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JEWS IN WESTERN EUROPE: UPDATE

A Background Memorandum
by
David Geller

Jewish communities in Europe together constitute the third largest concentration of Jews in the world. The Jewish population of Europe is 3.3 million, of whom 2 million live in the USSR. Of the 1.3 million remaining, 80% live in Western Europe. Forty percent of Jews in Western Europe live in two cities, Paris and London.

For two decades following the Holocaust, the energies of these communities with the help of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (J.D.C.) were focused primarily on regrouping and rebuilding. Over the past ten years, they have become partners to the Jewish communities of the United States and Israel. To deal with their urgent internal problems, assimilation, intermarriage, Jewish education, they formed the European Council of Jewish Community Services which now consists of representatives of nineteen countries. The European Council was created at the initiative of American Jews and was the vehicle through which the Joint Distribution Committee helped reorganize and reconstitute the various European communities. The European Council has now become a major coordinating body but the various communities continue to conduct their affairs based on the perceived needs and the resources of their own individual communities. The most formidable task of the European Council, in addition to its health and welfare programs, is dealing with Jewish education. Less than 40% of the children of Western Europe receive a Jewish education. In France the figure is 20%. While there have been hopeful signs among youth of a resurgence of interest in Jewish religion and culture, there are enormous challenges to be met in providing teachers, textbooks, educational institutions, etc.

The past decade has been an extremely uneasy one for Jews in Western Europe. Economic problems, the need for Arab oil, the desire for Arab petrodollar investment, the search for export markets including arms, and the concomitant 'tilt' by Western governments in terms of support for Arab demands has been most unsettling. In addition, many universities, trade unions, members of the peace movement in a variety of countries, ecological groups, feminist groups, have on occasion adopted anti-Israel, anti-Zionist, and, in some cases, anti-Semitic stances. Also, while the number of terrorist incidents against Jewish persons and property have diminished over the past couple of years, the communities are still concerned about security.

Of particular concern, has been the European media treatment of the Israel-Arab conflict, especially during the incursion of Israel into Lebanon and after the incidents at Sabra and Shatila. The media engaged in vitriolic and distorted attacks against Israel, slipping often into allegations that were clearly anti-Semitic. Subsequently, suicide attacks against European troops in Lebanon, the carnage of the Iraq-Iran war, the massacres in India and in Sri Lanka and other incidents caused many media representatives to examine the charges of

their bias and hostility. Another troubling phenomenon was anti-Jewish graffiti, much diminished recently, sadly to be replaced in many instances by racist slogans against Arabs, Turks, and other third world groups.

Another area of concern was voiced by Yehuda Blum, the former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, who expressed alarm at the numerous anti-Semitic outbursts which were met in complete silence by many European representatives. He said, "in particular, it is difficult to refrain from giving expression to a sense of profound dismay at the studious silence...by those representatives whose countries in the 1930s and the 1940s were directly involved in the anti-Jewish persecutions of the Nazi-Fascist era...and the silence of those representatives whose countries, during that period, either directly experienced or otherwise witnessed the pernicious effects of such anti-Semitic behavior..."

With some dismay, Jews have noted the willingness of European governments to sell arms to Arab countries, some of whom were confrontation states as far as Israel is concerned, while at the same time maintaining a boycott of such sales to Israel. Furthermore, despite anti-boycott legislation in some European countries, Arab governments have been successful in many cases in pressuring business corporations, even those with some governmental involvement, to adopt boycott practices against Israel.

Jews have noted with some unease the fact that while the various governments have spoken out against terrorism and against specific groups such as the Irish Republican Army, the Italian Red Brigades, the Bader-Meinhof group, etc., they continue to support the P.L.O. as the legitimate spokesman for the Palestinians, and some have encouraged a Palestinian state knowing that it would be run by the P.L.O..

The Jewish communities now wait to see if the EEC will once again issue a statement similar to the one-sided 1980 Venice Declaration. In April of this year, the leaders of the EEC member states issued a statement endorsing the proposals of President Mubarak of Egypt and the negotiations that had taken place between King Hussein of Jordan and Yasir Arafat of the PLO. The statement reaffirmed their conviction that a resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict requires the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO. The declaration also called for peace negotiations under the auspices of an international conference in which the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council participate. The PLO would be part of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. (Israel and the United States oppose in principle an international conference which would force bring the U.S.S.R. into the negotiating process.)

While the anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism of the Left has been a major preoccupation in the last several years, the emergence and the strengthening of the Right has also caused concern. This is particularly true in France and Great Britain.

Finally there is the projected membership of Spain in the EEC as of January 1986, and the concern that she not become the one country of the EEC and the one member of NATO without diplomatic relations with Israel.

Since 1949 the American Jewish Committee has had an office in Europe. We have not only monitored the problems and progress of the various communities but have participated and, on occasion, initiated important projects primarily devoted to building greater understanding between Christians and Jews.

While it would be interesting to deal with every country of Western Europe, this document has chosen to focus on four important Jewish communities. In addition, because of the imminence of Spain's joining the EEC, a survey of the community in that country has also been included.

GREAT BRITAIN

The 350,000 Jews of Great Britain make up one of the largest Jewish communities in the world and one with long and well-established roots in their country. In 1982 the Board of Deputies of British Jewry celebrated its 220th Anniversary with great festivity and much publicity.

As in other Jewish communities around the world, the problems of assimilation, intermarriage, low birthrate, represent major challenges. Latest demographic figures are 354,000 as compared with the figure of 410,000 in 1965. While the community is very well organized, (88% of Britain's Jews are members of synagogues), many leaders in Great Britain feel that new and more creative approaches are necessary in the field of Jewish education and in attempting to attract and activate young people, especially on the college level. 23% of Anglo-Jewish children attend day schools. This is an increase over previous years.

For many years the Jewish community fought an uphill battle against a government increasingly supportive of the Arab side of the Israel-Arab conflict propelled by economic problems and the hope for Arab investments as well as the need for oil until the North Sea oil became increasingly available. While the government has recently adopted a more sympathetic attitude toward Israel, the press, in general, has manifested an anti-Israel bias and indeed at times indulges in gross distortions in reporting Middle East events. This was especially true during the tragic events at Sabra and Shatila where, along with the media of other European countries, the English media pronounced Israel guilty before all the facts were in and since that time have, with only few exceptions, grudgingly admitted their mistakes. On the campuses Leftist-led student organizations, supported by large numbers of Arab students, have indulged in anti-Jewish manifestations masked as anti-Zionism. At a number of universities the "Zionism>equals-racism" canard has been adopted as official policy and in some cases led to the barring of Jewish groups from participating in student-run activities, because the Jewish groups were accused of being Zionist or supporting Zionism. In April of 1983 Minister of State Douglas Hurd met with the chief of the PLO's political department in Tunis, ignoring protests from Israel as well as organizations in Great Britain.

Another area of concern is the Arab trade boycott against which the British Government has consistently refused to act. While the Department of Trade issued a mildly worded disapproval of the boycott, it at the same time indicated to business firms that they could "use their own commercial judgment" in their

dealings with Arab firms and governments. In 1979 a select committee of the House of Lords recommended measures to curb the boycott but nothing was done to implement it.

Other areas of concern include the government's refusal to sell North Sea oil to Israel, as well as the sales of weapons to Arab countries who maintain that they are in a state of war with Israel.

Jewish community leaders have expressed apprehension about the activities of the extreme Right-wing group called the National Front. This and other groups formed in the late 50's and 60's adhere to racist anti-Black and anti-Asian policies and include anti-Jewish and anti-Israel statements. Unfortunately, the attempt to cooperate with Black and Asian groups to fight the Right Wing has been complicated by the fact that many of these groups are associated with the Left and as far as Israel is concerned support equally vicious anti-Israel and anti-Zionist policies.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

FRANCE

At the end of World War II between 150,000-170,000 Jews remained in France (120,000 perished during the Holocaust). During the next two decades the Jewish population swelled to 700,000 with the mass immigration of refugees from North Africa. France thus became the fourth largest Jewish community in the world after the United States, Israel and the Soviet Union. The most recent figure, however, is a dramatic illustration of the major problem affecting the Jews in France as well as other parts of Western Europe, namely, assimilation, intermarriage and low birthrate, for the most recent figures indicate that the population has dropped to 550,000! If we include the fact that only 10-20% of French youth now receives a Jewish education, that the intermarriage rate is approaching 70%, and the great majority of Jews are not associated with any Jewish organization, we can appreciate the monumental task facing the leaders of the Jewish community. There are some helpful developments; among the youth there seems to be a renewed commitment to religion, both Orthodox and Reform. A significant number of college youth have become more interested in their background and are taking courses in Jewish history and culture.

The influence of Sephardi Jews can be felt in many facets of French life. The Sephardi Jews brought new enthusiasm and activity to the Jewish community in France. Because of their knowledge of the French language and culture, their integration and assimilation into French society was very easy. This is particular evident in the political sphere and is exemplified in the aggressive way many Jews publicly expressed their disapproval of the Mid-East policy of Giscard D'Estaing. Many authorities believe that this political activity helped in the election of Mitterrand.

There is a strong activist group called Renouveau Juif (Jewish Renewal) which is strongly pro-Israel and acts as a goad to the more traditional and established Jewish organizations. And there are, sadly, many including a significant number of the university students who are closely associated with left-wing movements who have adopted anti-Zionist and anti-Israel positions.

France - Israel Relations

Until the Six-Day War, there was close cooperation between France and Israel on military, cultural and scientific projects. After the Six-Day War and the decision by de Gaulle to tilt toward the Arabs, the relationship deteriorated drastically. Not only was there an almost unending series of government statements critical of Israel and refusal to sell arms to Israel while at the same time selling them to Arab countries, there was in addition the incident of the release of Abu Doud, a PLO terrorist who had been captured by French police. The government's decision to release Abu Doud in the face of strong contrary pleas from various parts of the world and the suspicion that the French Government had negotiated a deal with the PLO allowing them to traverse France in complete freedom provided that they did not perpetrate any terrorist incident in France, brought the relationship to a new low. During the tenure of Giscard D'Estaing, there seemed little hope of a positive change. The election of Mitterrand, a long-time friend of Israel, changed that perception, notwithstanding the fact that the policy of France did not change very much. This was made dramatically clear when France was the only Western country that supported an anti-Israel resolution in the U.N. Security Council in March of 1985, repeating a similar vote in Geneva in which France aligned itself with those accusing Israel of abusing Palestinian prisoners. It is important to remember that French governments in the past as well as the present have very close ties to countries in the Arab world. That fact and the economic problems which France has faced, in great measure due to its need for oil and petrodollar investment, have reinforced the position of those who push for greater concessions from Israel and closer relationships with the Arabs. The French Government officially recognizes the PLO as a representative of the Palestinian people and Arafat as its head. In the recent battle in Lebanon between the various factions of the PLO, France supported Arafat and in fact French ships were used to save Arafat and the terrorists who were with him.

Another concern is the recent agreement by France to sell \$3 billion dollars worth of arms to Saudi Arabia, including the latest French ground-to-air missile which is reputed to be the world's most efficient. The Saudis have become an important French client over the last few years and have purchased ground-to-air missiles, French AMX-30 tanks, 4 frigates, and 24 combat helicopters equipped with air-to-ground missiles. Not only the Saudis but other Moslem countries in the Middle East have been the beneficiaries of France's arms exports. In 1983 62% of French arms exports were going to the Middle East (exclusive of Israel).

On the positive side of the Israel-French relationship, it should be noted that President Mitterrand has promised to assist Israel in maintaining its agricultural exports to the EEC after Spain and Portugal become members. Given the fact that 40% of Israel's exports go to the EEC, the assistance of Mitterrand is of vital importance.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres was accorded a most warm reception during his visit to Paris in December 1984. Since March of 1983 there has been a significant growth in scientific cooperation between the two countries. And during the Peres visit, there was a discussion of the purchase by Israel of two atomic reactors from France.

In June of 1985 President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Peres will jointly inaugurate an exhibition called "The Land of Israel." The exhibition will retrace 3,000 years of Jewish history. It will be held in Paris's prestigious Grand Palais.

Anti-Semitism

The reverberations which followed the shocking bombing in August 1983 of the restaurant on the Rue des Rosiers had died down considerably but was reawakened by the bombing of a branch of Bank Leumi in Paris on April 13, 1985 the last day of Passover. Direct Action, an extreme left-wing group claimed responsibility. Graffiti, vandalism, threats and an occasional bombings such as the most recent incident indicate that the problem remains a very real and menacing one.

In general it is fair to say that the government, worried about the rise in terrorism perpetrated by a variety of extremist political and ethnic groups, has adopted a much more aggressive attitude.

While knowledgeable observers agree that the greatest threat to the Jewish community comes from leftist and/or Arab groups, anti-Semitism from the Right is a growing concern. Recently, elements of this group have been involved in a campaign to deny the Holocaust or minimize the number of Jewish victims. An additional source of concern is the growing strength of the Right as manifested recently in Brittany where the right-wing National Front Party gained 12% of the votes in a legislative election.

While it has been difficult to prove that Jean-Marie LePen, head of the National Front Party is an anti-Semite, those around him have long been associated with extreme Right-Wing and Neo-Fascist groups and policies.

On a number of occasions President Mitterrand expressed concern over the anti-Semitic acts that have occurred. In a recent letter to the Jewish community he wrote that "It was high time to show how much French civilization owes to the Jewish people." He said it was deplorable that French history books made no mention of the history of the Jews in France.

ITALY

The Jews of Italy represent one of the great historic communities of the Jewish world. There have been Jews in that country and especially in the city of Rome for 21 centuries. Today the community numbers about 30 thousand...50% in Rome and the remainder in Milan, Turin and several other small cities. The community of Italy faces many problems, the most serious of which is attrition due to assimilation, inter-marriage and a low birth rate. There has been a significant upsurge in the interest of youth in their Jewish roots and heritage, but meeting the challenge that this represents is a formidable task because of the community's meager resources. Nevertheless, community leaders are hopeful that

with the help of the European Council of Jewish Community Services, the Jewish community of the United States and educational resources from Israel, the problem they face will be effectively dealt with.

A major event in the life of Italian Jewry was the signing of the new Concordat between the Government of Italy and the Vatican which brought to an end the status of state religion enjoyed by the Vatican. The basic and fundamental changes in the new Concordat present the Jewish community with a number of opportunities, among them regaining control of the Jewish catacombs. Moreover, the door was open for negotiations with the Italian Government on such matters as Jewish education in public schools, the right not to work on the Jewish Sabbath and on Jewish holidays, access to special television, etc. On the other hand, the Union of Italian Jewish Communities is confronted with the challenge of reorganizing its structure, and attempting, with limited budget and staff, to deal with these additional responsibilities.

Anti-Semitism

From time to time there appear a number of articles and pamphlets, some by Italian bishops, accusing Jews of decide and as purveyors of falsehood against the truth as represented by Christianity.

Regarding right-wing anti-Semitism, in the last several years neo-nazi and neo-fascist groups were responsible for a number of attacks on synagogues and Jewish communal institutions, cemetery desecrations, anonymous letters to Jewish leaders and individuals and the dissemination of anti-Semitic books, including reprints of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. A number of pamphlets have also appeared which deny the Holocaust.

However, in recent years it is the activities and publications of the Left which has caused the greatest concern. The virulence of their anti-Israel campaign has spilled over into the crudest kinds of anti-Semitism, and there is considerable "slippage" between words such as Israeli - Zionist - Jew - Judaism, etc. The kinds of themes and terms found in a number of leftist publications match completely those used by the right wing. Violent acts perpetrated by left wing terrorist groups against Israeli and other Jewish institutions have diminished recently, especially since the 1982 bombing and strafing of Jews coming out of the Rome synagogue. But anti-Jewish acts have not been limited to these terrorist groups. In June of 1983, 300,000 trade union workers marched in a demonstration and when they passed the synagogue they placed a coffin at the entrance and shouted, "Jews to the ovens!" During the tragic war in Lebanon and after the news of the massacres in Sabra and Shatila, the Italian media exploded in a virtual orgy of anti-Israel, anti-Zionist, and indeed anti-Jewish articles and broadcasts.

The bombing of the synagogue and the murder of the two-year-old child sent shock waves through Italy. There appeared a number of articles and discussions on the role of the media and the distorted reporting that had whipped up an anti-Semitic frenzy. Textbooks were examined and found to have scant information on the history of Jews and their contribution to Italy. Indeed, in some of the textbooks there were anti-Semitic references.

Organizations, which in previous years during discussions of the Middle East situation had invited only representatives of the PLO, now began to invite Israelis or members of Zionist organizations to air their views. Labor unions admitting that many of their members had anti-Semitic attitudes began to conduct special discussions regarding Jews and Judaism.

In memory of the young child killed in the attack on the Rome synagogue, a new library was dedicated to the heroes and martyrs who fought and died for democracy and freedom. In addition, on the second anniversary of the attack, the Jewish community issued a new edition of an illustrated book on "Jewish Rome," a bilingual history of Jewish contributions to Roman civilization from 161 BCE to the present. The book is to be distributed to municipal libraries and schools together with "The History of the Jewish People" by Abba Eban.

It should be noted too, that there have been a number of significant efforts by Catholic authorities in Rome, Milan, Florence and Venice to improve Catholic-Jewish relations. Especially important and helpful have been recent declarations by Pope John Paul II condemning anti-Semitism. The guidelines on Catholic-Jewish relations issued by the Bishop of Rome represent another indication of the commitment of influential government and Church leaders to take effective action against this troubling phenomenon.

Italy and Israel

In December 1983, Israel and Italy signed a broad agreement covering economic, agricultural, scientific, technological and cultural relations. There were also agreements on how to deal with problems that may arise for Israel's agricultural exports, when Spain and Portugal are admitted to the EEC. In addition, there have been some visits to each country by government officials. Nevertheless, the relationship has been somewhat strained in the last few years by what is perceived in Israel as a tilt toward the Arabs. Foreign Minister Giuglio Andreotti has had two meetings with Arafat in the last two years. In September 1982 when he was president of the International Parliamentary Union, he invited Arafat to come to Rome. Last year, Prime Minister Bettino Craxi accompanied Andreotti at the most recent meeting with Arafat in December in Tunisia. The meeting of Craxi and Arafat was the first between a West European Prime Minister and a leader of the PLO. In April of 1984 Andreotti, and a representative of the Communist Party, were the only two of a 12-member Italian delegation to the European Parliament who signed an anti-Israel resolution, which branded Zionism together with colonialism and apartheid as forms of racism.

Like a number of other West European countries, Italy is suffering from serious economic difficulties and hopes that its pro-Arab tilt will result in profitable trade agreements with the Arabs. Italy exports arms to a number of Arab countries, including Libya. It should also be noted that Libya's Central Bank owns 17% of Fiat. Italy's voting record in the UN regarding resolutions affecting Israel has, with some exceptions, followed France and Great Britain. On some occasions, however, it has abstained rather than oppose an anti-Israel resolution.

In Rome the new year of 1984 was ushered in with a bombing at midnight in front of the offices of El Al, as well as with an attack and beating of several Jews by a gang shouting anti-Semitic epithets near the Piazza Colonna in which the Prime Minister's office is located.

There have been a number of proven links between the PLO and the Red Brigades, the notorious Italian left-wing terrorist group as well as with other similar groups in Europe. In October 1984, a Venice court called for the arrest of Arafat on charges of taking part in illegal trafficking and possession of arms. A large cache of Soviet-made weapons and a grenade launcher made in Lebanon for the PLO were found in a farm near Venice.

AJC Mission

In February of 1985, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II and the 20th anniversary of the adoption by Vatican Council II of Nostra Aetate, a Board of Governors delegation headed by AJC President Howard Friedman went to Italy where they met with a number of government officials including Foreign Minister Andreotti, Defense Minister Spadolini, and Interior Minister Scalfaro, as well as the Pope. It was the first audience in 1985 of any Jewish group with the Pope devoted to examining the impact of the Vatican Declaration on Catholic-Jewish relations during the past two decades.

SPAIN

Some 12,000 Jews live in Spain, mainly in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Malaga and the Costa Brava. Around 70% arrived from Morocco in the 1950's while most of the remainder came from other countries in the Middle East as well as from Germany, Central Europe and Latin America. In 1968 the Edict of Expulsion enacted in 1492 was repealed and Jews were by law allowed to live in Spain as an organized community. The Religious Liberty Law of 1967 accorded Spain's Jews the right to practice their religion freely and openly, individually and collectively.

The Spanish Government and the Spanish Parliament are now about to vote a special law recognizing the Jewish community's rights and granting it the same privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Church and the various Protestant congregations. The Jewish community would have jurisdiction over matters of personal status concerning its members. Rabbis will enjoy the same privileges as Catholic priests including exemption from military service. Synagogues and other religious and cultural institutions would be tax-exempt and enjoy other special fiscal privileges.

Spain/Israel

Shortly after Israel was recognized by the U.N., Spain asked for recognition. Franco was still in power and the Israeli Government (a socialist government) voted with the West against Spain. Despite the political change in Spain's government, resentment against Israel has lasted for a long time. Another factor

which has proven to be a formidable obstacle to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations is Spain's political and economic interests in the Arab world with whom she has had ties for hundreds of years. Recently there have been some positive developments. Spain and Israel have established air links and there are three weekly flights between the two countries. There have been visits to Israel by several members of the present Spanish Cabinet before they entered their official offices. In 1983, 60,000 Israelis visited Spain and some 1500 Spaniards toured Israel. The Israeli Chamber of Commerce has set up offices in Madrid and Barcelona and there is a Spanish Chamber of Commerce office in Tel Aviv.

There have long been rumors that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel was imminent. This has not yet occurred but most knowledgeable authorities believe that when Spain takes its place as a member of the EEC in 1986, it will align its foreign policy regarding Israel with the remainder of the EEC member states and diplomatic relations will be established.

Spain/AJC Projects

Since the end of World War II the AJC has maintained a close relationship with the small community in Spain. A survey of Spanish religious textbooks was undertaken by the Leonard M. Sperry Center for Group Religions set up by the AJC. The study resulted in important revisions of textbooks. Also, through its office in Paris the AJC has been of continual support to the program of the Jewish-Christian Friendship Association.

In February of 1985 a delegation of AJC's Board of Governors headed by David Hirschhorn visited Madrid where they met with a number of government and church officials as well as the leadership of the Jewish community.

WEST GERMANY

There are about 30,000 Jews in Germany today. A significant number of them are Holocaust survivors from Eastern Europe who, for one reason or another, found themselves in Germany at the end of World War II and decided to stay. There are a number of Jews from the USSR (the majority of whose parents were German-speaking) and a small group of Jews from Israel. In general, the Jews live well and the government has gone out of its way over the years to make them feel welcome. There are functioning synagogues in the major cities where Jews reside and recently a school of Jewish studies was established.

For the first two or three decades after World War II the Jews who lived in Germany did not consider themselves "at home." This was especially manifested in the overwhelming majority of college-age children who left Germany to attend school in other countries of Western Europe, the United States, Israel and elsewhere. Recently, however, prior to the Israeli incursion into Lebanon, there were a growing number of Jews who began to call themselves "German Jews" rather than "Jews in Germany."

Anti-Semitism

The West German Government, for very understandable reasons, has made great efforts to combat anti-Semitism and neo-Nazism. Indeed, in some respects their laws are more stringent than ours. Nevertheless, there has recently been a growth of neo-Nazi movements and of particular concern is the fact that many young people are involved. In January a study by Cologne University was published indicating that 50% of all West Germans still harbor anti-Semitic feelings. In addition, the phenomenon of anti-Semitism of the Left has been recognized as a particular problem in Germany. Indeed, most recent incidents involving attacks on synagogues, etc., have been traced to left-wing Arab terrorists and their German helpers. The Green Party, among the more "moderate" leftist elements, has espoused a strong anti-Israel policy and overtones of anti-Semitism have slipped into their statements. Indeed, criticism and expressions of alarm have come from several of its own members. During the war in Lebanon the Greens urged the Bonn Government to withdraw reparation money from Jewish Holocaust victims and make it available to the Palestinians. They have denounced Israel as "fascist and terrorist" and alleged that concentration camps for Palestinians have been erected. During the Israeli incursion into Lebanon the newspapers and broadcast media disseminated a great deal of distorted information (as did the media in most other countries in the world). But, in addition to the distorted information, the tone was strident and vitriolic, and the theme of "Jews can be Nazis too" was implicit and sometimes explicit. Recently, however, there has been a positive change and greater accuracy in reporting. Nevertheless, the events left their mark on the Jewish community and will not soon be forgotten.

Germany/Israel

The record has generally been good. In the EEC, West Germany has usually been supportive of Israel and until recently, spoke often of the 'special relationship' between West Germany and Israel and between the Germans and the Jews. However, during the administration of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, the relationship cooled and Schmidt, on several occasions, cancelled planned visits to Israel. At the same time, considerations of oil and petro-dollars, as well as fear of growing Soviet influence among the Arab states, resulted in harsh statements condemnatory of the Israeli Government and especially of former Prime Minister Begin. When Mr. Begin reacted sharply and publicly, the relationship cooled still further.

