Meir, too, a project conducted at Bar-Ilan University in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, the aim is to inform rather than to moralize. Students from the entire Tel Aviv area spend a day discussing and playing audio-visual games. The enthusiastic response of secular schools to this effort is due largely to its

academic atmosphere, freedom from prejudice, and sophisticated materials, including a computer programmed for questions and decisions in Jewish law.

The hasidim of Kfar Habad, who follow the precepts of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, hold that every Jew must take responsibility for reaching out to another; their goal is not to bridge the separation between religious and non-religious Jews, but to bring religion to the masses. At their "Torah tanks" in public places, Jewish men get a chance to put on tefilin; during the period before Passover, young people can enjoy songs and refreshments, see exhibits of how matzah is made, learn about the holiday, and enjoy other pleasant experiences of Judaism. Habad's Rav Tannenbaum is confident that "if you expose people to religion, you may not change their behavior, but you can change their image of religious people."

Israel's government also sponsors projects designed to help youth identify with Judaism, among them the optional Bar Mitzvah teaching of Jewish ethics, values and customs, available to any school that requests it. If asked, the Ministry of Education provides a rabbi, so that Rav Tannenbaum spends one day a week in each class at the Ahad Ha'am school in Petah Tikvah. This optional feature is important, for religious study can be expanded in the general schools without their feeling overwhelmed.

Beyond this program, the Israeli Government has done very little to reduce tensions between religious and non-religious Jews. At best, it tries to compromise. At the conference of the Van Leer Foundation in 1981, former President Yitzhak Navon was optimistic about loosening tensions between Israeli Ashkenazim and Sephardim, but pessimistic about the gap between religious and secular Jews, which he thought was widening. "From kindergarten until age 18 the children study separately," he said. "When will they exchange ideas? Each group closes up within itself and the physical or spiritual meeting is minimal."

It may be that the differences concerning Jewish identity in Israel are too deep for resolution; after all, the root of the conflict between Israel's secular and religious Jews is the question of belief. That is why some people argue that the realistic goal of intergroup relations efforts in this area is to maintain a status quo in which they can live together in peace without interfering with each other's community life.

Conclusion

Whatever Israel's political characteristics and problems, the most noteworthy -- and perhaps unique -- is the national, religious, and ethnic variety of its people. The remarkable fact is not that tensions arise among these groups, but that these tensions do not alter the democratic character of the state. Israel, a nation created by Jews, is immovably committed to maintaining its pluralistic society. Certainly, if the term "pluralistic society" means something, it is that each group can maintain its identity, press its own interest and, at the same time, work with the others to insure the interests of all.

To advance understanding of the modus vivendi is a primary task of intergroup relations practice. It is a relatively new field in Israel, but its rapid growth is an encouraging development, the best evidence that the state and the people are seriously confronting a thorny social problem -- the indispensable condition for reaching viable solutions. Some tensions are more intractable than others, some dormant and some very much alive, and there is no one way to handle them all. The multiplicity and variety of Israeli approaches to improving intergroup understanding can only generate more refined and sophisticated procedures and advance "the state of the art."



APPENDIX I

INTERGROUP RELATIONS RESEARCH PROJECTS IN ISRAEL, 1982-1983
(Funded by the Ford Foundation)

Arab-Jewish Encounters in Jerusalem: Sociolinguistics of Language Choice and Language Spread.

Bernard Spolsky, Department of English, Bar Ilan University and
Robert Kupper, Department of Education and Sociology,
Hebrew University.

Cooperative Learning in Small Groups: Cognitive and Social Behavior of Pupils and Cognitive Learning in Mixed Ethnic Junior High School Classes.

Shlomo Sharan, Institute for the Advancement of Social Integration
in the School, Bar-Ilan University.

Ethnic, Religious and Socio-economic Division in Israel: Images of Society and Social Context.

Eliezer Ben-Raphael and Stephen Sherot, Institute for Social
Research, Tel Aviv University.

Intervention Activities in Arab-Jewish Relations: Conceptualization, Classification and Evaluation.

Tsiyona Peled and David Bar-Gal, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Jewish-Arab Relations in Jerusalem (Anthropological Research).

Alex Weingrot, University of the Negev.

Oriental and Ashkenazim in Israel: The Ethnic Division of Labor.

Shlomo Swirski, Department of Sociology, Haifa University.

Oriental Leadership in Israel.

Sami Smooha, Department of Sociology, Haifa University.

Orthodox Communities in Modern Cities.

Menachem Friedman and Yosef Shilhav, Jerusalem Institute for
Research on Israel.

Reduction of Stereotypic Bias.

Elisha Baabad, School of Education, Hebrew University of
Jerusalem.

Tourism to Egypt: Arab-Jewish Relations.

Yehuda Amir, Department of Psychology, Bar-Ilan University.

The Use of Sociometric Indexes When Raising Cross-ethnic Relations in the Integrative School Setting.

Josef Shwarzwald, Department of Psychology, Bar-Ilan University.

APPENDIX II

PROFESSIONALS IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Abrahamson, Zivit: Parents School, Adler Institute, Tel-Aviv.

Adler, Haim: School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Director of the Research Institute for Innovation in Education, School Integration.

Amir, Yehuda: Department of Psychology, Institute for the Advancement of Social Integration in the Schools Bar-Ilan University. Training in intergroup relations, conflict resolution, attitude change.

Antonovsky, Aaron: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev: Ethnic integration.

Baabad, Elisha: School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Intergroup encounters, group dynamics, stereotypes and bias.

Bar-Gal, David: Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Ben-David, Josef: School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Ethnic difference and social change.

Ben-Dror, Yamini: Tami Party; Ministry of Welfare.

Ben-Raphaël, Eliezer: Institute for Social Research, Tel Aviv. Ethnic, religious and socio-economic divisions.

Bouganim, Ami: Educator, member of East for Peace, a movement of oriental intellectuals.

Chen, Michael: Department of Education, Tel-Aviv University.

Cohen, Bruce: Rabbi, activist in Nitzanei Shalom.

Elbaz, Shlomo: Department of French Language and Literature, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Youth and Hechalutz Department, Jewish Agency. Sephardic culture, relations between culture and politics.

Eliav Lova (Arie): Chairman of the Board of Trustees, International Center for Peace in the Middle East.

Friedman, Menachem: Orthodox communities in Israel.

Gadish, Yosef: Member of the Jerusalem Council. Community Centers.

Gordon, H.: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Educator and philosopher; Buberian learning groups.

Hareven, Alouph: Director of the Jewish program: Van Leer Foundation, Jerusalem.

Levene, Benjie: Director of Gesher.

Lissak, Moshe: Department of Sociology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Political aspects of ethnic relations; the Sephardim.

Mar'i, Sami: Haifa University. Center for Peace in the Middle East; head of the Educational Council on Jewish-Arab Relations in Education.

Ortar, Gina: Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Ethnicity: self-image and self-esteem.

Peled, Tsiyona: Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Member of Jewish-Arab television team producing a bicultural program.

Peres, Yochanan: Department of Sociology, Tel-Aviv University. Ethnic relations.

Roumani, Maurice: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Beer-Sheva Eliachar Center for Studies in Sephardic Heritage.

Shrew, Diana: Sephardi Community Projects of the Jewish Agency. Sephardi student affairs in the universities.

Sherot, Stephen: Institute for Social Research, Tel-Aviv University. Ethnic, religious and socioeconomic divisions.

Shilhav, Yosef: Orthodox community in modern cities.

Smooha, Sami: Department of Sociology, Haifa University. Pluralism, Arab-Jewish relations.

Weingrot, Alex: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. Arab-Jewish relations in Jerusalem; ethnicity.

Ya'ari, Arie: Academic Director, International Center for Peace in the Middle East.

Yaniv, Benjamin: Bar-Ilan University. Arab-Jewish school curriculum.

Yitchaki, Fela: Havurat Noar. Kibbutzim for Sephardi youth.

Zinger, Ephraim: Golda Meir Association for Labor Education.

Zonenshein, Nava: Neve-Shalom.

APPENDIX III

FUNCTIONING INTERGROUP RELATIONS PROGRAMS

Arab-Jewish Center of Givat Haviva.

Arab-Jewish Center, Haifa University.

Beit-Hagefen: Arab-Jewish cultural center in Haifa.

Beit-Hillel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Arab-Jewish contact.

Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East:
Publisher of Peamim; culture of Oriental Jewry.

Bridging the Gap, Haifa University

Buber Center for Adult Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Center of Arab and Afro-Asian Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Golda Meir Association for Labor Education, Tel Aviv: The peace process, intergroup relations, democratic principles.

Institute for the Advancement of the Culturally Deprived, School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Institute for the Study of Ethnic and Religious Groups, Bar-Ilan University.

Institute for Education on Co-existence Between Jews and Arabs, Heins Zeidel Foundation in cooperation with the University of Education and the Prime Minister's Advisor on Arab Affairs: training of high level officials.

Interns for Peace: Arab-Jewish cooperation through community work.

Israel Interfaith Committee: Coexistence of people of all faiths in Israel.

Misgav Yerushalayim, Hebrew University of Jerusalem: Sephardi and Oriental Jewry.

Ofek: Arab-Jewish relations in mixed towns.

Peace Project, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev: Arab-Jewish dialogue based on Martin Buber's philosophy.

Perach: A tutoring and big brother project in the universities.

Project Renewal: A government program including housing, educational and medical facilities, and other services in disadvantaged neighborhoods and towns.

Shiloah Center, Tel Aviv University.

Shutafut: Instructional materials for Arab-Jewish coexistence; return of displaced populations; the Negev Bedouin.

Tehila: literacy and child rearing programs for mothers.



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September 1984

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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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, Oct. 1. . .The American Jewish Committee has urged the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives to support House Bill 4459, which would establish a commission to study the 1932-1933 famine in the Soviet Ukraine, since "the need to document Stalin's ruthless campaign against Ukraine and the cover-up of this crime is long overdue."

In a letter to Congressman Dante B. Fascell, the Committee chairman, Howard I. Friedman, President of the American Jewish Committee, stated: "The work of the commission will call attention to a terrible tragedy in which 5-7 million Ukrainian people were systematically starved to death."

This tragedy, Mr. Friedman added, was compounded by the "callous indifference of the free world to the fate of the victims and the plight of the nation which suffered the loss of so many people."

Acknowledging that the Ukrainian American community had an historical interest in recounting the story of the famine, Mr. Friedman said that it was equally the duty "of a free and compassionate people, through its government, to investigate the causes and effects of so vast a misfortune."

This obligation was especially binding, he added, because the Soviet government refuses to be accountable for its behavior in Ukraine, and "continues to act today, wherever it confronts stubborn opposition to its authoritarian rule, in much the same manner as it did in 1932-33."

The American Jewish Committee, Mr. Friedman asserted, was ready to participate with the Ukrainian American community and other civic and religious groups in supporting an investigation by the Famine Commission "that is equal in scope to the magnitude of the crime."

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.

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

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October 1, 1984

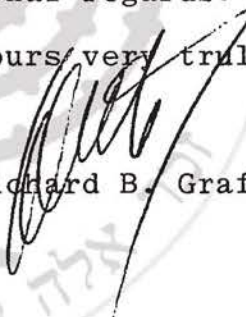
Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

Thank you not only for attending my dinner on September 20th, but for participating with me and sharing my honor by being a member of the dais.

It was a memorable evening for my family and I, and especially so because you were there sharing it with us.

Warm personal regards.

Yours very truly,


Richard B. Graff

RBG:mjh

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM

Morton M. Rosenthal

To: ADL Regional Offices
From: Morton M. Rosenthal
Date: October 2, 1984
Subject: NICARAGUA: New Jewish Agenda / Reform Judaism Magazine

Rabbi Francis Barry Silberg, a member of the New Jewish Agenda study mission to Nicaragua, came to conclusions markedly different from those publicized by NJA. We informed you of this in a postscript to our memo of August 29, because we were initially unaware that Rabbi Silberg of Milwaukee had been a member of the delegation. The New Jewish Agenda spokesman and press statement made no mention of him.

The media which publicized NJA's views have, for the most part, not published the views of Rabbi Silberg. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin of September 11 printed only one paragraph from a statement issued by Rabbi Silberg. However, the local Jewish weekly, the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle of Milwaukee, interviewed Rabbi Silberg. The article by Andy Muchin was carried on September 7.

We suggest that you reproduce Rabbi Silberg's statement and the article, both of which are attached for use in responding to inquiries.

Sol Sorrin's "Report From Nicaragua" appeared in the Summer, 1984 edition of Reform Judaism magazine. My response, "Nicaragua's Jews: A Second Opinion" which is in that publication's Fall edition, is attached for your information.

MMR:bl
attachments
cc: Latin American Affairs Committee

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 6, 1984

Statement of Rabbi Francis Barry Silberg, Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, member of the 13-person study mission which visited Nicaragua in August under the sponsorship of the New Jewish Agenda, and with the cooperation of the Nicaragua-Honduras Education Project of the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy (as a project of the Foreign Policy Education Fund of the CNFP).

September 6, 1984

While there appears to have been no program of persecution of Jews in Nicaragua, the Sandinista's actions have certainly created a climate of concern sufficient for the mass emigration of Jews after the "triumph of the revolution." These actions include:

- Sandinista avowal of and support by governments hostile to the existence of a Jewish state;
- their having broken diplomatic relations with that state, on the pretext of complicity in a massacre it did not commit;
- their association of Israeli democracy with South African apartheid;
- their inability to distinguish between Judaism and Zionism;
- their failure to reassure Nicaraguan Jewry despite obviously anti-Semitic alliances, especially with the Palestine Liberation Organization;
- their indelicate seizure of Managua's only synagogue for use as a Sandinista youth training center;
- and their failure to acknowledge the historically tragic relationship of Marxism -- for that matter any form of totalitarianism -- and the Jewish people.

Subsequent developments -- including suspension of the constitution, the absence of due process, the expropriation of neglected or abandoned property, Nicaragua's compact with Qaddafi's Libya, its adoption of the United Nations General Assembly resolution that "Zionism is racism," and its wedding with Cuba and the Soviet Union -- confirmed the wisdom of that flight.

In my view, the Sandinista government does not wish to create a society where a plurality of views vie for constituencies in the marketplace of ideas, an open society free of political control and censorship, or a "mixed economy" where private property is guaranteed and creativity encouraged.

Rather, it has manacled political opposition, ridiculed independent criticism of its own human rights violations, and moved to centralize its economy; and has persuaded many visitors that the plight of Nicaragua is almost entirely the consequence of United States foreign policy -- the latter a clear trivialization of the region's complex demographic and land problems during the last two centuries.

For these and other reasons I am unable to endorse the New Jewish Agenda's hopeful account of life and political longing in a country yanked from an oppression of the Right into a repression of the Left and a government whose view of the world has been forged in the crucible of Leninist orthodoxy.



Rabbi Silberg's congregation, Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun in Milwaukee, was the first American synagogue to grant sanctuary to Central American refugees. In May, 1984, Rabbi Silberg testified before the House Rules Committee on House Rule 4447, which would grant extended voluntary departure status to such refugees.

Silberg disputes group's findings in Nicaragua

By Andy Muchin
of The Chronicle staff

After the 1972 Managua, Nicaragua earthquake, about 60 Jews remained in that country. By 1979, only 10 were left.

What prompted the other 50 to leave?

Rabbi Morton Rosenthal of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has contended since 1981 that Sandinista antisemitism was the cause. The Sandinistas took power in Nicaragua in 1979.

The Reagan Administration picked up on that theme, with the President telling a White House gathering last summer that "virtually the entire Jewish community of Nicaragua has been frightened into exile . . ."

That conclusion has been disputed by most American Jewish



Alice Blue

tions of antisemitism. The delegation was sponsored by New Jewish Agenda, an American Jewish organization with leftist ideology.

Among the 10 was Alice Blue, director of the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization in Kansas City and a former BBYO staffer and religious school teacher in Milwaukee.

The eleventh delegate was Rabbi Francis Barry Silberg of Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun. He didn't sign the delegation's Aug. 15 statement in support of the Sandinistas and skipped the Managua press conference that announced it. The Nicaraguan newspaper report of the conference didn't mention him. Neither did the New Jewish Agenda in its press release on the delegation's findings.

The delegation found:

"After intensive discussion with leading figures of the Sandinista government, opposition leaders, religious leaders, and local human rights organizations, we believe that there is no policy of antisemitism or bias on the part of any official body. Moreover, it was made abundantly clear to us and confirmed by leaders of the Sandinista government that Nicaragua welcomes Jewish participation as well as participation from

any group in the reconstruction of a pluralistic society which seeks friendly relations, based on non-interventionism with respect to its neighbors.

"We Jews who have known so much suffering can readily empathize with the downtrodden of Central America. We make a special plea to our own government to desist from the escalation of violence and to seek out ways of creative dialogue so that a just and lasting democratic way of life can be secure in the nations of Central America, and to spare the lives and suffering of millions of people."

Why Silberg disagrees

In contrast, Silberg found a climate "hostile" for Jews in light of the Sandinistas' "history of association" with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"Now I'm sure that many of the Jews living in Managua considered the very strong anti-Israel bias of the government—and what I have come to believe is the undifferentiated association of Zionism and Judaism—and were impelled, even as they were not being persecuted, to leave," Silberg said.

"One could criticize the Sandinista government for not reassuring the Jewish people that its political support of the enemies of Israel would not jeopardize them. The fact of the matter is, they didn't."

The PLO has an embassy in Managua. Some Sandinista troops were reportedly trained by the PLO. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat has visited Nicaragua.

Moreover, Israel reportedly sold millions of dollars of arms to Somoza.

"One can understand how the Sandinistas feel about Israel when Israel arms were being used to kill their comrades and their children," Silberg

said. "But let us not leap to the 'Blame Israel First' movement by failing to recognize that it is not the weapon which kills, it is the warrior. The trigger must be pulled, the barrel must be loaded, and it was not Israelis killing Sandinistas, it was Somozistas killing Sandinistas."

Broke relations

Nicaragua made a "big show" of breaking its "informal understanding" with Israel, Silberg said, at the same time it broke relations with South Africa. "The symbolic ring of that simultaneous announcement should not be lost," he said: The Sandinistas equated South African apartheid with Zionism.

Silberg said he insisted that Sandinista leaders define Judaism and Zionism. He found that they could not clearly differentiate the two, using "only the word Zionism as a referent for Judaism."

Separate visits

Fearing that the group's schedule was overloading member's capacities to reason, Silberg left it periodically to meet with non-officials, escorted by a staffer of the Organization of American States. He said he met with academics and peasant farmers, all of whom criticized the Sandinistas for offering no freedom.

Silberg believes the other delegates saw Central American affairs "through the prism of Reagan foreign policy. To do that, in my view, is to trivialize the complex, historical antecedent of social and religious difference in Central America."

He believes that his fellow-delegates were "absolutely and unequivocally snookered. They went down as idealists and were swayed by realists." And cagey ones at that, he added.



Rabbi Francis Barry Silberg

organizations. They claim that the ravages of the revolution, and not antisemitism, chased the 50 Jews away and that Rosenthal's witnesses are discredited because they had close ties to the deposed leader, General Anastasio Somoza.

Agenda group agrees

That conclusion was supported on Aug. 15 by 10 of 11 American Jews who were visiting Nicaragua to investigate ques-

Silberg finds Sandinista bias (Continued from page one)

In delegation's defense

Blue, a "fellow traveller" but not a member of Agenda, defended the delegation's findings in a telephone interview. She was assured by the fact that Jews they met and opposition leaders as well as government officials claimed the government was not antisemitic.

She felt that if government leaders were indeed swayed toward antisemitism by the PLO, they would not have declared for public consumption a lack of bias or even met with the delegation.

Blue found some of the group's contacts particularly credible. Adam Flets, the vice presidential candidate of the opposition Social Christian Party, is one. "This man had no love for the Sandinistas," Blue said, yet he did not perceive any mistreatment of Jews.