Another consideration has been the fact that Saudi Arabia has become the largest non-European market for German exporters and in recent years loaned the German Government some \$6 billion. In return, they have asked for political support as well as German Leopard-II tanks and other sophisticated military equipment. Despite a well-publicized policy of not exporting arms to countries in unstable area, and that includes Israel, the German Government has seriously considered selling weapons to the Saudis. In February of this year Franz Josef Strauss, the Prime Minister of Bavaria, while on a visit to Israel issued a statement strongly supporting the sale of tanks to the Saudis because it would mean German jobs and "if we don't supply them, others will." Israel is also concerned by growing Arab influence within German. It is claimed that Kuwait has bought a

10% interest in the Volkswagen company and already has substantial holdings in Germany's third largest bank, the Commerzbank. Other major German firms said to be falling into Arab financial clutches are Siemens, Thyssen, Bayer and other large banks. The world's third largest maker of construction machinery, the IBH company of Mainz, records that 18% of its stock is owned by Saudi Arabia.

It should also be noted that Islam now constitutes the second largest religion in Germany after Christianity. Over 1 1/2 million Moslems now live there and some 1500 German Christians have recently converted to Islam.

From January 24-29, 1984, the new Chancellor, Helmut Kohl visited Israel at the invitation of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. He had planned to come sooner but Prime Minister Begin's illness and eventual resignation led to a delay. The visit was the first in ten years by a German chancellor and it was eight years since an Israeli prime minister had last visited Bonn. The results of the visit were mixed. Chancellor Kohl underestimated the strong feelings in Israel regarding his promise to sell advanced weaponry to Saudi Arabia. An additional cause of tension was the West German decision in 1984 that membership in a Waffen SS veterans organization is not illegal. Also, at an official dinner, Kohl reaffirmed West German support for the 1980 Venice Declaration of the European Council which proclaimed the "right of the Palestinian people to self-determination." He also backed President Reagan's peace initiative and the Arab plan which had been approved at Fez, Morocco in September 1982.

Mutually beneficial bilateral trade and cultural relations have continued. In the fall of 1983, the German-Israeli Friendship Association put on an exhibit at the Frankfurt Airport entitled "Fascinating Israel." The display ran for 42 days and was seen by an estimated 150,000 people.

AJC Programs in West Germany

The American Jewish Committee has played a major role in establishing contact with the Federal Republic of Germany. From 1960 (the "swastika outbreak") through 1972 the AJC conducted a special program for German educators, bringing them to the United States to study educational methodology in a democratic society and to sensitize them to Jewish concerns, especially education relating to the Holocaust.

Five years ago, AJC initiated a program of exchange and study with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, a political foundation associated with the Christian Democratic Party, bringing to the United States young adults who will soon be involved in leadership positions in their country, and sending to Germany groups of young Jewish professionals. A second exchange program was begun in 1984 when a group of AJC officers accepted the invitation of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of the Social Democratic Party. Also, in October of 1984, an AJC Chapter Leadership Delegation visited West Germany and East Germany, becoming the first such delegation to visit East Germany since the end of World War II.

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ANNUAL 29TH MEETING

PROGRAM UPDATE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1

- 10:00 AM-Noon National Program Commission Business Meetings
NOON Board of Governors Luncheon Meeting (Board members only)
3:00 PM OPENING PLENARY SESSION: THE MORAL IMPERATIVES OF RELIGION
Presentation: Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland
4:30 PM PLENARY SESSION: AJC'S POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA
Discussion and Action
6:00 PM DINNER ON YOUR OWN
7:45 PM PLENARY SESSION: THE HOLOCAUST --
REMEMBRANCE AS THE SOURCE OF HUMANITY'S RENEWAL
David S. Wyman, author, The Abandonment of the Jews
Yaffa Eliach, author, Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust

THURSDAY, MAY 2

- 7:30 AM CONCURRENT EVENTS: Center on Immigration & Acculturation
Breakfast; Institute for American Pluralism (IFAP)
Films; Western Europe Task Force Breakfast
9:00 AM PLENARY SESSION: EUROPEAN JEWRY TODAY
Samuel Toledano, Chairman, Spanish Jewish Community
Tullia C. Zevi, Chairperson, Italian Jewish Community
Dr. Ady Steg, President, Alliance Israelite
11:00 AM CONCURRENT PROGRAM FORUMS:
Jewish Communal Affairs:
"Jewish Cultural Creativity"
Participants: Representatives of the 92nd Street
YM/YWHA and the Jewish Museum, the institutional
recipients of this year's Akiba Award
Interreligious Affairs: "America's Black Churches --
Perceptions of Jews, Judaism and Israel"
Participants: George Simmons, Pennsylvania Human
Rights Commission; Rev. Elizabeth Scott, Director
Justice for Women, National Council of Churches
12:30 PM PLENARY LUNCHEON:
EAST-WEST RELATIONS 40 YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II
Presentation: Alois Mertes, State Minister,
Foreign Office, Federal Republic of Germany
2:30 PM PLENARY SESSION: Reports from the Nominating Committee;
National Membership Cabinet; Board of Trustees
5:00 PM APPEAL FOR HUMAN RELATIONS COCKTAIL RECEPTION
In honor of Judge Matthew Brown
6:30 PM PRE-DINNER RECEPTION
7:30 PM 79 TH ANNUAL DINNER
Ambassador Arthur Goldberg will present AJC's American
Liberties Medallion to Justice William J. Brennan, Jr.;
Abba Eban will accept AJC's Mass Media Award for the WNET
series "Heritage: Civilization and the Jews"
10:00 PM PRESIDENT'S RECEPTION

FRIDAY, MAY 3

7:30 AM CONCURRENT BREAKFAST MEETINGS: National Committee on Women's Issues; Task Force on Soviet Jewry; National Membership Cabinet; Legal Committee

9:30 AM PLENARY SESSION:
ISSUES, VALUES AND IDEOLOGY IN THE AJC CONTEXT
Presentation: Dr. David Gordis

11:00 AM CONCURRENT PROGRAM FORUMS:
International Relations:
"Toward New Strategies -- U.S.S.R. and Soviet Jewry"
Presentation: Marc Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

National Affairs:
"Church and State -- The Ongoing Debate"
Presentation: James Wood, Editor
The Journal of Church and State

12:30 PM PLENARY SESSION: THE NEW SOCIAL CONTRACT
Presentations: Rep. Jack Kemp
Rep. William Gray III

2:30 PM CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS: ACTION WHERE YOU ARE
An examination of three program areas from a community relations perspective:
South Africa
Immigration Policy
The Jewish Agenda on College Campuses

SATURDAY, MAY 4

8:00 AM Board of Trustees Breakfast (Trustees only)

10:00 AM SABBATH SERVICES & DISCUSSION
Simna Berhani, an Ethiopian Jew, will participate in the services; a discussion of moral responses to issues such as refugees, world hunger, etc., will follow
Presentation: Ambassador Eugene Douglas, U.S. Coordinator of Refugee Affairs

NOON KIDDUSH

12:30 PM PLENARY LUNCHEON: HOW THE MEDIA PORTRAYS THE FAMILY
Caryn Sneider, Producer, The Bill Cosby Show
Donald Wear, Vice President for Program Policies, CBS
Dr. Thomas J. Cottle, Harvard Medical School

2:30 PM SHABBAT STUDY SESSION: "The Status and Significance of the Non-Jew in Rabbinic Sources"
Leader: Dr. Steven Katz, Cornell University

2:30 PM Chapter Leaders/AJC Officers in Dialogue (By invitation)

SUNDAY, MAY 5

8:00 AM PLENARY BREAKFAST: WE ARE ONE OR ARE WE?
ISSUES IN AMERICAN JEWISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS
Moderator: Philip Rittenberg
Publisher, The Jewish Week
Panelists: Participants in the Matthew & Edna Brown Young Israeli Leadership Program

10:00 AM PLENARY SESSION:
ISRAEL'S POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL AREA
Presentation: Hon. Benjamin Netanyahu,
Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations

NOON ADJOURNMENT

Noon-5:00 PM National Pay Equity Task Force
(Members only--luncheon will be served)

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

79th ANNUAL MEETING
MAY 1-5, 1985
WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL
PARK AVENUE AT 50TH STREET
NEW YORK, NY 10022
(212) 355-3000

CONTACT: Press- Joyce Kaplan
Leonard Fink
Ralph Bass

TV-Radio- Randall Czarinsky
Haina Just

PRESS ROOM: VERTES SUITE, 4TH FLOOR

FOR RELEASE AFTER 12 NOON
FRIDAY, MAY 3, 1985

NEW YORK, May 3...Two prominent Congressmen, speaking before a meeting of Jewish leaders, today differed sharply about what should be the nation's economic priorities, with one stressing incentives to promote capital and entrepreneurial growth, and the other underlining strategies that, while encouraging growth, would also strongly heed the problems of the poor.

Rep. Jack Kemp, Republican of New York, and Rep. William Gray III, Democrat of Pennsylvania, made their remarks at a session of the American Jewish Committee's 79th Annual Meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria here. Mr. Kemp, frequently mentioned as a possible Presidential contender, is one of the authors of the Kemp-Kasten tax reform bill, and Mr. Gray is chairman of the House Budget Committee.

Outlining his central theme, Mr. Kemp urged that the nation adopt a "jobs creation budget," with tax reform as its central feature, because, he said: "Realistic economic policy involves positive government action -- action of a kind that encourages prosperity. Action that reduces barriers to job creation and opportunity, that unfetters the wealth creation process of entrepreneurial capitalism, and that moves the whole world towards liberalized trade and strong growth." Mr. Gray, for his part, urged that, "in the face of government retrenchment," the nation "devise strategies that maximize the growth of private business strength while maintaining fundamental support systems for the needy." He added: "My watch [as chairman of the House Budget Committee] will not tolerate the vicious attacks we've seen over the past four years on those programs aimed at the least fortunate in our society."

Among the specific suggestions made by Mr. Kemp were these:

- * "Tax reform and simplification to enhance economic incentives";
- * "Monetary reform to lower interest rates, accommodate the expansion, and stabilize the value of the dollar";

/more/

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Eilenoff, 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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- * "Cutbacks in wasteful government programs that are blocking individual initiative or impeding private markets";
- * "Urban initiatives in vocational education to attack the roots of poverty, and in enterprise zones to expand economic opportunity and jobs in our inner cities";
- * "Restoring to the private sector many government-run projects and programs, such as the delivery of housing services, that can be operated more effectively by individual entrepreneurs and families."

"In talking of deficits and budgets and abstract figures," continued Mr. Kemp, "we have to keep reminding ourselves that the American idea is not green eyeshades, red numbers, and black boxes. It's creating and expanding opportunities so that future generations of Americans can have even greater freedom to reach their full potential than we or our grandparents before us had.

"Economic policy is not just a set of goals, but neither is it simply a series of Draconian budget cuts that might hurt people who depend on some public support for a minimum decent life. And, economic policy is surely not massive tax increases, which it seems are always being recommended by some, no matter how severely they may slow down new job creation, stifle incentives, and close off opportunity."

Mr. Gray, taking a different emphasis, said that "the battle over the budget must be joined over those areas -- education, job training, economic development, nutrition -- which have the greatest promise for helping all people become self-sufficient."

"We believe in only the government we need," continued Mr. Gray, "but we insist on all the government we need. We cannot and should not attempt to solve the problems of this nation by throwing money at them. But we must not throw our national problems into the scrap heap of inattention and indifference. As the richest nation on earth and one of the world's oldest democracies, our national ship of state must always be guided by compassion and equity. On my watch, the needy will not be condemned to accept a greater share of the sacrifice needed to restore order to America's fiscal house.

"The disinherited, the disrespected, the destitute will not be asked to remain in ghettos, on welfare, or in unemployment lines in order to build yet another questionable strategic weapon of destruction or to provide yet another tax break for the rich. We must insist that sacrifice, when demanded, be distributed with equity and compassion for all Americans. If we fail to do so, we risk having no nation at all."

Chairman of the session at which Congressmen Gray and Kemp spoke was Theodore Ellenoff of New York, chairman of AJC's Board of Governors, who said that "developing a compassionate and realistic approach to public social programs in the United States is a pressing and critical challenge," and added:

"The American Jewish Committee has for decades played a prominent role in social-policy debates. We need to hear the best thinking on the issues discussed today from all sides of the political spectrum so we can then forge a policy that combines social responsibility, private-sector participation, and individual initiative."

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Speaking on the same platform, Irving M. Levine, AJC director of national affairs, said that the human relations agency had "always favored expanding opportunity for all, especially for minorities, steady growth in the economy, and compassionate and prudent support for the poor and the dependent," and now believed that "new realities do not necessarily mean dropping these commitments but realizing that we may have to apply ourselves differently to getting the job done."

"We agree with Senator Moynihan," continued Mr. Levine, "that strengthening the family unit is basic to a healthy American society. We plan to stress policies that stabilize family life for the middle class and give opportunity and hope to families in need of help."

Also on the agenda was Hyman Bookbinder, the agency's Washington representative, who cautioned that the disputes over the budget went "beyond the question of the national deficit, critical as that issue is."

"Contained in the debate over the size and composition of the budget," said Mr. Bookbinder, "are some of the most critical questions that our Government has to face: What are the respective roles of the Federal Government, the state and local governments, and the private sector in assuring economic growth and social justice? Can our economic system stand the present levels of taxation? Do we have to choose between guns and butter?"

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AJRZ
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NEWS

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, April 22.....Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr., Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland of Milwaukee, Congressman Jack Kemp, Congressman William Gray III, Israeli statesman Abba Eban, West German Government Minister Alois Mertes, Israel UN Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, and American Jewish Committee President Howard I. Friedman will be among the featured speakers at the American Jewish Committee's 79th Annual Meeting, scheduled for Wednesday through Sunday, May 1-5, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel here.

The agenda to be discussed by some 500 AJC delegates from all parts of the country will include a wide range of international and domestic issues, among them Israel's current position on the international scene, East-West relations 40 years after World War II, what part the U.S. Government should play in dealing with the nation's social and economic problems, what stance religious institutions should take toward social issues, Jewish women in the corporate world, television's portrayal of the family, the current status of European Jewry, the significance of Jewish culture in today's world, Black-Jewish relations, tensions between church and state, relations between American Jews and Israel, and the continuing controversy over President Reagan's itinerary during his upcoming visit to Germany.

The committee that planned the meeting was headed by Arnold B. Gardner of Buffalo, N.Y.

Other speakers who will address the meeting include David S. Wyman, author of The Abandonment of the Jews; Rev. Elizabeth Scott, director, Justice for Women, National Council of Churches; Caryn Sneider, producer, The Cosby Show; Jean Rosenbaum, director, Jewish Museum; James Wood, editor, The Journal of

/more/

Howard I. Friedman; President; Theodore Elenson, 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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Church and State; Tom Cottle, television personality and Harvard Medical School professor; Donald Wear, CBS vice president for program policies; Henry E. Parker, Connecticut State Treasurer, and the heads of the Spanish Jewish community, the Italian Jewish community, and the international network of Jewish schools known as the Alliance Israelite Universelle.

The opening session of the meeting, set for 3 p.m., Wednesday, May 1, will feature Archbishop Rembert G. Weakland, head of the Catholic Archdiocese of Milwaukee and chairman of the drafting committee for the bishops' proposed pastoral letter on the U.S. economy, who will speak on "The Moral Imperatives of Religion." Also on the platform with Archbishop Weakland will be Theodore Ellenoff, chairman, AJC Board of Governors, who will talk on the implications for AJC of the social and economic issues addressed by Archbishop Weakland.

The next major session of the day, scheduled for 7:45 p.m., will deal with the significance that remembrance of the Holocaust holds for humanity today. The speakers will be two highly acclaimed writers, David S. Wyman, author of The Abandonment of the Jews, and Yaffa Eliach, author of Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC director of international relations, will conclude the session by examining "Lessons of the Holocaust."

Thursday's events will begin with a 9 a.m. plenary session on European Jewry today, 40 years after World War II. Headlining the discussion will be Samuel Toledano, president of the Spanish Jewish community; Tullia Zevi, president of the Italian Jewish community, and Dr. Ady Steg, president of the Alliance Israelite Universelle.

At 11 a.m. two concurrent program forums on major issues of AJC concern will take place. One, on the ways in which America's Black churches view Jews, Judaism, and Israel, will be moderated by Rabbi A. James Rudin, AJC national director of interreligious affairs, and will feature Rev. Elizabeth Scott, National Council of Churches, and Henry E. Parker, Connecticut State Treasurer; while the other, a discussion of Jewish cultural creativity, will be addressed by Joan Rosenbaum, director, Jewish Museum, and Dr. John S. Ruskay, director of education, 92nd Street YM/YWHA.

Continuing the morning's perspective on the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, the lunch session, called for 12:30 p.m., will hear Dr. Alois Mertes, State Minister in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany, as he gives his views on "East-West Relations 40 Years After World War II."

At 5 p.m. that day Judge Matthew Brown of Boston will be honored at a reception for the Appeal for Human Relations.

Six major figures will take the platform that evening, at AJC's 79th Annual Dinner, scheduled for 7:30 p.m. in the Waldorf-Astoria's Grand Ballroom. The first speaker will be Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan Jr., who will receive AJC's highest award, the American Liberties Medallion, and will respond with an address on current national issues. Presenting the award to Justice Brennan will be former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, honorary AJC president.

Following Justice Brennan will be Israel's famed statesman and diplomat, Abba Eban, who will accept AJC's Mass Media Award for the WNET series, "Heritage: Civilization and the Jews," and speak on the contribution of Jewish culture to world civilization.

Also receiving awards that evening will be Judith Rubin, president, 92nd Street YM/YWHA, and James L. Weinberg, chairman of the board, Jewish Museum, who will accept AJC's Akiba Award, presented for outstanding contributions to Jewish thought and culture, on behalf of the institutions they head.

Concluding the evening's events will be an address by Howard I. Friedman, AJC national president, who will talk on "The American Idea in Perspective."

Friday's sessions will start with a 7:30 a.m. breakfast meeting of AJC's National Committee on Women's issues, who will discuss "Jewish Women on the Way Up." Featured speakers will be Bobbie Bridge, attorney, and Jonina Ducker, IBM Market Research and Strategy Department.

Next, at a 9:30 a.m. plenary session, Dr. David M. Gordis, AJC executive vice president, will explore "Marginality and Involvement: The American Jewish Option." Following that session, delegates at an 11 a.m. program forum will hear James Wood, editor of The Journal of Church and State, give his views on the continuing controversy over church-state relations in the United States.

The lunch session that day, set for 12:30 p.m., will feature two outstanding Congressmen, Rep. Jack Kemp, Republican of New York, mentioned prominently as a Presidential candidate, and Rep. William Gray III, Democrat of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Budget Committee, who will give their views on the nation's current economic and social problems and how the Government should deal with them. At the same session will be Hyman Bookbinder, AJC Washington representative, who will ask the two Congressmen questions related to AJC's social-policy concerns; and Irving M. Levine, AJC national affairs director, who will discuss possible courses of action for the human relations agency.

The main event of the following day, Saturday, May 4, will be a 12:30 p.m. lunch session given over to an exploration of the media's portrayal of the family. Addressing the issue will be Caryn Sneider, producer, The Cosby Show; Donald Wear, CBS vice president for program policies, and Tom Cottle, television personality and Harvard Medical School professor.

Following lunch, a Sabbath study session set for 2:30 p.m. and led by Dr. Steven Katz, Cornell University professor of Near Eastern studies, will look at "The Status and Significance of the Non-Jew in Rabbinic Sources."

Sunday's sessions, both devoted to issues concerning Israel, will begin with an 8 a.m. breakfast meeting on relations between American Jews and Israel. Moderating the discussion will be Philip Ritzenberg, publisher of The Jewish Week, and giving their views will be two young Israelis visiting the United States under the Matthew and Edna Brown Young Israeli Leadership Program, and two AJC leaders.

The closing session, at 10 a.m., will hear Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, outline "Israel's Changing Position in the International Arena."

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PHILADELPHIA, April 22...The American Jewish Committee, Philadelphia Chapter, received the thanks of The Catholic Standard and Times for its stance on the anti-Catholic play "Sister Mary Ignatius Explains It All To You."

The Chapter "deplores the portrait of Catholic doctrine, belief, and behavior expressed in the play," George M. Ross, chairman of the Board, noted in a letter to the Catholic community newspaper. The letter called the portrait of the main figure "not a characterization, but a character assassination of each and every nun who has served her church and her charges with devotion and faithfulness."

"The American Jewish Committee joins with the Catholic community in combatting false and derogatory portrayals of Catholic creed and clergy," the letter continued.

The letter, which appeared in the April 11 edition of The Catholic Standard and Times, was headlined "Brotherly Support," and received a "thank you" from the editor. The full text of the letter by the American Jewish Committee reads as follows:

"Recently, The Catholic Standard and Times noted the anti-Catholic themes in the play running in Philadelphia, "Sister Mary Ignatius Explains It All To You."

"The Philadelphia chapter of the American Jewish Committee deplores the portrait of Catholic doctrine, belief, and behavior expressed in the play. The dramatization of the main character is not a characterization, but a character assassination of each and every nun who has served her Church and her charges with devotion and faithfulness. Incidents such as the mock "crucifixion" of a plastic baby doll "Jesus" are not merely tasteless, they distort and attack the central symbolism of Catholic theology. While the drama is an attack against rigid dogmatism, the depiction of Sister Mary as a crazed fanatic makes unwarranted and unacceptable imputations about the nature of religious commitment itself.

"The American Jewish Committee joins with the Catholic community in combatting false and derogatory portrayals of Catholic creed and clergy. Throughout history, Jews have often been ill served, even in "high" literature including The Merchant of Venice and Oliver Twist, by scapegoating and ugly stereotypes. Even as we grant the right of freedom of expression, I am sure our two communities share the hope that, in a pluralistic community, audiences will recognize the boundaries of bad taste, bad judgment, and misplaced satire."

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Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellennoff, 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, April 23...The following statement was issued today by Howard I. Friedman, President, and David M. Gordis, Executive Vice President, of the American Jewish Committee:

"The American Jewish Committee has labored for more than 25 years to promote good will and understanding between Germany and the United States and between Germans and Jews. Nonetheless, we wish to state in the strongest possible terms our opposition to President Reagan's planned visit to the military cemetery at Bitburg. Reactions over the last few days from Americans of many backgrounds and faiths have reinforced our conviction that the Bitburg cemetery cannot be an appropriate symbol of reconciliation. Nearly 50 members of the Nazi SS are buried there, and it is unthinkable that the site can serve as a meeting place expressive of peace and reconciliation between peoples. Let it be clearly understood: there can be no reconciliation with the unspeakable horrors perpetrated by the SS. The SS were the chief agents of Hitler's war of extermination against the Jews; they manned the ramparts of the Holocaust kingdom. It would be morally obscene for a President of the United States -- however well-meaning his intentions -- to lay a wreath at a cemetery containing SS graves. As Elie Wiesel stated at the White House this past Friday when he received the Gold Medal of Achievement: 'That place, Mr. President, is not your place. Your place is with the victims of the SS'."

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Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenooff, 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, April 24 . . . The American Jewish Committee today offered congratulations to Archbishop John J. O'Connor on his appointment by Pope John Paul II as a new Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church.

In their message of congratulations, signed by Howard I. Friedman, AJC's President, and Rabbi A. James Rudin, Director of Interreligious Affairs, the AJC said:

"We rejoice with the Archbishop and with the members of his Archdiocese in this signal honor that has come to him and to them. His positive leadership role in Catholic-Jewish relations is deeply appreciated, and we, in turn, pledge to work with the new Cardinal in building bridges of understanding between our two communities, and to work together on issues of mutual concern to our city and nation."

The AJC leaders recalled that Archbishop O'Connor addressed the AJC's Annual Meeting last May. It was his first address before a national Jewish group as the Archbishop of New York. At that time he asserted that a person "cannot be a Catholic practicing in true communion with the Catholic Church and be anti-Semitic."

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Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Elieff, 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

NEWS

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FOR RELEASE AFTER 9 A.M.
THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1985

NEW YORK, May 2 . . . While noting that Western European Jewry was reviving its heritage and identity, three European Jewish leaders also expressed concern for their vulnerable Jewish communities at a session today of the American Jewish Committee's 79th Annual Meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

The leaders, Dr. Ady Steg, of Paris, President of the Alliance Israelite Universelle (France); Tullia C. Zevi, of Rome, President of the Union of Jewish Communities in Italy; and Samuel Toledano, of Madrid, President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Spain, agreed that issues and events such as domestic politics, Israel and their European roots had affected European Jewry today. They spoke at a plenary session on "European Jewry Today," sponsored by the AJC's International Relations Department, which maintains programmatic ties with European Jewish communities and their governments. Rita Hauser, chair of AJC's Executive Committee and international lawyer, served as chairman.