Marta Patricia Blatodano, a member of the independent Permanent Human Rights Commission, "took issue with the government," but spoke of no antisemitism, Blue said.

The assistant editor of *La Prensa*, the opposition newspaper, had a similar appraisal.

A Jew who approached the delegation in its hotel lobby spoke of no bias, Blue said.

Blue was particularly struck by Kurt Preiss, president of the Jewish Nicaraguan Congregation in Exile, Miami. He told the delegates that he would return to Nicaragua if his tanneries were returned to him.

"You don't go back to a hotbed of antisemitism," Blue said. Silberg, who joined the mission a day late, missed that meeting, Blue said.

But Preiss' group disputed the findings of the delegation, according to a Jewish Telegraphic Agency report.

"The effects of the Sandinistas' antisemitic action, which began even before they came to power, show that no 'policy' is needed to destroy a small Jewish community of less than 60 Jews," the statement said in part.

A different approach

Blue acknowledged the Sandinista-PLO tie. "There is a clear, strong relationship between the PLO and the Sandinista government," she said. But Blue noted that the Sandinistas broke off relations with Israel only after the Lebanon war—three years after the Sandinistas took power—and that

the Sandinistas assured her they were interested in reopening relations with Israel and "were really interested in seeing what happens in the Israeli government."

Was she being lied to? "I don't know how to judge those things," she said.

Blue felt it a mistake to automatically link enmity toward Israel to antisemitism. "The major arms supplier in covert action [against the Sandinistas] is the United States," she noted, "yet the way the Sandinistas receive American people is different than [how they receive] the Administration . . . They really embrace the American people."

She said "we can extrapolate from that" their feelings about Israel and Jews.

Moreover, Blue is convinced that antisemitic acts were rare and isolated during the revolution and that people left for more general reasons.

"I understand why they left," she said. "I understand more of these people than the campesinos [peasants]. . . I don't think the Sandinistas are what destroyed the Jewish community. Things were topsy-turvy at the

time of the revolution. There were isolated antisemitic acts. That makes for a perfectly understandable mood for fleeing the country.

"If I was in their shoes, I would have left, too."

Missed experience

Blue also feels that Silberg wasn't in her shoes or those of the other delegates long enough to judge whether they were taken in or not. By going on his own, Silberg missed important meetings, she said.

Moreover, he didn't join the other delegates in their regular exchanges of information. "We were aware that we were really being bombarded by tons of information," Blue said.

Also, she said the 10 have intellectual and ideological credibility.

Didn't sign

But why was Silberg's name left off the press release? "He didn't sign the report," said Agenda Co-director Rena Bernards in a telephone interview.

Couldn't one infer that Agenda is trying to hide Silberg's dissent? "We're not trying to hide anything," she said.

Nicaragua's Jews: A Second Opinion



by Morton M. Rosenthal

Saul Sorrin's regrettable attitude towards the Nicaraguan Jewish tragedy (R) Summer, 1984) is best illustrated by his sweeping assertion that virtually all of the Jews "departed voluntarily to rebuild their lives elsewhere." Isaac Stavisky, a Nicaraguan Jew in exile, said at the White House briefing on Sandinista anti-Semitism on July 20, 1983 that "the Sandinistas threatened to take our property, and they did. They threatened our lives, and for that reason we left our country."

In leaving, the Jews were forced to cut emotional ties to the land of their birth, or, in some instances, the land that gave them refuge from Nazi persecution. That the Jews of Nicaragua, though few in number, were rooted there is attested to by the fact that in 1976 the minuscule community of 50 Jews constructed an impressive synagogue to replace the one destroyed by the earthquake of 1972. Fleeing Nicaragua, they left behind their homes, businesses, and possessions—the fruits of their lifetime of labor. For Sorrin to give the impression that their being refugees was a simple and voluntary act is cruel and untrue.

Evidence of anti-Semitism is well documented in the Congressional Record of August 4, 1983, page E4022, where the text of Mr. Stavisky's speech is reproduced citing telephoned death threats against members of the Jewish community, graffiti warning of death to the Jews, the fire bombings of the synagogue while the congregation was at worship, broadcasts on the Sandinistas' clandestine radio announcing that the Hon-

Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal is the director of the Latin American Affairs Department of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

orary Consul of Israel would be killed, and confiscation of Jewish-owned properties.

In addition, the July 17, 1982 edition of *Neuvo Diario*, the semi-official Sandinista newspaper, reported that "the world's money, banking, and finance are in the hands of descendants of Jews, the eternal protectors of Zionism. Consequently, controlling economic power, they control political power as now happens in the United States."

Sorrin relies heavily upon the testimony of two of the three elderly Jews who still live in Nicaragua, Jaime Levy and Roland Najlis. He assumes, incorrectly, that they would "tell it like it is" to him and to others who inquire about Nicaraguan Jews. Such is not the case when people live in an authoritarian society or have a vested interest.

Jaime Levy was a member of the congregation and fled Nicaragua with his wife and children as the words "Jewish pigs and exploiters" were hurled at them. They feared that the person who shot at Jaime might not miss the next time. Their peril was precipitated when a security guard killed an armed robber in the Levy family's business establishment; the robber, it turned out, was a Sandinista commander. Levy subsequently returned to Nicaragua, but his family remains abroad.

"The world's money, banking, and finance are in the hands of descendants of Jews, the eternal protectors of Zionism."

-*Nuevo Diario* (the semi-official Sandinista newspaper)

Roland Najlis enjoys a special status in Nicaragua, according to Nicaraguan Jews, because his daughter, Michelle, has held important posts in the Sandinista movement and government. He was not a member of the congregation and not active in Jewish life.

The U.S. Embassy staff presumably interviewed the same two men, but we know that they did not interview any of the Jews who fled Nicaragua. The embassy's cable to the State Department acknowledged persecution of Jews but said it was not "solely because of their religion." It is of special interest that the State Department, acknowledging persecution of Jews, said that there

(continued on page 31)



Saul Sorrin Responds:

Unfortunately, Rabbi Rosenthal has swallowed whole the allegations of two former members of the Nicaraguan Jewish community, notorious before the July 1979 revolution in Nicaragua for their connections with the brutal and despised Somoza regime. In July 1983, he eagerly accompanied them to the White House to provide the Administration with an opportunity to promote its policy of armed intervention in Nicaragua.

No other agency of the Jewish community, including the American Jewish Committee, which maintains a close watch on the Jewish communities of Latin America, has given support to Rosenthal's charge. No Jewish congressman, so far as I know, has spoken in support of Rosenthal's charges. So tainted is the evidence that even the State Department has shown great reluctance to repeat it, and former U.S. Ambassador to Nicaragua Anthony Quainton told me flat out that the charges of anti-Semitism are baseless. For his candor, the White House ordered this able diplomat transferred to Kuwait.

Leaders of Central America's Jewish community, with whom I met in Washington in January 1984, also disputed the charges of anti-Semitism and expressed anxiety that the Jewish community is being exploited for the Administration's political designs in Nicaragua.

Rosenthal has repeatedly suggested that Nicaragua's Jewish community was exiled by the Sandinistas. In fact, most of Nicaragua's Jews, unwilling to endure the violence of the revolutionary years of 1976-1979, left the country *before* the revolution. The dozen or so families remaining, with few exceptions, decided that living in a Marxist society is not for them and left as well. They joined some 41,000 Nicaraguan Catholics who left for the same reasons and who suffered the same disabilities as Jews.

The few Jews who remain feel no hostility from anyone. Jaime Levy's wife remains

(continued on page 29)

Nicaragua

(continued from page 6)

was ample reason for the Jews to flee Nicaragua.

Sorrin is disingenuous when he reports on the Sandinistas "eagerness to discuss the charges of anti-Semitism" and their "readiness to refurbish and restore the synagogue to the congregation." This current "eagerness" is due solely to the adverse publicity resulting from the ADL's exposure in May, 1983 of Sandinista anti-Semitism. During the previous nineteen months the Nicaraguan government rebuffed ADL's repeated efforts to clarify the status of the synagogue, as well as that of the Jews of Nicaragua and their property. Not until after the White House briefing on July 20, 1983, at which we produced the deed to the synagogue, did the government abandon its contention that the synagogue building was a private home which they had confiscated legally.

Why does Sorrin place upon Israel the onus for breaking diplomatic relations and the responsibility of renewing them? It was the Sandinista government which used the conflict in Lebanon as a pretext for breaking relations.

The Sandinistas' relationship with the PLO is much more than "mere rhetoric." Since 1970, the PLO provided the Sandinistas with military training and weapons, as well as financial and political support. The two terrorist groups fought side by side. Last year the Nicaraguan government dedicated a geothermal plant in memory of Patricio Arguello Ryan, a Sandinista hero who was eulogized as "an exemplary internationalist" who died "in the people's struggle." The struggle took place at Lod airport in 1970 when the PLO tried to storm an airliner.

At present, there is a PLO "embassy" in Managua which serves as a PLO center for all of Central America. That was the gift the Sandinistas gave to Yassir Arafat when he visited Managua as an honored guest during the first anniversary celebrations in 1980.

Sorrin's apologia for the Sandinistas extends beyond the issue of anti-Semitism and anti-Israel activity to the treatment meted out to other minorities. The devastation wreaked upon the Miskito Indians by the Sandinistas he passes off as "suffering from excessive Marxist zeal."

The government of Nicaragua has killed hundreds of Miskito Indians, forcibly relocated more than 10,000 into what the Indians call "concentration camps," and forced more than 20,000 into exile in neighboring countries while destroying their villages. According to the International League for Human Rights, "Moravian churches (the Miskitos are Moravian Christians) and parish houses have often been turned into barracks," and authorities have closed the Moravian Biblical Institute, which "was the most accessible form of education for the Miskito."

On June 17, 1983, the Indians' representative body, Misura, filed a formal charge of genocide with the Inter-American Commis-

Sorrin

(continued from page 6)

abroad, not out of fear, as Rosenthal suggests, but because she is receiving medical treatment in the United States. Levy travels freely to the U.S. and back as do other Nicaraguan Jews living in the U.S. who still own and derive income from property in Managua.

I hold no brief for the Sandinistas, for their relations with the PLO, for their restrictions on the press and the political process, or for their treatment of the Miskitos. But I am concerned that the Jewish community not be manipulated by politically motivated charges of anti-Semitism into supporting U.S. policy in Nicaragua. It is also time to respond to repeated Nicaraguan offers to refurbish and return the synagogue and to resolve any outstanding issues. That is in the interest of the Jewish community here and in Central America. ★

sion on Human Rights of the Organization of American States. The Misura letter said, "The Sandinista regime is guilty of the crime of genocide and political repression . . . against the indigenous population of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua."

The ADL had no political objectives when it brought the plight of Nicaraguan Jewry to public attention. We have denounced anti-Semitism in Latin American countries whether they were ruled by leftist or rightist governments, including Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. Saul Sorrin's report has political objectives. The author has a legitimate right to promote his cause. We regret deeply, however, that in doing so, he has often substituted myth for fact and ignored his responsibility to defend fellow Jews in distress. ★

Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum

Oct 2 / 84

David,

This is impressive —
but we need to talk
about priorities. Also,
who is paying for the
travel to Ethiopia?
We've overspent on
travel —

Let's talk —

Marc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 3, 1984

to Marc H. Tanenbaum

from David A. Harris

subject

I want to bring you up to date on my speaking engagements and travel plans for the next three months.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Thursday evening, <u>October 4</u> | Address on international concerns to the AJC Long Island Chapter Annual Dinner |
| Thursday afternoon, <u>October 11</u> | Briefing, with Jim Rudin, to the NCC heads of denominations immediately prior to their visit to the USSR (follow-up to my "overview" paper for the NCC) |
| Saturday evening, <u>October 20</u> | Attendance at (regular) off-the-record meeting on travel to the USSR, in Washington, DC (hosted by NCSJ) |
| Sunday-Tuesday, <u>October 21-23</u> | Attendance at NCSJ Annual Meeting; address on historical overview of the Soviet Jewry struggle, at opening session. |
| Monday evening, <u>October 22</u> | Address on Soviet Jewry to the National Hillel gathering in Washington, DC |
| Tuesday evening, <u>October 23</u> | Address on international concerns to the Women's Board at AJC headquarters |
| Sunday, <u>October 28</u> | Attendance at NJCRAC Commission on International Concerns and Israel Task Force |
| Thursday-Sunday, <u>November 1-4</u> | Attendance at NEC in Chicago |
| Tuesday evening, <u>November 13</u> | Address on international concerns to AJC fund-raising dinner of the Building Contractors Division in New York |
| Saturday evening - Friday evening, <u>November 17-30</u> | NJCRAC mission to Ethiopia |

Tanenbaum/2

October 3, 1984

Sunday afternoon, December 2

Address to Women's Plea for Soviet Jewry
Event in Ft.Lauderdale, Fla.

Sunday evening, December 9

Address on Soviet Jewry to Boston Feder-
ation

Tuesday evening, December 11

Address on international concerns to Metro-
west, N.J. Federation.

The departmental calendar indicates two other commitments. On November 28 I was to have spoken to a statewide meeting of Hadassah in New Haven, but yesterday's confirmation by NJCRAC of the trip to Ethiopia led me to cancel the 28th. Also, I was to have been in Palm Beach and Miami from December 3 to 5 but I cancelled in view of the time I will be away from the office in Ethiopia (8 working days).

dah: rpr



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, Oct. 3 ... Howard I. Friedman, President of the American Jewish Committee, today issued the following statement on the latest action in Congress on the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1984:

"The American Jewish Committee notes with extreme regret the decision of the United States Senate to 'shelve' until next session its consideration of the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1984.

"That legislation, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, race, age or handicap by all institutions receiving federal aid, would prevent the erosion of key civil rights now imperiled by the Supreme Court's February, 1984, decision in Grove City v. Bell.

"The AJC strongly urges, as it has previously, that the Civil Rights Act of 1984 be enacted as quickly as possible. We hope that the Senate will devote its attention to this matter as soon as Congress reconvenes."

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.

A EJP Z

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10/4/84

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

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.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 4, 1984
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller 
subject News Briefs

Here is the draft of the basic information for the newsbriefs. I have not as yet received the items from the Paris office nor from Jerusalem. I expect to have both by the early part of next week.

In reviewing the text I noticed two items omitted -- (1) the meeting with Sam Toledano and (2) the meeting with Gideon Shomron and Yosef Yaakob.

You told me yesterday that you have been reviewing your calendar and I would appreciate your listing the items that you think ought to be included. In the section on publications there are one or two that have come out recently, such as Ken Bandler's on Sri Lanka, which will be added.

Finally, I think we should put in bold face type the names of the people we have met; the names of the cities in which the meetings took place; and, perhaps, the dates.

As for the general format and especially that of the front page, I would like to discuss it with you at your convenience.

DG/es

Enclosure

IRD NEWSBRIEFS

Israel and the Middle East

* May 1984 - Howard Friedman, AJC President and Leo Nevas, Chairman of the Commission on International Relations, issued a widely reported statement opposing the sale of stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia.

* July 1984 - AJC participates in a conference in Paris, at which the UN decade for women is reviewed and where strategies are discussed for the end-of-the-decade conference scheduled for July 1985 in Nairobi.

* The AJC Israel Office and the Department of Israel and the Middle East in New York continue to monitor the problems presented by the group in Israel calling themselves Black Hebrew's. Dr. George Gruen issues a special report titled, The Position of the 'Black Hebrews' in Israel: An Examination of the Complex Issues Involved.

* August 1984 - IRD hosts and off-the-record discussion with a prominent Palestinian journalist. Issues covered included the prospects of Arab/Israel peace; anti-Semitic Arab rhetoric; etc.

* September 1984 - Dr. Yitzhak Gal Nur, Director of the Levi Eshkol Institute for Economic, Social and Political Research at Hebrew University, met with AJC lay leaders and staff to discuss the implications of the election in Israel and Israeli economic prospects.

* September 1984 - David Gordis, William Trosten, Marc Tannenbaum and George Gruen returned from Israel where they discussed the current situation there with a number of Israeli officials.

* October 1984 - AJC co-sponsors a conference on The International Womens' Decade and Beyond with the American Association of University Women.

International Organizations Division

* June 1984 - Sidney Liskofsky meet with one of the founders of a new British Human Rights Group - INTERIGHTS, to discussed future plans and priorities of the new group.

* Summer 1984 - International Organization Division commissions a study of Anti-Jewish rhetoric at the United Nations. This was done in light of renewed concern over this troubling issue among many Jewish leaders.

The Division's background paper on anti-Jewish rhetoric at the UN, prepared by Allan Kagedan, was distributed to South American leaders including Argentinian Foreign Minister, Dante Caputo.

* Summer 1984 - Allan Kagedan is interviewed on radio regarding anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. He was also interviewed for a foreign broadcast by VOA and a precis of his research paper on this subject was published by Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe, for distribution to the academic and government specialists on Soviet Affairs.

* August 1984 - In Geneva, Sidney Liskofsky participates in the session of the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, attending as a representative of the International League for Human Rights. Mr. Liskofsky made a statement on Religious Intolerance and Discrimination, the subject of a current UN study. The Division also provided briefing information on human rights violations of Soviet and Syrian Jews and others to NGO's participating in the session.

* August 1984 - The 10D drafts a statement in response to the New York Philharmonic Orchestra agreement to drop a work by a Jewish composer during its planned tour of Malaysia. The Division also supplies information about the Malaysian action to U.S. and other representatives at the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination, which provided the background for U.S. and French criticism of the Malaysian discriminatory act.

* August 1984 - The Division provided data for a communication to UNESCO on the absence of Jewish museums in the Soviet Union.

* September 1984 - The Division drafted a statement in response to President Reagan's call for U.S. ratification of the Genocide Convention.

* September 1984 - Leo Nevas, David Harris and Howard Kohr exchange views on the U.S. threatened decision to withdraw from UNESCO with Gregory Newell, assistant secretary of state for International organizations. Also attending were Jean Berghaust, assistant for the Nairobi Conference, and Lacy Wright, director of UNESCO for commission affairs.

Mexico, Central America, Columbia and Venezuela

* Sergio Nudelstejer, Director of the AJC Office in Mexico, was invited as guest speaker by the Jewish community of Venezuela, to participate in a colloquium on the future of Jewish communities in Latin America. The colloquium also discussed the situation of Jews in the USSR. Representatives of Jewish communities of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Mexico, Columbia, Ecuador, Venezuela and Peru attended the meeting.

* September 1984 - Together with the deans of various Jewish schools, the Mexico office of AJC prepared a special civic Jewish program for seniors in high school. The program consists of ten lectures on different Jewish subjects such as: the history of the Marrano-Jews in Mexico during the Spanish Conquest; Jewish identity; relations between the Diaspora and Israel; etc. These lectures, which begin in September, are given by different lecturers according to their area of expertise.

* To commemorate the Jewish poets and writers murdered during the time of Stalin, the Mexico Committee on Soviet Jewry organized a special Evening of Remembrance. Sergio Nudelstejer was the main speaker. The event was widely reported in the newspaper, radio and TV. In addition, the AJC office prepared and published a booklet in Spanish about the Jewish intellectuals who were murdered.

* The AJC office was active in investigating several anti-Semitic incidents which occurred at the Jewish Center in the City of Guadalajara in Mexico. Guadalajara is the largest center of extreme right-wing activities and much anti-Semitic material has been discovered there.

* Under the auspices of the AJC a book on Jewish identity in Spanish is undergoing its final editing and will be published shortly.

South America

* Mr. Leon Fefer, Honorary Counsel of Israel, in Sao Paulo, Brazil meets with Marc Tannenbaum and Jacobo Kovadloff in New York.