In examining French Jewry, Dr. Steg, former president of CRIF, the central French Jewish coordinating body, said: "The major event in the history of the French Jewish community in the last 40 years was the massive arrival in 1962 of Jews from North Africa. As a result, the Jewish population doubled and Sephardized. The contribution of Jews from North Africa constituted a transfusion for Jewish life as our community became more dynamic, more visible, and even more religious."

He continued: "The Ashkenazi-Sephardi encounter has brought about an unprecedented renewal of Jewish cultural activity in France. For the past 15 years and especially after the election of President Mitterrand, Jews have become more involved in the country's political life, both individually and as a community."

- more -

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenooff, 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 1797

But, Dr. Steg added: "The majority of Jews do not participate in Jewish community life and there is no external restraint or curb to assimilation."

Concluding on an hopeful note, he pointed out that "Israel constitutes the most solid bond for the Jewish community, and for the first time a generation of young Jews are more Jewish than their parents."

The strong bond with Israel also affects Spain's Jewish community and its interaction with the government, said Mr. Toledano. Citing the absence of diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel, he said: "This is an aberration that should not be sustained for long."

He called on the U.S. government and friendly European governments to use their influence to help establish this relationship, adding: "The recent re-establishment of Jewish life in Spain meant adding a new page to a glorious book which was thought to be closed five centuries ago. Restoring Judaism had to be done with dignity and pride."

While the blossoming of Jewish life is encouraging, he expressed concern about the anti-Semitism and racial hatreds that, he said, are on the rise in most of Europe. He continued: "Leaving behind outdated religious prejudice of past anti-Semitism, it is now the result of an unnatural combination of extremism of the Left and the Right abetted by Islamic fanaticism that leads to an increase in violent action."

Memories of the past have also affected the situation of the Italian Jewish community and their perspective of Europe, according to Ms. Zevi, who added: "Memory also guides us in facing present problems. It sharpens the antennae with which we pick up danger signals even when these are not directly aimed at us.

"Memory of our own past migrations places us in Europe on the side of today's immigrant. We know by instinct that the future of our communities depends on the democratic future of the countries where we live."

The Italian Jewish President concluded: "Our Jewish roots are still deep in European soil. In the 1980's Europe's Jews of the first and second generation have learned to co-exist with their Holocaust-syndrome."

AJC's International Relations Commission recently conducted a series of leadership missions to Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Hungary, and to the European economic community in Strausbourg. Leo Nevas, of Westport, is commission chairman, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is director.

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 Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

* * * * *

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NATIONAL AJC TASK FORCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

Annual Meeting

May 3, 1985

Chair: Mervin H. Riseman

A G E N D A

- I. New Perspectives re Soviet Jewry: Report on Washington Meetings, April 17-18 Ruth Septee
- II. NEW YORK CHAPTER/COALITION TO FREE SOVIET JEWS: Visits with Foreign Consulates Haskell Lazere
- III. Proposed AJC Visit to the U.S.S.R. - 1986 Leo Nevas
- IV. AJC and the Community Richard Berkman
- V. New Strategies: AJC Role David Geller

- adopt resolution
- EEC
- Ottawa

85-560-12

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

STRATEGY SESSION

May 5 - 6, 1985

Vista International Hotel
3 World Trade Center
New York City

SUNDAY, MAY 5

4:00 P.M.	Registration New York Lounge
4:30 P.M.	Orientation Merchants Exchange
5:00 - 10:00 P.M.	Working Groups A) Battery Park B) City Hall C) Bowling Green
7:00 P.M.	Dinner Break
10:00 P.M.	Reception Canal/Barnum

MONDAY, MAY 6

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast Canal/Barnum
8:30 A.M.	Registration New Amsterdam Ballroom West
9:00 A.M.	Session I - Reports from Working Groups Discussion New Amsterdam Ballroom West
12:00 Noon	Lucheon Canal/Barnum
2:00 P.M.	Session II - Summary: "Experts Panel" New Amsterdam Ballroom West
3:30 P.M.	Conclusion

Special Guest: Prof. Zbigniew K. Brzezinski

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 8, 1985
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Sidney Liskofsky
subject Counter-action on the Zionism-racism resolution

I'm glad you suggested I attend the Presidents' Conference's May 2 meeting at the UN, where Ambassador Netanyahu was to discuss the Zionism-racism issue. The approximate content of the meeting was as follows:

He explained that he had initiated it to apprise the members of the plan to launch a major public offensive against the General Assembly's Zionism-racism resolution, which has proven to be more insidious than foreseen in 1975. In both intent and effect, it is not only anti-Israel but also anti-Jewish and anti-American.

The counter-action campaign would be kicked off this December with a massive public demonstration in the proximity of the UN. The timing has been selected because it is the 10th year since adoption of the Zionism-racism resolution as well as, coincidentally, the 40th anniversary of the UN's founding which is to be observed by a special ceremony at the UN attended by Heads of State and foreign ministers. Hence, a theme of the counter-action campaign will be the contrast between mankind's early hopes for the UN and the world organization's present low estate as exemplified by its role in the PLO-Arab-Soviet assault against Israel and Zionism.

In addition to the public demonstration near the UN, which would include a contingent of Falashas to underscore Israel's anti-racist character and commitment, there would be a vigil that day and the next in front of the UN missions and consulates of every country that voted for the Zionism-racism resolution. Among the demonstrators would be a large contingent of Congressmen and other public officials, including Ambassador Kirkpatrick and Senator Moynihan who have agreed to head up an international sponsoring committee as well as a fund-raising effort to finance the campaign. They will be backed by a steering committee from among the Presidents' Conference members. Several have already been selected, but others who are interested in joining will be welcome providing they are prepared to work hard "L'shma," i.e., without concern for institutional credits.

From the participants, who were quite numerous, came the following observations and suggestions:

1. Agreement with Ambassador N. that there is no point in seeking formal "repeal" of the Zionism-racism resolution, which effort would surely fail, since even if a few states dropped out from those which had voted for the 1975 resolution, the outcome of a re-vote would surely be re-affirmation.

2. The theme of the counter-action campaign should be positive and assertive, eg., Zionism is Jewish national liberation and the attack on it is itself racist, and not apologetic, ie., denial that Zionism is racism.
3. It is not enough to reach out to Americans, as by the proposed demonstration, but important to carry the message to the rest of the world.
4. Emphasis should be placed on reaching Africans; some already regret joining the anti-Zionism movement.
5. The Secretary-General should be asked to speak out on the issue.
6. Jewish representatives should visit every head of delegation who comes to New York for the 40th anniversary observance, leaving each with a position paper.
7. Important efforts need to be directed to college campuses.
8. A plan is afoot for a lawyers' conference (not identified, but perhaps a reference to the Dinstein undertaking, of which more below-SL).
9. Articles should be written; mention was made of a forthcoming issue of Midstream magazine.
10. I myself chimed in with a question about Israel's policy on participation in the UN Decade for Combating Racism (ie., not the Women's Decade), from which the US had withdrawn at the request of American Jewish groups because of the Zionism-racism connection.
11. I also piggy-backed the suggestion to focus on the Africans, calling attention to the African Human Rights Charter adopted 3-4 years ago. Its preamble considers it the duty of the African states to participate in the struggle to liberate Africa from colonialism, apartheid and (guess what?) Zionism. This Charter, a legally binding regional treaty, already has eleven (or more) ratifications and will soon come into force, and it is given in the international human rights community that its adoption represents a significant advance for human rights. I did not take time to elaborate that in academic and NGO circles where the Charter is discussed, no one questions the anomaly of the inclusion of the invidious reference to Zionism. Mentioning it, as I have done on occasion, is met with an uncomfortable silence: Either the listeners are not upset by the reference or, if troubled, are at a loss as to how to react, since they consider the Charter (the Zionism reference and certain other controversial features aside) on balance an advance for human rights. Moreover, it is the fruit of the human rights community's initiative and advocacy, and it aspires to build on it implementing mechanisms and educational efforts.

* * *

The Dinstein project, which I have not yet had the opportunity to tell you about, is as follows: When he was in New York not long ago, Yoram asked me

Memo to Marc Tanenbaum
From Sidney Liskofsky
May 8, 1985
Page 3

- to join him in conceptualizing and organizing a colloquium of top Jewish international law scholars from around the world to develop ideas on how to counteract the Zionism-racism charge, and presumably to initiate such an effort directed to the international law and other legal circles, among others. (We have not yet defined the exact target groups.) The specific Zionism-racism question would be addressed in the context of an agenda posing significant issues concerning the assumptions and actual operation of the UN system.

Yoram has received a commitment of financing for the project. His model is a seminar along the lines of the one I put together last year in Washington on the Yosif Begun case (but better in regard to public relations for which purpose he has reserved an ample sum to retain a high-class commercial firm). He wants my help in obtaining or devising auspices, determining agenda and participants, commissioning papers, etc.

In light of the information conveyed by Ambassador N., the November 1986 date I suggested to Yoram probably ought to be advanced to 1985. Yoram will be coming to New York in August for a 2-year sabbatical stay on the NYU Law Faculty; meanwhile, we are in correspondence.

* * *

The Dinstein project aside, thought needs to be given to AJC's relationship to the December 1985 undertaking described by Ambassador N.: Should we join up with the Presidents' Conference or develop an independent activity, etc.?

— write Netanyahu

SL:DG

cc: David Gordis
Richie Maass
Leo Nevas

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

DATE: 5/10/85

FROM: GEORGE E. GRUEN

TO: KENNETH BANDLER

DAVID GELLER

DAVID HARRIS

ALLAN KAGEDAN

JACOB KOVADLOFF

SIDNEY LISKOFSKY

MARC TANENBAUM

For approval

For your information

Please handle

Read and return

Returned as requested

Please telephone me

Your comments, please

REMARKS:



The American Jewish Committee

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May 10, 1985

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Stephen Shalom
Room 710
645 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Dear Stephen,

Following up on our conversation, I am sending you by messenger an updated report on the kidnapping of Jewish leaders in Lebanon. We have no independent confirmation of the reports that they are well and are being kept in the Baalbek area by a group belonging to the Hizbollah.

As far as we know, there have not been any specific ransom demands either to the family for money or to the Israelis to exchange them for Shi'ites held by Israel. One Lebanese Jewish source speculates that the fact that Salim Jammous, the secretary-general of the community, who was kidnapped last August, is reportedly alive and being held together with the others, including Dr. Hallak and Mr. Sasson, who have signature rights on the assets of the community, may mean that the kidnappers will try to force them to trade Jewish properties or bank accounts for their release. But this is only speculation at this point. Canadian Jews heard a rumor that they were killed, and I am inquiring as to the source of their information.

In any case, whatever you can find out in Syria would be helpful. If the Syrians would use their contacts in Lebanon and with the Iranians that could make a difference. I hope you can figure out a good reason why the Syrians should be helpful. It would improve their image in the U.S., -- but so would giving permission for Syrian Jews to emigrate to join their families here, and they haven't really done anything on that score lately. Has Assad's offer to Mitterrand gotten any follow up? Would the Syrian Jewish community agree to using the Satmar anti-Zionist groups as a channel for marriages? Would the Syrian government go along with such a tactic or would it be seen as patently false?

My best wishes to you and Liliane for a pleasant, safe and productive trip. I look forward to meeting with you on your return.

Sincerely

George
George E. Gruen, Ph.D
Director
Middle East Affairs

GEG:CH

bcc: Marc H. Tanenbaum/Ken Bandler

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memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 10, 1985

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Mort Yarmon

subject

This is from English~~s~~language supplement
of the Jewish Daily Forward. You may want
to pass it along.



Highlights From the 79th Meeting Of AJC

Speaking to the 79th Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee after he had received the AJC's highest award, the American Liberties Medallion, Associate Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. said:

"Our constitutional guarantees and the Bill of Rights are tissue-paper bastions if they fail to transcend the printed page. No matter how well they may be written, the guarantees have no meaning without understanding and their import. If our citizens learn only what is written on the paper, they understand little about the basic sources of protection for human rights."

"There is a danger that in our anxiety to win the race of space and technology,



William J. Brennan Jr., Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court.

we may neglect the struggle of values," Justice Brennan said. That, he felt, was because "we tend to take our values for granted as we cannot take our technology for granted."

The Executive head of AJC, Dr. David Gordis, said:

"Jews have special reason to give thanks for the uniqueness of America" in this year of commemoration at the end of World War II and of the liberation of the death camps 40 years ago. He listed U.S. friendship for Israel, its championing of the cause of Soviet Jewry, and its role in the rescue of Ethiopian Jews as "only a few of the many reasons American Jews count their blessings in this wonderful land."

"But the greatest miracle of America for Jews," he asserted, "has been the very role open to us in American society. We participate in the larger society not only as Americans but as Jews. And America welcomes our full participation as Jews, and recognizes us and respects us as full-fledged Americans. And we have responded by participating fully in the political, intellectual, and economic life of the country while at the same time creating the institutional structure of a living Jewish community."

...Jewish tradition insists that all mankind has a common root and that the commandment to Jews to "love thy neighbor as thyself" means they must

extend their concern to all men, regardless of religion or nationality.

This was the central conclusion reached by Dr. Steven Katz, professor of Near Eastern Studies at Cornell University.

Rev. Elizabeth Scott, director of Justice for Women, National Council of Churches, and Henry E. Parker, Connecticut State Treasurer, both of them Black, decried the rift that has erupted between Blacks and Jews and exhorted the two communities to rebuild their alliance against all prejudice and inequity, and to recognize that their differences were outweighed by their common bonds of oppression, faith, and hunger for justice.

...Three Jewish women, each at different stages of their corporate careers, discussed how their Jewish identity affected their careers in terms of personal values, expectations and achievements.

The panelists, Karen Gerard, former Deputy Mayor for Economic Policy for New York City and former vice-president of Chase Manhattan Bank; Bobbe Bridge, a Seattle attorney, and Jonina Duker, a specialist in research and strategic marketing for IBM's National Accounts Division, addressed the issue of how their family's expectations and conditioning supported or limited them. They also assessed the roles their gender and ethnicity played in providing them with a source of support or additional stress in their advancement in the corporate world.

...A leading authority in the field of church-state relations stated that "the decade of the 80's has seen the resurgence of the notion of America as a 'Christian nation' in a manner quite unlike any previous decade in the century." Dr. James E. Wood, Jr., added that the church-state debate had taken on a particular urgency with the rise of the political right reinforced by the rise of the new religious right.

...While noting that Western European Jewry was reviving its heritage and identity, three European Jewish leaders also expressed concern for their vulnerable Jewish communities.

...Two prominent Congressmen, differed sharply about what should be the nation's economic priorities.

Outlining his central theme, Rep. Jack Kemp, Republican of N.Y., urged that the nation adopt a "jobs creation budget," with tax reform as its central feature, because, he said: "Realistic economic policy involves positive government action—action of a kind that encourages prosperity. Action that reduces barriers to job creation and opportunity, that unfetters the wealth creation process of entrepreneurial capitalism, and that moves the whole world towards liberalized trade and strong growth." Rep. William Gray, Democrat from Pennsylvania, for his part, urged that, "in the face of government retrenchment," the nation "devise strategies that maximize the growth of private business strength while maintaining fundamental support systems for the needy." He added "My watch [as chairman of the House Budget

It sharpens the antennae with which we pick up danger signals even when these are not directly aimed at us. Memory of our own past migrations places us in Europe on the side of today's immigrant. We know by instinct that the future of our communities depends on the democratic future of the countries where we live."

...David S. Wyman, Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts and special adviser to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Board contended that during World War II:

"America, the land of refuge, offered little succor. American Christians forgot about the Good Samaritan. Even American Jews lacked the unquenchable sense of urgency the crisis demanded. The Nazis were the murderers, but we were the all too passive accomplices."



Rep. Jack Kemp

Committee] will not tolerate the vicious attacks we've seen over the past four years on those programs aimed at the least fortunate in our society."

In examining French Jewry, Dr. Ady Steg, former president of CRIF, the central French Jewish coordinating body, said: "The major event in the history of Jewish community in the last 40 years was the massive arrival in 1962 of Jews from North Africa. As a result, the Jewish population doubled and Sephardized. The contribution of Jews from North Africa constituted a transfusion for Jewish life as our community became more dynamic, more visible, and even more religious."

The strong bond with Israel affects Spain's Jewish community and its interaction with the government, said Mr. Samuel Toledo, of Madrid. "The recent re-establishment of Jewish life in Spain meant adding a new page to a glorious book which was thought to be closed five centuries ago."

Memories of the past have also affected the situation of the Italian Jewish community and their perspective of Europe, according to Ms. Tullia C. Zevi, President of the Union of Jewish Communities in Italy, who added: "Memory also guides us in facing present problems.



(Honorable)Abba Eban.

Abba Eban, former Israeli Ambassador to the United States, accepted an Award on behalf of the TV program, *Heritage: Civilization and the Jews*, for which he was the narrator, stating that "after thousands of years, the Jews stand small, dispersed, vulnerable, but still inspired by a large and spacious ambition. Still hoping to see great visions and to dream great dreams, the people with a voice whose echoes never die."

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WHO IS A JEW?

Daniel J. Elazar

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

*Emergence of the Post-Modern Question / Definitions through History / The Modern Era:
Secularism / Problems of the Post-Modern Definition of Jewishness / Kinship and Consent /
Toward a Resolution of "Who Is a Jew?"*

EMERGENCE OF THE POST-MODERN QUESTION

The question, "Who is a Jew?", is in essence a post-modern question. Not only is it a product of the breakdown of the corporate basis of Jewish identity associated with the traditional Jewish community, which occurred during the modern epoch. It also arises from the modern redefinition of Jewishness which has made it possible, in the short span of the post-modern epoch to date (i.e., since 1948), for Jews to redefine their Jewishness in strictly individual terms (rather than in group terms, which was the modern formula). Obviously, such a statement must be qualified by a recognition that in a purely definitional sense, ever since the Jewish people was established, one could have asked the question, "who is a Jew?" In every generation Jewishness had to be defined.

DEFINITIONS THROUGH HISTORY

The earliest definition of who is a Jew was, "one descended from the male line of Abraham through Isaac, Jacob, and Jacob's twelve sons." The second known definition, an elaboration of the first, provided that only Jews could eat of the Pesach sacrifice (Exodus, Ch. 14). Thus, one's Jewishness continued to rest upon tribal ancestry. The political division of the twelve tribes into two kingdoms did not even raise the question. It was accepted that the citizens of both the northern and the southern kingdom were Israelites, members of *adat b hei Israel* (the assembly of Israelites). Indeed, efforts were made to utilize existing

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institutions such as a common teaching and common prophets, to maintain at least a modicum of unity within the *edah* despite the division. Hence, once the northern kingdom was destroyed, there was no problem of reunification. Quite the contrary, the ceremonies of citizenship, particularly the observance of the Pesach sacrifice, were used to renew old ties (II Chron. 35).

From those early times to the breakdown of the traditional community, the definition of who is a Jew was essentially a corporate one, having to do with family and position in the body of the Jewish people. A case in point was the matter of accepting the Samaritans into the Jewish fold after the Babylonian exile—the first time the question of “who is a Jew” arose as an issue. The question was not whether to accept individuals, but the group as a whole. While even corporate definitions have to be applied on an individual basis—at the very least to the point where an individual recognizes himself as part of the body which defines him—once standard measures were adopted, this apparently was not a problem in the past, with certain exceptions during the latter part of the Hellenistic period.

A more critical situation developed in the division between *hassidim* and *mityavnim* (Hellenists). The latter were considered traitors by the former but still did not cease to be regarded as Jews; they continued to be Jews by descent. So, too, despite the intense rivalries between the Pharisees and Sadducees, the question of the Jewishness of either group was not a real one, only the way in which their Jewishness was made manifest.

At the same time, the emergence of a group of non-Jews drawn to Judaism did raise questions regarding admission to the Jewish group. The Jews resolved these without creating any general confusion (if our sources are to be believed), principally by setting down clear regulations for conversion and standards for maintaining Jewish descent. The rules for conversion and standards for determining Jewish descent established at that period remain halachically binding to this day, serving as the foundations for the contemporary halachic stance with regard to who is a Jew. It could be argued that, the very fact that new rules were developed at the time suggests there was a problem. But it seems to be more a problem of admission into the Jewish people than of determining who remained within the fold. In any case, with the rise of Christianity and, subsequently, Islam, both of which closed off the possibilities of proselytization to add new members to the Jewish group, and intermarriage which created marginal cases, the issue became moot, probably excepting occasional peripheral cases, until the breakdown of the medieval Jewish community.

Thus, if the issue arose at all, it was only with regard to occasional problematic cases, individuals on the boundaries of the Jewish community, whose status was in doubt. Moreover, the community itself had a clear sense of what constituted Jewishness and, hence, who was a Jew. When authoritative spokesmen had to rule on the marginal cases, they had clear guidelines to apply, widely accepted by the entire community. The most serious problems of definition of who was a Jew continued to revolve around occasional religious divisions within the Jewish people as a whole, such as between Rabbinites and Karaites.

THE MODERN ERA: SECULARISM

The modern epoch of Jewish life can be said to have begun in the middle of the seventeenth century. The first and most articulate exponent of modern Jewish identity was Baruch Spinoza, perhaps the first secular Jew of all time. Spinoza no longer believed in the Jewish faith or practiced the Jewish religion, but he also saw no need to convert to any other religion or adopt any other faith system. It was sufficient for him to be a philosopher and to understand the truth as he saw it through the system of his philosophy. The very

fact that he felt free to become what only later would be called a secular Jew, pointed to the direction which modernity would take. The fact that he was excommunicated by the Jewish community of Amsterdam, apparently as a result of real or perceived pressures from the non-Jewish authorities, is a sign that he was ahead of his time. It took another 150 years before the possibilities of secular Jewish existence became real.

Throughout the latter part of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Jews who no longer believed continued to maintain the outward forms of Jewish practice to a greater or lesser extent. Toward the end of that period some converted to Christianity, in which they also did not believe but which they saw as giving them entree into general European society. The result was that in the nineteenth century a new category of Jew emerged in the popular consciousness—one who no one would suggest was a Jew halachically or a member of the Jewish community, but by being of Jewish ancestry was considered by Jews and non-Jews alike to be “Jewish.” I refer to the Felix Mendelsohns, Benjamin Disraelis, and Karl Marxes of the world. In some cases (e.g., Mendelsohn and Disraeli) they claimed a Jewish connection. In others (e.g., Marx) they vehemently denied it. But the world saw them as somehow Jewish, although they had no status in Jewish life other than that conferred upon them by popular adulation or condemnation. (It should be noted that the only Jews in this marginal category that captured the popular imagination, were the famous. Many thousands of non-famous Jews assimilated without seeking Jewish identity, as is the case with so many people today.)

One characteristic of modernity was the aspect of clear choice; people chose to be either in or out. Having lost their corporate status, the Jews were redefined in group terms as a religion or, later, as a nation. Under this new definition, individuals could decide whether they wanted to be in or out. Except for the few famous ones referred to above, the many who chose to opt out tended to break completely. It took modern anti-Semitism and its principal product, Nazi racism, to prevent them from doing so.

Only in the post-modern epoch do we encounter the phenomenon of individuals who regard themselves as Jewish (on an ethnic, national or even religious basis) taking steps that will force consign them to a twilight zone with regard to their Jewishness, for example, marrying non-Jews where neither spouse converts and producing children whose identity is not clear. The old definitions have broken down, in practice, and even to some extent formally.

PROBLEMS OF THE POST-MODERN DEFINITION OF JEWISHNESS

The current definition of “who is a Jew” essentially works like a prism. One can view being Jewish from the perspective of the Jewish religion, *hadat hayehudit*; and/or from that of ethnic descent—being a member of *Am Israel* (the Jewish people)—which primarily involves kinship; and/or as a matter of civic association, i.e., membership in *Adat B'nei Israel* (the assembly or congregation of Israelites), which has to do with civic or political linkages. All three dimensions comprise the whole. Being Jewish does involve *dat, am, ve-edah*. Some Jews identify with all facets of the prism, while others emphasize one or two of its sides. For example, in our time there are some Jews who regard being Jewish principally as a religious phenomenon, and some who entirely reject the religious dimension of Jewish life but see themselves as citizens of the Jewish people, or as ethnically Jewish.

Since the 1970s there has been a strong movement in the diaspora, as well as in Israel, to make *political* expressions of Judaism the most visible ones. Although this is especially true with young people, it is not confined to them. Jews no longer motivated by religious faith still take to the streets or engage in political

activity on behalf of the Jewish people. Elsewhere I have pointed out that this is a great reversal from the situation of post-emancipation Jewry. One hundred years ago, the Haskala poet Y. L. Gordon coined the oft-quoted aphorism, "Be a Jew in your tent and a man in the street." Today Jews who do not know how to be Jews in their tents and, indeed, are like everyone else at home, choose to be Jews in the streets, to publicly demonstrate their Jewishness through their political activity. Indeed, for many diaspora Jews political activity has superseded the emphasis on Jewish ethnicity which was so popular in the west in the late 1960s, when it was being offered as a more appropriate means of Jewish expression. Similarly, for many Israeli Jews, political commitment to the State has superseded the Jewish cultural nationalism which arose in Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century as the answer to the modern Jewish condition.

Today the question of "who is a Jew" has special legal and empirical dimensions which must be taken into consideration. The legal question has two aspects: the halachic and the civil. In turn each of these has two dimensions. For a long time the halachic sphere had only one—the issue of Orthodox or non-Orthodox conversion, which was as much a political as a halachic matter. That is to say, not only was there the halachic question of whether a non-Orthodox conversion was properly performed, but there was a political question as to whether Orthodox recognition of non-Orthodox conversions, even if conducted with punctilious attention to the halacha, would grant legitimacy to non-Orthodox rabbis.

There is little doubt that substantively this issue could be resolved to the satisfaction of most Jews, were the political question to be set aside. The Conservative movement and a substantial segment of the Reform movement, including its Israeli branch, would be willing to accept the requirements of halachic conversion, provided their rabbis could do the converting. But, of course, the political issue is of great significance, for good and real reasons. The good reason is that the Orthodox question the knowledge of halacha on the part of Conservative and especially of Reform rabbis, while the real reason is the power struggle between Orthodox and non-Orthodox for standing within and control of the Jewish people.

The second halachic dimension which has just recently emerged is that of patrilineal descent, whereby certain Reform Jews, and now the Reform movement as a whole, have proposed recognizing patrilineal as well as matrilineal descent as the basis for determining Jewishness without conversion. The basic position of this camp is that children of one Jewish parent, whether it be mother or father, who are educated in Jewish schools and who go through appropriate rites of passage, will be deemed Jewish by virtue of that combination. For the idea's Reform originators, the halachic issue was insignificant. To the extent that members of the Conservative movement are now taking up the cudgels on behalf of this approach, they are trying to reconcile it with halacha by calling for halachic change.

The two aspects of the civil legal issue are the situation in Israel, and that in the diaspora. The law-making bodies of the State of Israel—the Knesset and Supreme Court—have in effect developed a non-halachic definition of "who is a Jew," grounded in halacha...but even stricter in some respects. The case of Brother Daniel illustrated this point. There the Supreme Court ruled that Brother Daniel could be considered Jewish halachically; but the notion of a Jew who had formally embraced another religion was so repugnant to the Jewish people that for Israeli purposes he would not be considered Jewish.

All in all, the Law of Return, however much it recognizes halacha, is a law of the State with criteria established by the State. In this respect, it, like so much other Israeli legislation, can be seen as the revival of the second of the two categories of Jewish law found in earlier periods of Jewish statehood—the Torah with its halacha on one hand, and *mishpat hamelucha* (literally, the law of the kingdom) on the other. *Mishpat hamelucha*, which dates back to the institution of kingship in the days of Samuel and Saul (I Samuel 10), is related to the halacha of the Torah, but also moves in directions of its own to accommodate real situations from a more civil perspective.

In the diaspora, there is no such formal arrangement to express the civil dimension; rather there are some tacit understandings prevalent among Jews. At one time these, too, were more strict than the halachic requirements. Many Jews never quite accepted converts to Judaism for reasons which are best described as tribalistic. In other words, whatever the formal change, an outsider was not considered capable of becoming a member of the tribe. Today, that phenomenon has diminished in the United States, where the common Americanism of non-Jews and Jews alike has eliminated many of the differences which made Jews feel uncomfortable with non-Jews in their midst. It may still prevail, however, in other Jewish communities, where relations between Jews and non-Jews are less close. On the other hand, in countries like the United States, there is probably a passive popular permissiveness today which not only accepts converts but which accepts those who have not converted into the Jewish fold as long as they want to live as Jews.

KINSHIP AND CONSENT

Empirical reality also has two dimensions relating to Jewish identity and behavior, each of which has two aspects of its own. The two dimensions of Jewish identity can be labeled kinship and consent. Traditionally, being Jewish is a combination of both. In a corporate sense, the Jewish people are descendants of a single family, subsequently divided into tribes, who have achieved peoplehood through affirmation and reaffirmation of their covenant with God. Thus there is both an organic quality to being Jewish and a consensual one. Different Jewish thinkers at different times emphasized the one over the other. For example, the Maharal (Rabbi Judah Loew) of Prague and the Lubavitcher Rebbe, by claiming that the Jews possess a special Divine spark, have demonstrated strong commitment to the centrality of the organic dimension (hence the Chabad resistance to converts to Judaism), while Saadia Gaon and Martin Buber have emphasized the dimension of consent. In fact, both are vital elements of any common Jewishness.

Today more than ever, there is a sharp dichotomy between the two for many Jews. That is to say, there are many Jews who are Jews by kinship—descent—but not by consent. They accept their Jewishness as a fact of life without being committed to Jewish belief, practice, norms, or interests. The tribalistic attitude toward converts referred to above is a reflection of the most simple dimension of this phenomenon, but the phenomenon also reflects itself in an openness to intermarriage on the part of people who do not renounce their Jewishness but simply accept it as an incidental factor in their lives, like being born in England or Texas. In other words, the kinship dimension, once a strong force for endogamy, has now, when taken alone, become at best neutral. It is often an opening for intermarriage without the conversion of the non-Jewish partner because of the lessened importance of descent in the post-modern world. Consent, on the other hand, once confined to those who shared common kinship, has now opened new possibilities for conversion to Judaism, especially since even those born Jews must more than ever actively consent to being Jewish, that is, to take on the obligations of Jewish life.

The behavioral dimension also has two manifestations—yes or no. Either Jews choose to behave as Jews or they do not. Obviously there are shadings for those who say yes and there may even be some for those who say no, although that is less likely. But the basic division remains between those who want to behave as Jews, however they define that behavior, as long as it is within bounds acceptable to other Jews (e.g., Jewish Christians are not acceptable) and those who simply say no, that have no such interest. When the latter marry out they simply cease to be Jews, even if they nominally remain Jewish by descent, whereas the former are always open to becoming “more Jewish.”

The periodic crises in Israel reflect how this works. The 1967 and 1973 Israeli-Arab wars have a strong image in the popular mind as having brought many Jews "out of the woodwork" to support Israel and identify with it at times of crisis. In fact, the studies show that very few Jews came forward who had not already answered yes to the behavioral question, i.e., who were not already members of synagogues or otherwise had taken some steps to actively demonstrate their Jewishness. On the contrary, the wars widened the gap between those who said yes and those who said no, with the latter demonstrating no special concern with Israel's predicament.

As we have seen, these various dimensions lead to different results in Israel and the diaspora, principally because Israel is a closed framework and the diaspora an open one. Israel, as a bounded polity considered by one and all to be a Jewish state, functions to maintain the Jewish identity of virtually everyone born Jewish living within its boundaries, and relatively easily absorbs those who have converted to Judaism. Unless the Rabbinate intervenes, it will also absorb those whose precise Jewish status is legally unclear but who identify themselves as Jewish. Someone living in a Jewish environment who is married to a Jew or otherwise seeks to be identified as one, is likely to be absorbed or to "pass" (unless he or she is from the indigenous non-Jewish population and thereby embedded in their own matrix of family, communal, religious, and national ties).

Every diaspora community, on the other hand, is essentially a series of concentric circles, uneven in size, revolving around some central magnet of Jewishness. The circles closest in—those most drawn to the magnet—are the most Jewish, while the outer circles range from people only nominally Jewish to those who have said no, as it were, or fade into a gray area where the simple facts of their Jewishness are in doubt. In those outer circles people are likely to move in and out without going through a formal process but also without becoming part of the Jewish community in any way. However much they may "feel Jewish," they are more likely to move out than in, as the children of intermarriages continue to marry out.

Diaspora communities must, perforce, live with this situation because they are open and unbounded, but it is a situation which defies legal definition. Any effort to recognize it legally is likely to irrevocably split the Jewish people—something to be avoided at almost any cost. Yet in Israel there must be a legal definition because one's personal status, including the ability to contract marriage and arrange the site of one's burial place (not to mention other benefits and obligations) depend upon it. The argument for the introduction of civil marriage and divorce in Israel is, in effect, an argument that Israel too must become unbounded insofar as being Jewish is concerned—legally making Jewishness strictly a matter of individual self-definition as is the case in any other modern western state. But as long as there is a serious body of Jews in Israel with a state-supported establishment who oppose that kind of redefinition of who is a Jew, all that such a change would do is to permanently divide the Jewish people into two separate groups. Under such conditions it would be easier for those in the second to marry non-Jews than to marry other Jews in the first.

TOWARD A RESOLUTION OF "WHO IS A JEW"

How do we confront this situation and deal with it to provide a definition of "who is a Jew" which will conform to appropriate Jewish standards, and at the same time win the consent of the vast majority of the Jewish people? It seems to me that we must begin by understanding that being Jewish is a matter of citizenship rather than merely a religious faith or an ethnic or national identity as understood by modern Jews. A Jew is a Jew because he or she is part of the Jewish people and accepts the obligations involved therein.

In the diaspora this has two consequences. Many non-Jews who marry Jews refuse to convert, or are not asked to convert by their spouses, because they are not "religious." Understanding conversion as joining the Jewish people and acquiring a new citizenship (in the diaspora, a second citizenship, as it were) could be the way to offer them a basis for conversion otherwise lacking. On the other hand, for those converts who accept Judaism in a strictly religious vein but have no interest in developing ties with the Jewish community—a very real phenomenon now showing up in studies of the subject—we will have reason to make every effort to explain to them that being Jewish by religion is not sufficient. The evidence is mounting that most of the converts to Judaism in the United States, for example, see Judaism through Christian eyes, that is to say, as a religious faith and no more. This means that they do not find their way into the Jewish community and, moreover, do not transmit to their children that they are part of the Jewish people. In other words, they perceive being Jewish as a matter of individual choice, much as it is in Protestantism. This undercuts the purpose of conversion in the first place, namely, to insure that future generations will remain Jewish.

On the other hand, there are those born Jews who see being Jewish as primarily an ethnic phenomenon, a matter of kinship. They must be brought to the realization that there are civic obligations in Jewish life as well, civic duties that include a strong religious dimension, but which are not merely those of ritual behavior. This is as true of most Israeli Jews as it is of Jews in the diaspora. Israeli Jews increasingly view their civic obligations as Israeli obligations rather than Jewish ones and, however much they see themselves as Jews (and most do, by all counts), do not necessarily recognize the obligations that flow from being Jewish per se. Obviously, for those Jews who are within the religious community, this sense of Jewish obligation is present, but for many of them as well, the idea of Jewish citizenship is an important one to foster, since they will tend to confine their obligations to those between man and God rather than those between man and his neighbor.

To suggest that being Jewish is a matter of citizenship is not a departure from Jewish tradition, but rather crystallization of that tradition in terms that are both contemporary and which hark back to the oldest definition of being Jewish. The concept of citizenship returns us to the definition of *ezrah* introduced at the time of the exodus from Egypt, to define who is a Jew (Exodus 13ff). There the obligations of citizenship were explicitly delineated, beginning with participation in the Pesach sacrifice to accepting one's military responsibilities if one were a male of military age.

I have little doubt that the basic rights and obligations of citizenship presented in the Torah can be used to provide an often appropriate definition of same for our times. Indeed, there is reason to believe that contemporary Jews have unconsciously or unknowingly returned to that definition in many ways. For example, all studies show that the most popular Jewish religious ritual in Israel and the diaspora is the Pesach seder, with well over 90 percent of all Jews participating in some meal which they define as a seder on the first night of Pesach. On the other hand, the military obligation is one shared most fully by Israeli Jews. One could go on and examine the other rights and obligations of citizenship presented in the Torah and find that equivalents have emerged in our time which are popularly used to define what constitutes a good Jew. Thus, being an *ezrah* of the Jewish people remains the best definition of who is a Jew.

There are at least two ways to become an *ezrah*. There are those born into *ezrahut*; and there are *gerei tzedek* (righteous converts—a Mishnaic invention), those who have chosen to become *ezrahim*. In connection with the former, there is only the problem of consenting to the obligations of being Jewish. In the case of the latter, we have the problem of standardized procedures. In my opinion, it is necessary to insist upon standardized procedures, but to avoid confining the right to administer those procedures to one

or another branch of Judaism. In other words, conversion by any rabbi who has applied those standardized procedures should be accepted. There are obvious reasons why the Orthodox community finds that position a difficult one to accept, not only in terms of the recognition that it extends to non-Orthodox rabbis but also substantively, as I indicated above, with regard to the accuracy of the procedures. Nevertheless, in a Jewish world which is not only pluralistic but overwhelmingly non-Orthodox, this is a political necessity if Jewish unity is to be maintained. It will not even be easy to insist on standard procedures but at least it is possible; and reasonable people will accept it as justifiable. On the other hand, failure to accept this approach whereby any legitimate rabbi can apply standard procedures will lead, as it has now, to each movement deciding for itself how to convert non-Jews to Judaism, which will cause far greater rifts and problems in the Jewish people than some modest or accidental deviation from the halacha as interpreted by the Orthodox community in the conversion process.

This leaves us with the problem of unconverted partners and their children. Perhaps we can begin to find an answer to that problem by re-examining the Biblical concept of *ger toshav* (resident alien), which developed parallel to that of *ezrah* at the very dawn of Jewish peoplehood. We should have room in our midst for *gerim toshavim* who conform to our customs and who abjure the customs of other religions. This is particularly true in Israel, where, as in ancient times, the power of the environment is likely to bring them into the fold and, if not them, their children. It is more problematic in the diaspora where in an open society in which the Jews constitute a tiny minority, the pressures are in another direction. (The evidence we have on that score is not encouraging since even in those mixed marriages where it is claimed that the children are being raised as Jews, there is a very high incidence of Christmas observance—60 percent or more—and even Easter observance in nearly 20 percent.)

If this is to be done, especially clear ground rules for being a *ger toshav* must be established, including a procedure for formally absorbing the children into the Jewish fold. Such a process should include the combination of affiliation with Jewish institutions, participation in Jewish education and programs, and fulfillment of certain observances and basic rites of passage. This approach can answer the patrilineal descent argument by opening the door for conversion through a process without changing an accepted halachic canon, but at some point there will have to be a formal conversion to move from *ger toshav* status to that of *ezrah*.

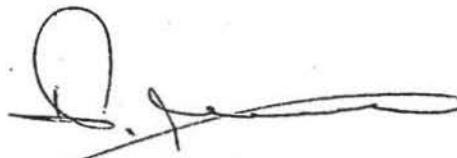
To summarize, being Jewish has historically always been a double-edged matter, involving kinship and consent, being a member of *Am Israel*, the Jewish people, by birth or conversion, and also playing an active role as a citizen of *Adat B'nei Israel*, the assembly or congregation of Israelites, a matter which requires more or less initiative on the part of every Jew, depending on his or her circumstances. These two dimensions of Jewishness remain as valid today as ever. They include, but are not exhausted by, religious commitment. They recognize that the Jewish people is both a religious civilization and a nation which functions with its own polity. Thus Jewish identity is multi-faceted. It is possible for Jews to identify wholly through every facet or, in our times, partially through several but not all. This is a reality with which we can live—as long as the facets are clearly understood, there is some multiple identification with them, along with assumption of appropriate obligations, and there are standardized means of acquiring citizenship in the *edah*.

* * * * *

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : May 14th, 1985
to : Marc H. Tanenbaum
from : Sergio Nudelstejer
subject : Lectures on Latin America.



I wish to inform you that the Bet-El Congregation in Mexico (Conservative) which sponsors an Institute of Continuous Education for adults under the name of "TZE ULEMAD" invited me to participate in their second stage of cultural activities.

As of May 28th, I will give a series of lectures during a Seminar which bears the general title of: "The Jewish Communities in Latin America - Present Time and Future Perspectives".

The subjects of my three lectures are as follows:

- 1.- CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN - Crisis and Unbalance.
- 2.- SOUTH AMERICA - The Democratic Opening
- 3.- MEXICO - Facing a New Reality.

The Bet-El Congregation will give full credit to the American Jewish Committee for my participation in these lectures.

Please find enclosed the program that the Institute of Continuous Education for Adults prepared for this Seminary.

As always, my best and cordial regards.

Copies: David Gordis
Dayid Harris

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STEERING COMMITTEE
of the
COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Leo Nevas, Chairman

MISSION TO WASHINGTON
April 17-18, 1985

S C H E D U L E

Wednesday, April 17

4:00 p.m.

Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State
for European and Canadian Affairs

Location: State Department
2201 C Street, N.W.
Tel. 632 - 9626

6:30 p.m.

Dinner

Guests: Martin Gilbert, Professor of History at
Oxford University and official
biographer of Winston Churchill

Yoram Dinstein, Rector of Tel Aviv
University

Yehoshua Pratt, Minister, Embassy
of Israel

Billy Keyserling, Director, Washington
Office of National Conference of
Soviet Jewry

Discussion Topic: Soviet Jewry - Are We
at a Crossroads?

Location: Embassy Row Hotel
2015 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Tel. 265 - 1600

Thursday, April 18

8:00 a.m.

Breakfast and Steering Committee Business
Meeting

Guest: Harry Schwartz, South African
Member of Parliament (Progressive
Federal Party) and Officer of the
South African Board of Deputies

Location: Embassy Row Hotel

10:30 a.m.

Briefing on Capitol Hill

Location: To be announced

Noon

National Holocaust Commemoration

Location: Capitol Rotunda

1:30 p.m.

Lunch

Guest: Judith Kipper, Resident Scholar,
American Enterprise Institute

Discussion Topic: Current Arab Political Attitudes vis a vis the Middle East

Location: AJC Conference Room
2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Tel. 265 - 2000

3:00 p.m.

Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs

Location: State Department
Tel. 636 - 2530

3:00 p.m.

His Excellency El Sayed Abdel Raouf El Reedy,
Egyptian Ambassador to the United States

Location: Egyptian Chancery
2310 Decatur Place, N.W.
Tel. 232 - 5400

4:15 p.m.

Howard Teicher, Deputy Director,
Near East/South Asia Affairs, National
Security Council

Location: Old Executive Office Building
17th Street Entrance
Tel. 395 - 5650



KACH INTERNATIONAL

4712 AVENUE N [SUITE-211]
* BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11234 *

5/23/85

Dear Concerned Jew,

The primary function of any legitimate government is to make sure that its citizens are safe from crime and violence inside its borders. The release, last Monday, of 1150 Arab terrorists, 650 of whom were let go inside of Israel, was the act of a regime that has lost its reason for being. In effect, Israel has told the young Arab nationalists and terrorists that, "It's okay. You can kill Jews. Yes, you may spend a few years in prison, but eventually you'll return home and when you do, you'll be hailed as a hero in your community." And the problem goes much deeper than this because Shimon Peres and Company was planning to keep in jail the only people who tried to counter Arab terror, the Jewish Underground, and they would have had not a tremendous outcry occurred on the Underground's behalf. In effect, the government of Israel was willing to impose a double standard on their own people with the better treatment going to the Arabs who are trying to destroy our one Jewish State.

If you are angered, outraged and sickened by this betrayal of Jewish values, as we are, then you can congratulate yourself on having normal emotions. But make your congratulations short because to solve the immense problems we, the Jewish people, face requires more than emotion, even more than prayer. Those of us who can think--who can distinguish right from wrong, good from evil--must act and must do. We have little time left to reverse the trends exhibited by the politicians last week that would surely lead Israel down the road to disaster. That is why on behalf of Rabbi Kahane I am personally inviting you to the first formal meeting of the Kach Party at 10:30 am, Sunday, June 9th in Brooklyn, at the Young Israel of Canarsie, 1265 East 108th St. corner of Ave. M. The meeting is free and open to the public, so be sure to tell all your friends.

Our first meeting should be a very exciting because we will show you excerpts from a new videotape of Rabbi Kahane which has never been seen before in the New York Area. It is simply not good enough to sit back and agree with the principles of Kach. We must organize and do that which is necessary to save our one Jewish State. And the first thing you should do is to attend the Kach meeting and be sure to tell other people about it. I know I will be there, so I hope to see you too.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Sidman

Kenneth Sidman
National Coordinator
Boston, Ma.



KACH INTERNATIONAL

4712 AVENUE N (SUITE-211)
* BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11234 *

IF YOU CANNOT ATTEND, PLEASE HELP US TO SPREAD THIS VITAL
MESSAGE.

SEND YOUR CHECK TO:

KACH INTERNATIONAL INC.
4712 AVE. N (SUITE 2111)
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11234

PATRON.....	\$250
SPONSOR.....	180
BENEFATOR.....	100
FAMILY MEMBERSHIP.....	36
INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP.....	26



Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum



May 24, 1985

In April 1985, fighting erupted in the Sidon area, which had been evacuated by the IDF on February 16 during the first phase of a three stage withdrawal. Participants in the clashes included, on the one hand, the Lebanese Forces and, on the other hand, Palestinian Arab terrorists from the surrounding camps along with members of the Sunni groups from Sidon.

On April 24, the Lebanese Forces -- led by Samir Geagea -- decided to withdraw their units from the combat area north of Junieh. At the same time as this withdrawal took place, Jumblatt's Druze militias seized control of Aklim al-Harub and the port of Jiah. Following this, the defenseless Christian inhabitants of the area northeast of Sidon abandoned their homes, fleeing to Jezin and southwards to the Christian villages of southern Lebanon.

The Moslem forces seized all of the Christian villages east of Sidon, pillaging and burning the homes. They were stopped at the village of Plus in Jezin's vicinity by Lahad's forces which had organized a defense of Jezin.

Currently, 18,000 refugees are located in southern Lebanon and several thousand more in Jezin itself.

At the beginning of these events, Israel clearly and without leaving any room for doubt informed the Lebanese Forces that it would not intervene in the fighting in any manner and that the move itself would be a mistake, carrying the seeds of another disaster for the Christians. Lahad, also, was told by Israel that the IDF would not intervene by backing the South Lebanese Army in its activities beyond the security zone.

With the arrival of the first refugees at the Christian villages in southern Lebanon, emergency headquarters were established by representatives from the local villages in cooperation with Israel's Liaison Unit in order to facilitate the refugees' absorption in the area. Many took refuge in schools and in public institutions, while those who did not find shelter were provided with tents by the IDF. From its supply depots, the IDF gave mattresses, blankets, and food, and provided also medical care to those in need. Additional food supplies and equipment were received from voluntary organizations in Israel and from a limited number of international organizations.

The presence of refugees in the Christian villages of the security zone creates economic and social problems:

- the funds which the refugees initially brought with them have now been depleted, while most of their money remains in Sidon's banks;
- the economic condition of the families hosting the refugees is poor and they are incapable of financing the refugees' expenses;
- in addition to the ferment arising from the economic problem, tension is developing also against a political background, because the

refugees did not make an effort to defend themselves while the soldiers of the South Lebanese Army are doing all the fighting for them;

-- the schools in the Christian villages sheltering the refugees are paralyzed, the pupils are wandering around with nothing to do, and they are unable to take the year's final exams (in contrast with the Shi'ite villages where the studies are continuing as usual, a fact generating internal tension).

Israel is interested in finding a way to return the refugees to their homes, notwithstanding the hostile propaganda claiming that Israel intends to buttress the security zone with a Christian population. The presence of the refugees in the south is destabilizing and does not contribute to tranquility in the area.

However, at this stage, no solution is in sight which would enable the refugees to return to their homes. Therefore, humanitarian assistance -- from whatever source -- is necessary and the situation must not be allowed to deteriorate and reach famine levels.



GARY SIEGEL, PH.D., MBA, CPA

APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

6025 N. CHRISTIANA

CHICAGO, IL 60659

(312) 478-9290

May 28, 1985

Dr. David M. Gordis
Executive Vice President
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, NY 10022

Subject: Opinion Research for Organizational Development

Dear David:

This is a proposal for an opinion research study to determine how key segments of the American Jewish population perceive the American Jewish Committee (hereinafter AJC). The purpose of the study is to generate information that will enable AJC to create optimal communication strategies to:

- a) promote greater awareness and appreciation of AJC's role and importance to the target population
- b) enhance AJC's image among the target population, and
- c) attract new members and contributors.

The following is an outline of my scope of services as Project Director, our methods of working together, and a timetable.

I. Scope of Services

- A. The project will begin with orientation of Project Director and staff, specification of objectives and literature review. Project Director will then design the study.
- B. The Project Director will work with selected personnel at AJC to develop a questionnaire. The questionnaire will be reviewed by experienced survey-research methodologists.