* July 1984 - Marc Tannenbaum and Jacobo Kovadloff in preparation for their tour of several countries in South America meet with Robert Morley, Director of the Southern Cone Affairs Desk at the State Department. They also meet with former Ambassador Sol M. Linowitz and the current Argentinian Ambassador Lucio Garcia del Solar.

* July 1984 - Jacobo Kovadloff is interviewed by Viviana Hall of Spanish Channel 41 in her program "NY Ahora" on the topic of Soviet Jewry.

* August 1984 - Marc Tannenbaum and Jacobo Kovadloff undertake a two-week fact-finding mission in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. In Argentina they met with President Raul Alfonsin who assured them that Argentinian representatives at the UN would not take "knee-jerk anti-Israel positions in the UN and elsewhere." The delegation also met with Argentinian Foreign Minister Dante Caputo and with Senator Adolfo Gass, chairman of the Argentine Senate Foreign Relations committee, and Dr. L. Pugliese, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Argentinian Parliament.

In Brazil the delegation discussed anti-Semitism and PLO publications with Dr. Vivaldo Barbosa, Secretary of Justice of the State of Rio de Janeiro, and with Dr. Arthur Pereira de Castilho Neto, Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice.

A series of agreements were made with the Latin American Conference of Catholic Bishops (CELAM), and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay to co-sponsor with local Jewish communities a series of conferences next year marking the 20th anniversary of the adoption by Vatican Council II of Nostra Aetate, dealing with the promotion of improved Catholic-Jewish relations.

* August - 1984 David Geller meets with Jewish leadership in Brazil on the subject of youth and Jewish identity. He visits several institutions for Jewish college youth.

~~BAAR NEWSLETTER~~

Europe

SOVIET JEWRY

* June 1984 - Leo Nevas, David Harris and David Geller visit the embassies of Sweden, Belgium, Austria, Italy, West Germany and Great Britain, urging their greater participation in efforts aimed at alleviating the situation of Jews in the USSR.

* June 1984 - David Harris and David Geller discuss the situation of Soviet Jews with Ken Yalowitz, Deputy Director, Economic Affairs Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Department of State; John Zimmerman, Staff Director, Exchanges Office of Soviet Union Affairs, Department of State; Tom Simmons, Director of Office of Soviet Affairs, Department of State.

* June 1984 - David Geller and David Harris discuss radio broadcasts to the USSR with Chris Squire, Director, and Mark Pomar, Deputy Director of the VOA-USSR Service. These discussions and earlier interventions by AJC were instrumental in increasing the broadcast time for Jewish subjects beamed into the USSR.

* July 1984 - Howard Friedman, president of AJC, addresses ceremonies in Germany marking the 40th anniversary of the attempt to assassinate Adolph Hitler. Mr. Friedman is the first Jewish leader to officially participate in such a ceremony.

* September 1984 - Leo Nevas and David Harris represent the AJC at the Praesidium meeting of the International Conference on Soviet Jewry in London. Sergio Nudelstejer, Director of AJC's office in Mexico, also attended in his capacity as Secretary of the Latin American Conference on Soviet Jewry.

* September 1984 - Leo Nevas, David Harris and David Geller exchange views on the situation in the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe with Richard Combs, Director of the Office of East European Affairs at the Department of State.

* September 1984 - Leo Nevas, David Harris and David Geller are briefed on the current status of the Helsinki Accords by Spencer Oliver, Staff Director of the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

* September 1984 - David Geller, as a member of the Advisory Committee of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, participated in a conference at the State Department entitled Faith in Human Rights; Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust. Mr. Geller interviewed several of the Christians who had come from various parts of Europe and participated in a special workshop on Religious Belief and Righteous Behavior. He also met with Dr. Samuel Oliner and Eva Fogelman who are involved in an AJC project called The Altruistic Personalities Project.

~~9~~ September 1984 - David Geller establishes contact with the EEC office in Washington D.C. and meets with Francesco Milner, executive officer of EEC in New York. An invitation is extended to him to visit AJC headquarters and discuss our human rights concerns.

October 1984 - Marc Tanenbaum and members of the IRD staff meet with Guillame Parmentier, Staff Director of the North Atlantic Assembly, Committee on Education, Cultural Affairs and Information. (The North Atlantic Assembly is an interparliamentary institution linked to NATO and designed to strengthen cooperation between North America and Europe.) It was agreed to remain in close contact and Dr. Parmentier hoped to invite an AJC representative to Brussels in the near future.

* September 1984 - Leo Nevas, David Geller and David Harris met with Jose Luyz-Gomez, Minister-Counselor of the Portuguese Embassy, to discuss the case of Valerian Trifa who was under deportation proceedings by the U.S. Justice Department when he applied for, and was granted a visa to Portugal. The discussion also included the prospects of Portugal, which does have diplomatic relations with Israel, opening an embassy in Jerusalem.

SOUTH AFRICA

* September 1984 - Leo Nevas, David Geller and David Harris met with Richard Kott, South America country desk officer at the State Department, and his assistant, Richard Norlund. In addition to exchanging views on the current U.S. policy vis-a-vis the internal situation in South Africa the AJC delegation was also briefed on the situation in southern Africa including diplomatic efforts to achieve Namibian independence.

SRI LANKA

* June 1984 - David Geller participates in a small delegation of the Presidents Conference meeting with Junius R. Jayawardene, President of Sri Lanka. Discussions focused on the assistance being given by Israel to Sri Lanka to fight terrorism and the political fallout to which Sri Lanka is being subjected by Third World countries who fear that Sri Lanka may be planning to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. Kenneth Bandler of the IRD staff prepared a background memorandum on the relationship between Israel and Sri Lanka which was widely distributed.

P031/DG:ar

10/3/84

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

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 5.... The Philadelphia Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has called upon the Pennsylvania State Legislature to strengthen legislation and enforcement to prohibit the production, sale, and distribution of "kiddy porn."

In testimony to the Select Committee to Review House Resolution 236, Harvey S. Kronfeld, co-chairman of the chapter's Civil Liberties and Education Committee, commented:

"In Jewish tradition, family life has been a mainstay of Jewish survival, and as American Jews, we consider pornography to be offensive to Jewish ethics and potentially destructive to American and Jewish society."

In regard to what he called "kiddy porn," Mr. Kronfeld stated, "Many of the actors and models are children who are enticed or coerced by the pornographers into acts of sexual debasement, sadism and bestiality. In 1977 there were at least 264 different magazines produced in the United States that portrayed sex acts involving children and the number has continued to grow. Despite laws banning the exploitation of children for such purposes, 'kiddy porn' remains a billion dollar business."

The AJC chapter, in addition to calling for ways to be found within the limits of the Constitution to combat the dissemination of "kiddy porn," urged that parents supervise more closely what their children watch and read, while acting as proper role models themselves. The statement urged:

"All appropriate steps should be taken to make our concern about the proliferation of pornography known to broadcasters, publishers, legislators and public agencies. Individuals and civic and religious organizations should become active in educating their local communities about the dangers of pornography."

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.

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/smm

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

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

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Oct. 5..... A day-long conference on grandparenting for family service professionals, program directors, and religious leaders will take place Wednesday, November 7, from 9 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., at the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, sponsored by the agency's William Petschek National Jewish Family Center.

E. Robert Goodkind, chairman of the event, said the meeting was called because of "our awareness of grandparents as a link to the past and as a connection to Jewish identity formation for grandchildren. We are convinced there is a need for this forum to propose methods for bonding the generations."

Yehuda Rosenman, director of the William Petschek National Jewish Family Center, stressed "the growing importance of intergenerational sharing and closeness in the age of mobility and rapid change."

Janet S. Sainer, Commissioner for the Aging of New York City, will be the afternoon's featured speaker on the topic, discussing "Strengthening the Intergenerational Connections -- A Challenge to the Jewish Community."

Ms. Sainer's address will be followed by a session devoted to program ideas, including a showing of the film, "Close Harmony," and three concurrent workshops, led respectively by Rose Dobrof, director of the Brookdale/Hunter Center for the Aging; Richard B. Schwartz, director, Older Adult Services for the Associated YM-YWHA's of Greater New York; and Celia Weissman, director of the Yeshiva University Gerontological Institute.

The morning session includes presentations by Rabbi Harlan Wechsler of the Park Avenue Synagogue and Dr. Arthur Kornhaber, child and family psychiatrist and director of the Foundation for Grandparenting, on the subject: "Grand-

- more -

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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CSAE 1707

parents, Parents and Grandchildren: Relationships and Roles." Responding will be three panelists: Abraham Monk, professor of gerontology, Columbia University; Charlotte G. Holstein, a member of AJC's Board of Governors, who will provide a grandmother's viewpoint; and David Morris, a law student, who will offer a grandchild's views.

A registration fee of \$10 includes kosher lunch. All registrations must be received no later than October 25. For further information, contact Gladys Rosen at (212) 751-4000.

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.

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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

ALERT TO EDITORS

CONFERENCE ON GRANDPARENTING

When: Wednesday, November 7, 1984
9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.
Where: The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Contact: Press: Joyce Kaplan
Len Fink TV-Radio: Randall Czarlinsky
Haina Just

GRANDPARENTS HAVE BEEN DESCRIBED AS THIS DECADE'S 'LOST GENERATION.' YET THE ENTIRE FAMILY LOSES OUT WHEN DEPRIVED OF A FULL RELATIONSHIP WITH THEIR LIVING LINKS TO THE PAST. CAN AN INTER-GENERATIONAL BOND BE REESTABLISHED TO BENEFIT GRANDPARENTS, PARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN?

JOIN US TO HEAR EXPERTS PROPOSE WHAT CAN BE DONE TO REUNITE THREE GENERATIONS AT THE "CONFERENCE ON JEWISH GRANDPARENTING AND THE INTERGENERATIONAL CONNECTION"

Morning: "Grandparents, Parents and Grandchildren: Relationships and Roles"
Rabbi Harlan Wechsler, Park Avenue Synagogue
Arthur Kornhaber, M.D., child and family psychiatrist
Abraham Monk, Prof. of Gerontology, Columbia University
Charlotte G. Holstein, AJC Board of Governors
(a grandmother's view)
David Morris, law student (a grandchild's view)

Afternoon: "Strengthening the Intergenerational Connections - A Challenge to the Jewish Community"
Janet S. Sainer, Commissioner for the Aging, New York City
"Programming for Intergenerational Families"
Gladys Rosen, program associate, AJC Jewish Communal Affairs Department
Film: "Close Harmony," National Council of Jewish Women

Concurrent Workshop leaders:
Rose Dobrof, director, Brookdale/Hunter Center for the Aging
Richard B. Schwartz, director, Older Adult Services Associated YM-YWHAs of New York
Celia Weissman, director, Yeshiva University Gerontological Institute

This conference is sponsored by the AJC's William Petschek National Jewish Family Center, chairman, E. Robert Goodkind; director, Yehuda Rosenman.

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NC-A, NC-J, NC-W, FAM, NC-HR, Z

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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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Oct. 10.... Jewish high school students have much higher educational and career goals than their non-Jewish peers, according to a study released today by the American Jewish Committee's William Petschek National Jewish Family Center.

And while they share their peers' social values and economic interests, Jewish students were found to be the least religious of all groups, according to the study, with 22 percent saying they have no religious involvement at all.

The report, titled "American Jewish High School Students — A National Profile" and written by sociologist James L. Peterson and psychologist Nicholas Zill of Washington D.C., is the first national survey compiled on Jewish high school students, according to Yehuda Rosenman, director of the William Petschek Center. "The study was undertaken," said Mr. Rosenman, "to find out the impact of the family on Jewish student's decisions concerning marriage, raising families, and college, graduate and professional goals."

The study is based on a comparison of findings derived from a questionnaire circulated in 1980 by the National Center of Education and Statistics, which sampled a total of 58,270 sophomores and seniors, 1,072 of them identified as Jews.

According to the Zill-Peterson report, more than twice as many Jewish students had at least one parent who graduated from college, and nearly three-quarters of Jewish families had annual incomes of \$25,000 or more, compared with 50 percent of non-minority white peers.

The data was reflected in the attitudes of parents regarding their children's future schooling. Ninety-one percent of Jewish fathers, for example, wanted their children to attend college immediately after high school, the students said, compared to 60 percent of fathers of non-Jewish white youths.

The attitudes of the parents had a bearing on the wishes of the teenagers themselves, according to the authors, with 83 percent of Jewish students stating ambitions to pursue college educations, compared with 50 percent of the overall student population.

NOTE: For a review copy of "American Jewish High School Students," contact 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 32 percent spread was mirrored in the students' plans to pursue post-college studies, with 50 percent of Jewish students, versus 18 percent of their non-Jewish peers, saying they wanted to attend graduate school.

In all areas of academic achievement, Jewish students scored significantly higher than their counterparts. Japanese-American students were the only group who scored as high as Jews, and in math testing scored a percentage point higher.

All students gave identical ranking to a list of social and economic values in the survey, though the percentages varied between Jews and non-Jews. The students set "being successful in work" at the top of their concerns, "friendships" second, "having steady work" third, "marriage" fourth and "having children" seventh.

Two of the largest differences between Jewish and non-Jewish high schoolers were revealed in answers relating to self-esteem and religious involvement. Forty-five percent of Jewish students agreed with the statement, "I am a person of worth on an equal plane with others," as opposed to 30 percent of the national sample.

With religious involvement, 50 percent of Jewish students rated themselves "low" and 22 percent answered "none." Catholics and Protestants, on the other hand, rated themselves low, 30 and 36 percent respectively. Only 7 percent of Catholics and 9 percent of Protestants used "none" to describe their religious involvement, the study showed.

As with most students, Jews said they wanted to get married and have children, but surprisingly, Jews, more than any other group, indicated their desire to have three or more children.

"However," the authors point out, "since most Jewish students planned to continue their education beyond the college level, to pursue professional careers and to begin forming families at a relatively advanced age, it seems likely that many would have fewer children than they intended. The net result may well be a continuation of the present pattern of family size, with Jews having somewhat smaller families than others."

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL MEETING
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
NOVEMBER 1-4, 1984
HYATT REGENCY HOTEL
151 EAST WACKER DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILL. 60601
(312) 565-1000

CONTACT: Press - Joyce Kaplan
Leonard Fink
Ralph Bass

TV-Radio - Randall Czarlinsky
Haina Just
Laurie Chock

PRESS ROOMS: PICASSO & HAYMARKET ROOMS
(CONCOURSE LEVEL)

ALERT TO EDITORS AND BROADCASTERS

YOUR COVERAGE IS INVITED

WHAT: AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING
WHEN: THURSDAY, NOV. 1 - SUNDAY, NOV 4
WHERE: HYATT REGENCY HOTEL, 151 EAST WACKER DRIVE, CHICAGO

- HIGHLIGHTS:
1. Joseph Cardinal Bernardin on Catholic-Jewish relations 20 years after Vatican Council II, touching on current issues as abortion and religion in politics. Saturday, Nov. 3, following 7:30 p.m. dinner.
 2. Sen. Lowell Weicker on religion, morality, and the Constitution. At a press conference Friday, Nov. 2, 12 noon, and at 1 p.m. luncheon.
 3. Helen Suzman, liberal South African representative, on South African politics, at a press conference, Friday, Nov. 2, 11:30 a.m.; and Saturday, Nov. 3, following 7:30 p.m. dinner.
 4. Tatiana Yankelevich, stepdaughter of Andrei Sakharov, with the latest on the fate of her parents, and a strategy to deal with the Soviet Union, at a special Saturday service with Soviet Jewish refuseniks. Saturday, Nov. 3, 10 a.m.
 5. Sidney Blumenthal, national political correspondent for The New Republic, and Alfred H. Moses, chair, AJC National Executive Council, on long-term political prospects for America and the Jewish community. Thursday, Nov. 1, following 6:30 p.m. dinner.
 6. Howard I. Friedman, AJC President, on the Jewish vote. At a press conference, Thursday, Nov. 1, 10:30 a.m. His presidential address at dinner, Saturday, Nov. 3.

- more -

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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7. Dr. David Gordis, new AJC Executive Vice President, his first major address in post, on AJC's national and international concerns. Friday, Nov. 2, 2:30 p.m.
8. Hyman Bookbinder, AJC Washington representative, on Black-Jewish relations. Wednesday, October 31, 8 p.m., at the Jewish Community Center.
9. Price Cobbs and Judith Weinstein Klein, noted specialists in identity and group conflict, discussing psychological aspects of Black-Jewish tensions. Friday, Nov. 2, 9:30 a.m.

Wednesday, Oct. 31

8 p.m. Pre-meeting event - Jewish Community Center - 3003 West Touhy Ave.

Hyman Bookbinder, AJC Washington representative, and James Compton, President, Chicago Urban League, will discuss Black-Jewish relations at a community-wide forum

(Note: This is the only session at the Jewish Community Center. All other sessions are at the Hyatt Regency.)

Thursday, Nov 1

10:30 a.m.

Picasso &
Haymarket
Rooms

PRESS CONFERENCE: HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, AJC NATIONAL PRESIDENT, will look at where Jews stand on the political scene, and how they can be expected to vote in the elections just five days off.

3 p.m.

Gold Coast,
Hong Kong,
Acapulco,
Stetson E, &
Stetson F Rooms

"What's Your Agenda?" In five concurrent workshops, AJC leaders will meet with representatives of the Greek, Hispanic, Italian, Japanese, and Polish communities to see where they agree and where they disagree with the Jewish community.

5 p.m.

Belmont
Room

Reception: Greetings from Mayor Harold Washington and AJC Chicago Chapter President Jerry Biederman

6:30 p.m.

Regency
Ballroom A

OPENING PLENARY DINNER: "Beyond the Elections: Long-Term Prospects for American Society and the Jewish Community." Speakers will be Sidney Blumenthal, national political correspondent for The New Republic, and Alfred H. Moses, chair, AJC National Executive Council.

Friday, Nov. 2

- 7:30 a.m. Breakfast session: AJC's National Committee on Women's Issues will examine "The Future of Women in the American Economy." Main speaker will be sociologist Dr. Diana Pearce, director of research at Catholic University Law School's Center for National Policy Review.
- Toronto Room
- 9:30 a.m. "Psychological Aspects of Black-Jewish Relations" will be explored by AJC's National Affairs Commission. Leading off the discussion will be psychiatrist Dr. Price Cobbs, co-author of "Black Rage," and psychologist Dr. Judith Weinstein Klein, author of "Ethno-therapy with Jews."
- Regency Ballroom B
- 11:15 a.m. Concurrent meetings of AJC program commissions:
- Acapulco Room Interreligious Affairs Commission: "Religion and Politics." Speakers will be Dr. Arthur E. Gay, Jr., Past President, National Association of Evangelicals, and Dr. Eugene Kennedy, professor of psychology, Loyola University of Chicago.
- Toronto Room Jewish Communal Affairs Commission: "Toward Excellence in Jewish Education: Lessons from the Public Sector." Panelists will be Dr. Chester E. Finn, professor of education and public policy, Vanderbilt University, and Dr. Alvin I. Schiff, executive vice president, Board of Jewish Education of Greater New York.
- 11:30 a.m. PRESS CONFERENCE: HELEN SUZMAN, longtime liberal activist and Member of Parliament in the Republic of South Africa, will speak on "Southern Africa: the New Political Landscape," relating recent events in South Africa to international concerns of the Jewish community.
- Picasso & Haymarket Rooms
- 12 noon PRESS CONFERENCE: SEN. LOWELL WEICKER will give his views on one of the most heated issues of this election year: "Morality, Religion, and the Constitution."
- Picasso & Haymarket Rooms
- 1 p.m. Plenary luncheon: Address by Senator Weicker
- Regency Ballroom A
- 2:30 p.m. Plenary session: Dr. David Gordis, the American Jewish Committee's new Executive Vice President, will give his inaugural address.
- Regency Ballroom A
- 4 p.m. Special screening -- videotape segments on intermarriage, ethnic parenting styles, Black-Jewish relations on college campuses --dealing with projects of AJC's Institute for American Pluralism.
- Acapulco Room

Saturday, Nov. 3

10 a.m. Sabbath services led by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious leaders, joined by former Soviet refuseniks now living in Chicago. Tatiana Yankelevich, stepdaughter of Andrei Sakharov, will give latest news of her parents and offer a strategy for dealing with Soviets.