- C. Once the Project Director and AJC are satisfied with the structure and content of the survey instrument, the questionnaire will be pretested on a small sample of the target population.
- D. The pretested questionnaire will be modified as necessary and pre-coded for the main test.
- E. A scientific sampling plan will be developed for main-phase testing. The questionnaire will be administered to a national random sample of selected groups of American Jews.
- F. After questionnaire responses are keypunched, the Project Director will analyze the data.
- G. AJC will receive oral and written progress reports and a final report from the Project Director. The final report will describe the current structure of opinion toward AJC and prescribe the promotional and message strategies that would be most effective for inducing desired results.
- H. The Project Director will review AJC's promotional material and public information messages to ensure that both message content and tone are in conformity with the recommendations of the study.

II. The Professional Staff

The scientific staff assigned to this project are highly qualified, experienced social scientists familiar with the issues relevant to this project.

III. Timetable

The work will begin immediately upon acceptance of this proposal. Assuming a June 15th acceptance, orientation, refinement of purpose, and design of study can be completed by late July. The questionnaire will be developed and the sample drawn in August.

The questionnaire will be pre-tested and administered after Labor Day.

Data can be collected over a two-to-three week period using telephone interviews, or a two-to-three month period using mail interviews.

A more detailed timetable, with target dates for key events, will be developed once the project is approved.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

IV. Other Considerations

- A. The data is the property of AJC.
- B. The Project Director and AJC will respect the confidentiality of individual responses and adhere to the ethical standards set forth in the code of the American Association for Public Opinion Research. Specifically, each party agrees not to publish or otherwise divulge the contents of individual responses received as part of this project.
- C. It would be appreciated if the role of the Project Director were acknowledged in any publication or publicity referring to this study or the results of the study.
- D. The Project Director may submit for approval to AJC an outline of a proposed article for a professional journal. If such approval is granted, the Project Director may prepare the article for publication.

VI. Fee Payment Schedule

- A. The charges for the work to be done, as described above, total \$26,500. This includes professional fees (scientific and editorial), computer programming costs, computer processing charges, and clerical/technical assistance.

In addition, AJC will be billed for the costs of travel, xerox, telephone, data entry (keypunch), sampling and data collection. Data collection includes either printing and postage cost for mail surveys or interviewing costs for telephone surveys. Mail surveys cost about \$5 per completed interview; phone research costs \$10 - \$25 per interview. (Number of interviews depends on complexity of study design and the amount of sampling error you are willing to accept.) Aproximate number of interviews needed: 600-1000.

- B. The work will be divided into three major phases:

Phase I includes orientation, specification of objectives, literature review, and study design.

After reviewing AJC informational material, the Project Director and an associate will spend two days in AJC's New York office -- one day for information gathering and one for a planning meeting.

The cost for Phase I is \$ 6,500.

Phase II includes questionnaire construction, pretesting, sampling, data collection, editing and keypunching. The cost for Phase II is \$ 9,000.

Phase III includes data analysis and report writing. The cost for Phase III is \$ 11,000.

- C. Payment Schedule: \$4000 with signed proposal
2500 at completion of Phase I
3000 at first draft of questionnaire
3000 at beginning of Phase II pretesting
3000 at completion of Phase II
4000 at beginning of Phase III
4500 at first draft of final report
2500 at acceptance of final report

- D. Billings for expenses will be submitted monthly.

Dr. David M. Gordis
Page 5

You may be assured that this study will be based on sound scientific principles, utilizing the most precise measuring techniques available in the social sciences. AJC may apply the results of this study with utmost confidence in their reliability.

The research methods to be used in the study have been successfully applied to an array of promotional and image-building campaigns. I am confident that they can be applied with equal success to the goals of the American Jewish Committee.

I look forward to a productive working relationship with you, David. Please indicate your agreement with the arrangements discussed in this proposal by signing the enclosed copy and returning it to me together with a check to initiate the work.

Sincerely,

Gary Siegel, Ph.D., CPA

By: Gary Siegel

Accepted for American
Jewish Committee

By: _____

Date: _____

DAVID GELLER

I thought
you'd like to
see this



Conference of Presidents
Of Major American Jewish Organizations

(212) 752-1616 • 515 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10022 • Cable Address: COJOGRA

KENNETH J. BIALKIN
Chairman

May 31, 1985

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I am writing to express our deep concern about press reports that the Administration might propose to make substantial sales of sophisticated lethal weapons to a declared enemy of Israel, the Kingdom of Jordan. The sale of such weapons increases the physical dangers which the people of Israel will face, and the need to meet increased Arab arms levels will impose an added financial burden on Israel's already strained economy.

The argument that King Hussein and Yasir Arafat made statements which indicate a shift in their attitudes towards the peace process seems overstated. Although we have seen a series of statements which contain suggestive language, the fair conclusion of all that has been said by both King Hussein and Mr. Arafat is that there has been no fundamental change in favor of undertaking face-to-face peace negotiations with Israel in the case of Jordan or in unconditionally recognizing Israel's right to exist by Arafat. The statement by King Hussein that Arafat would be willing to recognize Resolutions 242 and 338 in the context of an international peace conference is no real progress since the idea of such an international conference has been termed unacceptable by both the United States and Israel. This new emphasis on an international conference is simply another way of reinforcing the refusal to engage in direct, face-to-face peace negotiations with Israel without pre-conditions. Under your leadership it has been United States policy to favor direct negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors and a shift from that clear policy would be giving conflicting signals which could prove damaging to the cause of peace.

Only yesterday this policy was reaffirmed in the statement that before the Soviets can be included

The Honorable George P. Shultz
May 31, 1985
Page Two

in any Middle East negotiations they must reestablish relations with Israel, cease their anti-Semitic practices and stop arms sales to radicals. We understand that Jordan is regarded as friendly to the U.S. and that you properly wish to encourage King Hussein to enter bilateral negotiations with Israel, but that does not justify the sale of lethal weapons to a country who remains in a state of war with our friend and ally, Israel, and who has shown a continued reluctance to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

Sincerely,



Kenneth J. Bialkin

Kenneth J. Bialkin

KJB:jm

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

May 31, 1985

TO: Officers, Executive Committee, National Council
and Key Contacts

FROM: Thomas A. Dine, Executive Director
Douglas M. Bloomfield, Legislative Director

Congressional opposition to a major Jordan arms sale mounted this month. More than two-thirds of the U.S. Senate have sponsored a resolution--offered by Sens. John Heinz (R-PA) and Edward Kennedy (D-MA)--opposing a major new arms sale to Jordan "under present conditions in which Jordan continues to oppose the Camp David peace process." Although the Reagan Administration contends no formal decision on a Jordan arms sale has been reached, it is widely believed that the Administration is preparing to announce a multi-billion dollar Jordan arms package. And, opposition to a potential U.S. arms sale to Saudi Arabia continued to grow as well. Twenty-three freshmen Representatives have written to President Reagan urging him "not to approve any new arms sales" to the Saudis.

By an unprecedented 75-19 vote, the Senate approved the FY 1986 foreign aid authorization--the most favorable aid package ever offered for Israel. The spending bill includes \$4.5 billion in grant aid--\$1.8 billion in military assistance and \$1.2 billion in economic assistance, as well as a \$1.5 billion supplement to the FY 1985 aid bill. It also contains several other important non-aid policy provisions, including funding for the Lavi aircraft and a reaffirmation of U.S. policy that the United States will not negotiate with the PLO unless it first recognizes Israel, renounces terrorism and accepts U.N. resolutions 242 and 338.

The House and Senate both passed legislation ratifying the Free Trade Area agreement this month; the legislation now awaits the President's signature before becoming law. And, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported out the Genocide Convention with several reservations, including one limiting the World Court's jurisdiction over the treaty.

ARMS SALES

An overwhelming majority of the U.S. Senate has gone on record opposing a major new arms sale to Jordan. Seventy Senators--27 Republicans and 43 Democrats--have sponsored a resolution stipulating that the United States "should not sell advanced fighter aircraft, mobile anti-aircraft missiles, or any other advanced arms to Jordan." The resolution, authored by Sens. Heinz and Kennedy states, "The United States should ensure that Israel retain its qualitative edge over any combination of Mideast confrontation states."

Despite Administration pronouncements that King Hussein's late-May visit to Washington advanced the prospects for Middle East peace negotiations, the Administration contends no decision has been reached on a Jordan arms package. It is widely reported, however, that the Administration will offer Jordan a major arms package in the near future.

Cosponsors of the Senate resolution include: James Abdnor (R-SD), Mark Andrews (R-ND), Bill Armstrong (R-CO), Max Baucus (D-MT), Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX), Joseph Biden (D-DE), Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), David Boren, Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN), Bill Bradley (D-NJ), Dale Bumpers (D-AR), Quentin Burdick (D-ND), Lawton Chiles (D-FL), William Cohen (R-ME), Alan Cranston (D-CA), Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), John Danforth (R-MO), Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), Alan Dixon (D-IL), Chris Dodd (D-CT), David Durenberger (R-MN), Thomas Eagleton (D-MO), James Exon (D-NE), Wendell Ford (D-KY), John Glenn (D-OH), Albert Gore (D-TN), Slade Gorton (R-WA), Phil Gramm (R-TX), Charles Grassley (R-IA), Tom Harkin (D-IA), Gary Hart (D-CO), Paula Hawkins (R-FL), Chic Hecht (R-NV), Howell Heflin (D-AL), John Heinz (R-PA) and Ernest Hollings (D-SC).

Other Senate sponsors include: Gordon Humphrey (R-NH), Daniel Inouye (D-HI), J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA), Robert Kasten (R-WI), Edward Kennedy (D-MA), John Kerry (D-MA), Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), Patrick Leahy (D-VT), Carl Levin (D-MI), Russell Long (D-LA), Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Spark Matsunaga (D-HI), Mack Mattingly (R-GA), Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH), George Mitchell (D-ME), Daniel Moynihan (D-NY), Frank Murkowski (R-AK), Don Nickles (R-OK), Bob Packwood (R-OR), Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Larry Pressler (R-SD), William Proxmire (D-WI), David Pryor (D-AR), Dan Quayle (R-IN), Donald Riegle (D-MI), John Rockefeller (D-WV), Paul Sarbanes (D-MD), James Sasser (D-TN), Paul Simon (D-IL), Arlen Specter (R-PA), John Stennis (D-MS), Lowell Weicker (R-CT), Pete Wilson (R-CA) and Edward Zorinsky (D-NE).

Twenty-three House freshmen--nine Democrats and 14 Republicans--have written to President Reagan urging him "not to approve any new arms sales" to Saudi Arabia. The letter, initiated by Rep. Mac Sweeney (R-TX), states, "Both Saudi

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Arabia's continued pattern of hostile action toward U.S. policy and their steadfast refusal to participate in peace talks with Israel violate the criteria for new arms sales you established in 1981."

The House signers: Chester Atkins (D-MA), Vincente Blaz (R-Guam), Beau Boulter (R-TX), Albert Bustamante (D-TX), H. L. Callahan (R-AL), William Cobey (R-NC), Joseph DioGuardi (R-NY), Dean Gallo (R-NJ), Bart Gordon (D-TN), Kenneth Gray (D-IL), John Grotberg (R-IL), Jim Kolbe (R-AZ), Jim Lightfoot (R-IA), Thomas Manton (D-NY), John Miller (R-WA), David Monson (R-UT), Carl Perkins (D-KY), Tommy Robinson (D-AR), H. James Saxton (R-NJ), Mac Sweeney (R-TX), Patrick Swindall (R-GA), James Traficant (D-OH) and Peter Visclosky (D-IN).

Twenty-six members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee have written to Secretary of State Shultz urging him "to consult with the Congress before the Middle East Arms Transfer [MEAT] Study is finalized and publicly released." The letter, initiated by Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-NY), asks that "the current moratorium on arms sales to the region be maintained for at least...30 days" after the policy review is finalized "to enable the Congress to conduct a comprehensive review of the broad policy implications of the study." The Administration has held off announcing a major new Middle East arms sale pending the completion of its MEAT study. Administration officials said they expect to begin briefing members of Congress about the study the second week of June.

FOREIGN AID

Authorization

The Senate approved the FY 1986 foreign aid authorization on May 15 by a vote of 75-19, the largest majority ever for such a bill. The legislation includes \$3 billion in grant aid to Israel--\$1.8 billion in military assistance and \$1.2 billion in economic assistance. The Senate also added \$1.5 billion in supplemental aid to Israel.

The supplement to the FY '85 aid package--offered by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar (R-IN) and the Committee's Ranking Member Claiborne Pell (D-RI)--passed as an amendment to the FY 86 bill. All but two members of the Foreign Relations Committee--Sens. Edward Zorinsky (D-NE) and Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS)--sponsored the amendment.

Sens. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Chic Hecht (R-NV) offered an amendment stipulating that humanitarian funds provided for the West Bank and Gaza "quality of life" projects be "available to all residents of those areas." Currently U.S. assistance to the West Bank and Gaza, as well as Israel, may not be used on the West Bank. The Helms-Hecht amendment, designed to permit the distribution of a proportion of these

funds to Israeli settlers, was withdrawn after Sen. Lugar agreed to hold hearings on the issue. Sen. Helms voted against final passage of the foreign aid bill, as he had done in committee.

By voice vote, the Senate approved an amendment by Sen. Arlen Specter (R-PA) stipulating that "the President may prohibit" trade with "Libya or any other country" determined by the President and the Congress to be engaged in international terrorism.

The Senate also approved, by voice vote, an amendment offered by Sen. John Glenn (D-OH) requiring the President to notify Congress "in the event that the capability or sensitive technology of a previously approved arms sale is upgraded." Sen. Glenn said there was "continuing concern" over technology upgrades in the AWACS planes sold to Saudi Arabia in 1981 and scheduled for delivery next year.

Several other important provisions were also included in the bill, including 1) funding for the Lavi, 2) a reaffirmation of U.S. policy that the United States will not negotiate with the PLO unless it first recognizes Israel, renounces terrorism and accepts U.N. resolutions 242 and 338, 3) codification of the promises President Reagan made to Congress in 1981 concerning the proposed sale of AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia.

The nineteen Senators voting against final passage were: James Abdnor (R-SD), Max Baucus (D-MT), David Boren (D-OK), Quentin Burdick (D-ND), Robert Byrd (D-WV) Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ), Wendell Ford (D-KY), Jesse Helms (R-NC), Ernest Hollings (D-SC), Paul Laxalt (R-NV), James McClure (R-ID), John Melcher (D-MT), Don Nickles (R-OK), William Proxmire (D-WI), David Pryor (D-AR), William Roth (R-DE), Steve Symms (R-ID), Malcolm Wallop (R-WY) and Edward Zorinsky (D-NE).

Six Senators were absent and not voting: John East (R-NC), James Exon (D-NE), Barry Goldwater (R-AZ), Charles Mathias (R-MD), Paul Trible (R-VA), Pete Wilson (R-CA).

The House, by a vote of 400-2, approved the rule for the foreign aid authorization bill this month, clearing the way for floor consideration. The two representatives voting against the rule were Bob Stump (R-AZ) and Hal Daub (R-NE). The House bill, however, is facing strong opposition on two fronts. The Reagan Administration is opposing the bill because of its low military assistance levels and the amendment stipulating there shall be no major arms sale to Jordan until King Hussein is publicly committed to recognizing Israel and to entering direct peace negotiations with Israel. The House Democratic leadership has voiced strong opposition to the Nicaragua aid provisions. Rep. William Broomfield (R-MI) has authored a nonamendable substitute that, among other changes, reduces the Jordan arms

amendment to "Sense of Congress" language. The money bill will probably come to the floor next month.

Sens. Daniel Inouye (D-HI) and Robert Kasten (R-WI) have announced that they will introduce legislation to reduce the interest rate on existing U.S. military loans to Israel from approximately 12 percent to five percent. In a letter to their Senate colleagues, Inouye and Kasten noted that Israel's annual debt service to the United States of over \$1 billion "has brought hard currency reserves to a perilously low level" and "has diminished the national sovereignty Israel has fought so courageously to defend."

The letter--also signed by Sens. Joseph Biden (D-DE), Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN), Alan Cranston (D-CA) and Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)--states, "This debt is in the form of Foreign Military Sales credits--debt Israel incurred for military hardware which it has placed on the front line of defense of American interests in the Middle East." Under the debt restructuring plan, interest charges to Israel over the life of the existing loan portfolio would be reduced by over \$8.4 billion. According to the Senators, this would require an appropriation of less than half that amount if done this year.

FREE TRADE AREA

By a 422-0 vote, the House passed the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area agreement and its implementing legislation on May 7. Three Representatives, all Democrats, voted "Present": Reps. John Conyers and David Bonior of Michigan and Austin Murphy of Pennsylvania. The Senate passed the Free Trade Area enabling legislation by voice vote May 23. The President is expected to sign the legislation early next month.

GENOCIDE CONVENTION

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by a 10-0 vote, reported out the Genocide Convention May 21. Before reporting out the bill, the committee, by a 9-8 vote, approved several reservations to the Convention, including one which would require U.S. consent to World Court jurisdiction over cases involving the United States. The reservation was proposed by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and endorsed by committee Chairman Richard Lugar (R-IN). Seven Democrats who favor ratification of the treaty but who oppose the reservation voted "Present" on final approval.

The issue of World Court jurisdiction was a sticking point throughout the debate. Conservative Senators threatened that they would not support the treaty without the reservations; they argued that the World Court would be used for political attacks against the United States and its allies. Some of the Convention's leading proponents,

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however, have contended that the World Court is the best forum for hearing complaints resulting from the Convention and that the reservation would weaken the treaty. One Senate advocate, Sen. Chris Dodd (D-CT), warned, "If we excuse ourselves from the jurisdiction of this court, we are making a historical mistake." Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) argued that the reservation "really strips the treaty of any significance."

The Genocide Convention, which has been signed by all the major powers except the United States, stipulates that genocide and complicity in genocide are punishable international crimes. It was first adopted in the United Nations in 1948 in response to the Nazi Holocaust; Israel ratified the Convention soon after it was introduced.

TRANSITION

NEWLY ELECTED

Rep. Cathy Long (D-LA)

RETIRING

Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-MO)
Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-AZ)
Rep. Sam Hall (D-TX)
(Nominated to Federal Judgeship)
Rep. Thomas Hartnett (R-SC)
Sen. Russell Long (D-LA)
Rep. Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill (D-MA)
Rep. Gene Snyder (R-KY)
Rep. William Whitehurst (R-VA)

RUNNING FOR OTHER OFFICE

Rep. John Breaux (D-LA) running for Sen.
Russell Long's seat
Rep. John McCain (R-AZ) running for Sen.
Barry Goldwater's seat
Rep. Henson Moore (R-LA) running for Sen.
Russell Long's seat
Rep. Richard Shelby (D-AL) running for Sen.
Jeremiah Denton's seat

DEATHS

Rep. Gillis Long (D-LA)

(3)



ME/Per
Sprouse

ADDRESS

BY

HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN

TO

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE





PRESIDENT BAROOQY,

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

QUEEN NOOR JOINS ME IN EXPRESSING OUR PLEASURE IN BEING WITH YOU TODAY. WE THANK YOU FOR YOUR WARM RECEPTION AND GRACIOUS INTRODUCTION. WE ARE DELIGHTED TO BE IN WASHINGTON AGAIN AND TO BE AMONG SO MANY FRIENDS HERE AT A.E.I.

WE VALUE HIGHLY THE CONTRIBUTION OF YOUR PRESTIGIOUS INSTITUTE TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF WORLD AFFAIRS, AND WE APPRECIATE THE ATTENTION WHICH YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THE QUESTION OF PEACE IN OUR AREA.

I WILL FOCUS MY REMARKS ON WHERE I THINK WE STAND TODAY ON THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS FOCUS DOES NOT MEAN WE ARE UNMINDFUL OR INDIFFERENT TO OTHER PROBLEMS WE ALL FACE IN THE WORLD; THE NUCLEAR THREAT, THE FAMINE IN AFRICA, THE DANGER-FILLED GAP BETWEEN THE HAVES AND THE HAVE-NOTS, AND THE



OTHER CONFLICTS AROUND THE WORLD WHICH ARE THREATENING LIVES AND FREEDOMS. WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS BUT OUR MAJOR CONCERN AT THE MOMENT IS PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THAT IS WHAT I WISH TO DISCUSS WITH YOU.

EARLIER THIS WEEK, I MET WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN. I ALSO MET WITH VICE PRESIDENT BUSH, SECRETARY SHULTZ, SECRETARY WEINBURGER AND OTHER SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIALS. THERE IS ONE BASIC POINT ON WHICH WE ALL AGREE: THE WORLD CANNOT AFFORD TO MISS WHAT MIGHT BE THE LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB ISRAELI CONFLICT.

SO LET US PLACE THIS CONFLICT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IN A CERTAIN PERSPECTIVE. WE OBSERVED THIS MONTH THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II. ARMED WITH THE LESSONS OF THAT WAR, AND IN ITS DETERMINATION TO ENSURE THAT IT WOULD NOT HAPPEN AGAIN, AND THAT ALL FUTURE CONFLICTS WOULD BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY, THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS ESTABLISHED THE ORGANIZATION



TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL - THE UNITED NATIONS. WORLD CONSENT AND SUPPORT WAS UNANIMOUS. THE IDEALS, THE PRINCIPLES, THE FRAMEWORK AND THE INTENTIONS WERE EXEMPLARY, INDEED, NOBLE. THE PRINCIPLES ESTABLISHED TO GOVERN NATIONAL CONDUCT EMBODIED A STANDARD OF VALUES, UNIVERSAL IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE AND IN THEIR APPLICATION. THE NEW WORLD ORDER WAS TO BE BASED ON JUSTICE, THE INVIOABILITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ILLEGALITY OF CONQUEST, THE INADMISSABILITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY WAR, AND THE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS. A NEW WORLD ORDER WAS BORN; BUT THE CHILD'S GROWTH HAS BEEN SEVERELY STUNTED BY SELF-SERVING PARENTS. A SUPERIOR CONCEPT HAS PRODUCED INFERIOR RESULTS. WE ALL SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FAILURE. MANY IN THIS WORLD HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF ITS CONSEQUENCES.

ONE CANNOT DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST IN A VACUUM, DIVORCED FROM POWER POLITICS OR ACCEPTED NORMS OF NATIONAL CONDUCT. I HAVE SELECTED THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER FOR SUCH NORMS, BECAUSE IT IS A COMMON DOCUMENT WE HAVE ALL ACCEPTED AND SIGNED. THERE IS THUS, NO ROOM TO ARGUE PRINCIPLES, ONLY THEIR APPLICATION. IT



HAS PARTICULAR APPLICABILITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST BECAUSE MORE HOURS HAVE BEEN CONSUMED, MORE DOCUMENTS PRODUCED AND MORE RESOLUTIONS ENACTED, BY THE UNITED NATIONS, ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT THAN ALL OTHER CONFLICTS AND ISSUES COMBINED. SPECIFICALLY, THE ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THAT CONFLICT, ARE CONTAINED IN TWO OF THOSE RESOLUTIONS, 242 AND 338.

YOU MIGHT RIGHTLY ASK, DO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, WHO ARE OBVIOUSLY A PRINCIPAL PARTY TO ANY SETTLEMENT, SINCE IT IS, INDEED, ESSENTIALLY THE PROBLEM OF THEIR LIVES, LAND AND FUTURE WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO SOLVE, ACCEPT THESE TWO RESOLUTIONS WHICH ARE TO FORM THE BASIS FOR PEACE? I WILL TELL YOU WHAT I ASSURED PRESIDENT REAGAN. THE ANSWER IS YES, THE PALESTINIANS ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, AND THE PRINCIPLES THEY CONTAIN, AS THE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT.



THIS IS AN HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH. IT IS THE FIRST TIME IN THE THIRTY-NINE YEAR HISTORY OF THIS CONFLICT THAT PALESTINIAN LEADERS, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THEIR PEOPLE, HAVE BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT A NEGOTIATED PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

THE EVOLUTION OF THIS DECISION OVER THIRTY-NINE YEARS HAS ITS ANSWER IN SOME OF THE EVENTS WHICH TRANSPRIRED DURING THAT PERIOD. I WISH TO REMIND YOU OF SOME OF THEM, NOT BECAUSE I CARE TO DWELL ON HISTORY, BUT BECAUSE IT WILL HELP EXPLAIN THE IMPORT OF THAT DECISION AND THE RAMIFICATIONS IT HAS ON THE PEACE PROCESS. I WILL SUMMARIZE THEM BRIEFLY. DESPITE WHAT MAY BE THE VIEWS AND OPINIONS IN THE WEST, THIS IS HOW THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE VIEW THIS PROBLEM.