Regency
Ballroom D

Following the services, AJC will present a special award to Michael Richardson, editorial page editor, St. Petersburg (Fla.) Evening Independent, for the Independent's "Project Lifeline," a grassroots effort to reach Soviet dissidents through letters.

12:30 p.m. Plenary luncheon: "The Rise of Fundamentalism -- How It Affects the Middle East and the World Political Scene." An expert view, by Dr. Marvin Zonis, University of Chicago specialist in Middle Eastern affairs and the psychology of politics

Regency
Ballroom A

2:30 p.m. Special screening (repeat): projects on intermarriage, ethnic parenting styles, Black-Jewish relations on college campuses -- on videotape

Gold Coast
Room

7:30 p.m. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DINNER

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Archbishop of Chicago, will speak on Catholic-Jewish relations 20 years after Vatican Council II, touching on such current issues as abortion and religion in politics.

Helen Suzman will receive AJC's American Liberties Medallion, and speak on human rights, South Africa, and the international political scene.

Howard I. Friedman, AJC National President, will give the presidential address, touching on the elections and their impact on the Jewish community, Black-Jewish relations, positive developments regarding Israel, and human rights.

Sunday, Nov. 4

8 a.m. Plenary breakfast: Cecil Alexander and John Lewis, co-chairs of Atlanta's Black-Jewish Coalition, will headline a discussion of "Black-Jewish Relations: Positive Prospects." Edward Elson will be chairman.

Regency
Ballroom A

10 a.m. Plenary session: An Israeli government representative, to be announced, will look at Israeli politics in 1984.

Regency
Ballroom A

A, EJP, ETH, FD, FP, REL, NEG-A,B,C,CP, PP, WO, FAM, CHIP, CHE, Z
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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MIAMI, Oct. 15...Jewish teenagers who speak some Spanish have been invited to attend the annual winter camp sponsored by FEDECO (The Federation of Central American Jewish communities), to take place in San Jose, Costa Rica, from Christmas Day to New Year's Day. The cost is \$200.00, plus air fair.

The invitation was extended through the Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee by FEDECO President Marcell Ruff. He and FEDECO officers have developed a joint program plan with AJC Miami. Fred Rawicz of Miami will coordinate the plans relating to the camp, which will draw Jewish youth from all over Central America.

Sr. Eli Feinzeig of San Jose, this year's camp chairman, said that most participants speak some English, but at least a few years of high school spanish should be the level for American participants.

For information and reservations, contact Mr. Rawicz at the American Jewish Committee, 3000 Biscayne Blvd., Miami, Fl. 33137, (305) 576-4240.

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Oct. 10. . .The Philadelphia Jewish community gave greater support to the black candidate than did the rest of the white community in last year's election, won by now-Mayor W. Wilson Goode.

That is a major finding of a recent survey conducted by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Jewish Committee. In the study titled Philadelphia Elects a Black Mayor - - How Jews, Blacks and Ethnics Vote in the 1980s, Sandra Featherman, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Temple University, presents figures indicating this, but adds:

"Jews in the city would normally have been expected to give much more support for the Democratic candidate for mayor, since most Jews in the city are registered Democrats."

Citywide, Dr. Featherman notes, Goode got more than 30 percent of the Jewish vote in the primaries, as compared with less than 9 percent of the votes cast in Polish election divisions. He got 11 percent of the vote in Irish areas, and only 4.5 percent in Italian districts, where former Mayor Frank Rizzo got 95 percent of the votes. By contrast, Goode got 91 percent of the votes in black areas, and Rizzo got only 2 percent of the black vote.

In the general election, Dr. Featherman reveals, "among whites, Goode received 13.5 percent of the Polish vote, 13.5 of the Italian vote, and 15.5 percent of the Irish vote. He fared considerably better in the Jewish community, winning 32 percent of the vote. However, this represented less than one out of every three Jewish votes."

Commenting on the study, Murray Friedman, Middle Atlantic States Director of the American Jewish Committee, asserts: "It has become a truism that Jews are moving to the Right. Clearly, any attempt to understand the nature of Jewish patterns today has to be more complex than the popular image suggests."

NOTE: For a review copy of "Philadelphia Elects a Black Mayor," write to Morton Yarmon, American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th St., New York, N. Y. 10022.

- 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.

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Dr. Friedman cites the fact that the majority of Jews are opposed to major cuts in social spending, and to "the Reagan Administration's call for substantial increases in defense spending." In areas where referenda were held on a nuclear freeze in 1982, he recalls, "as many as ninety percent of Jews voted in favor."

It is only when direct Jewish interests are involved, Dr. Friedman believes, such as racial quotas and racial balance in the schools, and direct threats to the security of Israel, that Jews tend to become more conservative.

Clearly, he says, "Jews continue to remain the most liberal white group in America."

Expanding on this point, Dr. Friedman states: "One senses that the liberalism Jews are demonstrating today is a different kind from that exhibited in the past. Gone is some of the passion that once animated Jews in the 'Golden Age.'"

That is not to say, he adds, "that there have not been any conservative inroads made on Jewish opinion. The growing vote for Republican candidates in national elections is one indication. It may be significant that while Jews are considerably more likely than other whites to vote for blacks, there was some fall-off between their vote for the black Democratic candidate, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, in 1982, and the elections of Mayor Washington in Chicago and Mayor Goode the following year."

Within the context of the continuing force of Jewish liberalism, Dr. Friedman says, "there is some reason to believe that a respectable Jewish conservative movement is beginning to take shape. It is still quite small. The 1984 election and the year ahead should provide a crucial test in determining where it goes if anywhere."

Copies of the Featherman study may be obtained from the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, 1616 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102, for \$1.50 each.

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10/9/84



הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

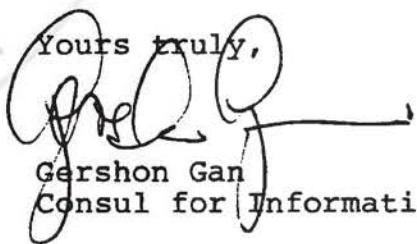
October 5, 1984

Dear Friend,

Enclosed is a copy of the statement in the General Assembly of the Thirty-Ninth Session of the United Nations General Assembly by Mr. Yitzchak Shamir, Prime Minister Alternate and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

As the statement is a wide-ranging exposition of Israel's policy on a number of key issues, I'm sure that you will find it of interest.

Yours truly,


Gershon Gan
Consul for Information

GG:be

Mr. William Gralnick

Miami etc.

Dear Bill,

I thought that we had a clear understanding about your role and that of the Miami chapter in relation to Central America.

Your recent peremptory notes about a) a Miami chapter visit to Central America, and b) your own lecture tours which you organized yourself without consultation with Sergio Nudelstejer or myself is a departure, if not violation, of our trust understanding.

We had agreed that there would be a role for the Miami AJC chapter and yourself in helping meet the needs for Spanish-language resources with FEDECO, as well as occasional invitations for them to come to Miami.

There was absolutely no understanding that you would undertake to become a substitute for Sergio in active programming with FEDECO. This really borders on irresponsibility.

Sergio, the AJC, and I deserve better from you. I must ask you to stop this expansionism now. By this logic - or illogic - you could next be taking over South America too. I am very much your friend, but I am deeply upset over this compromise of trust.

Sincerely,

MHT, D
IRD

cc: Sergio Nudelstejer
bcc: David Gordis
Eugene duBow
Harold Applebaum
Shula Bahat
Bill Trosten

OCT 22 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : October 8th, 1984
to : Marc H. Tanenbaum and Harold Applebaum
from : Sergio Nudelstejer
subject

Upon returning from New York, I found two letters from Bill Garalnick dated September 6th and 7th, and am including copies of them.

I am surprised that during my conversation with both of you, you never mentioned that a program had been approved so that Bill travels to Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Panama to give lectures on adult education.

On the other hand, I am also surprised that a delegation of the Miami Chapter is getting ready to visit Guatemala, Panama and Costa Rica, when, beforehand, we had agreed that a Leadership Delegation of different AJC chapters would officially visit Mexico and some Central American countries, possibly including Colombia or Venezuela as well. On account of this, and during the conversation where Shula Bahad was present, we fixed a date for the early months of 1986.

I consider that if some activities were being planned for Central America, I should have been previously informed and consulted.

Will appreciate your prompt answer to his memo, and once again, I wish you Shaná Tová.

Cordially yours,

SN/eeg
cc; David Harris

[start]

Original documents
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FLORIDA AREA • 3000 Biscayne Boulevard • Miami, Florida 33137 • 305-576-4240

Florida Area Advisory Council Chairman
Barton S. Udell

September 6, 1984

Southeast Regional Staff
Regional Director
William A. Gralnick
Assistant Area Director
Steven H. Naturman

Sr. Marcel Ruff
5A, Ave. 12-45, Zona 14
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Marcel:

I am just back from three (3) weeks in Israel and Europe. All of the correspondence from you to me (and others in AJC) and to Rabbi Anselem has been read but not yet really digested.

One item does require immediate attention for our planning. Please tell me when would be the optimum time to do the adult education lecture. Give me some alternate times for section (1) (Oct.-Nov.-Dec.), section (2) (Jan.-Feb.-Mar.) and section (3) (Apr.-May-June). Our idea is to give one or two days talks in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Panama under the auspices of FEDECO and AJC.

I'll be back to you promptly on the other issues.

Como siempre,

William A. Gralnick

WAG:gs

cc: D. Mesnekoff
Neil Alter



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FLORIDA AREA • 3000 Biscayne Boulevard • Miami, Florida 33137 • 305-576-4240

Florida Area Advisory Council: Chairman
Barton S. Udell

September 7, 1984

Southeast Regional Staff

Regional Director
William A. Gralnick

Assistant Area Director
Julie L. Russin

Sr. Marcel Ruff
5A, Ave. 12-45, Zona 14
Guatemala City, Guatemala

Dear Marcel:

Pardon my continuing mail but it continues to be positive. Our Foreign Affairs Commission wants to make the visit you proposed. Most feel eight (8) days is the right length of time.

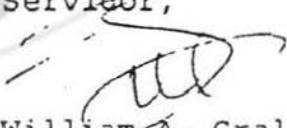
Please advise on two points:

- a) Given January through April when would you advise we come?
- b) A suggestion was made to split the group, half to Guatemala, half to Panama and then meeting in Costa Rica for the last three (3) days. Should we do that, or spend 2-3 days each in Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Panama or just visit Guatemala?

Another question. If a youngster had two years of high school Spanish could he or she manage at the mayor?

Let me know as soon as possible.

Servidor,



William A. Gralnick

WAG:gs

cc: Neil Alter

[end]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



Norman Lear

October 8, 1984

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
45 E. 89th Street, §18F
New York, New York 10128

Dear Marc:

Before I fly back to Los Angeles, I want to let you know how glad I am that you could join us at the Water Club on the 25th.

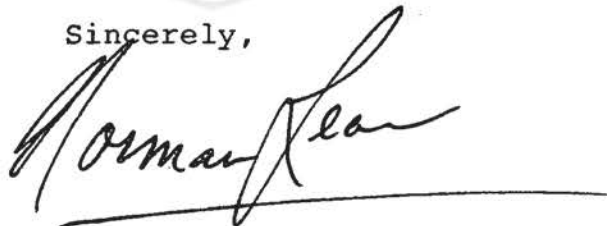
Your being there and your generous pledge of \$500.00 is going to be critical in our drive to get those ads on television.

As you saw in the video we previewed, the radical ultrafundamentalist leadership has found a way to use their pulpits to literally terrorize political opponents -- a tactic that smacks of "moral McCarthyism". I am thrilled that you are joining PEOPLE FOR in our challenge to them and our efforts to preserve free debate and the separation of Church and State in America.

Already the ads are being shown on the Cable News Network. In the next two weeks we want to expand the airings nationwide. October 12th is our next deadline. That's the date we need to have \$225,000 in the bank for the second wave of television advertising. With this in mind, please take a minute right now to drop your check in the mail. Because, without your support -- we won't get those ads on the air. It is that simple.

While I can never adequately express my feeling of gratitude to you for your help in this endeavor, I want you to know that -- together -- we will mount the most effective challenge the Religious Right has ever seen. And America will be a better place for it!

Sincerely,



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, Oct. 10.... Jewish high school students have much higher educational and career goals than their non-Jewish peers, according to a study released today by the American Jewish Committee's William Petschek National Jewish Family Center.

And while they share their peers' social values and economic interests, Jewish students were found to be the least religious of all groups, according to the study, with 22 percent saying they have no religious involvement at all.

The report, titled "American Jewish High School Students — A National Profile" and written by sociologist James L. Peterson and psychologist Nicholas Zill of Washington D.C., is the first national survey compiled on Jewish high school students, according to Yehuda Rosenman, director of the William Petschek Center. "The study was undertaken," said Mr. Rosenman, "to find out the impact of the family on Jewish student's decisions concerning marriage, raising families, and college, graduate and professional goals."

The study is based on a comparison of findings derived from a questionnaire circulated in 1980 by the National Center of Education and Statistics, which sampled a total of 58,270 sophomores and seniors, 1,072 of them identified as Jews.

According to the Zill-Peterson report, more than twice as many Jewish students had at least one parent who graduated from college, and nearly three-quarters of Jewish families had annual incomes of \$25,000 or more, compared with 50 percent of non-minority white peers.

The data was reflected in the attitudes of parents regarding their children's future schooling. Ninety-one percent of Jewish fathers, for example, wanted their children to attend college immediately after high school, the students said, compared to 60 percent of fathers of non-Jewish white youths.

The attitudes of the parents had a bearing on the wishes of the teenagers themselves, according to the authors, with 83 percent of Jewish students stating ambitions to pursue college educations, compared with 50 percent of the overall student population.

NOTE: For a review copy of "American Jewish High School Students," contact 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

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.

The 32 percent spread was mirrored in the students' plans to pursue post-college studies, with 50 percent of Jewish students, versus 18 percent of their non-Jewish peers, saying they wanted to attend graduate school.

In all areas of academic achievement, Jewish students scored significantly higher than their counterparts. Japanese-American students were the only group who scored as high as Jews, and in math testing scored a percentage point higher.

All students gave identical ranking to a list of social and economic values in the survey, though the percentages varied between Jews and non-Jews. The students set "being successful in work" at the top of their concerns, "friendships" second, "having steady work" third, "marriage" fourth and "having children" seventh.

Two of the largest differences between Jewish and non-Jewish high schoolers were revealed in answers relating to self-esteem and religious involvement. Forty-five percent of Jewish students agreed with the statement, "I am a person of worth on an equal plane with others," as opposed to 30 percent of the national sample.

With religious involvement, 50 percent of Jewish students rated themselves "low" and 22 percent answered "none." Catholics and Protestants, on the other hand, rated themselves low, 30 and 36 percent respectively. Only 7 percent of Catholics and 9 percent of Protestants used "none" to describe their religious involvement, the study showed.

As with most students, Jews said they wanted to get married and have children, but surprisingly, Jews, more than any other group, indicated their desire to have three or more children.

"However," the authors point out, "since most Jewish students planned to continue their education beyond the college level, to pursue professional careers and to begin forming families at a relatively advanced age, it seems likely that many would have fewer children than they intended. The net result may well be a continuation of the present pattern of family size, with Jews having somewhat smaller families than others."

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.

84-960-395
 A, EJP, FAM, NPL-A
 Y-2, Y-3
 RTV-JL-L
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 10, 1984
to Area Directors
from Sonya F. Kaufer
subject

The issue of aid to Israel is receiving broad media attention right now, and it is important to stress American interest in supporting such aid. Please try to give the attached op-ed wide coverage.

Happy New Year!

sfk/dr
att.
84-965-21



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE **VIEWPOINT**

INFORMATION AND OPINION TO PONDER AND SHARE
PUBLICATIONS SERVICE
SONYA KAUFER, Director

AID TO ISRAEL: A GOOD DEAL FOR THE U.S.

American aid to Israel, like all other American expenditures, must be judged, first and foremost, on what the U.S. is getting for its money -- and that explains why such aid continues to enjoy overwhelming and bipartisan Congressional support.

In the first place, U.S. loans and grants help to maintain the security of our only dependable ally in the Middle East. (One third of Israel's gross national product goes to defense.) But that's far from the whole story. Virtually all the money Israel gets from us is spent right here in the U.S. Thus, as the State Department confirms, every billion dollars of U.S. aid to Israel creates some 60,000 American jobs. And though Israel does get a large share of U.S. foreign aid, the amount totals less than one percent of our own defense budget. In return, Israel has provided access to captured Soviet equipment, innovative Israeli military technology and essential intelligence information no money could buy.

Yes, U.S. aid to Israel amounts to a lot of money. But by every standard, it's money well spent.



MARC GETTER

160 WEST 71 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10023
(212) 877-2270

OCT 15 1984

October 11, 1984

Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

I noted in a copy of Variety that the American Jewish Committee honored MGM/UA executive Dick Graf with the William J. German human relations award. I am writing to you with the hope that you may be helpful in getting a screenplay I've authored concerning hate groups in America to people you know who are in the movie-making industry.

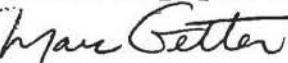
Attached you will find a one-page synopsis of my script along with correspondence from literary agents and film production firms who did read it. There is also a letter from the Holocaust Survivors Memorial Foundation.

As you can see getting people interested in a story involving a neo-Nazi American hate group hasn't been easy, even though most of these people are in fact Jewish. They all responded favorably to the quality of the script and its emotional content, but found the story too downbeat in light of what Hollywood produces these days.

I hope that you may be able to refer me to people in the industry who are known to you. Every now and then there are producers who want to produce quality stories with a message for humanity, rather than the usual nonsense we see at theatres or on television.

I hope you may want to help in any way you can. I'll telephone your office soon to see what you think. I am grateful for your time and very thoughtful consideration.

Sincerely yours,



Marc Getter

P.S. One last note: Were you acquainted with the late Professor Abe Hurwitz at Yeshiva University? If you were, I'd like to add that "Doc" was my mentor and trained me many years ago as a young magician for performing Jewish themed presentations at Jewish centers throughout the metropolitan area.



PATRIOTS OF HATE

An upper middle-class family's cross-country vacation becomes a nightmare when they are terrorized and kidnapped by a fanatic group of right-wing super patriots. The story depicts their harrowing battle to survive at the hands of their psychotic captors and escape from this 1984 American death camp.

Although it is a fictional drama, it is based on the heavily armed, supremacist neo-Nazi hate group known as the Aryan Nation. They are a group of self-styled Aryan warriors encamped in the backwoods of Idaho who are dedicated to creating a pure, Aryan America.

An Original Screenplay by Marc Getter
160 West 71 Street New York City 10023 (212) 877-2270

Copyright © 1983 by Marc Getter / Script registered with the WGA

TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX FILM CORPORATION



September 20, 1984

Mr Marc Getter
160 West 71st Street, Apt 14D
New York, NY 10023

Dear Marc:

Per our conversation today, I am returning your screenplay, PATRIOTS OF HATE. For the reasons I outlined, I'm sorry that we have to pass on it.

As I know you are embarking on a writing career, let me offer you some encouragement. You structured the piece properly and conveyed a sense of passion and basically demonstrated that you could execute a feature film script. I hope you keep at it and I look forward to reading more material from you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Tony Elmaleh'.

Tony Elmaleh
Director Of Creative Affairs

Encl.

NEW YORK
BEVERLY HILLS
NASHVILLE
LONDON
ROME
MUNICH

WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY, INC.
151 EL CAMINO DRIVE • BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90212 • 274-7451

TALENT AGENCY
XXX
EST. 1950

Cable Address:
"WILLMORRIS"

EXECUTIVE
OFFICE

January 5, 1984

Mr. Marc Getter
160 West 71st Street
New York, NY 10023

Re: PATRIOTS OF HATE

Dear Marc:

Thank you for sending PATRIOTS OF HATE. After review, we feel the story is too violent and the theme too inspiring of violence and prejudice to make this saleable to a network or cable.

Again, thank you for thinking of William Morris Agency. The door is open for future submissions.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM MORRIS AGENCY, INC.



Arthur Axelman

AA/pce
enclosure

A story concerning
a hate-group must be
violent to show what
these people really are.
It is no more violent
than other movies of
this kind.

THE IVAN GREEN AGENCY

TALENT AGENCY

9911 West Pico Boulevard, Suite 1490, Los Angeles, California 90035

(213) 277-1541

May 15, 1984

Mr. Marc Getter
160 West 71st St.
New York, N. Y. 10023

Dear Marc:

Please forgive me for taking so long to get back to you regarding PATRIOTS OF HATE. I was backed up on my reading, and then was out of the country.

The worst of it is that I have to be negative. I think the story should be told, and I think that some of the way you tell it is very exciting, but I have enormous doubts about my ability to generate producer interest in it.

I don't know just how you might go about it, but I imagine there might be people in the New York area who would like to see this movie made... whether or not they're people who've been wanting to make a movie...who would put up the money to make it as a very low budget independent which is certainly feasible.

Do you know these people?

Anyway, since I don't think I can be helpful, I'm returning the script herewith...along with my regrets and good wishes.

Sincerely

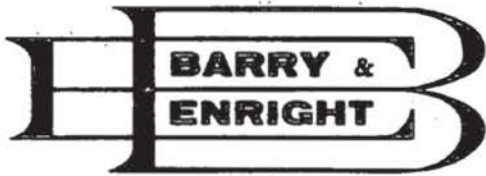


Ivan Green

Enc.



T.I.G.A.



PRODUCTIONS

1888 CENTURY PARK EAST

SUITE 1100

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90067

(213) 277-3414

February 1, 1984

Marc Getter
160 West 71st Street
14D
New York, NY 10023

RE: "Patriot of Hate"

Dear Marc:

I'm so sorry it has taken so long to get back to you. We had a backup during Christmas and New Year's that was totally unexpected. I was finally able to read your screenplay last week and I enjoyed it very much. It is well-written and a timely theme but unfortunately, not something that we wish to develop further.

At this point in time, we are more interested in romantic comedies and youth pictures (NOT of the exploitation genre) more than heavy drama. If you have anything of this sort in your repertoire please feel free to drop me a line and I'll send for it.

This is the kind of thinking I'm up against.

Thanks again for sending this to us and thanks for your patience.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Lynn A. Hendee', written in dark ink.

Lynn A. Hendee
DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT

Enclosure

LAH:dyy

NEW LINE CINEMA

Marc Getter
160 West 71st Street
Apt. #14-D
New York, N.Y. 10023

June 21, 1984

Dear Mr. Getter;

Thank you for giving us the opportunity to read and evaluate your script, PATRIOTS OF HATE. I am sorry that it has taken us this long to come to a decision about the property, but as I explained to you on the phone, our executives have been out of town with the Cannes Festival and our own film production in California. Their absence has delayed the decision.

We are returning your script to you, although we enjoyed reading it and found the story to have great emotion. Ultimately, the project is too downbeat for us. We also feel that the structure of the plot and the topical nature of the conflict makes it better suited for television than theatrical distribution. Have you submitted it to television producers? We encourage you to try that arena.

Good luck with your work.

Sincerely,


Janet Grillo

Asst. to the Director of Acquisitions

ENCL.

OCT 22 1984

OCT 23 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : October 16th, 1984

to : Norman E. Alexander

from : Sergio Nudelstejer

subject

Dear Norman:

As of a few weeks ago, I am in contact with Mr. Isaac Marcovich, President of the Keren Hayesod in Mexico as well as with Mr. Aharon Sarig, sheliaj of the Keren Hayesod to Mexico, as well as with the President of the Mexican Jewish Community, Mr. Bernardo Weizner, concerning the group of the UJA- Federation leaders to Mexico City, which will take place February 25th through March the 1st., 1985.

I am glad to know that you will be the chairman of this mission to Mexico and I am sure that it will serve the purpose of strengthening ties between the leaders of the UJA- Federation and the Jewish Community in Mexico.

I have looked over carefully the program for your visit and have made a few suggestions based on my experience with similar groups of the AJC which you yourself attended.

Should there be anything else in which I might be of assistance and help, please don't hesitate to let me know.

SN/eeg

copies to: ✓ Marc H. Tanenbaum
David Harris
David E. Edell
Jacob Kovadloff

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : October 15th, 1984

to : Sonia F. Kaufer

from : Sergio Nudelstejer

subject

Just received copy of the new publication entitled Heritage: Civilization and the Jews which I have read with special interest and which is excellent in its presentation and contents.

Please send in to me 30 copies which I will distribute among the Jewish Communities of Mexico and Central America, hoping that it will awaken the interest of the leaders of these communities.

Congratulations to the Interreligious Affairs Department and to the Department of Publications.

As always, my best cordial regards as well as best wishes on this New Year that has just begun. Yours truly.

SN/eeg

cc: ✓ Marc H. Tanenbaum
David Harris

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

: October 15th, 1984

date : Jacobo Kovadloff

to
from : Sergio Nudelstejer

subject

Please find enclosed press clippings of the weekly Jewish-Spanish newspaper published in Mexico City, Prensa Israelita who reproduced a number of press releases of the AJC Spanish Service, among them a commentary by Marc H. Tanenbaum on his visit to Hungary, as well as a commentary on the American Jewish Yearbook.

I hope that when you receive this memo you will be back in the office and recovering from your operation. Best wishes and a happy New Year for you, Sonia and your family.

SN/eeg

cc: Marc H. Tanenbaum
David Harris

[start]

Original documents
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MEXICO, D. F., 10 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1964

Comentario Radial

LOS JUDIOS HUNGAROS, UNA LIBERTAD AMBIGUA

Por el Rabino **MARC H. TENENBAUM**, director del Departamento de Asuntos Interreligiosos del Comité Judío Americano.

Recientemente realicé mi primera visita a Budapest. Con sus majestuosos palacios imperiales y los hoteles modernos mirando al plácido río Danubio; es una de las ciudades más interesantes en Europa.

Hungría es fascinante por su astuta mezcla de comunismo y capitalismo que le ha dado la economía más productiva de Europa Oriental.

Hungría es muy interesante en lo que hace a la comunidad judía. Durante mi visita conversé con los dirigentes judíos clave. Me dijeron que en Hungría hay ahora unos 80,000 judíos que sobrevivieron a la matanza de casi 600,000 judíos por los nazis.

La judería húngara es hoy la segunda comunidad judía de Europa Oriental, luego de la Unión Soviética. Es una comunidad notablemente bien organiza-

da que con creatividad cuida el bienestar social, religioso y educacional de todos sus miembros. Los judíos húngaros también han pasado a ser el principal recurso para ayudar a otras comunidades judías del bloque oriental a sobrevivir espiritualmente. El presidente del seminario rabínico, doctor Alexander Scheiber me dijo que en Budapest se están entrenando 20 estudiantes de rabinato, 10 de ellos oriundos de la Unión Soviética, Checoslovaquia y Bulgaria.

El gobierno húngaro no permite la emigración de sus ciudadanos y se permite la salida de muy pocos judíos a Israel. Tampoco se permite a los rabinos mencionar a Israel en sus sermones.

Ambigua como es esta libertad comunista, sólo tengo admiración por el coraje y la dedicación de los judíos húngaros. Pese a la destrucción trágica que han sufrido bajo los nazis, han creado una vida espiritual judía impresionante para ellos y para otros.

MEXICO, D. F., 24 DE AGOSTO DE 1984

La población judía mundial

NUEVA YORK.— Los 13 millones de judíos en el mundo llegaron al crecimiento demográfico cero en 1982, según los datos del *American Jewish Year Book* 1984.

El informe, preparado por los profesores U. O. Schmelz y Sergio Della Pergola del Instituto de Judaísmo contemporáneo en la Universidad Hebrea de Jerusalén, indica que un crecimiento de 91,000 personas en la población judía en Israel entre 1980 y 1982 quedó neutralizado por una declinación similar en la Diáspora.

“Los judíos en la mayoría de los países de la Diáspora se caracterizan demográficamente por una fertilidad muy baja, una falta considerable de matrimonios, lo que representa pérdida de hijos para la población judía, otras pérdidas por asimilación y un envejecimiento considerable”, dicen los autores.

Agrega el informe que la inmigración judía a la América del Norte fue neutralizada por las pérdidas demográficas internas.

En un estudio de la población judía en Estados Unidos, escrito por Alvin Chenkin, del Consejo

(Pasa a la Pág. 12)

La población

(Viene de la Pág. 2)

de Federaciones Judías y Fondos de Bienestar Social, se indica que la población judía en Estados Unidos no varió mucho y suma unos 5,728 millones. Los judíos estadounidenses continuaron emigrando hacia los estados más templados, el llamado “Cinturón del Sol”, y California registró el mayor aumento, 13,265 judíos. Texas, Arizona, Georgia, Alabama, Luisiana y Florida también ganaron en población judía.

En el estudio a escala mundial, los autores destacan que, por primera vez, la tasa de fertilidad de los judíos askenazis y sefarditas en Israel fueron virtualmente las mismas. La fertilidad de ambos sobrepasó a las de los judíos de la diáspora y la de las poblaciones en general de los países desarrollados.

Según el libro, el 95 por ciento de los judíos reside en nueve naciones que son, en orden numérico: Estados Unidos, 5,728,000; Israel, 3,374,000; Unión Soviética, 1,630,000; Francia, 530,000; Gran Bretaña, 350,000; Canadá, 308,000; Argentina, 233,000; Sudáfrica, 119,000 y Brasil 100,000.

El estudio dice que en la población judía argentina hubo una disminución de 9,000, como resultado de una emigración creciente.

Entre 1980 y 1982 la población judía en la Unión Soviética se redujo en 70,000 y los autores sostienen que la edad avanzada y otros factores, en lugar de la emigración, son los factores de esa declinación.

No hubo mayores cambios en las comunidades judías europeas pero los autores sugieren que allí es inevitable una declinación debido a las tasas de fertilidad.

Otros países con poblaciones judías son Australia, 75,000; Hungría, 63,000; México, 35,000; Alemania Occidental, 33,000; Bélgica, 32,000; Italia, 32,000; Irán, Rumania y Uruguay, cada uno con 30,000 y Etiopía con 27,000 judíos, la mayoría de los cuales está tratando de emigrar a Israel.

El *American Jewish Year Book*, es una fuente autorizada de tendencias y eventos en la vida judía, es publicado por el Comité Judío Americano y sus editores son Milton Himmelfarb y David Singer.

Un artista y dos autores famosos

NUEVA YORK.— Herschel Bernardi, un famoso actor y cantante y los conocidos autores Peter Grose y Daniel Gavron fueron los protagonistas en una grabación del laureado programa de televisión **Fewish Dimension** (Dimensión Judía) del Comité Judío Americano durante una sesión de la 78 Reunión Anual del Comité, realizada en el hotel Waldorf Astoria.

Bernardi, que representó a Tevye durante dos años en "El Violinista en el Tejado", Grose, autor de **Israel en la Mente de América** y Gavron, autor de **Israel Después de Begin**, fueron entrevistados por la periodista y columnista Marciarose Shestack, ante una audiencia de varios centenares.

Bernardi, el más joven de los cinco hijos de padres que actuaban en el teatro Iddish lofró fama como actor juvenil en ese teatro y también apareció en cine en iddish.

Relató que "un día me presenté a una prueba para una obra en Broadway, sin que mis padres lo supieran y obtuve el papel. Pero cuando la día a mi madre la gran noticia, simplemente me dijo que hiciera la valija, nos íbamos a Detroit. La obra se llamaba 'Sin Salida'".

Bernardi, luego de comentar algunas experiencias en Hollywood, relató su retorno a Nueva York en los años 50. A duras penas logró vivir como director social en el "Borscht Circuit" durante los veranos conduciendo un taxímetro en Manhattan en el invierno. Pero para suplementar sus ingresos como taxista desarrolló un acto de una sola persona que representaba ante varias organizaciones judías.

Bernardi recordó que "los viernes por la noche me vestía con mi único traje, conducía mi taxi a la zona donde tenía que actuar, estacionaba a la vuelta de la esquina, realizaba mis 60 minutos de actuación, cobraba los 20 dólares que me pagaban, corría hacia mi taxi, conducía hasta la puerta y alzaba algún pasajero que dejaba la representación. De esa forma obtenía...

Pete Grose fue jefe de las oficinas del **New York Times** en Moscú, Israel y en las Naciones Unidas e integró el Grupo de Planeamiento de Política del Departamento de Estado.

Grose dijo a Shestack que "guste o no, los estadounidenses ven algo de ellos mismos en Israel".

Agregó que "aún mientras ellos marchan por sus senderos, buscando sus intereses nacionales diferentes, los estadounidenses y los israelíes están unidos como ningunos otros pueblos soberanos".

Comentó que mientras la herencia judaica fluyó por las mentes de los primeros residentes de Estados Unidos y ayudó a formar la nueva república "el Israel restaurado adoptó la visión y los valores del sueño estadounidense. Cada uno. Estados Unidos e Israel, injertó la herencia del otro en sí mismo".

Daniel Gavron, que vive en Jerusalén, habla árabe, hebreo e inglés, cree que en el Medio Oriente hay una posibilidad de reconciliación.

Relató que un soldado "hijo de unos amigos, encontró a un soldado sirio que estaba siendo tratado en un hospital israelí. Luego de la sospecha inicial, lograron comunicarse y encontraron que tenían dos cosas en común: el odio a la guerra y el amor a la música pop".

Gavron dijo que "con el mundo abierto frente a ellos, los jóvenes de hoy se pusieron sus jeans, sus sandalias y sus collares de cuentas, se dejaron crecer el pelo, cargaron a la espalda sus coloridas mochilas y partieron. Los israelíes y árabes jóvenes han comenzado a hacerlo y sólo es cuestión de tiempo antes de que los jóvenes sirios caminen a través de Israel y los jóvenes israelíes por Siria".

Producido por Laurie Chock de CJA, se exhibe por el Canal 11 de T.V. de Nueva York los miércoles de 10.30 a 11 de la mañana y recientemente recibió el "Angel's Award" un premio en la categoría programas locales de televisión.

[end]

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 17, 1984
to
from Bill Gralnick
subject Program at Temple Moses

Attached is a close to final draft of this very exciting event. I have seen the posters and publicity flyers. Committee is listed prominently as a sponsor. Your attendance is vital and being counted upon. Spanish speaking friends are welcome.

At all sessions there will be an AJC table reserved for our attendees.

The conference cost is \$5.00/session or \$25.00 for the conference. Reservations will be made directly through Temple Moses by calling the Temple office at 861-6308.



WAG:gs
Enc.

Sent to: Neil Alter
Mike Bander
Steve Cantor
Fred Rawicz
Anita Stone
Irving Segal
Alina Becker

PROGRAMA

Jueves - Noviembre 1, 1984 en el Temple Moses:

8:00 pm - ~~Recepcion de Bienvenida~~
 9:00 pm - ISRAEL-DIASPORA SUS RELACIONES Y SUS PERSPECTIVAS
 Moderador: Salomon Gold
 Dr. Nelson Pilosof, Mordechai Dayan, Victor Harel

Viernes - Noviembre 2, 1984 en el Temple Moses

10:00-11:30 am - WIZO - Dr. Nelson Pilosof
 6:00-8:00 pm - Cena de Shabbat - Lic. Mario Permut: Informe del pasado Congreso de Educacion Judia celebrado en Israel.
 8:30-9:15 pm - Oneg Shabbat
 9:30-10:30 pm - TIENE VIGENCIA EL JUDAISMO?
 Moderador: Rabino Amram Anselem
 Rabino Gunter Freidlander, Dr. Nelson Pilosof, Moshe Dayan

Sabado - Noviembre 3, 1984 en el Temple Moses

8:30 am - Servicios de Shabbat - Sermon: Moshe Dayan
 4:00 pm - LA SOCIEDAD AMERICANA Y LAS INSTITUCIONES JUDIAS EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS. LOS JUDIOS Y SUS COMUNIDADES EN LA AMERICA LATINA
 Moderador: Dr. Guillermo Sostchin
 Dr. Nelson Pilosof, Lic. Mario Permut, Sender Kaplan, Yehoshua Behar,
 [Representantes del American Jewish Committee]
 9:00 pm - Recepcion Social

Domingo - Noviembre 4, 1984 en el Temple Moses

10:00 am - EL APORTE DEL INSTITUTO WEIZMAN AL DESARROLLO DE LA CIENCIA Y DE LA TECNOLOGIA EN EL SIGLO XX
 Dr. Nelson Pilosof. y Mordechai Dayan sobre K.E. en la Vida Judie
 12:00 am - Almuerzo (opcional)
 1:00-2:30 pm - LA SINAGOGA Y SUS FUNCIONARIOS, RESPONSABILIDADES Y OBJETIVOS
 Moderador: Rabino Gunter Freidlander
 Dr. Nelson Pilosof, Rabino Amram Anselem, Salomon Garazi, Keta Sostchin
 Dr. Benjamin Torun - Educacion Judia en Centro America

3- Conclusiones

Domingo - Noviembre 4, 1984 en Hebraica

4:30 pm - LOS JUDIOS Y LOS CENTROS COMUNITARIOS EN AMERICA LATINA *en la Hebraica*
 Mauricio (Tata) Furmansky
 6:00-9:00 pm - ~~CONCLUSIONES Y DESPEDIDA~~
 Programa artistico patrocinado por el Keren Kayemeth.
 Lois Yavnieli - Estrella de la Opera Nacional de Israel. Yehuda Schufmann - Tenc y Cantor del Templo Emanu-El. Grupo de Danzas Israelies, Shmuel Fershko, Directo

October 22, 1984

From: Morton Yarmon

To: Harold Applebaum, Hyman Bookbinder, Gene DuBow, David Cordis, Selma Hirsh,
Irving Levine, Yehuda Rosenman, Jim Rudin, Marc Tanenbaum, Bill Trosten

Here are rough notes of the recent lunch meeting on AJC image, along with notes from my file of a year and a half ago, when the Communications Committee addressed much the same question.

We will schedule a second session once we are back from Chicago and the NEC meeting.

enc.
/fe



Rough notes of lunch meeting, Oct. 5, 1984, at AJC, to discuss agency's image:

Mort opened the discussion by explaining first how his department operates: 1) by responding to the news of the day; 2) by reflecting in press-release and other materials such agency activities as speeches, booklets, statements, etc.; 3) sometimes by initiating an activity such as the Heritage study guide and the news conference on religion and politics; and 4) by controlling certain media outreach such as the Jewish Dimension TV series, the WINS Sunday broadcasts, and the various radio tape series.

He then raised the question of a new and sharper image for AJC by offering several preliminary questions: 1) Is such a call realistic and valid? 2) What is the current image of AJC -- in the minds of our members, the Jewish community, and the community at large -- and how can that best be measured if that is what we want to do? 3) When we do know our own image, and if we seek to alter it, how can we best do this?

He added two general thoughts: 1) if it be true that we cannot separate image from reality, and if we do indeed want change, should we not first change the agency? 2) Are we serving the needs of American Jews of the mid-1980s with an agency developed years ago?