IN 1917, WHEN BRITAIN'S BALFOUR PROMISED A "HOMELAND FOR THE JEWS IN PALESTINE", JEWISH RESIDENTS FORMED ONLY NINE PER CENT OF THE POPULATION. BY 1947, WAVES OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS INCREASED



THEIR PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION TO THIRTY-FIVE PER CENT. IN THAT SAME YEAR, THE UNITED NATIONS PARTITIONED THE COUNTRY, CREATING A JEWISH AND A PALESTINIAN STATE. FIFTY-FIVE PER CENT OF THE LAND WAS GIVEN TO THE JEWISH MINORITY, MOST OF WHOM CAME FROM EUROPE. FORTY-FIVE PER CENT WENT TO THE PALESTINIAN MAJORITY, ALL OF WHOM WERE BORN THERE. THERE WERE NO JEWS IN THE PALESTINIAN STATE. THERE WERE ALMOST AS MANY PALESTINIANS AS JEWS IN THE JEWISH STATE. THE MOST ECONOMICALLY DEVELOPED PORTION OF PALESTINE WAS INCLUDED IN THE JEWISH STATE. ALL THIS WAS DONE WITHOUT PALESTINIAN CONSENT OR CONSULTATION. THE SHOCK AND REJECTION OF THE PALESTINIANS SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND.

DURING THE 1948 WAR, ISRAEL CAPTURED MORE LAND, ENDING UP WITH SEVENTY-EIGHT PER CENT. IN 1967, IT CAPTURED THE REMAINING TWENTY-TWO PER CENT. THE SUCCESSIVE LOSS OF LAND AND LIVES, AND THE MULTITUDE OF REFUGEES IT CREATED, CAUSED THE SHOCK, RESENTMENT, FRUSTRATION AND REJECTION WHICH PERSISTED. THE



PALESTINIANS' DESPAIR WAS COUPLED WITH DWINDLING HOPES THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD SOMEHOW REDRESS THE INJUSTICE AND RESTORE THEIR RIGHTS AND LAND. IT DID NOT.

THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE OF OUTLOOK OVER RECENT YEARS AND A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE OVER RECENT MONTHS, WHICH HAVE COMBINED TO EFFECT THE CHANGE IN PALESTINIAN POLICY REGARDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. THE RELATIVE FUTILITY OF ARMED STRUGGLE AND THE BURDENS OF CONTINUING MILITARY OCCUPATION, SUFFERING AND DESTRUCTION, HAVE INCREASED THE DESIRE FOR A PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVE. THE NEW TRUST WHICH HAS DEVELOPED BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE PLO AFTER THE DECISIONS OF THE ARAB SUMMIT AT FEZ, CULMINATING IN THE FEBRUARY 1985 ACCORD, BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF JORDAN AND THE PLO, AND SUBSEQUENT UNDERSTANDINGS, HAS PROVIDED THE PALESTINIANS AND JORDAN, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WITH THE MEANS BY WHICH A PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVE CAN BE REALIZED.

IN EFFECT, THE PALESTINIANS ARE TURNING FROM A PAST, DESPITE THE INJUSTICES, TO A FUTURE, WHICH WILL PROTECT THEIR LIVES.



RESTORE THEIR LIBERTY AND PERMIT THEIR PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS - ALL OF WHICH YOUR NATION CONSIDERS TO BE RIGHTS THAT ARE UNIVERSAL AND INALIENABLE.

THESE ARE THE REASONS WHY THE NEW PALESTINIAN POSITION IS SUCH AN HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH - AND OPPORTUNITY. IF WE FAIL TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY, THE ALTERNATIVE IS FORE-ORDAINED: FURTHER SHOCK, DEEPER RESENTMENT, GREATER FRUSTRATION AND SHARPER REJECTION - NOT ONLY BY THE PALESTINIANS, BUT THE ENTIRE AREA. FAILURE IS BOUND TO ENCOURAGE AND STRENGTHEN EXTREMISM ON BOTH SIDES. THAT IS WHY TIME IS ESSENTIAL AND SUCCESS IMPERATIVE.

THE LEBANESE TRAGEDY HAS CAUSED BOTH ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS TO BEGIN TO RE-ASSES THE VALIDITY OF THEIR PREVIOUS POLICIES. BOTH ARE NOW CONSIDERING, SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE NEED FOR A NEGOTIATED PEACE. EACH IS SCEPTICAL. THE PALESTINIANS NEED HOPE. THE ISRAELIS NEED TRUST. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR ALL OF US



TO PROVIDE THE HOPE AND TRUST THEY NEED. IF WE FAIL TO DO SO, HOPE WILL SURELY TURN TO DEEPER DESPAIR AND TRUST TO INVINCIBLE SUSPICION. THE DANGERS FOR ALL OF US INCLUDING THEM, WILL BE MUCH WORSE THAN BEFORE.

WE BELIEVE THAT AS A RESULT OF PALESTINIAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE AGREED PRINCIPLES BY WHICH PEACE IS TO BE ACHIEVED, THAT THE STAGE IS NOW SET TO PROCEED TOWARD A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. WE BELIEVE THE PROCESS MUST RECOGNISE AND INCORPORATE THE WILLINGNESS OF THE PALESTINIANS TO ENTER THAT PROCESS, AND THAT, AS A PRINCIPAL PARTY, THEY MUST PARTICIPATE FULLY. IT IS THEIR LAND AND LIVES WHICH ARE A MAJOR SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATION AND A MAJOR OBJECT OF THE SETTLEMENT.

THE PEACE PROCESS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ATTENDED BY THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN ADDITION TO ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, INCLUDING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, NAMELY THE PLO. THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT MUST BE THE



PARTIES TO THE PEACE. IF THE PLO IS NOT A PARTY TO THE CONFLICT, THEN WHO IS? THE CONFERENCE WILL BE BASED ON UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, TO CONCLUDE A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD ENSURE THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN CONFEDERATION. THIS CONFEDERATION HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL IN ITS 16TH AND 17TH SESSIONS. THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME MUST INCLUDE: THE EXCHANGE OF TERRITORY FOR PEACE, DEFINED AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS, AND A MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND SECURITY BY ALL THE PARTIES.

I BELIEVE THIS IS A PRESCRIPTION FOR PEACE WHICH IS NOT ONLY JUST, BUT ALSO ATTAINABLE. I ALSO BELIEVE THE NEXT STEP SHOULD BE: A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES TO COMPLETE THE UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH MUST BE REACHED IN ORDER TO ADVANCE THE PROCESS, AND PREPARE THE GROUND FOR A NEGOTIATED COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT UNDER THE AUSPICES OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.



MY GOAL. IT SHOULD BE A POWERFUL INCENTIVE FOR US ALL TO REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL.

FINALLY, THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IS ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR PEACE EFFORTS. AMERICA'S IDEALS AND MORAL LEADERSHIP ARE BEING CHALLENGED AND AMERICA'S INTERESTS AND REPUTATION ARE AT ISSUE.

I HAVE KNOWN NO AMERICAN WHO BETTER EXEMPLIFIES THE SPIRIT AND VALUES OF YOUR COUNTRY OR IS MORE CAPABLE OF EXERTING THE MORAL LEADERSHIP FOR WHICH THE WORLD YEARNs, AND OUR PEACE EFFORTS DEMAND, THAN PRESIDENT REAGAN. I LOOK FORWARD TO CO-OPERATING WITH HIM, AND AS MANY OTHERS AS ARE WILLING, IN OUR ENDEAVOUR TO END THE MIDDLE EAST TRAGEDY WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME.

FOUR MONTHS AGO YOUR PRESIDENT ADDRESSED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, SAYING, "WE HAVE COME TO A TURNING POINT, A MOMENT OF HARD DECISIONS". HE WENT ON TO ASK, "IF NOT US, WHO? IF NOT



I SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WHEN I SPEAK OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT AND THE EXCHANGE OF LAND FOR PEACE, I AM INCLUDING SYRIA AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. THE PRINCIPLES OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 APPLY TO THE OCCUPIED GOLAN WITH THE SAME FORCE AND EFFECT AS TO ANY OF THE TERRITORIES UNDER OCCUPATION. IT'S PROBLEM MUST BE THUS ADDRESSED IN THE CONTEXT OF PEACE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, MOST OF THE TIME AND RHETORIC HAS BEEN DEVOTED TO THE NEGATIVE PURSUIT OF ANALYSING THE PROBLEM AND OBJECTING TO OBSTACLES. THERE IS A POSITIVE PURSUIT WHICH HAS BEEN NEGLECTED, NAMELY THE VISION OF PEACE. IF WE ACHIEVE THE MIRACLE OF PEACE, ONLY OUR IMAGINATION WILL LIMIT THE HORIZONS THAT WILL BE OPENED TO THE NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THE AREA. DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESOURCES, TALENT AND ENERGIES, IN AN ENVIRONMENT OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, WILL ASSURE ALL PEOPLE IN OUR AREA, THE PROSPERITY AND TRANQUILITY TO MAKE IT THE HOLY LAND GOD SURELY INTENDED. THIS IS MY VISION. THIS IS



NOW, WHEN"? THEN, HE WAS TALKING ABOUT AN AMERICAN ECONOMIC PROBLEM. BUT THAT SAME MESSAGE AND THAT SAME ACTION APPLIES NOW TO THE CONQUEST OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

FOR OUR PART - AND I SPEAK FOR BOTH MY OWN PEOPLE AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE - WE WANT PEACE. WE ARE READY TO PURSUE IT NOW AS EARNESTLY AND SINCERELY AS IS HUMANLY POSSIBLE. IT IS OUR HOPE AND GOAL TO TURN OUR VISION INTO A REALITY FOR ALL - JEWS AND ARABS ALIKE. WE WANT YOU AS OUR PARTNERS IN THIS SACRED MISSION FOR PEACE. LET US ATTAIN OUR GOAL. LET US CLOSE THE DOOR ON THE BITTER MEMORIES OF THE PAST, AND LET US LOOK TO THE FUTURE - THAT AFTER ALL, IS THE PROMISE OF PEACE.

THANK YOU.

INTERRELIGIOUS NEWSLETTER

A REVIEW OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS
IN INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Mimi Alperin, Chair
Rabbi A. James Rudin, Director
Judith H. Banki, Editor

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Black-Jewish Task Force

Convenes in Cleveland

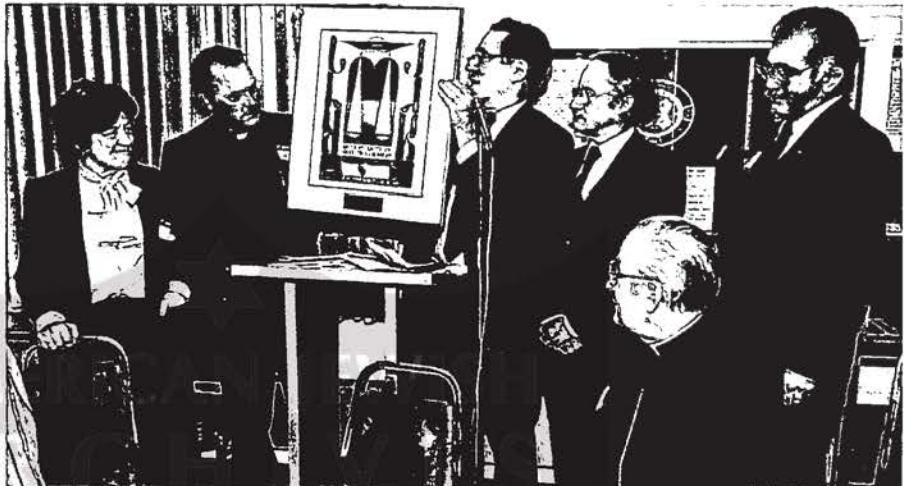
Twenty-five Black and Jewish leaders met in Cleveland March 12-13, convened by the National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish Relations. Participants focused on three major themes of joint interest and developed program priorities for the coming year.

The themes addressed included: 1) the Black-Jewish domestic agenda, with presentations by Dr. Ellen Cannon, associate professor of Political Science at Northeastern Illinois University and Roosevelt University, Chicago, and the Rev. Donald G. Jacobs, national director, Partners in Ecumenism, National Council of Churches; 2) what Blacks and Jews learn about each others' history and theology, with presentations by Dr. David Shannon, president, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia, and Rabbi Lawrence Raphael, associate dean of Hebrew Union College — Jewish Institute of Religion, New York; and 3) the Black-Jewish International agenda, with presentations by Rabbi Brian Walt, Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, Philadelphia, and Dr. Zelma George of Cleveland, former U.S. delegate to the UN.

Future programs of the task force will include a seminary conference involving faculty and students from Black and Jewish theological schools, self-studies of textbooks materials, the twinning of Black and Jewish congregations in selected cities and the development of an "Early Warning System" to anticipate and address possible polarization between the Black and Jewish communities.

The National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish Relations is convened by Mimi Alperin, chairperson of AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission: Dr. Kenyon C. Burke, associate general

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Detroit Vatican II Commemoration: (l. to r.) Judith Banki, Fr. Alex Brunett, AJC Chapter President Maurice Binkow, Rabbi James Rudin, Archbishop Edmund C. Szoka (seated), the Rev. James R. Lyons.
photo by Bob McKeown

Papal Audience Marks AJC's Vatican II Commemorations

Progress in Catholic-Jewish relations in the twenty years since Vatican Council II was welcomed and affirmed by Pope John Paul II in a private audience with American Jewish Committee leaders on Feb. 15. The Pope told a delegation headed by AJC President Howard I. Friedman that the teaching proclaimed in the Declaration *Nostra Aetate* is of permanent value, and that he considered this teaching divinely inspired. The Pope also asserted that relationships between Jews and Christians "have radically improved in these years," and that ignorance, prejudice and stereotypes are being replaced by "growing mutual knowledge, appreciation and respect."

Emphasizing that "Education for dialogue, love and respect for others and openness towards all people are urgent needs in our pluralistic societies," the Pope repeated the Church's condemnation of anti-Semitism and called for Christian-Jewish cooperation on behalf of the destitute and needy.

In addition to Mr. Friedman, members of the AJC delegation included Wilma Friedman, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Gardner, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore

Ellenoff, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum and Dr. David M. Gordis.

In the United States, programs marking the growth of Catholic-Jewish understanding since Vatican Council II took place in a variety of communities, frequently at the AJC's initiative and co-sponsored by local dioceses and AJC chapters.

- In Detroit, AJC's Detroit Chapter joined with the Archdiocese of Detroit, the Ecumenical Institute for Christian-Jewish Relations, the Jewish Community Council and Rabbinical Commission, Greater Detroit Round Table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews to bring together national and local specialists in Christian-Jewish relations at a commemorative conference at St. Aidan's Church in Livonia. Some 250 persons heard Dr. Eugene Fisher affirm an "unbreakable" spiritual bond between Christians and Jews as he outlined the changes that *Nostra Aetate* initiated. Later, three discussion workshops addressed current themes of interest: "Issues That Divide" (Rabbi Rudin and the Rev. James Lyons, executive director of the Ecumenical Institute for Jewish-Christian Studies);

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In AJC Chapters

○ Members of the **Atlanta Chapter's** Black/Jewish coalition marched with their Black counterparts to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the historic civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery. Many of the marchers had been present at the "Bloody Sunday" march in 1965. The Black/Jewish Coalition, which is staffed by AJC's Sherry Frank, provides a forum for dialogue on issues of concern to Blacks and Jews in Atlanta.

○ The **Baltimore Chapter** co-sponsored and took part in the 25th annual Interfaith Institute of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation Sisterhood. The Institute, which brought together Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant leaders, focused on social justice. Speakers included the past president of the National Council of Churches, Bishop James Armstrong, and the past president of the Synagogue Council of America, Rabbi Irwin Blank, as well as the director of Social Ministry for the Jesuit Conference, the Rev. Joseph Hacala.

The Chapter also hosted Judith Banki at a luncheon meeting of AJC members and area clergy. Ms. Banki spoke on "Vatican II: 20 years later."

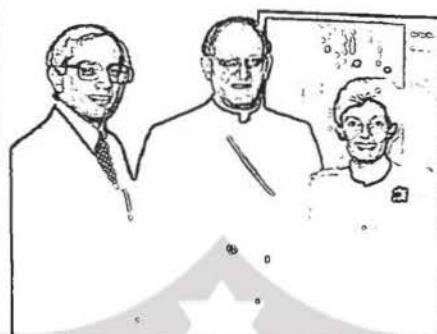
○ The **Chicago Chapter** sponsored a symposium on "Cults: Are They Still a Threat?" The principal speaker at the program was Rabbi James Rudin.

○ The **Cleveland Chapter** hosted the Religion Editor of *The Plain Dealer*, Darrell Holland, for a discussion of the climate of religious opinion in the Cleveland area.

○ Members of the **Dallas Chapter** invited area Christians to their homes for Passover seders again this year. For the fourth year in a row, the chapter also hosted a special interreligious model seder for leading Christians, lay and cleric, to enhance their understanding of Jewish tradition.

○ The **Detroit Chapter** co-sponsored a private showing of the touring exhibition, "The Precious Legacy," for the interreligious community. Other sponsors included the Catholic Archdiocese and the Ecumenical Institute for Jewish-Christian Studies.

○ In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Second Vatican Council the **Houston Chapter** hosted a reception for the new bishop of Galveston-Houston, Joseph A. Fiorenza. The bishop was introduced to leaders of the Jewish community.



AJC reception: (l. to r.) Houston Chapter President Art Berner, Bishop Joseph Fiorenza, AJC Vice President Ann Kaufman.

○ As a follow-up to its visit to the Gerald L.K. Smith "Great Passion Play" in Eureka Springs, Arkansas, the **Kansas City Chapter** submitted the passion play text to New Testament scholars at four area seminaries. The scholars will analyze the text and meet with area clergy to discuss and publicize their findings.

○ The **Long Island Chapter** hosted Judith Banki at a meeting to discuss the state of Catholic-Jewish relations 20 years after Vatican II.

○ The **Los Angeles Chapter** co-sponsored a hearing with the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry on "Culture and Community: The Struggle for Religious Liberty in the U.S.S.R." Five expert witnesses gave testimony on the current situation of Jewish, Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox believers to a panel of interreligious and political leaders. The panel also heard the testimony of an exiled member of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Committee on the fate of human rights activists in the Soviet Union. Sr. Ann Gillen, executive director of the task force, was a member of the panel. The hearing was moderated by Rabbi Alan Mittleman.

The Chapter also worked with the Roman Catholic Archdiocese on a special "Lifeline Letters" supplement to the archdiocesan newspaper, which encouraged readers to write to persecuted believers and activists in the Soviet Union.

○ The **Miami Chapter** co-sponsored an interreligious conference in the Sarasota area on church-state issues including prayer in the public schools and equal access legislation. Addressed by AJC's legal affairs expert, Samuel Rabinovitz, the conference brought together representatives of the major faiths, educators, government officials and legal scholars.

○ Members of the **New Jersey Chapter** have been active in a Catholic-Jewish dialogue which includes faculty from Seton Hall University's Institute for Judeo-Christian Studies. The recently organized group has discussed liturgical and social justice issues.

○ A series of public forums sponsored by the **New York Chapter** featured a presentation by Judith Banki on the subject, "Seminary Education and Jewish-Christian Relations." Ms. Banki discussed AJC's program to bring Jewish and Christian seminarians together in dialogue.

○ The **Philadelphia Chapter** joined with the Catholic community in criticism of a play satirizing Catholic teaching. Chapter members who viewed the play found it openly contemptuous of Catholic religious life. In a letter to the archdiocesan newspaper, board chairman George M. Ross wrote that the chapter "deplores the portrait of Catholic doctrine, belief and behavior expressed in the play." The editor of the paper expressed the appreciation of the Catholic community for what he termed "brotherly support."

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secretary of the NCC's Division of Church and Society; Inge Lederer Gibel, program associate, AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department; Dr. Donald G. Jacobs; Rabbi A. James Rudin, AJC's national Interreligious Affairs director, and the Rev. Elizabeth M. Scott, director, Office of Justice for Women of the NCC's Division of Church and Society.

In addition to the conveners, AJC Cleveland lay leaders attending the conference included Linda Sogg, AJC Chapter president; Pat Plotkin, chair of the chapter's National Affairs Committee; Armand Budish, member of the Board of Trustees; and Alan Gross, chair of the Interreligious Affairs Committee. Rabbi Andrew Baker, Sherry Frank, Martin Plax and Joyce Galpern, directors of AJC's Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Cleveland and Pittsburgh offices, also participated. ■



Black-Jewish Task Force Meeting: Rabbi Brian Walt, Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and George A. Simmons, regional director, Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission.

IAD Briefs

● The Interreligious Affairs Department welcomed the second year class of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion on April 19. Each year, the IAD hosts the rabbinical students for a seminar focusing on AJC programs, concerns, and resources.

● Inge Lederer Gibel was among the major speakers at a conference sponsored by the World Affairs Council, May 3-4 in Seattle. The conference focused on the subject, "Woman and Foreign Policy." Ms. Gibel addressed the group on the UN Decade for Women.

In March, Ms. Gibel keynoted the 69th Annual convention of the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations of Maryland, meeting in Baltimore. Representatives of 70 organizations of Jewish women heard her speak on the subject, "Anti-Semitism and its Role in International Politics."

● The summer 1984 edition of the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, devoted to the theme "Jews and Judaism in Christian Education," features an article by Judith H. Banki on the subject, "Jews and Judaism in Christian Teaching." Other articles are authored by Eugene J. Fisher, Ruth Kastning-Olmesdahl, Peter Fiedler, Paul M. van Buren and John Carmody. Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's International Relations Director, provides the introduction. Most of the articles, including Ms. Banki's, are based on papers delivered at a colloquium convened by the International Council of Christians and Jews in Heppenheim, West Germany. Educational guidelines which emerged from that colloquium are also included in the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, as is an editorial comment by Franklin H. Littell.

● Rabbi James Rudin shared the podium with Dr. James Costen, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center, at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, in March. His response to Dr. Costen's presentation focused on similarities and differences between the Black churches and the American Jewish community.

● Two IAD staff members — Rabbis Rudin and Alan Mittleman — received their doctoral degrees. Rabbi Rudin's honorary degree from the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion commemorated the 25th anniversary of his ordination; Rabbi Mittleman's Ph.D. was awarded by Temple University and won "with academic distinction." ■

Editor's Note

While President Reagan defended his decision to visit the Bitburg cemetery during his recent trip to Germany on the grounds that it was "morally right," an exceptionally distinguished group of Christians found that decision morally wrong. An open letter to the President published on April 28 and signed by over 140 Christian leaders asserted that "The failure to distinguish between perpetrators and victims, between the death of combatants in battle and the slaughter of innocents in the Nazi concentration camps does injustice not only to the memory of the dead but to the most basic tenets of Jewish and Christian morality."

The signatories included the president and general secretary of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA; Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Lutheran, Methodist, Congregationalist, United Church and Roman Catholic officials; heads of seminaries and academic institutions; noted theologians and scholars; clergy, nuns and lay leaders, Black and white.

The Bitburg cemetery visit was also criticized by Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Italian, Black, Hispanic and Asian national and local organizations.

While we consider this groundswell of opinion noteworthy, apparently much of the media did not. Regrettably, opposition to the presidential visit to Bitburg was attributed largely to veterans and Jewish groups; the outspoken opposition by Christian leadership was not as widely reported.

We hope our readers will be reassured by the breadth of the Christian criticism of the Bitburg visit and the moral convictions which prompted it. ■

Continued from page 1

"Educating for Understanding" (Mr. Robert Dugas, Chair of the Archdiocesan Subcommittee on Catholic-Jewish Relations and IAD's Judith Banki); and "Living Room Dialogue" (Dr. Fisher and Rabbi Daniel Schwartz of Temple Beth El, Detroit).

In recognition of his efforts in promoting Catholic-Jewish relations, Fr. Alex Brunett, director of Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs for the Archdiocese of Detroit and pastor of St. Aidan's, was presented with a framed serigraph by Maurice Binkow, president of AJC's Detroit Chapter.

○ In Philadelphia, the AJC Chapter, the Board of Rabbis and the Cardinal's Commission on Human Relations and Urban Ministry joined in sponsoring "Perspectives: Twenty Years After Vatican II." An afternoon forum for religious educators and seminarians featured Dr. Eugene Fisher, executive secretary of the Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops and IAD's Rabbi James Rudin. An evening panel discussion on the subject, "Israel—Homeland, Holy Land," included the Rev. Edward H. Flannery, director, Continuing Education for the Clergy, Providence, R.I.; Rabbi David W. Silverman, Temple Beth Zion-Beth Israel; and the Rev. John T. Pawlikowski, professor of social ethics, Catholic Theological Union, Chicago.

○ In Los Angeles, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese, AJC's Los Angeles Chapter and the David E. Sanford Memorial Program joined in sponsoring a twentieth anniversary observance of *Nostra Aetate* on Mar. 21. The commemoration included reflections by Cardinal Timothy Manning, presentations by two creative Los Angeles Catholic-Jewish programs: the Priest/Rabbi Committee and the Project Discovery Intern Program, and addresses by Rabbi Rudin and Fr. Pawlikowski.