David responded that we must be considered important and useful, that we provide an agency for intelligent and informed American Jews who are living comfortable in a pluralistic society, and that we blend their being Jews and Americans. He suggested that the importance factor is questionable and that inadequate information seems prevalent about what AJC does, and he stressed that the difference between AJC and ADL should be more sharply realized. What do you think of when you think of AJC, he asked. And he wondered whether TV materials such as the Heritage series might not be useful in altering AJC's image.

Harold stressed that the agency's programs must deal with its image.

Bill pointed out that our people seem to have "qualified commitment" to the agency, adding that this seemed less true with ADL's membership. The AJC's cafeteria approach no longer works, he added.

Yehuda commented that AJC was "a think tank," in opposition to ADL's more activist role, and that AJC's size had always been deliberately small.

Bookie added a note to "think tank": that we engage in problem-solving.

Irving listed several points about AJC's approach: intellectual, pluralistic, alliance-building, Americanist, politically moderate.

Selma commented that there are forces competing within the agency, adding that traditionally AJC had engaged in research, was study-oriented, yet committed to social action.

David picked up on "social action," asking for what, in furtherance of what goal?

Yehuda offered that the agency's primary goal was to improve the quality of Jewish and of general life.

Marc said we are an informal government, to which Bookie asked who ~~we~~ had elected us.

Harold pointed out that we are an outreach agency, and that the program was in a constant state of change.

Jim referred to AJC as "a synagogue for the unsynagogued"; also, that we get aggrry but too angry.

Irving said we are liked as an agency because we move out to other groups, that we are "intergroup diplomats."

David commented that the agency was marketable. He again responded to the notion of research-education-social action with the comment, "for what?" He made several other points: that we explore the nature of Jewish values both to Jews and to others; that we are devoted to enhancing the security and rights of Jews around the world, notably Israel; that we enhance the quality of life for our constituency; and that we promote a tolerant pluralistic society.

Bookie urged that we combine both Jewish and universalistic values, adding that there was no conflict between them.

David urged that we consolidate all this into a slogan, and that we market specific aspects of the program within the context of the agency's total mission.

Irving commented that admittedly AJC had a complicated agenda.

Marc added that AJC was a complex phenomenon, involved in all areas between Jews and the world at large.

David commented that we should share the quality of what we do, and that we share our overall thrust.

AJC IMAGE:

Discussion was continued on the Communications Committee's mandate, which Mr. Straus said was "to sharpen and define the agency's image," although Mr. Druck commented that this seemed a function of the entire AJC rather than of the Communications Committee.

In further discussion on a sharper AJC image, Mr. Straus read excerpts from two letters from Jonathan Marshall, member of the Communications Committee and publisher of the Scottsdale Daily Progress, to the effect that AJC, in all its efforts, should be particularly aware of the need to attract young people.

Mr. Rifkind suggested a census be undertaken of AJC's membership. Several suggestions followed: that some pertinent questions be put down and considered; that professional pollsters with whom AJC has had continuing relationships be consulted.

Mr. Druck added that the Communications Committee should help AJC get into the middle-1980's through development of survey data, along with greater use of technological information developments.

Mr. Eisenpreis agreed with the need for research, Mr. Rubenstein asked if AJC has used the methodology and technology of the 1980's, and Mr. Druck pointedly asked Dr. Feldstein: "What do you want to know?"

Mr. Klepper offered two "extreme" thoughts: the possibility of a name change, and whether some programmatic specialties would be selected out. Mr. Yarmon here inserted a suggestion phoned in from Mrs. Rabin, member of the Communications Committee who was unable to attend: that focused

programming be considered by the national AJC, with several programs chosen as the focus of image-building efforts.

Mr. Druck countered that AJC was neither a new business, nor one in trouble, and that it was unrealistic to concentrate on a slogan to aid the agency's image-building. Rather, he suggested that events in the world and the United States expected during the next 18 months be charted, along with AJC's upcoming activities in the same period.

Dr. Feldstein repeated his view that the American Jewish Committee needed a more sophisticated marketing answer to the question, "What is the AJC?"

Mr. Druck questioned whether problems could be solved with a "one-liner."

Mr. Eisenpreis urged that clippings of the past three months be analyzed to determine to that extent what AJC's current PR image seems to be. Mr. Yarmon said his staff would do that immediately.

Mr. Rifkind offered the personal comment that AJC seems to have gone beyond the role of defense agency, that it was the place "where Jews come to be Jewish."



The American Jewish Committee

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

October 22, 1984

TO: Interreligious Affairs Commission and
Interreligious Affairs Commission
Steering Committee

FROM: Mimi Alperin, Chair

I do hope you will be in Chicago for the National Executive Council Meeting at which time the AJC's inter-religious agenda will receive prominent attention. I will be making a report to the Board of Governors on our plans for expanding our Black-Jewish Dialogue. Cardinal Bernardin will be making a major address on the positive status of Catholic-Jewish relations as well as some of the flash points between our two communities and our Interreligious Affairs Commission meeting will focus on a discussion of religion and politics where I hope we will be able to clarify a strategy for dealing with this volatile issue beyond the 1984 election.

I look forward to seeing you in Chicago.

MA:en

#84-700-61

INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS COMMISSION MEETING MINUTES

Monday, September 24, 1984

Proskauer Room

10:00 AM - 12:45 AM

I. The meeting was called to order and the first item on the agenda, Black-Jewish dialogue, was introduced by Ms. Alperin. Stephen Kurzman, president of the Washington, D.C. chapter, gave a presentation on the AJC-sponsored dialogue in his city. Mr. Kurzman explained that the Black-Jewish dialogue of the 1960's had eroded and in the early 1980's new attempts were made to rebuild a coalition. A viable dialogue was renewed in January, 1982 thanks to strong personal relationships developed by the AJC area director, Rabbi Andrew Baker. Mr. Kurzman noted that the personal element is essential for starting a group.

The Washington group consists of eight Blacks and seven Jews who meet for lunch every two weeks. The number of participants in the group has increased and the focus of the group has sharpened during the past two years. The original intent of the group was to base discussion on the religious identity of its members, but this soon shifted to include members' political concerns. On-going discussions have dealt with the Middle East, South Africa, the Jackson campaign, and local issues such as the D. C. mayoral election. In the context of these issue-oriented discussions the participants have grappled with deep cultural and psychological problems such as confronting prejudice, identifying and eliminating stereotypes, and building relationships of trust with one another.

The dialogue serves two main purposes. Issues of great significance in one community are often not noticed in the other. "We read the newspaper selectively," Mr. Kurzman noted. The dialogue allows for a sharing of perspectives and concerns. It also serves as an "early warning system" for the discussion of potentially divisive issues and the innovation of strategies to cope with them. Visible results have included joint letters to the editor of the Washington Post, joint speaking engagements, an involvement of Black leaders in AJC meetings, a concerted effort to find jobs for disadvantaged Black youth in not-for-profit organizations, and the creation of "Interreligious Harmony Sessions" in area churches and synagogues as a form of counter-demonstration to a Ku Klux Klan march there.

In the the ensuing discussion, Rabbi Rudin pointed out that IAD conducted a conference in Washington D.C. with Black church leaders in May, 1984 with another is scheduled for October in Atlanta at the Martin Luther King Center. In these dialogues both theological and political issues are part of the agenda.

The consensus was that the Washington dialogue was a highly successful program and might be emulated in other chapters.

II. The second item was the report of an IAD-sponsored delegation that visited Oberammergau in early September to attend a seminar on the Passion Play and to address the Free Lance Society of American Travel Writers who were meeting in Oberammergau. Ms. Alperin noted that IAD's emphasis on an American education campaign regarding the play was the reason for the trip. Rev. Dr. William Harter, a pastor in Chambersburg, Pa., and a member of the committee on Christian-Jewish relations of the National Council of Churches, who was a member of the AJC delegation in May and again in September, explained how Oberammergau officials tried to thwart the AJC delegation's participation in the seminar. Nevertheless the delegation found opportunities during and after the seminar to speak forcefully about the play. Judith H. Banki had prepared an incisive report on the play's anti-Semitic impact and copies of her paper were distributed to the travel writers. Father John T. Pawlikowski, a professor of social ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, challenged the townspeople, as a Roman Catholic priest, to bring their play into line with modern Biblical theology and to make it into "a real act of reconciliation."

Dr. Harter related that town leaders were disturbed to hear that there is mounting Christian concern in the U.S. about the controversial aspects of the play. He emphasized that there would be significant derivative benefits if the play were to be fundamentally rethought and reformed. One such benefit would be the theological rethinking of the interpretation of the passion narratives, which are read in every church in America during the Lenten season. Ms. Banki reported that the delegation urged the travel writers to recognize their responsibility to present the play in an accurate light. No responsible writer, she noted, would promote a "blackface" act today. For Jews, this play is a near analogy.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Harter's and Ms. Banki's report commission members agreed that the emphasis on the American scene is primary, but that an AJC presence, perhaps together with representatives of the ADL, in meetings with the German Catholic hierarchy could be influential. The AJC will maintain its position that "fundamental reform" of the Passion Play is absolutely necessary. The consensus was that a two-track approach might be followed if further discussions in Germany seem opportune.

III. Rabbi Mittleman reported on the extraordinary feedback from the pre-broadcast screenings of WNET's "Heritage: Civilization and the Jews" and on the accompanying IAD Interreligious Study Guide to the series. Twenty chapters held screenings to which key Christian and Jewish leaders were invited. Over 16,000 Guides had been distributed to Councils of Churches, Jewish Federations, seminaries, colleges, individual churches, and AJC chapters. Several chapters organized follow-up programs around the series including on-going discussion groups (N.Y.C.), an interreligious discussion evening (Dallas) and a joint viewing of the segment on the "Golden Age" of Spain by AJC members and Mexican-Americans in Denver. The wide distribution of the Interreligious Study Guide and the excellent response to the screenings in major cities constitute an important promotional effort among Christian groups, Rabbi Mittleman noted.

IV. In introducing the next topic, Ms. Alperin remarked that lines have become blurred between religion and politics in recent years. The IAC explored what the AJC role ought to be in addressing this issue on a national level. Rabbi Rudin noted that earlier this month the IAD organized a press conference where mainline Protestant, Baptist, Catholic, and Jewish leaders responded to some of the issues raised in the current Presidential campaign. The religious leaders expressed deep concern that the separation of church and state has been eroded in this country and they called on the two major political parties to reaffirm their commitment to religious pluralism and the First Amendment guarantees.

In addition, religion and politics will be the topic at the next meeting of the Interreligious Affairs Commission at the upcoming NEC meeting in Chicago on Nov. 2. The commission will be addressed by Rev. Dr. Arthur Gay, Jr., immediate past president of the National Association of Evangelicals and by Dr. Eugene Kennedy, a Catholic scholar at Loyola University with expertise in the area of religion and politics.

V. Inge Lederer Gibel reported on some of her activities while on sabbatical in Israel. She emphasized that the issue of religion and public affairs is also of great concern to Jews in Israel. Many non-Orthodox Jews there feel threatened by the rise of militant Orthodox elements. She urged that American Jews be sensitive to the growing polarization and friction between Orthodox and non-Orthodox groups in Israel.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:45. The next meeting will be at the National Executive Council meeting, November 2, 1984.

Respectfully submitted,
Rabbi Alan Mittleman
Program Specialist

AM:ls
P028-IAD/10/17/84
84/700/62

Kagedan.

Please bring
to Marc's
attention.

DRAFT

10/23/84 ~~10/23/84~~

RESOLUTION ON SOVIET JEWRY

The condition of Soviet Jews is a matter of grave concern to Americans and to all those who cherish human rights. The Soviet Union continues to flagrantly violate the basic rights of Soviet Jews by virtually cutting-off Jewish emigration; waging a callous campaign against the teaching of Hebrew and other aspects of Jewish religion and culture; ~~xxxx~~ arresting unofficial teachers of Hebrew and Jewish subjects on specious grounds and sentencing them to lengthy terms of prison or exile; disseminating anti-Semitism in the government-sponsored print and broadcast media and fostering discriminatory practices in education and employment; and prescribing new legislation designed to obstruct contact between Soviet Jews and their friends and relatives abroad.

The American Jewish Committee will continue to mobilize public opinion on behalf of Soviet Jews. We call upon educators and scientists to speak out for those denied the right to learn and teach their culture, and to freely receive and impart information and ideas. We urge the religious community to speak out for those denied the freedom to practice their religion individually and in community with others inside and outside the USSR. We enjoin the leaders of American ethnic groups, who are sensitive to the need of preserving one's ethnic heritage, to speak out on behalf of Soviet Jews refused that possibility. We ask those who support human rights to speak out on behalf of those denied their right to emigrate and denied equal opportunity in education and employment.

We acknowledge the persistent efforts of our government to keep this issue as a priority in discussions with the Soviet Union. We urge, nonetheless, that

this subject be raised not only in broad-ranging meetings but whenever crucial economic, scientific and cultural agreements are under negotiation. We urge, too, that our government adhere to the spirit and substance of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment until the Soviet Government has forsaken its anti-Jewish policies and chooses instead to abide by the international treaties and conventions to which it is a signatory, that guarantee the fundamental human rights of Soviet Jews.



OCT 22 1984



UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

MEMORANDUM:
799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

October 26, 1984

To: U.S. Non-Governmental Organizations
Accredited Representatives and Alternates

From: Ambassador Harvey J. Feldman
Alternate United States Representative
to the United Nations for
Special Political Affairs

Subject: NGO Briefing Schedule for
November and December

Time: 2:00 to 3:00 p.m.

Place: U.S. Mission Auditorium
Please use 45th Street entrance
to the building ONLY

- November 1 - Disarmament
Speaker: David Emery
Deputy Director - Arms Control
and Disarmament Agency
- November 8 - Social Issues
Speakers: Ambassador Harvey Feldman
Ms. Peggy Jones
Executive Officer
Committee III
- November 15 - Human Rights
Speaker: Ambassador Richard Schifter
Deputy U.S. Representative for
Security Council Affairs
U.S. Representative to the U.N.
Human Rights Commission
- November 29 - African Problems
Speaker: Ambassador Alan Keyes
U.S. Representative to the U.N.
Economic and Social Council
- December 13 - Round-up - 39th Session of the U.N. General
Assembly. Economic and Political
Issues

TRANSLATION

The Germans in Russia and in the Soviet Union and their mutual relations
with other nationalities

Conference in Schlangenbad, May 15, 1985 from 10:00 a.m. to May 17, 5:00 p.m.

Leaders of Conference: Prof. Dr. A. Kappeler, Prof. Dr. B. Meissner, Dr. G. Simon

PROGRAM:

May 16 10 a.m. to 12:45 p.m.

- 1) The Germans within the frame of the Russian and Soviet multiple-peoples realm (introductory remarks) Prof. Dr. A. Kappeler (Cologne)
- 2) The immigration in Czarist Russia - state of research and research tasks from the vantage point of a study about Swiss in Russia Prof. Dr. C. Goehrke (Zurich)
- 3) The emergence of the German question in Czarist Russia Frau.Dr. I. Fleischhauer (Bonn)

May 16 3:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.

- 1) Model or danger? Domestic and external political factors as determining factors in the history of the German Wolga Republic Prof. Dr. K. H. Ruffman (Erlangen)
- 2) The Soviet Germans outside of the Wolga Republic in comparison with other minorities Dr. M. Buchsweiler (Israel)
- 3) The role of church communities for the preservation of the national identity of Soviet Germans Prof. Dr. W. Kahle (Wittlich)

May 17 9:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

- 1) Political and language limitations: the complex picture of language in contemporary literature Prof. Mrs. Dr. A. Enge (Hamburg)
- 2) Germans, Kazaks, Russians: national distance and proximity in Kazakstan Prof. Mrs. Dr. R. Karklins (Chicago)
- 3) The emigration of Germans and Jews since 1970 -- a comparison Prof. Dr. B. Pinkus (Tel Aviv)

May 17 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

- 1) Perspectives of survival in the future: will the Soviet Germans remain German?
Dr. A. Eisfeld (Munich)
- 2) Concluding discussion

Tentative list of participants (in addition to the 10 lecturers)



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 29, 1984

to Marc H. Tanenbaum

from George E. Gruen

subject Views of Professor Stanley Fischer on the Israeli Economy

I thought the following would be of help to you and Howard Friedman in connection with Professor Stanley Fischer's remarks on the Israeli economy at the Sunday morning plenary at the NEC.

Professor Stanley Fischer, Department of Economics, MIT and visiting Professor Hebrew University, is a member of Secretary of State George Shultz's advisory panel on the Israeli economy, headed by Herbert Stein. (For other biographical details please see Fischer's biographical sketch.) The attached article in Moment (September 1984), "Unraveling Israel's Tangled Economy," is based on an interview he gave to Moment's editor at the end of July, before formation of the National Unity Government.

I spoke with Professor Fischer briefly after he addressed the Executive Committee of NJCRAC on Monday, October 29, 1984. He indicated that he would make the same general points in his remarks to the NEC. The only possibly significant change will be if the Israel Government manages in the meanwhile to conclude its negotiations for a "package deal" with the Histadrut and the manufacturers' association. As of today the Histadrut (labor federation) had still refused to go along with the government's wage and price freeze proposals. He noted that unless agreement was reached soon it would become increasingly difficult to do so once the elections for the Histadrut approached.

Professor Fischer indicated that the article by Thomas Friedman, "Economic Crisis in Israel May Remold the Country," in today's New York Times, presented a good summary of Israel's economic problems.

HIGHLIGHTS OF PROFESSOR FISCHER'S REMARKS

9 To indicate the magnitude of Israel's problems, Professor Fischer made some economic comparisons with the United States. While the Israeli per capita income of \$6,000 is only about half that in the United States, governmental expenditures in Israel account for some 70 percent of the Gross National Product (GNP), as against only

30 percent in the United States. Defense costs, which have escalated since the 1973 Yom Kippur war, and debt service account for more than half of the Israeli budget. The current Israeli budget deficit of \$3 billion represents some 12 percent of the GNP. By way of contrast, the U.S. budget deficit -- which has rightly aroused much concern during the current election campaign -- although huge in absolute numbers still represents only 3 to 4 percent of the U.S. GNP. Similarly, the record U.S. trade deficit is only around 2 percent of our GNP, while Israel's \$2 billion balance of payments deficit -- even after foreign aid has been included -- represents 8 percent of Israel's GNP.

9) Between 1955 and 1973 Israel's economy grew rapidly in real terms at nearly 10 percent per annum, resulting in a quadrupling of living standards. Since 1973, however, the per capita GNP has not risen in Israel, whereas in the neighboring countries of Egypt, Syria and Jordan their GNP doubled vis-à-vis Israel. Professor Fischer pointed out that in order for Israel once again to achieve long term growth, difficult and temporarily painful economic austerity measures would have to be adopted. The Israel Government would have to cut its budget by \$2 billion by eliminating subsidies to exports and on basic commodities. Instead of government subsidies to exporters, a major devaluation of the Shekel would make Israeli exports more competitive. However, such a devaluation would cause a reduction in the Israeli living standard at least for the short term. But he believed there was no alternative to such a step.

9) The structure of the labor force also needs to be changed. He noted that the percentage of the working force employed in government services has increased from 23 to 30 percent since 1973. This process must be reversed and more workers should be attracted to export oriented enterprises. Israel has the human resources and the scientific base to develop high technology exports.

¶ As for the role of the United States Government, Professor Fischer noted that he found rare unanimity among Israeli economists and editorial writers that more U.S. aid would be a disservice to Israel if it was used merely "as a band-aid" to enable the Israeli Government to avoid facing up to the difficult decisions it had to make to place the economy on a sounder footing. At the same time he stressed that Israel would legitimately continue to need American aid to help it maintain a strong defense against Syria and other hostile Arab states.