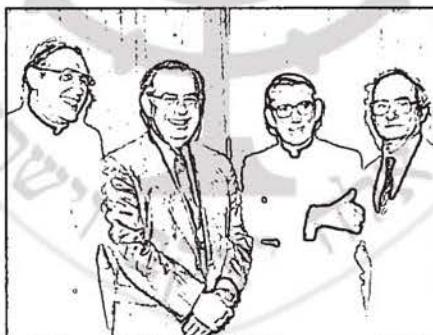
Additional observances will be reported in future issues of the *Interreligious Newsletter*. □

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○ The **Portland Chapter** co-sponsored an interreligious conference on "The Birth of the Bible" together with several Protestant groups and area colleges. The conference brought together leading Jewish and Christian biblical scholars, including Dr. Jacob Milgrom of the University of California at Berkeley and Dr. Frank Spina of Seattle Pacific University, to discuss the formation of the biblical canon. IAD's Rabbi Alan Mittleman gave the scholarly debate a contemporary setting in his talk on the role of the Bible in the modern Jewish-Christian dialogue.

○ The **St. Louis Chapter** co-sponsored, with Protestant and Catholic partners, the performance of an original drama, "A Peasant of El Salvador" to honor the late Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero. The Chapter also co-sponsored an interreligious fundraising event to benefit the famine victims of Ethiopia.

The Chapter's interreligious dialogue, which grew out of the delegation it had sent to the "Great Passion Play" in Arkansas has met regularly and discussed the themes of prophecy, covenant and the Gospel passion narratives. The group includes Jews, Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists and Mennonites. □



Los Angeles Commemoration: (l. to r.) Fr. John T. Pawlikowski, AJC President Howard I. Friedman, Cardinal Timothy Manning, Rabbi James Rudin.

AJC Nairobi Delegation Receives Briefing

An all day orientation for the AJC's delegation to the last of the UN International Decade of Women meetings, to be held in Nairobi, Kenya in July, took place at AJC Headquarters on April 30th.

The delegation of 22 high-level AJC leaders from around the U.S. is co-led by Mimi Alperin and Suzanne Elson, respectively, chairs of the Interreligious Affairs Commission and the National Women's Issues Committee. The group is staffed by Inge Lederer Gibel, who will accompany the delegation to Nairobi.

The delegation was addressed by a variety of specialists, including Ambassador Alan Keyes, U.S. representative to the UN Economic and Social Council; Mrs. Sol Nahon, an NGO representative to the UN from the International Alliance of Women; the Rev. Joan Brown Campbell, assistant general secretary of the Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism of the National Council of Churches, who brought greetings from Dame Nita Barrow, a president of the World Council of Churches and convener of the NGO Forum at Nairobi; AJC's Dr. Sidney Liskofsky, director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights; and AJC's executive vice president, Dr. David M. Gordis.

The AJC will have the largest Jewish delegation in Nairobi. □



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



The American Jewish Committee

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

June 3, 1985

To: National Affairs Commission
From: Sholom Comay

The Commission will meet on Monday, June 24, 1985
from 9:30 - 12:00 Noon at AJC Headquarters, Room 200C.
Please note the change of place.

I - We will use the meeting principally to begin a long range process of organizing a number of task forces made up of AJC lay leaders who will be joined by subject area experts. Among them:

- Anti-semitism and extremism
- Social Policy
- Acculturation of refugees & immigrants

The charges to the task forces and the strategies we wish to pursue are outlined in the enclosed papers. A background paper on anti-semitism and extremism will follow.

II - Progress reports

- Pay Equity Task Force
- Religious Pluralism Education Project.

Please use the enclosed postcard to let us know whether or not you will attend.

85-620-51

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PLAN FOR A
Task Force on the Acculturation of Refugees

and Immigrants to American Society

**AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES**

Center on Immigration & Acculturation
Institute for American Pluralism
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022
(212) 751-4000

Gary E. Rubin, Director, IFAP Center
on Immigration and Acculturation

I. Introduction

The Institute for American Pluralism (IFAP) is America's foremost center for research, policy development and training on diversity in the U.S. In the fifteen years of its existence, it has pioneered in the study of ethnic identity, communal organization and intergroup relations. It has played a key role in defining outreach and unifying strategies for alliance building among various groups in the U.S. In the past few years, it has taken a special interest in refugee and immigrant flows and the ways they adapt to their new country.

IFAP, formerly called the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, is the outreach and coalition-building arm of the American Jewish Committee. It is particularly well known for its studies on the personal, social and communal ramifications of diversity in American society. It has done significant new work on variations among groups on such basic questions as child rearing, intermarriage and cultural maintenance and the implications of these differences for the nation as a whole. It has also examined larger social issues such as ethnic organization, intergroup cooperation and the effects of media representation. Its interest in the acculturation of refugees and immigrants flows from these core concerns.

Immigration has always ranked as a major priority for the Institute for American Pluralism. Its sponsoring agency, the American Jewish Committee, has actively participated in every important national discussion on revamping U.S. policy toward refugees and immigrants in this century. The Institute has

sparked the formation of several broad coalitions on this issue and produced widely circulated studies on the economic, social and cultural implications of new flows.

IFAP has traditionally served as an effective convenor of experts with diverse points of view on issues of national concern. Because of its reputation as a fair and effective center for research and policy deliberations, it has proven able to attract a broad range of groups to meetings and to participate in the forging of a consensus on key concerns. Two examples of this convening function in the immigration field are the landmark 1980 Wingspread Conference that introduced a new focus on the adaptation of newcomers to American society and the 1984 Task Force on Asylum Policy in the U.S. which brought together a varied group of experts on this difficult issue and produced a consensus set of recommendations. (Participants in the Conference and Task Force are listed in an appendix to this proposal.)

The Institute for American Pluralism has played an especially valuable role in identifying new issues as they arise and exploring their policy ramifications. As a center maintaining close ties with several ethnic communities, it has been able to track the impact of emerging social trends on both particular groups and the national as a whole. Its outreach network has allowed it to bring a wide spectrum of opinion to bear on analysis of developing issues. These characteristics give IFAP the capacity to examine a major concern now facing U.S. policymakers: the acculturation of refugees and immigrants to American life.

II. Statement of the Problem

The refugee and immigration field in the U.S. stands in significant need of rethinking the key challenges it must face. Until now, most policy analysis has focused on admissions to the country: how many people should come in, from where should we accept them and what status should we confer on them? These are important and necessary questions, but they do not speak to a crucial aspect of current inflow. Increasingly, we will have to study and create effective responses to the issue of acculturation, that is, how newcomers relate to American society once they are already here.

The characteristics of new inflows dictate that more attention will have to focus on their adaptation to their new environment. In the past decade, close to a million refugees have joined large streams of legal and undocumented newcomers to the U.S. to form one of the largest and most significant immigrations in the world today. The sheer magnitude of this flow demands that their impacts be closely studied and policies devised to deal with them.

The diversity of new immigrants is as significant as their size. The U.S. now has in place formal programs for the reception of refugees from Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Latin America. Legal and undocumented immigrants also derive from a wide variety of sending countries. The mix of their origins and cultures makes necessary a close look at how they integrate into the society they find when they arrive.

Diverse and sizable new refugee and immigrant populations in the U.S. will reorient studies and policy approaches to them. It is no longer sufficient to concentrate only on how many and of what type we will admit. Millions already live here; we need to focus on their effects on the larger society.

Acculturation issues cover a wide area of concern. Their impacts range from personal experiences to collective influences on the job market, population configurations and housing availability. To measure and respond to the many implications of newcomers' presence in American society, it will be necessary to define carefully specific components of the acculturation process and target them for study and policy development.

At this point, it is possible to identify four basic components of the acculturation process which need greater scrutiny:

- * Economic integration: New flows of refugees and immigrants have caused great concern among some Americans because of fear that the newcomers will take jobs away from native workers. Yet, preliminary research indicates that many immigrant communities form enclave economies and create information networks that generate new employment opportunities for their members and jobs for the larger economy. It is necessary to learn more about their patterns of economic behavior so successes that have been achieved can be replicated and mainstream institutions better fitted to immigrant potential.
- * Social services and group identity: Refugees and immigrants typically go through a transition period in which their concept of self shifts from foreigner to ethnic American with roots in both their traditions and their new country. To be effective, social services must be aware of this transformation and gear their efforts to the cultural identities of their clients. Much new research is needed in this area that will have practical ramifications for publicly and privately funded service providers.
- * Language: Few issues carry the emotional resonance that adheres to language maintenance and integration. Some of the most divisive and bitter disputes at the local level have flared up over the issues of bilingual ballots and education. Yet, the fact remains that workable programs have to be developed to teach English to refugees and immigrants in the U.S. and to take advantage of the resources and heritages they bring with them. The language issue involves not only newcomers

but relates as well to the linguistic incompetence of Americans in general and the problems this creates for the country's performance in the areas of international business, defense and diplomacy. Needed is a comprehensive approach to raising competence in English among newcomers and preventing backlash against them from discouraging learning of foreign languages by all Americans.

- * Intergroup relations: Every refugee and immigrant group needs to fit into a society that includes both other newcomer communities and American-born residents. At times, tensions have arisen between newcomers and other groups. Even where no overt problems have developed, refugee and immigrant organizations sometimes find themselves isolated or unable to connect to coalitional efforts in their areas. Programs to relate them more closely to others in American society need to be developed and implemented.

As refugee and immigrant flows grow, these acculturation issues will become more pressing. Yet, we are at present only at an early stage of understanding and action on them. We propose to mount a project to define acculturation needs, consolidate current knowledge on this issue, make policy recommendations and identify future directions for this field.

III. Objectives

A project organized and implemented by the Institute for American Pluralism on the acculturation of refugees and immigrants to American society would seek to accomplish the following five objectives:

- * It would aim to enhance understanding of the acculturation process and renew interest in this issue as a major field of research and action for experts and policymakers concerned with refugee and immigrant flows.
- * It would gather, conceptualize and make available current knowledge on economic integration, intergroup relations, language and group identity and social services among newcomers so that a baseline of information would be established for further work in this field.

- * It would identify professionals, ethnic groups, service organizations and trainers interested in acculturation and suggest points and methods for coalitional action to improve adjustment mechanisms for refugees and immigrants.
- * It would present its findings in an attractive, succinct and well-documented publication that would be distributed widely to inform general audiences and policymakers about needs in this field.
- * It would define needs and set goals for future research and action on acculturation issues. Since the field at this point is at a pioneering stage of conceptualization, it is especially important for new efforts to be oriented toward shaping constructive further work and policy initiatives.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

IV. Methodology

Since the key need at present is the establishment of a conceptual and practical base for work on acculturation, an early approach should involve the bringing together of people knowledgeable about aspects of this issue to pool their insights and identify key needs. Their assessments and proposals can then be shared with a wider audience.

To accomplish this goal, the Institute for American Pluralism proposes to set up a Task Force on Acculturation of Refugees and Immigrants in the U.S. to consider this topic and to publish and distribute widely its findings in a follow-up report.

The Task Force approach, which IFAP has used successfully on immigration and other issues in the past, is especially useful for exploring this subject. In a field with interests as wide-ranging as intergroup relations, economic integration, language and identity, it will be necessary to bring people with different types of expertise together to share their knowledge and stimulate

discussion across lines of specialization. A comprehensive framework on acculturation can emerge only after mutual consultation among several fields, a process which the Task Force will make possible.

The Task Force would hold separate day-long meetings on each of the four components of acculturation outlined above. It would have a core membership that would attend each session. In addition, experts on each of the four component areas would be brought in for the meeting on their subject. Each session of the Task Force would survey current information, assess policy proposals and identify future research and coalition needs. Taken together they would give shape to the field at present and point to directions for further work.

Members of the Task Force would be drawn from the following fields:

- * New immigrant groups.
- * Established ethnic communities that have evolved communal institutions and can serve as models for newer arrivals.
- * Social service personnel working with newcomers.
- * Corporate, small business and labor leaders.
- * Educators in language and cultural adjustment.
- * Community organizers.
- * Trainers in multi-cultural education.
- * Academics studying these trends.

It is a crucial aspect of the project that its work not end at the Task Force stage. While there is value in creating a forum for a varied group of experts and generating new insights, it is also important to assure that the results of this process reach general audiences and policymakers. For this

reason, the publication of a final report and its distribution becomes both a capstone for the Task Force deliberations and a starting point for future action.

In sum, the project on acculturation will have the following products:

- * A Task Force of varied experts which will generate new insights and establish a conceptual and practical base for acculturation issues.
- * A set of policy recommendations.
- * An inventory of research and training needs.
- * A publication to bring these concerns to a wider audience.

V. Timetable

The Task Force project will be completed six to eight months from its starting date. After a month's planning period, a day-long session on each acculturation component will take place on one day of each of the next four months. The project report will be finished within three months of the final meeting. George M. Szabad, chair of IFAP's Center on Immigration and Acculturation will chair the Task Force, and Gary E. Rubin, Director of the Center, will be the project director. (Biographies are included in an appendix.) Follow-up activities to build on the project's findings will be planned as part of the Task Force's work.

VI. Conclusion

The issue of acculturation stands in great need of attention at present. Key goals include developing an information base and defining needs in this field. The Institute for American Pluralism has the experience and credibility necessary to convene a distinguished Task Force on this subject and to disseminate its results broadly. Its work will serve as an effective starting point for future studies and action in this field.



85-601-15

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 2, 1985
to Irving M. Levine
from Gary E. Rubin
subject The American Jewish Committee and Social Welfare Policy

The debate over social welfare policy in the U.S. has entered a new phase. Discussions now center not only on the best methods for structuring and operating programs for the poor but on whether the system of assistance as we know it today should exist at all. More fundamental questions about responding to poverty are being asked now than any time since the New Deal.

This issue involves much more than the mechanics of assistance programs. At bottom, it entails a reevaluation of the concept of social responsibility and the nature of the social contract. The underlying questions now being debated are: what do members of a common society owe to one another and through what institutional arrangements should their mutual concerns be expressed?

These new questions about social policy arise from a reconsideration of the performance of the U.S. economy in the past two decades. While growth in the 1960s and 1970s produced unprecedented mobility for many, it also left behind an increasing population in the ghettos of the inner cities and the small farms of rural America. The country witnessed at the same time the rise of a new prosperity and the entrapment of many poor. Both liberal analysts of the current situation such as the Catholic Bishops and conservative ones such as Charles Murray begin their evaluations from a common concern with steadily growing numbers of poor.

While in past years "underclass" was considered a pejorative term not to be used in public policy discussions, it has now emerged as the consensus description for the group trapped in poverty. It refers to the growing likelihood that not only the poor themselves will never escape their plight but the chances are also great that their children will not transcend the social conditions into which they are born. Dimming prospects for mobility in American society present a serious challenge to our concept of ourselves as a nation and have touched off a strong debate on policy toward the poor.

At present, the American Jewish Committee is not a major force in these debates. Our basic statements on welfare are at least a decade old and do not address new questions being raised by either liberals or conservatives. While we are members of some of the older coalitions dealing with employment or support systems, we do not give them priority attention.

AJC should reinvigorate its role in national social policy discussions for the following reasons:

1. Social policy debates rest on assumptions about the nature of the social contract and responsibility in U.S. society. As a key component of American life, the Jewish community should play a prominent role in these discussions.
2. Jews, especially the elderly, single parent families living in precarious circumstances and students benefitting from educational aid will feel the impact of proposed changes in current programs.
3. The agency has in different ways expressed an interest in reviving its involvement in social policy discussions. AJC's officers last year recommended a new approach toward the underclass. The Philadelphia chapter has asked for a consideration of revising minimum wage laws to aid minority youth.
4. Social welfare is a key issue for many groups with which AJC has had close relations in the past. Our coalitional interests may require heightened attention to this topic.
5. Most basically, the new social policy debate raises profound ethical questions on which a Jewish agency should have much to say. Out of our tradition, experience and values, we ought to make a key contribution to national discussions on social responsibility.

Participating in discussions of social policy will require a knowledge of current views and an evaluation of the unique contribution AJC can make. We ought to plan our input to the degree possible before launching new initiatives.

The first thing one notices about current social policy debates is their extremely polarized nature. Contenders seem divided between staunch defenders of 1960s Great Society programs and those who would eradicate them. The middle ground between these poles has not been as well explored as the orthodoxies on either side. This split is well illustrated by the two documents that received the most attention in this field in the past year: the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral on "Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy" and Charles Murray's Losing Ground.

The Bishops' Letter

The Catholic Bishops' Pastoral proceeds from the assumption that society has an overriding responsibility to aid the poor. The first half of the letter is devoted to theological and historical arguments for assistance. As long as the poor exist, the Bishops state, the first priority of any economic program must be to help them.

Their vehicle for accomplishing this goal is a greater dedication to Great Society support programs. They call for full employment, if necessary through the creation of public sector jobs; fully funded welfare programs that allow

recipients a decent standard of living; the participation of the poor in the design of welfare initiatives; cooperation among government, business and labor in creating economic policies; and a greater priority internationally on aiding the poor of the Third World.

The policies promoted by the Bishops flow from a genuine concern with the plight of the poor. The sincerity of their position cannot be doubted. Moreover, their recommendations will receive strong support from certain sectors of American society. The authors representing Hispanics, Blacks and Indians in a recent book edited by Leslie Dunbar, Minority Report (1984), also call for greater spending for social and affirmative action programs and pledge political mobilization to further these aims.

While admirable in its goals, the Bishops' platform has some problems in implementation. Indeed, the practical complexities of their recommendations hardly receive notice in their letter. They call, for example, for full employment programs "without entailing large expense and increased inflation," and for aid to Third World countries in ways that promote "a campaign for economic democracy and justice." Policymakers have been striving to accomplish these aims for decades, but they involve severe practical problems which the Bishops do not acknowledge. To take another example, the letter calls for the involvement of the poor in the design of welfare programs. This strategy was attempted in the community action programs of the 1960s, and even liberal analyses of this effort such as Peter Marris' and Martin Rein's Dilemmas of Social Reform (1973) describe enormous difficulties in putting this idea into action. Theoretical discussions of poverty may produce disappointing results unless accompanied by a large dose of realism.

The Bishops' letter has another, more philosophical problem. It is eloquent on the need for society's responsibility toward the poor but silent on the poor's responsibility to themselves. Welfare programs in the U.S. have always assumed that to the degree possible the poor will strive to help themselves out of dependency. The Bishops' recommendations, even on job training programs, speak to the need for governmental involvement in creating employment, education and opportunity. They do not address the need for the poor to pursue actively their own better futures. The social contract must involve obligations on both sides.

The Bishops' letter should forcefully influence future discussions of social policy. Considerations of assistance programs must begin from their statement that "our challenge is to choose community over chaos." But the effective realization of this goal will necessitate responsible participation by the poor as well as others in the building of community.

Losing Ground

Charles Murray's Losing Ground (1984) has had a profound influence on proponents of cutting welfare programs. It has had an especially powerful impact on officials directly involved with the budget process. Like the Bishops' letter, its conclusions and recommendations require close scrutiny.

Murray believes that the Great Society social programs have produced disastrous results. He argues that disturbing social trends such as increases in poverty, unemployment, school dropout rates, crime and family breakup coincided almost exactly with rises in spending on programs to aid poor populations. These trends had particularly devastating effects on Blacks trapped in urban ghettos.

Losing Ground makes a direct causal connection between social spending and the rise of the underclass. To Murray, only individual initiative to get a job offers a way out of poverty. In offering support without employment, social programs blunt the necessity to work and so encourage dependency. "The number of people living in poverty," he writes, "stopped declining just as public assistance program budgets were highest." To remedy this problem, he calls for the elimination of all assistance to the able - body poor save for Unemployment Insurance, the end of affirmative action initiatives and a voucher system for education.

In many ways, Murray's conclusions rest on interpretations of trends rather than unambiguous facts. Both Murray and the liberal writer John Schwarz (in America's Hidden Success, 1983) agree that welfare programs provide the money needed to keep many families out of poverty. Schwarz sees this as a fulfillment of the goals of welfare and presents it as a great success. Murray views the same facts negatively since he sees families now dependent on public rather than self support.

In other cases, Murray skips over facts that others have seen as crucial to explaining social trends. Schwarz, for example, attributes the increase in poverty and unemployment of the late 1960s and 1970s to the coming of age of the baby boom generation, a development that flooded labor markets and produced unprecedented competition for job opportunities. He argues that conditions caused by population trends would have been much worse if federal support programs had not been available to families caught in the numbers crunch. Murray overlooks demographic factors in his concentration on the growth of public support as a cause for the new poverty.

Like the Bishops' letter, Murray's book rests on problematic philosophical assumptions. He views human action as essentially a series of individual decisions designed to maximize personal gain. If a person can survive only by getting a job, he or she will sacrifice to get it; if it is easier to rely on welfare, many will. Absent in this approach is a real sense of social responsibility. Murray's is a cold world in which individuals strive to match up to their own personal challenges. Any programs of social help or mutual aid will only impede tasks they have to perform for themselves. It is surely questionable whether society can thrive with this minimal level of community commitment. Indeed, it is ironic that Murray is now seen as a leader of conservative social thinkers, since traditionally conservatism has stressed dedication to a sense of community. If the Bishops suffer from an almost exclusive reliance on the concept of social responsibility, Murray's reaction that all but ignores it is hardly less extreme or more acceptable.

Still, Murray does inject the notion of personal responsibility forcefully into the social policy debate. Current programs have not eliminated the underclass and are surely in need of some degree of change. Proponents of his point of view will be influential in shaping future initiatives.

Middle Ground

Both the Bishops' and Murray's approaches are too hardline to result in legislation based solely on their principles. Inevitably, there will be accommodations in arriving at practical programs. It remains to be seen, however, whether the compromise proposals will arise out of the unplanned fallout of contending positions or from a well considered middle ground platform.

AJC could do much to promote new thinking on social policy issues. We have functioned well in other areas such as immigration in which positions in the field tend to be polarized and a consensus view needs to be articulated. This requires an evaluation of the positives of each side and the building of a coherent program capable of attracting wide support.

The Jewish community is well positioned to advance a moderate social policy program. AJC's poll Jewish voters in 1984 conducted by Steven Cohen shows support of "such government programs as welfare and food stamps" by 75% of respondents. On the other hand, they reject by a margin of 44 to 37% the notion that government should guarantee jobs for everyone who wants to work. Moreover, wide endorsement of conservative initiatives such as increased school discipline and urban enterprise zones could probably be found among American Jews. The elements of consensus social action exist within the community and have the potential of being molded into a coherent program.

Moreover, Jewish tradition emphasizes both social and individual responsibility. A moderate Jewish position on welfare policy could draw genuinely on the resources of our culture and religion. This approach would offer a legitimate Jewish contribution to current national debates.

The exact outlines of a moderate position on social welfare will require much time and effort to work out. Two points about it seem clear even at this early stage: it could advance current discussions on the social contract in the U.S. and it could reflect the ideals and interests of American Jews. We need a way to develop and promote a distinctive AJC position on this issue.

Process

If we undertake an AJC project on social policy, it ought to be done in a serious way that reflects both the complexity and the importance of this issue. We should develop a process that would allow sufficient time to consider relevant factors and gather the information needed to make appropriate recommendations. We should also make sure that our top lay leaders and our chapters are fully involved in developing a social policy platform for AJC.

We should appoint a small task force of prominent AJC leaders of diverse points of view chaired by a person of national stature within the organization. Members should commit themselves to five meetings over a half-year period. These meetings should take place not in New York but cities around the country that have resources to offer in studying social policy. The task force could meet in Boston, for example, with a liberal like Martin Rein of MIT and a neo-conservative like Nathan Glazer of Harvard; in Chicago with representatives of both the University of Chicago's economics department and the University of Wisconsin's Institute for Research on Poverty; in San Francisco with scholars at Berkeley and the Hoover Institution; and in Washington with people at the Urban Institute, the American Enterprise Institute and the Brookings Institution. In each location, meetings can also be arranged with governmental, ethnic and church leaders. Through this process, we will gain a large and varied body of knowledge which can shape a social policy position for AJC.

Each of these sessions should involve both national task force members and chapter leaders in the city where the meeting is being held. Time should be left for them to discuss the implications of the presentations. In this way chapters will be integrated into the process from the beginning.

At the end of its meetings, the task force should issue a report and policy recommendations to AJC. These should be discussed at the National Affairs Commission and Board of Governors. Programs based on the task force's activities could also be featured at the Annual Meeting and the National Executive Council. We should make sure that our efforts do not end with reports and policy positions but that we undertake a commitment to move our recommendations in the legislative, administrative, coalitional and political arenas.

This is undoubtedly an ambitious project, but I believe it is within our mandate and capabilities. It would involve all levels of our organization in working on an issue of importance to the national agenda. It would put AJC in a position to make a unique contribution to the social policy debate in the U.S.

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85-601-16

Challenge of pay equity includes comparable worth

By ALAN CABELLY

"WASHINGTON STATE loses quarter billion-dollar discrimination suit." "Oregon State System of Higher Education successfully defends itself against pay discrimination." "Oregon agrees to act on comparable worth." "Comparable worth goal of L.A. raises."