¶ American assistance should also be directed toward encouraging American investment in Israel and stimulating Israeli exports. The negotiations for a U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area could provide a useful vehicle for Israel-U.S. economic cooperation in world markets. He expressed confidence that once Israel made the appropriate structural changes its economy would resume the momentum of sustained growth that had made Israel a textbook case for successful development in earlier years.

¶ Professor Fischer added that Secretary of State Shultz, who is an economist by training, was personally committed to helping Israel create a vigorous and sound economy. His establishment last year of an American advisory panel on the Israeli economy grew out of that commitment. The panel, under the chairmanship of Herbert Stein, will continue its work as part of the U.S.-Israel Joint Economic Working Group agreed upon by President Reagan and Prime Minister Peres.

¶ Paying tribute to the work of the Committee for the Economic Growth of Israel, headed by former AJC President Elmer Winter, Professor Fischer noted that it was both timely and appropriate for American Jewish groups to intensify their efforts to encourage investment in Israel and to establish economically sound joint ventures that will be mutually beneficial to both countries.

UNRAVELING ISRAEL'S TANGLED ECONOMY

For years now, there have been reports that the Israeli economy is "on the verge of collapse." Yet it has not collapsed. In fact, living standards in Israel have been rising all the while the economists have been predicting disaster. Recently, however, the need for economic reform in Israel has come to be almost universally acknowledged. If nothing else, the shock of a 400 percent rate of inflation seems to have brought with it a sense that the current situation is not tenable.

In order to get a clearer sense of what's wrong, and to learn what might be done to change Israel's economic course, we recently spoke with Professor Stanley Fischer of MIT's Economics Department. Professor Fischer is a frequent visitor to Israel's economy; he has been a consultant to the Bank of Israel and has taught at the Hebrew University, most recently in the spring of 1984. Herewith, his observations.

**STANLEY
FISCHER**

No matter what the final shape of the new Israeli government, it will have to deal with the Israeli economy, and urgently. Most observers think of the situation as "the 400 percent inflation crisis." But 400 percent inflation is a *symptom*, not the whole problem. The problem itself has two components: first, Israel is running a huge deficit on its balance of payments, a deficit that can't be sustained over the long run; second, the government is running enormous budget deficits, and these, too, cannot be sustained. The government can't endlessly borrow the amounts it's now borrowing.

It's mostly as a result of the budget deficit that the government has taken to borrowing and to printing money so fast that the country now has an extraordinarily high rate of inflation. In order to bring that rate down, the government will have to cut back its spending drastically. Budget deficits can also be reduced by raising taxes, but taxes are already so high in Israel that it's not feasible or sensible to try to solve the problem in that fashion.

How did the problem develop? Israel buys much more from abroad than it sells, and the government spends much more than it collects in taxes, from foreign aid and from Jewish philanthropy. Look at the trade deficit: in recent years, the difference between exports and imports has been as much as four or five billion dollars a year. Israel's total income is 25 billion, so it's in the position of someone who is spending 20 percent more than his income. Anyone in that position has to find some way to pay for the excess spending.

A good part of the Israeli balance of payments deficit is paid for by American aid; a somewhat lesser part is paid for by Jews and others, such as the German government, who make gifts to Israel. But even all this isn't enough; some of the deficit is still not spoken for, and the only way to cover that part is to borrow—from commercial banks, from the American government and from anyone else who will lend money.

That's the problem. Basically Israel is borrowing abroad to finance domestic spending and it will have to stop doing that because it can't keep going at this rate. The loans add up; by

now, Israel is spending seven or eight percent of its GNP just to cover the interest payments on its past borrowing. That's a very high number; it compares to just two or three percent here in the U.S. If you try to do that indefinitely, you find that you have to borrow more and more each year in order to stay even, because each year more of what you borrow has to be allocated to cover the interest payments of the borrowing of previous years. And sooner or later, people are going to stop lending you money.

There are those who aren't particularly troubled by the problem. They argue that American government aid to Israel has reached levels that were not imagined just a few years ago, and that the growing alliance between Israel and the United States will continue to mean increasingly generous American subsidies to Israel. And it is true, of course, that American aid has made a difference. But even today, American aid is inadequate to cover the entire deficit; Israel is still spending more than it earns, whether through sales or through aid, to the tune of about a billion dollars a year.

Most of us are familiar with the fact that Israelis are insulated from the high inflation because the economy is so thoroughly indexed. But, quite apart from the fact that indexing merely hides the problem from the Israeli public, even indexing isn't enough any longer. From 1979 until 1983, Israel was in the remarkable position of running a very stable 100-120 percent a year inflation. The rate didn't change much over those four years. And people got used to it, the economy got used to it; wages were indexed, as were pensions, as were all long-term debts. So the people really didn't suffer a great deal from the inflation. The main problem with the inflation was that wages were adjusted only every three or every six months, so that over the course of three months wages would drop by 30 percent—but then they would jump up by 30 percent the next month, before beginning to go down again. That was really about all the taxpayer saw. And not just the taxpayer, because one of the important aspects of Israel's indexing system is that virtually all of

the financial system is indexed. Most financial asset holdings in Israel are indexed to the price level or the foreign exchange rate. Any time something happens to raise prices, most people aren't hurt because the shekel value of their holdings goes up in proportion to the amount the prices go up. So pensioners and retired people are also protected against inflation.

The jump from 100 percent to 400 percent in inflation, which happened last November, when the government had to devalue the shekel, created real disturbance and distress. The economy had adapted to 100 percent inflation, but not to 400 percent. Wages fell much faster, and people weren't used to that. Now the economy is getting used to 400 percent, and if the government doesn't misbehave too much, perhaps the country will be able to stumble along at 400 percent for a while, until the next shock, when the inflation rate will soar to 800 or something like that. But institutions are not infinitely elastic. The pain is greater at 400 than at 100, and so is the dislocation. So even the consumers, who are so well-protected, are finally aware that something is seriously wrong.

Why did the rate jump from 100 percent to 400 percent? Actually, 400 percent is a more accurate reflection of where the rate "belonged," as it were. The rate had been suppressed by keeping the prices of imported and subsidized goods down, and what that accomplished was to build up hidden pressure, until finally there was an explosion. When the previous finance minister, Aridor, finally admitted that his policy wasn't working, and had to resign, the inflation rate moved up to the level to which his policies had been pushing it.

Israeli economists have been saying the same thing to the Israeli government for a long time, but they're not listened to. The Begin-Shamir governments in particular seemed deliberately to steer clear of economists. They believed—as do some parts of the Reagan administration—that old-fashioned, conventional economics failed completely, and that they had some new key. Aridor, the most interesting and most destructive of the Israeli finance ministers, talked

about his new economics. He was going to solve things his way, even if no economist thought he could succeed. And even so, it didn't work.

The fact is that Israeli economists are very good, and they know what has to be done. They have been working on a variety of stabilization plans, and it may well be that very soon their plans will finally be called for. Because now, at last, there's widespread agreement, across political lines, that something has to be done. There's really not much difference between the major parties on the urgency of budget cuts; most likely, there wouldn't even be very much difference on the areas that would bear the brunt of the cuts. The Likud, which is ostensibly the bourgeois party, draws its support very heavily from the working population, and Labor, which is ostensibly the socialist party, draws it from the bourgeoisie. That brings them closer together. And in the end, they really have very similar options and very similar ideas about the economy.

It is now the end of July, just after the elections, and there's much talk about a national unity government. One of the few encouraging things about moving in that direction is that it probably would be the best way of dealing with the economy. What has to be done is certain to create short-run costs, particularly for the poor, because they don't have the resources to deal with cutbacks in government spending. Now, if Labor were in charge by itself—especially if it were in charge with a very slim majority—and tried to impose such cuts, you can readily imagine how the Likud would respond. But if there is a coalition of the two parties, that sort of difficulty would not be there.

It wasn't done sooner because of the elections. Everybody knows that to deal with inflation creates a lot of unhappiness—specifically, just as President Reagan learned in the 1981-83 period, it creates unemployment in the short run. And no government wants to start doing that a few months before an election. So the belief in Israel has been that they'd have the election, and then the government would have three to four years to straighten out the economy. It

would cut the budget immediately, people would scream and yell for a year, and then we'd be back in reasonably good shape.

But if it turns out that the recent elections were just "temporary," that is, if it looks as if there will be yet another election a year or so from now, then it's quite likely that inflation won't be dealt with. The harsh fact is that there is no costless short-run way of dealing with inflation.

But there's also no costless way of maintaining the present rate of inflation. It's clear that borrowing, which is largely from American but also from European banks, puts Israel very much at the mercy of the banks, and to some extent, at the mercy of the United States government, which is the other main source of funds. Israel at the moment is not in as bad shape as Argentina or Brazil. Currently its net debt is something on the order of 18-20 billion dollars (GNP is 25 billion). That's very high as a percentage of GNP, but the difference between Israel and Brazil or Israel and Argentina is that Israel exports a great deal. Israel exports 40-45 percent of her GNP, which is very high by world standards. So, relative to the amount Israel can sell abroad, her debt is not as bad as those other countries. Relative to her total production levels, it's high.

But it's not where Israel is now; rather, it's where she's heading. That's the problem. During the past five years, the real wage and the standard of living in Israel have risen faster than in any previous five year period—but at the same time, the national income has grown more slowly than in any five year period. At the same time, Israel has been increasing its foreign borrowing. That cannot be sustained.

What is to be done? Here comes the bad news, for the short run. The need is to attack the excess government spending, which will solve both the balance of payments problem and the domestic government deficit problem. Once that source of excess spending is taken out of the system, it becomes much easier to reduce the growth rate of money. The government will have to make a major reform of the financial system at the same time.

Now, the tough but inevitable consequence is that as soon as they do that, they're going to create a lot of unemployment, because you're reducing demand in the economy. They're trying to move people out of government service and out of producing what the government would have demanded—defense or housing on the West Bank or whatever else the government was spending on—and move them into producing for export. The only way to bring the problem under control is to cut government spending by about two billion dollars a year. And, during that process, they're going to have unemployment. They can try to cushion it with a wage-price freeze, or in some other ways, but they won't be able to avoid it. Furthermore, if they rely, as, say, the United States did, on the unemployment itself to force down the rate of wage increase, they're going to need a lot of unemployment. There is no known way of making that transition without cost.

But it's important to remember that the unemployment is transitory. And there are ways of making it less rather than more costly. The United States chose the tough way, making no attempt to cooperate with the unions; in fact, there was probably an attempt to break the power of the unions, or at least to reduce it. Mrs. Thatcher chose to do it entirely by confronting the unions. But in the Israeli context, where the Histadrut is quite disciplined and quite reasonable, it's possible to try to work out a package deal in which everything happens at the same time. The government can—and should—try to work out an arrangement that will reduce the rate of wage increase—which is now somewhere around 15 percent a month—and, at the same time, take action to reduce its deficit. The rate of wage increase should probably come down to zero—that is, a wage freeze. The price the Histadrut might insist on for that is a price freeze. The problem is that nobody knows how to carry out a price freeze well, because governments just can't control all the prices in an economy. But it may be that if that's what the Histadrut demands, the government will try it. A bad price freeze is probably better than

no price freeze and no wage freeze.

One must remember, as well, that there will be an offsetting increase in government spending as a result of the unemployment. If the government starts by cutting two billion from the budget, it's going to have to spend some of that money on supports for the unemployed. It won't have the full benefit of the cuts until the unemployment rate goes back to normal. And that will in all likelihood take up to two years, if they do it right, which means being tough at the beginning. If they do what they've done in the past, which is to make a cut, watch it for six months, get nervous, and then ease up, then the unemployment could go on for a long time.

There's been much talk recently about dollarization—the replacement of the shekel by the dollar. Israelis could hold dollars freely; in the extreme version, the dollar would be the only legal currency in Israel. That would end the inflation at one stroke, because with the freedom to buy and sell in the United States—which presumably goes along with dollarization—prices of goods can't move too far away from American prices, and the inflation rate would be pretty much the American inflation rate, right now a decent three or four percent.

There are several problems with dollarization. The first is that it's not magic. The government still has to bring its spending under control, whether it's spending dollars or spending shekels. And that means unemployment and all the rest: dollarization doesn't cure all that.

There's also the fact that Israel is not the United States. The way the dollar exchange rate behaves is not a good way for the Israeli exchange rate to behave, given Israel's trading partners. In the last three years, the dollar has appreciated by 50 percent against the German mark, to take one example. Israel sells a great deal to Germany. There's absolutely no reason it would have wanted its currency to appreciate by 50 percent against the German mark, making it much more difficult to sell in Germany. So, what's good for America—if it's good for America, which it probably isn't—isn't good for Israel.

The political disadvantage of dollarization is that Israel is already dependent on the United States; it isn't attractive to emphasize this dependence so starkly.

Dollarization is very much a last resort device, because if the government can take the steps necessary for dollarization to be a success, then it doesn't need to dollarize. If it dollarizes after it has cut spending, all it's doing is preventing itself from misbehaving in the future, which in the case of the Israeli government is probably worth something. But it's still unattractive and expensive and my feeling is that they shouldn't do it—and they won't do it unless they can't reach any other way of straightening out the economic situation. Then it would be like saying, "We're going to tie our hands, right now. We can't bring ourselves to make decisions without our hands being tied, so let's decide to tie them, and force ourselves to act." It's not impossible. Governments often invite foreign pressure to make themselves do things, and this would be an extreme form of that, but it's not an attractive or an intelligent solution.

The Israeli government and the society have to confront the problem sooner or later, and the decision they must make is *when* they want to confront it. If they confront it now, they can straighten themselves out within a couple of years—and, as the situation begins to improve again, which it will, and if they return to a growth rate of five percent or so, which they can, they can be in good shape. They're surely better off doing what has to be done on a battlefield they choose rather than waiting for the IMF and other countries to tell them what to do.

I purposely chose the image of a battlefield, because I am struck by the fact that the Israelis do make incredibly difficult decisions about war, which are economically costly and, worse than that, costly in terms of lives and suffering. And they take such decisions precisely on the basis of a calculation of short-run costs versus long-run benefits. They've now got to find the courage to do the same with regard to the economy. ★

Economic Crisis in Israel May Remold the Country

10/29/84

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

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JERUSALEM, Oct. 28 — For the first time since the founding of the Israeli state in 1948, an economic crisis, much more than any immediate military threat, has come to preoccupy the nation.

"Before, they used to say that every Israeli had to be a general," said Yaacov Fisher, senior economist at the Bank of Israel. "Now they say that every Israeli has to be an economist."

The crisis, economists say, has been produced partly by excessive military burdens but also by the peculiar structure of Israel's political system, the economic restraints of Zionism, years of living beyond the nation's means and sheer mismanagement by some of its governments.

A Different Israel to Emerge

The Israel that emerges from the crisis, the analysts here contend, will be a different place, with a lower standard of living for its citizens, a lower military budget, some very high unemployment or a combination of the three. It will also be an Israel that is much more dependent on foreign creditors, in particular the United States.

"We took resources from development, investment and improving the balance of payments and put them into private consumption, Lebanon and a little into Judea and Samaria," said Gad Yaacobi, the new Minister of Economic Planning, explaining how recent governments produced this crisis.

"Now we have to deal with the situation, which is very tragic, very dangerous," he went on, "because inflation can go to 1,000 percent, and the economy could stop functioning. There would be unemployment, protest movements and expectations for a strong hand for a new type of regime, and this is a real danger."

Still, he added, "Despite these dangers, I am convinced that Israel can overcome this crisis because we have a strong industrial-scientific base and great potential."

'Lived Beyond Our Means'

Since 1973, said the Likud's Yitzhak Modai, the Minister of Finance, "we have gone through two wars and a peace" with Egypt "that was more costly than a war. But also, and I won't run away from it, we definitely lived beyond our means."

If the Cabinet can implement some overdue structural changes in the economy, added Mr. Modai, "I believe that we can go back to a phase of growing at

10 percent a year or more, which we have done. We have a lot of economic potential, but it has been degenerated."

Most economists here would agree with Mr. Yaacobi and Mr. Modai that Israel has a solid economic foundation, energetic entrepreneurs and highly skilled workers, which have enabled it to compete on an international scale in everything from agriculture to computers.

Where some economists here part company with them is in the confidence of Mr. Modai and Mr. Yaacobi that Israel will indeed overcome this latest crisis and get back on a track to high growth. What is disturbing, say many Israeli business executives and economic analysts, is that the six-week-old national unity Government — which, if nothing else, was expected to cure the economy and restore its inherent strengths — has shown itself thus far to be divided and indecisive in the economic sphere.

No Plan Has Been Produced

Despite the fact that Israel is facing dwindling dollar reserves, an inflation rate heading for 1,000 percent and a foreign debt of \$24 billion — the highest per capita in the world — the Government has still not produced a coherent and workable plan for dealing with the economic crisis.

As The Jerusalem Post noted: "The national unity Government was expected to come up with a comprehensive program and audacious decisions to save the economy from collapse. What it has produced instead is neither comprehensive nor audacious. It is a reversal to the gradualist tactics and the attempts to muddle through that have characterized all of the governments that have preceded this one."

The national unity Cabinet led by Prime Minister Shimon Peres has taken small "token" steps, such as banning 50 luxury imports for six months and cutting the budget by some \$320 million. And it is now trying to negotiate a combined wage reduction-price freeze-tax reform package with the labor unions and manufacturers while promising more, but gradual, budget cuts over the next few years.

However, the Histadrut labor union has rejected the Government's offer.

Economists Cautious About Aid From U.S.

Economic analysts here emphasize that the worst thing the United States could do for Israel right now would be to rescue the Government with a large increase in economic aid before it produces a serious economic reform package. The United States is already committed to giving Israel \$2.6 billion in the fiscal year 1985.

"The best thing the United States could do for Israel is to force it to take the medicine the politicians here cannot give," said Assaf Razin, an economist at Tel Aviv University and former economic adviser to the Government. "They ought to condition aid on economic policies. Without certain pressures, the politicians here cannot do anything on their own initiative."

"America should abstain from helping Israel with increased aid until our house is in order," said Y. J. Taub, an economist and former secretary general of the Bank of Israel. "By giving an addict more heroin you won't save the person. Better we should have the withdrawal symptoms than go on with another billion in drugs."

Mr. Fisher, the senior economist at the Bank of Israel, added: "I don't want to accuse the United States of over-generosity, but there is always the tendency here to fall back on Uncle Sam. I am not saying, 'Don't give us aid.' Give us aid, but it has to be tied to some economic conditions."

Indeed, the American Government has indicated a willingness to consider more aid to Israel but has insisted in talks with Mr. Peres that some progress toward solving the crisis must be shown.

Shekel Losing Value

While the Government gropes for a policy, the Israeli currency — the shekel — has lost all meaning as a yardstick of value and almost certainly will have to be replaced with a new currency, since the public no longer has any confidence in it. For all intents and purposes the American dollar has become the measure of value in Israel.

Israelis now think, sell and buy in dollars. Everything from the price of a new apartment to the cost of a haircut is based on the dollar, with the shekel rate simply adjusted on a daily basis. Many stores no longer bother putting a shekel price tag on goods but use their own complicated codes based on the dollar. Others will just greet payment in shekels with the query, "Don't you have any dollars?"

As for the inflation rate, it is moving up so fast that it has come to dominate people's lives. Three months ago 250 shekels would buy a dollar. Today one dollar equals a little more than 500 shekels.

Banking a Major Activity

With inflation running at about 1 percent a day, it becomes crucial for business executives and families to do everything they can to delay paying bills or taxes in shekels as long as possible, since the shekel becomes cheaper to buy with every passing hour.

In fact, the latest joke making the rounds goes like this:

Question: "Why are Israelis now taking taxis instead of buses?"

Answer: "Because in a taxi you get to pay at the end."

At the same time, everyone is trying to obtain payment for goods or services and run it into a dollar-linked bank account quickly — so the value of the transaction is preserved. The Israeli diplomat Abba Eban has compared banking in Israel to running in the hot sun with a slab of butter.

Said a regional manager for Israel's large Bank Hapoalim: "I have a big client that pays all of its

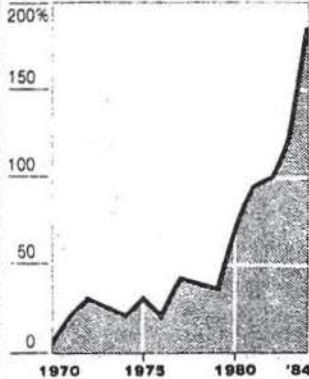
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10/29/84

The Troubles Confronting the Israeli Economy

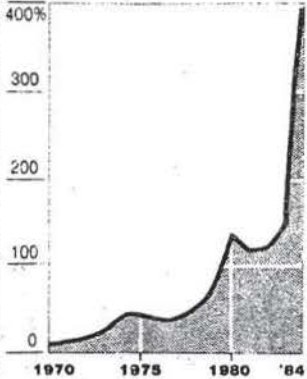
Money Supply

Year-to-year change in basic money supply; in percent, 1984 data are for July



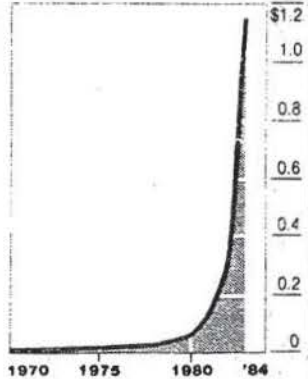
Inflation

Year-to-year change in consumer price index; in percent, 1984 data are for August



Budget Deficit

Israeli Government deficit, in billions of dollars translated at 435 shekels per dollar



Source: International Monetary Fund

The New York Times / Oct. 29, 1984

suppliers right when the banks close at 2 P.M. so they can't lodge the checks until the next day when the shekel will have devalued a bit. On a shekel check worth, say, \$100,000, if it devalues by 1 percent a day, my client saves \$1,000 and his supplier loses \$1,000.

"Some of his suppliers try to cultivate contacts with the banks so they can deposit the money into a dollar-linked account after hours," the banker added. "Some people can't stand the tension, though. At a certain level of inflation, the system is not going to work any more. You could make the smallest mistake and lose a fortune. It isn't important any more what you manufacture or even if you manufacture — all that matters is how you manage your cash flow."

Waste Is Incalculable

The waste in energy and resources from inflation is incalculable. One Jerusalem businesswoman tells of getting a computerized bill in the mail, paying it in shekels a week later and then getting another, smaller computerized bill for the difference in the dollar-shekel rate between when the first bill was sent out and when the payment was received.

Banking and stock schemes to protect people from the ravages of inflation have to be tended to every day, sometimes every hour.

"Do you want to know what life here is like?" asked Michel Garty, a senior reporter with the Haaretz newspaper. "It's like being trapped in a blender with four million people, and all everyone is trying to do is keep away from the blades. Dollar accounts, savings plans, stocks, you name it — anything to keep from being cut up by the blades of inflation."

Crisis Began to Develop After the 1973 War

How did Israel get into such a mess?

Before the 1973 war, the Israeli economy was considered of textbook quality. Economic growth was averaging a Japan-like 10 percent a year, inflation was about half a percent a month, exports and transfers from abroad kept the balance of payments in equilibrium and, although the population was doubling and tripling, more than enough jobs were being created to absorb the increase.

The only dark spot came with the recession of 1966-67, when there was a brief but severe bout of unemployment — 13 percent — that led thousands of Israelis to leave the country and prompted the posting of the well-remembered sign at Lod Airport: "Would the last one out please turn off the lights?"

This incident of large-scale emigration was a very real trauma for the Israeli leadership, for unemployment and emigration are, in a way, the antitheses of Zionism.

"I think there was an understanding within the political leadership that such a situation should never be allowed to happen again," remarked Mr. Fisher of the Bank of Israel. As a result, governments here have consistently refused to use unemployment as a tool to cure inflation.

The 1973 war dealt several blows to the Israeli economy from which it never really recovered.

At the same time, the increase in world oil prices, the loss of oil wells from the Sinai desert and the big rise in raw-material costs that followed the war cut deeply into Israel's growth rate. Before 1973 Israel was spending only about 2 percent of its gross national product on oil; now it spends about 12 percent on oil.

It was also after the 1973 war that Israel's military costs shot up to a world high, soaring from about 7 percent of the gross national product annually to between 25 and 30 percent. As a result of these economic blows, Israel's growth rate fell from 10 percent a year to 2 or 3 percent.

Problem Has Accumulated

"Israel's economy is still suffering from the inability to grapple with the major economic shock of 1973," said Eitan Berglas, a professor of economics at Tel Aviv University and adviser to the new Government.

"If you have a shortage, you must reduce your standard of living, and we didn't do it," he continued. "We tried to deal with it with little shocks and incoherent policies that didn't work. Since we didn't solve the problem from the start, it meant that it just accumulated and accumulated."

The Labor Government, which was in power during and after the 1973 war, was able to keep the economic situation relatively under control. Inflation between 1973 and 1977 was only 35 percent a year. The situation seemed to have stabilized when Labor turned over the reins of power

in 1977 to the Likud's Menachem Begin. Mr. Begin was elected on a populist platform, the core of which was an implicit promise to bring into the middle class Israel's poorer but increasingly politicized Oriental Jews.

Mr. Begin and his first Finance Minister, the late Simcha Ehrlich, decided to liberalize the Israeli economy — as they put it, "to make it the Switzerland of the Middle East."

They abolished many foreign-exchange regulations, making it much easier for citizens and financial institutions to acquire dollars from abroad and hold them in newly established dollar-linked shekel accounts.

"The trick is if you are going to do this kind of liberalization you have to control government outlays," said Mr. Taub, the economist. "But they could not bear to create any hardships on themselves as a government or on the people."

Instead of cutting back spending to soak up some of the excess cash that started to push up prices and wages, the Government simply increased its own spending with the rise in inflation. It raised its subsidies of basic commodities to hold their prices down. And the state bureaucracy absorbed the increase in the labor force. By 1980 the Government was employing a staggering 30 percent of the country's workers.

A Spending Boom Masked Inflation

Because of a system going back to the days of the British Mandate, whereby all wages and many savings plans were indexed to the cost of living, salaries went up right along with inflation — and often ahead of it, thanks to generous wage settlements by the state. Because of indexation, no one felt the urgency at first to deal with inflation, so by 1979 the annual inflation rate exceeded 100 percent for the first time.

"Everything just adjusted itself upward," said Mr. Fisher, the central bank economist. "There was no effort by the Government to stop it for fear of unemployment."

The 1977-80 period was a boom time of sorts but one not based on any real increase in productivity. Many people

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ernment's actions were not accompanied by any tighter fiscal policies or wage restraints, inflation dipped only for a few months and then resumed its three-digit pace.

"Aridor started the craziest boom I ever lived through," Mr. Taub said. In the seven years the Likud was in office, private consumption grew 43 percent while the G.N.P. grew at roughly half that rate — showing a nation consuming more than it was producing.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that all Israelis suddenly started living in a world of luxury. Per capita income is only about \$6,000 a year.

Some of Mr. Aridor's innovations, such as reducing the tax on imported color televisions, were timed to take effect right before the 1981 elections — a move that damaged the balance of payments, but is credited with tipping the elections to Mr. Begin and his party.

"Before the 1981 election we were involved in shenanigans, and you can quote me on that," said Ezra Sadan, director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry from 1981 to 1983.

A Shift in Politics Affected Economy

The outright use of the state treasury to help engineer a government's re-election was just one example of how the Israeli economy came to be mismanaged.

Israel was ruled for its first 29 years by the Labor Party, which dominated Israeli politics and was virtually assured of re-election. Hence, noted Yoram Ben Porat, an economist at the Hebrew University and visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution, "although the Labor Party engaged in election economics and although political considerations did affect at times its economic policy, it never had to resort to wholesale giveaways or extreme sacrifices of the nation's long-term economic interests for its short-term political gains. Because of its dominance, Labor did not have to promise the public anything more than was healthy to deliver over the long run."

But in recent years, the Labor Party has lost its political dominance to the Likud, which based its populist appeal on the new majority in Israel of Oriental, or Sephardic, Jews. The Labor Party must now compete for every vote with the Likud.

These Oriental Jews, said Mr. Ben Porat, are asserting themselves through, among other things, consumption. They are demanding the same cars and televisions and houses as the Jews of European origin already tend to have.

Not surprisingly, the last two elections have witnessed intense bidding by the two parties as to which could promise the public the most immediate economic gratification.

The problem is further compounded by the fragmented way in which votes are counted in Israel. Every government in Israel's history has been a coalition.

"When contemplating budget cuts, or even budgetary discipline," said Mr. Sadan, "Israel's prime ministers and finance ministers have been intimidated by ministers representing the small parties that control the Government's majority. In this continuous confrontation, the ministers demanding extravagant spending have been the winners, and Israel's economy has been a hopeless loser."

In any event, Mr. Aridor's "correct

economics" eventually fell apart in the summer of 1983 when the trade figures made it clear to the public that Israel's balance of payments was far out of alignment and that the Government would have to devalue the shekel substantially. Israelis started trying to spend money on hard goods or real estate or to convert their shekels into dollars.

Banks' Buying of Shares

The crash eventually came and was the immediate result of another highly questionable economic scheme the Government had allowed. This one involved Israel's banks.

In order to keep raising capital in competition with the Government's inflation-indexed bonds, Israel's banks got in the habit of buying up their own shares on the Tel Aviv stock exchange. This enabled them to keep their shares ahead of the inflation rate.

But when Israelis started a stampede out of shekels, they began selling everything—including their bank stocks. The banks borrowed "hundreds of millions of dollars" from abroad, according to one banking source, in order to prop up their share prices. But eventually they could do so no longer, and on Oct. 6, 1983, the stock market collapsed.

Under public pressure, though, the Government stepped in with an enormously expensive rescue plan that has softened the blow to the banks and the public—again at the expense of future deficits. The Government quickly devalued the shekel by 23 percent and cut back Government subsidies. Overnight, many prices rose some 50 percent. Indexation then drove up wages accordingly. Prices spiraled out of control.

"Coming on top of the already high rate of inflation, this ignited hyperinflation," said Mr. Razin, the former economic adviser to the Government, "and that is where we are today."

Economists Cite Need For a Shift in Thought

There is little real disagreement here among economists as to the basic elements needed for serious economic reform: another \$1.5 billion cut in the \$23 billion budget, a wage-price-tax freeze that will break the inflationary spiral and a formal linkage of the shekel to the dollar or a basket of currencies.

But beyond all these steps, economists agree, there will have to be a radical shift in economic outlook.

Israelis have been living in an unreal economic world in the last decade, said Mr. Ben Porat, the economist. Although the rest of the world was suffering unemployment and an erosion of real wages and although Israel's own economy was barely growing, the Israeli Government—even though it could not afford to do so—was guaranteeing its citizens full employment, indexed savings, subsidies and growth in real wages.

"In the past, everyone had someone to run to—the people and business could run to the Government and the Government could run to foreign banks and the United States," said Mr. Ben Porat. "That is what has to change. That is what will change. We have the potential to flourish, but people will have to accept greater risks and much more self-reliance. We have to give up the notion that there is always someone to whom we can pass the buck."

were reaping huge rewards from speculation on the soaring stock market or from selling luxury imports.

"You know, living in Israel with the isolation and the tension from wars and the army reserve duty is not always so easy," said Buma Shavit, a leading Israeli industrialist. "So you might say we took a time out from hardship. The nation went on a new honeymoon it couldn't afford. We sat on the bench during the time out and lost a little zest for work. People were making easy money on the stock market and imported goods. I don't agree with it. But I can understand it."

By late 1980, though, inflation was becoming a serious problem. Still, the Begin Government was not ready to administer the medicine of unemployment, let alone cut back the state budget or reduce its costly settlement building on the West Bank.

The situation was complicated by higher military outlays brought about by the peace treaty signed with Egypt, which required a billion-dollar civilian and military redeployment from the Sinai to the Negev.

'Correct Economics' Tried

In January 1981 Yoram Aridor took over as Mr. Begin's Finance Minister, succeeding Yigael Hurwitz, who is now widely acknowledged to have been pushed out for trying vainly to introduce an austerity budget that would have reduced the standard of living. Mr. Aridor introduced his own version of "supply side" economics. He called it "correct economics"—although it turned out to be anything but correct.

Mr. Aridor decided that since imported items and subsidized goods such as food, heating oil and gasoline made up such a large portion of the cost-of-living index, he would try to reduce the cost of these items. In theory, this would reduce the cost-of-living and wage indexation.

To this effect, he kept the shekel artificially propped up, fought inflation by subsidizing basic consumer goods and services and cut taxes on luxury items. This led to a buying spree in which Israelis used their overvalued shekels to import a record number of foreign cars, videotape recorders and color television sets. Since the Gov-

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October 30, 1984

Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

The House Select Committee on Hunger would be grateful if you could join a group of religious and political leaders, physicians, and other prominent persons in an appeal for additional funds to meet the overwhelming need for emergency food, transportation and medical supplies throughout Africa.

This group will gather at an appropriate site on Capitol Hill on Saturday, December 8, at 11 a.m. to participate in a press conference during which they will make a specific and realistic request for additional assistance from the United States and a direct appeal to the American public for donations.

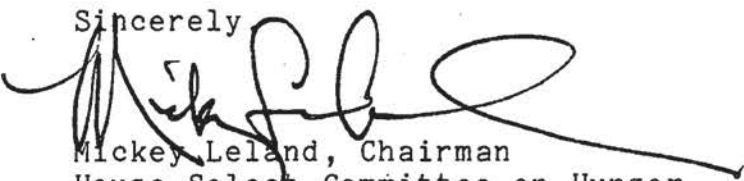
We are being joined in this effort by such organizations as CARE, Catholic Relief Services, Bread for the World, The Hunger Project, Interaction and World Vision.

The tragedy in Africa is far away and does not receive sustained attention in the media. We hope that a gathering of distinguished individuals with a concrete request will help draw attention to the great suffering of the people and assure sufficient emergency resources for the coming months. We are sure that you would be a very valuable addition to our efforts.

This event will be carefully planned and carried out. Our staff and members of the various organizations involved are devoting time and resources to assure that the American people have an opportunity to respond to the great needs in Africa.

Because of the short time frame, we ask you to respond as quickly as possible.

Sincerely


Mickey Leland, Chairman
House Select Committee on Hunger

ml/tj

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MR DAVID GORDIS
CARE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56 ST
NEW YORK NY 10022

IN RESPONSE TO THE GROWING CRISIS IN ETHIOPIA, THE JDC HAS RECEIVED NUMEROUS INQUIRIES FROM JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND COMMUNITIES ASKING IF JDC IS ACCEPTING CONTRIBUTIONS FOR FAMINE RELIEF IN ETHIOPIA. AS IN THE PAST WITH CAMBODIA (1980), ITALY (1981) AND LEBANON (1982), JDC WILL NOW RECEIVE CONTRIBUTIONS EARMARKED TO ASSIST IN THE ETHIOPIAN RELIEF EFFORTS. THESE CONTRIBUTIONS CAN BE SENT TO SUITE 1914, DEPT "M", 60 E. 42ND ST., N.Y., N.Y. 10165, OR TO THE INTERFAITH HUNGER APPEAL, P.O. BOX 1000, FDR STATION, N.Y., N.Y. 10150, OF WHICH JDC IS A MEMBER ALONG WITH CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES AND CHURCH WORLD SERVICE. AS WITH PREVIOUS EFFORTS, JDC ACTION PARALLELS THOSE OF THE CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT AND NON-SECTARIAN AGENCIES PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE FOR DISASTER VICTIMS.

JDC HAS BEEN WORKING IN ETHIOPIA DURING 1984 IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES IN THE GONDAR PROVINCE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW ASKED JDC AND OTHER VOLUNTARY AGENCIES TO AID IN THE FAMINE RELIEF EFFORT. WHILE JDC'S HEALTH WORK IN ITS AREAS OF PRIMARY CONCERN WILL CONTINUE, WE ARE URGENTLY SEEKING THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO RESPOND TO THIS EMERGENCY IN COORDINATION WITH THE OTHER VOLUNTARY AGENCIES, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA. IF ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE CALL (212) 687-6200 AND ASK FOR "ETHIOPIA" EXTENSION.

RALPH I. GOLDMAN
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, JDC

22:29 EST

MGMCOMP

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Community Services & Membership Department

SCHEDULE OF FIELD VISITS

October 1984

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>VISITOR</u>	<u>PURPOSE OF VISIT</u>
<u>OCTOBER</u>			
1	Pittsburgh	H. Bookbinder	Community Visit
3	Baltimore	A. Mittleman	HERITAGE Series Screening
3	Portland	B. Gold	In-House Fundraiser
4	Long Island	D. Harris	Annual Meeting
7	Long Beach	G. Rubin	Election '84
7-8	Boca Raton/ Palm Beach	M. Ellerin	Community Visits
14	Cincinnati	M. Abram	In-House Fundraiser
15	Chicago	R. Zweigenhaft	Community Forum
16	Houston	H. Bookbinder	In-House Fundraiser
16	Kansas City	J. Levine	In-House Fundraiser
20-23	Wash. D.C.	D. Harris	Nat'l Conference on Soviet Jewry
21-23	Wash. D.C.	A. Gillen	Nat'l Conference on Soviet Jewry
21-23	Wash. D.C.	M. Tanenbaum	Nat'l Conference on Soviet Jewry
22-23	Atlanta	J. Rudin	Black/Jewish Conference
25	Westchester	B. Gold	Membership Meeting
25	Nashville	I. Levine	In-House Fundraiser
25-26	Chicago	G. Rubin	AJC Polish-Jewish Conf.
29-31	St. Louis	J. Rudin	Nat'l Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations

DATE	COMMUNITY	VISITOR	PURPOSE OF VISIT
<u>OCTOBER - CONT'D</u>			
29-31	St. Louis	A. Gillen	Nat'l Workshop on Christian/Jewish Relations
29-31	St. Louis	I. Gibel	Nat'l Workshop on Christian/Jewish Relations
31	St. Louis	I. Levine	Nat'l Workshop on Christian/Jewish Relations
31	Chicago	H. Bookbinder	Black/Jewish Relations Forum
31	Detroit	H. Friedman	In-House Fundraiser
<u>NOVEMBER</u>			
7	Tulsa	J. Rudin	Speak at Oral Roberts University
8	Pittsburgh	R. Hauser	In-House Fundraiser
11	Cherry Hill, N.J.	H. Bookbinder	Address Federation Annual Meeting
15	Minneapolis	H. Bookbinder	In-House Fundraiser
15	Minneapolis	J. Levine	In-House Fundraiser
15	Des Moines, Ia.	J. Rudin	Address Christian/Jewish Conference
15	Cedar City, Ut	M. Tanenbaum	Speak at Utah State College
15	Cedar City, Ut	N. Sandberg	Speak at Utah State College
16-18	Chicago	M. Himmelfarb	Synagogue Program
26-28	Boston	M. Tanenbaum	Address IJCIC Conference
28	New Haven, Ct.	D. Harris	Address Hadassah Education Conference

<u>DATE</u>	<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>VISITOR</u>	<u>PURPOSE OF VISIT</u>
<u>DECEMBER</u>			
3-5	Palm Beach/ Miami	D. Harris	Community Visits
9	San Diego	M. Himmelfarb	Anti-Semitism Workshop
10	San Francisco	A. Moses	Plate Dinner
11	West Orange, NJ	D. Harris	Address UJA Young Leadership Meeting
13	Westchester	R. Hauser	Community Forum



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