These and similar stories have made headlines in recent years, particularly in the last few months. They focus on the difficult question of how America makes its pay decisions — specifically, are people paid for the worth they provide to organizations?

Issues involving pay equity and comparable worth have been raised for many years, particularly since the passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1963 and the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Recently, however, as many governmental bodies have chosen to do studies and begin implementation of equitable pay practices, emotions have become heated.

In order for rational pay structures to be developed, logic must replace emotion. This can be achieved by asking, and responding to, three relatively simple questions: Do pay disparities exist between various groups? What are the causes of these disparities? What remedies exist to eliminate these disparities?

Reading beyond these questions allows one to see exactly why the concept of pay equity is an important one. Pay equity focuses on organizational efficiency and individual productivity, while seeking to motivate workers to perform at maximum capacity to meet organization goals.

Comparable worth, on the other hand, is simply one very narrow case of pay equity. Where pay equity seeks to pay all workers for the inherent value of their jobs, comparable worth only compares male-dominated jobs with

Alan Cabelly is associate professor of human resources management at Portland State University. He is attempting to develop equitable pay systems in the city of Portland.

In my opinion

female-dominated jobs. Its motives are political and social.

The three questions stated above provide a framework for examining the pay equity issue. First, asking if pay differences exist allows a compensation analyst to see if managers are paid more than laborers, carpenters more than janitors, police officers more than firefighters, and gardeners more than secretaries. In all cases, apples are compared with oranges, and differences are observed.

The only valid, systematic, efficient method of knowing why pay differences exist is to use a management tool called a job evaluation. Job evaluations typically look at four specific factors inherent in all jobs.

The skills that a worker needs to accomplish the job's tasks; the mental and physical effort needed to do the job; and the degree of responsibility inherent in the job are all directly related to the value of the job to the organization. The fourth factor, working conditions, reflects the risks and discomforts of the job.

Job evaluation techniques, after undergoing rigorous statistical analysis, permit an organization to compare apples and oranges. The reason for this is that jobs are not compared directly with each other. Each job is evaluated on its four component parts — skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions — and receives a certain number of points for each. When the evaluation is complete, each job has a total point value, and workers are paid according to the points the job receives. Thus, job evaluations help to determine whether job and task differences are the cause of pay disparities.

There is strong research evidence to suggest that pay, when given for job-related reasons, is a motivator of workers. Workers who feel that pay inequities exist will not perform to their fullest capacities.

Finding remedies will not be easy. The current labor market uses pay scales that are often inequitable. Increasing the rate of pay for some jobs will have short-term costs that will be alleviated by increased motivation and productivity only in the long run. In addition, the question of market value requires consideration.

Third, attracting qualified workers for certain highly skilled positions may require that workers in those jobs be paid more than the evaluated worth of their jobs. Organization efficiency may cause these jobs to be paid more than their skill, effort, responsibility and working conditions would appear to merit.

Pay equity is a volatile question in America today for several reasons. The first is that when pay is discussed, everyone becomes an expert. Few people, however, are aware of the complexity involved in the development of a valid pay system.

Significant changes in pay structures may have major effects on other areas. We need to ask whether social and political considerations should run our economic systems, or whether we might expect economic developments to lead to social change.

Those who prefer social and political values to dominate will be strongly for or against comparable worth. Those believing in economic rationality have only one real choice — they will develop pay systems which are equitable for all.

Opinion guidelines

THE FORUM section's "In my opinion" column is available to readers desiring to comment on current issues.

Commentaries may be on any subject, but those dealing with local or personal issues will receive priority.

Views opposing those expressed in individual columns are welcome but should stand independently of the original column.

The essays should be about 750 words — three double-spaced pages if typewritten. They must not have been published previously and must be submitted exclusively to The Oregonian. They belong to the authors after they are published.

Publication will be the only payment.

Address submissions to Forum Editor, The Oregonian, 1320 S.W. Broadway, Portland, Ore. 97201.

The attached letter from Hyman Bookbinder was sent to:

All Jewish & Black Members of Congress

Senate & House Judiciary Committee Members

Edwin Meese, III, Attorney General of the U. S.

William Bradford Reynolds, Nominee, Assoc. Atty. General

Donald T. Regan, White House Chief of Staff

Marshall Breger, Special Assistant to the President for
Public Liasion

Linda Chavez, Chief White House Liasion Office

Ralph Neas, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

William Taylor, Center for National Policy Review,
Catholic University

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. Speaker of the House

Joseph Rauh, Esq.

85-620-58



The American Jewish Committee

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

May 29, 1985

Dear

The Justice Department's recent action requesting more than 50 local jurisdictions to modify their ongoing affirmative action plans has caused much confusion and anxiety across the country. After careful review of the situation, Mr. Howard Friedman, President of the American Jewish Committee, issued the enclosed statement in which he expresses our concern that the Department's action "will reopen old wounds, and will have the effect of increasing tensions and disrupting social peace in communities across the country."

Mr. Friedman's statement is particularly significant because it was made despite our own "profound opposition to racial and minority quotas." But the Justice action "sweeps into a common ambit decrees which employ goals and timetables (the prudent use of which we strongly endorse) as well as decrees which employ quotas." Because we are disturbed by the "overly expansive interpretation" of the recent Stotts decision, Mr. Friedman has called upon the Justice Department to reconsider its sweeping action.

Sincerely,

Hyman Bookbinder
Washington Representative

HB/dw

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON THE JUSTICE DEPT'S AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POSITION

BY HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, PRESIDENT

In response to its reading of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts, the Department of Justice has asked approximately fifty cities, counties and states to seek modification of affirmative action decrees which employ numerical goals and/or quotas in order to increase employment of minorities and women. These decrees related principally to police and fire departments.

This action by the Department of Justice is based upon its conviction that the Stotts ruling restricts "make-whole relief only to those who have been actual victims of illegal discrimination." The holding of Stotts is that an employer may not lay off employees with greater seniority in favor of employees with lesser seniority, in the face of a bona fide seniority system, merely for the purpose of preserving a certain racial percentage in the work force. The effect of the ruling on initial hiring practices is not clearly stated in the opinion and the language relied upon by the Department of Justice is not dispositive of the larger question.

The action of the Department of Justice has been perceived as an overly expansive interpretation of Stotts and has been productive of serious communal stress in communities which have been operating under existing court decrees. Most of the governmental units affected have challenged the Justice Department's position and have rejected the request to seek modification of the applicable court orders and consent decrees.

The American Jewish Committee is concerned over the action of the Justice Department not only in its inter-group relations aspect, but also in the manner in which the Department is seeking further development and clarification of the law. We have long made clear our profound opposition to racial and minority quotas and we reiterate that position. We have also expressed our support of the prudent use of responsible, realistic and flexible goals and timetables to measure affirmative action progress. We do so as a result of our conviction that it is sound public policy to advance growing numbers of minority people in the workforce generally, particularly in areas not historically characterized by

significant minority employment. The action of the Justice Department sweeps into a common ambit decrees which employ goals and timetables, as well as decrees which employ quotas. Hence the Department's action blurs the important distinction between the two.

We support responsible efforts to secure clarification of the law in this area. That objective is not served by dragnet approaches which overstate the scope of existing decisions and seek retroactively to change existing decrees based upon an assumed change in the law. It would be far more effective and less disruptive of sensitive communal concerns to pursue the development of the law in this area in the traditional fashion - namely, a case-by-case development of the contours of the applicable law. And the law is not yet where the Justice Department considers it to be, as underscored by the fact that the Supreme Court has, since Stotts, declined to review several lower court rulings which are in apparent conflict with the Justice Department's expansive interpretation of Stotts.

As a practical matter, we believe that the drive by the Justice Department to reopen these settled cases will reopen old wounds, and will have the effect of increasing tensions and disrupting social peace in communities throughout the country. We urge the Justice Department to reconsider this action. Instead, we recommend that the Department press its views vigorously in future cases where quota remedies are at issue.

May 1985
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

National Affairs

B A C K G R O U N D E R

IRVING M. LEVINE

Director, National Affairs Department

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

by Samuel Rabinovitz, Legal Director

The U.S. Department of Justice is spearheading an all-out campaign against affirmative action programs which, in its view, discriminate against white men by granting preferential treatment to blacks, other racial minorities and women. On April 2, the Department announced that 56 cities, counties and states must modify their affirmative action plans so as to end the use of numerical goals and quotas which were designed to increase employment of minorities and women, mainly in police and fire departments. (AJC, of course, is opposed to quotas, but distinguishes - and endorses - reasonable numerical goals and time tables as a device for measuring affirmative action progress.) The Justice Department believes that preferences are barred by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits discrimination in employment based on race, religion, sex or national origin.

The Department has written to the jurisdictions in question -- including the cities of Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Miami, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and St. Louis -- as a result of a 1984 U.S. Supreme Court decision in a case concerning the Memphis Fire Department, Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts. In its letters of notification, the Justice Department said, in pertinent part:

In our view, the Supreme Court's decision in Stotts precludes persons who are not actual victims of discrimination from receiving preferential treatment as part of any remedial measures designed to overcome the effects of past discriminatory policies. Although the specific court order overturned by the Supreme Court in Stotts concerned preference in layoffs, the reasoning and holding of the Court was based on the purposes and limits of judicial authority under Section 706(g) of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended. The Court reviewed the legislative history of Section 706(g) and found that Title VII does not permit the ordering of racial quotas by a court; and that Congress intended to limit the courts' authority in that regard. In particular, the Court ruled that under Title VII "a court was not authorized to grant preferential treatment to non-victims." Therefore, the Court's decision applied to preferential treatment in hiring or promotion as well as layoff, and prevents a court from ordering such remedies.



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

Most civil rights lawyers believe that the Justice Department's interpretation of the Stotts decision is overly broad. In fact, attorneys from many of the targeted jurisdictions have responded negatively to the Justice Department letter, expressing their disagreement with the Department's view of Stotts, and rejecting its request to seek modification of the applicable court orders and consent decrees.

Justice Byron R. White, in his opinion for the majority in Stotts, went beyond the specific issues of the case and declared that the policy behind section 706(g) of Title VII, which permits courts to order affirmative action, "is to provide make-whole relief only to those who have been actual victims of illegal discrimination." This construction runs counter to numerous decisions of Federal appeals courts throughout the country, never reversed by the Supreme Court. Interestingly, Justice White himself voted in favor of broad racial quota remedies in recent years in three major cases: Regents of the State of California v. Bakke, United Steel Workers of America v. Weber, and Fullilove v. Klutznick.

Notwithstanding the Supreme Court ruling in Stotts, and even though the Justice Department has contended that all preferential remedies are now prohibited, Federal judges throughout the country have continued to uphold the use of numerical goals and quotas. For example, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, in the case of Kromnick v. School District of Philadelphia,* upheld the use of quotas to promote "racial balance" in the assignment of teachers. In rejecting a challenge by white teachers, the court noted that the Stotts decision is inapplicable because there was "no requirement of race-conscious layoffs" in Philadelphia. The court held that the school districts' race-based involuntary transfer policy violated neither Title VII nor the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Last January, the U.S. Supreme court declined to review the Court of Appeals ruling, thereby letting it stand.

In fact, the Supreme Court, in declining to hear Kromnick, as well as other recent appeals court decisions which are not easily reconciled with Justice White's dicta in the Memphis firefighters case, appears to shy away from the expansive interpretation of Stotts which has been urged by the Justice Department. The Court has denied review to lower court rulings in the cases of Bratton v. City of Detroit, which upheld the validity of an affirmative action plan for promoting black and white police officers in equal numbers, and Bushey v. New York, which upheld a state action that raised the scores of black and Hispanic prison officers (whose "pass" rate was half that of white candidates) on a written examination for promotion to captain that was deemed to be discriminatory.

The reality is that the U.S. Supreme Court for a number of years has failed to send clear signals to the country as to the proper limits of affirmative action remedies. For example, in the case of Griggs v. Duke Power Company in 1971, the

* AJC participated in this case as an amicus in opposition to the quota remedy.

Supreme Court ruled unanimously that "discriminatory preference for any group, minority or majority, is precisely and only what Congress has proscribed in Title VII." And, in Furnco Construction Corp. v. Waters in 1978, the Court said:

It is clear beyond cavil that the obligation imposed by Title VII is to provide an equal opportunity to each applicant regardless of race, without regard to whether members of the applicant's race are already proportionately represented in the work force.

Yet, just one year later, in United Steel Workers of America v. Weber, the Court majority ruled that it is not unlawful under Title VII for a private employer (Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Company in Louisiana) voluntarily to establish quotas or preferences for black workers to eliminate racial imbalance in traditionally white-only job categories.

AJC plans to follow closely the legal developments in the 56 jurisdictions where affirmative action plans are being challenged by the Justice Department. Our intention is to enter one or more of these cases as amicus, when it is appropriate to do so, and to explain once again AJC policy in support of affirmative action, including reasonable goals and time tables, while continuing to oppose quota remedies.

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

Statement
on
Salvadoran Asylum Seekers in the U.S.

The United States has traditionally played a worldwide leadership role in rescuing refugees fleeing persecution in their homelands. Recent developments in refugee producing countries require that we consider new ways of upholding this commitment. This is particularly true in cases such as El Salvador where civil war and internal strife have induced many to seek haven abroad.

The American Jewish Committee supports new legislation introduced by Senator Dennis DeConcini and Representative Joseph Moakley to examine this situation closely and develop policies responsive to the plight of new flows of people seeking refuge.

Salvadorans are currently being deported back to their homeland if, as in the great majority of cases, they fail to secure asylum in the U.S. Many claim that, though they may not meet the strict definition of refugee in U.S. law, their lives would be threatened upon return by uncontrolled militias of the left or the right contending for control of their provinces. If these assertions are true, international law requires that they be given protection until the danger to them subsides.

At present, little reliable information exists on Salvadorans returned to their homeland. Reports from the field conflict on the degree of danger they face. More accurate data is needed on which to base policy responses.

The DeConcini-Moakley Bill speaks directly to this need by proposing three interrelated propositions:

1. It would suspend deportations of Salvadorans back to their homeland until the General Accounting Office can make an assessment of the extent of danger faced by people returned there and Congress can consider its report.

2. It would also direct the General Accounting Office to make a study of the safety of Salvadorans now living in other countries in Central America. If these places prove safe, they could become alternative reception centers for Salvadorans.
3. It would direct Congress to assess the GAO's findings within a time-limited period and make a determination on policy approaches to Salvadorans in the U.S.

The DeConcini-Moakley Bill provides, in short, a rational method fully within the law to gain the type of information necessary for an appropriate and humanitarian response to Salvadorans seeking asylum.

It should be noted that suspending deportation because of feared consequences of returning people to their homeland is not a new procedure but has been done in the past for Poles, Iranians, Lebanese and others who might face uncertain conditions if sent back.

The bill's sponsors have made it clear that refugee rather than foreign policy considerations provide that rationale for their effort. This is consistent with AJC's long-standing position that refugees should be treated in terms of the danger they face, not as pawns of foreign policy.

This legislation also has wider implications for refugee policy in the contemporary world. The current international system for dealing with refugees was created in response to the plight of people fleeing oppression by communist or facist governments of Europe following World War II. Increasingly, however, refugee movement is being caused by internal strife or civil war in developing regions. Neither international nor U.S. refugee policy has yet responded to this historic change. Information gathered by the General Accounting Office under the DeConcini-Moakley Bill would provide necessary reliable information for adapting our humanitarian refugee tradition to current circumstances.

Approved by the Board of Governors
5/1/85

85-620-45



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

STATEMENT ON URBAN ENTERPRISE ZONES.

The creation of new employment opportunities for residents of inner cities ranks among the most urgent policy priorities for American society. New and innovative approaches are needed to revitalize neighborhood economies and increase the number of jobs in areas suffering high unemployment. To further this goal, The American Jewish Committee endorses the concept of urban enterprise zones.

The enterprise zone concept aims to merge public and private sector initiatives to employ greater numbers of poor in central cities. It would combine the resources of the business community with those of federal, state and city governments and local community groups to generate jobs and foster economic growth where it is most needed.

This program assumes that poverty can be most effectively attacked by making secure jobs available through fostering business development. Enterprise zones would operate chiefly through the provision of tax incentives, reduction in regulations and eligibility for development bonds for businesses locating in poor neighborhoods. Benefits would be targeted to aid most directly companies that hire and train workers from disadvantaged backgrounds. This public investment would be compensated by the long term revenue enhancement effects of job creation and industrial growth.

Several bills to establish enterprise zones have been introduced to Congress, the most prominent of which is sponsored by Representatives Jack Kemp and Robert Garcia. This concept enjoys the support of a broad coalition of Republicans and Democrats. It has also gained the endorsement of key Black, Hispanic, ethnic and community groups.

To be maximally effective urban enterprise initiatives should take account of the following points:

1. Urban enterprise zones should form one component of a comprehensive social policy. They are not a substitute for other important initiatives for the poor. Educational, family support, health, housing, mass transportation and other programs need to be pursued along with job development to achieve a full strategy to combat poverty. Special attention should be paid to possible social and residential displacement effects of new development.
2. This is at present an experimental program. It assumes that jobs will follow inducements to establish businesses in targeted areas. Preliminary reports from state-sponsored enterprise zones have been encouraging. Early Federal efforts should be closely monitored to gauge their effectiveness and apply lessons learned in operating them to newly designated zones.
3. Guarantees should be provided that this program in fact benefits neighborhoods in greatest need of revitalization. Pressures will inevitably build to aid businesses in less deteriorated urban areas which offer a more conventional investment environment. Legislation should contain strict provisions that allow tax and regulatory incentives only for zones with low income, high unemployment and underdeveloped enterprise. Local government and community groups should play an active role in designation of urban enterprise zones.
4. Enterprise zones should not put companies currently operating in depressed areas at a competitive disadvantage. Firms should not be induced to relocate to them if this would raise unemployment in the area they leave.

Reducing poverty in the U. S. will require new strategies involving the private as well as the public sector. Urban enterprise zones offer a promising program for combining resources to revive inner cities and increase employment. They merit widespread support.

Approved by the National Executive Council 5/3/85

85-620-47

ICCJ, Postfach 305, D-6148 Heppenheim

To the Members of the Executive Committee,
 the Honorary President and Honorary Vice-President,
 the Permanent Observers
 and the Past Presidents
 of the International Council of Christians and Jews

4 June 1985

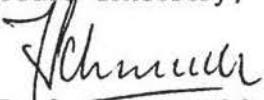
Dear Friends,

You are cordially invited to attend the meeting of the Executive Committee of the ICCJ which will take place in the days of the colloquium and the annual general meeting of the ICCJ, i.e. from 21 to 25 July 1985. It seems possible to reserve the following times during these days for sessions of the Executive Committee: Monday, 22 July, 2 - 3 p.m., Tuesday, 23 July, 2 - 3.30 p.m., and if necessary some time on 24 and 25 July. The definite times will be announced at the colloquium.

The following agenda is proposed:

1. Opening
2. Apologies for absence
3. Minutes of the meeting held in Heppenheim, 25-27 February 1985 (enclosed)
4. Planning committee report
5. Financial situation
6. Budapest consultation
7. Young Leadership Project
8. Next year's colloquium and annual meeting to be held in Salamanca, Spain, 6 - 11 July 1986
9. Any other business.

Yours sincerely,


 Dr. J. Schoneveld

General Secretary

HON. PRESIDENT:

The Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon.
 Lord Coggan
 former Archbishop
 of Canterbury

HON. VICE-PRESIDENT:
 William W. Simpson, O.B.E.
 (England)

*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

President:
 Dr. Victor Goldbloom, O.C.
 (Canada)

Vice-Presidents:
 Rev. Arie Lems
 (Sweden)

Rabbi Dr. N. Peter Levinson
 (Fed. Republic of Germany)

Chairman, Exec. Committee:
 Sir Sigmund Sternberg, J.P.
 (England)

Chairman,
 Planning Committee:
 Joseph Emanuel
 (Israel)

Treasurer:
 Antoon Ruygers
 (Belgium)

Members:
 Rabbi Pynchas Brener
 (Venezuela)

Sr. Ionel Mihalovici
 (Spain)

Marcelle Raber
 (France)

Rabbi Prof. Dr.
 Alexander Scheiber
 (Hungary)

Dr. Simon Schoon
 (Netherlands)

Dr. Stefan Schreiner
 (German Democr. Republic)

Ulrich Trinks
 (Austria)

Jacqueline G. Wexler
 (U.S.A.)

*

BANKERS:

Dresdner Bank Heppenheim
 (BLZ 500 800 50)
 Account No. 02 232 777 00
 Postal Cheque Office,
 Frankfurt (BLZ 500 100 60)
 Account No. 11994-605

*

AUDITORS:

Price Waterhouse GmbH,
 Frankfurt

D R A F T

M I N U T E S
OF THE ICCJ EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

25 to 27 February 1985
at the Martin Buber House, Heppenheim

There were present:

Rev. Allan Brockway (WCC Observer)
The Lord Coggan (Honorary President)
Mr Joseph Emanuel (Chairman Planning Committee)
Ms Brigitte Freudenberg (Observer Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House)
Dr Victor C. Goldbloom OC (President)
Rev. Arie Lems (Vice-President)
Sr Ionel Mihalovici (Member)
Rabbi Dr N. Peter Levinson (Vice-President)
Mme Marcelle Raber (Member)
Mr Antoon Buygers (Treasurer)
Dr Jacobus Schoneveld (General Secretary)
Dr Simon Schoon (Member)
Dr Stefan Schreiner (Member)
Sr Shirley Sedawie (SIDIC Observer)
Rev. William W. Simpson OBE MA (Hon. Vice-President)
Sir Sigmund Sternberg JP (Chairman Executive Committee)
Mr Ulrich Trinks (Member)
Mrs Ruth Weyl (Minutes Secretary)

Apologies for Absence:

Rabbi Pynchas Brener (Member)
Professor Jean Halperin (WJC Observer)
Mme Claire Huchet-Bishop (Past President)
Msgr Jorge Mejia (Vatican Observer)
Mr Kurt Pordes (Past President)
Rabbi Prof. Alexander Scheiber (Member)
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum (AJC Observer)
Mrs Jacqueline Wexler (Member)

The Chairman, in opening the meeting, expressed regret at the serious illness of Rabbi Prof. Alexander Scheiber which prevented his being present. He also referred to the recent conferring on Rabbi Scheiber of an Honorary Doctor's degree by the Evangelical Theological Faculty of Budapest and asked the General Secretary to convey both congratulations and good wishes for his recovery.

The Chairman further referred to the untimely death of Mr Len Goss, and the members stood in silence remembering his services to the Council.

The Chairman then extended a specially warm welcome to Lord Coggan on this his first visit to the Martin Buber House.

On the proposal of the Chairman it was agreed to invite Ms Brigitte Freudenberg, the Honorary Development Director of the Association of Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House to be present throughout the meeting as an observer.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS HELD AT VALLOMBROSA/SALTINO IN JULY 1984

The minutes were amended to include the name of Dr Stefan Schreiner and were approved and duly signed.

MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES

James Parkes Memorial Fund

Referring to this item (which had also been mentioned in the Notes of the Planning Committee meeting of 22-24 October 1984), Mr Simpson stated that since Vallombrosa he had been able to discuss the matter further with Joseph Emanuel and had also read the text of the lecture given by Prof Paul van Buren, which will, he felt, commend itself to the family of the late Dr James Parkes, and that he hoped soon to be able to have their confirmation in principle of the handling of this matter.

REPORT OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE

The members expressed their appreciation of the report (Appendix A to these minutes) on the meeting of 22-24 October 1984, and agreed to deal with specific items as they would arise under ongoing points of the agenda.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

The Chairman invited questions or comments on the General Secretary's report covering the period from mid-July 1984 to mid-January 1985, which had been submitted in writing (Appendix B to these minutes).

Dr Simon Schoon asked for additional information concerning the International Seminar on Alternative Solutions of the Israel-Palestinian Conflict, and the General Secretary explained that it had been intended to study possible alternative solutions not yet before any negotiating body. Israeli delegates included members of the Israel Peace Movement, Oz ve Shalom and New Outlook; Palestinians included Israeli Arabs and Westbank Israelis, all people who identified neither with the policies of the Israeli Government nor those of the PLO. One of the active participants had been the German journalist Henrik Broder.

Lord Coggan expressed the hope of all present that the General Secretary and his family would settle happily into their new home in Heppenheim. He also commended the General Secretary on the lucidity of the report and the hard work done singlehandedly by him over those past months.

Mrs Ellen Schoneveld who was invited to join the meeting for this item was able to supplement the report on the library with an account of the progress made with the indexing and cataloguing on the library with its emphasis on both Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations. She expressed the hope that the catalogue might eventually be made available to other libraries and institutions operating in this field.

The membership thanked her for her work and asked that the Committee's special thanks be conveyed to Mrs Irmhild Oberle who would continue to work under Mrs Schoneveld's guidance for another two months to complete the cataloguing and thus to facilitate the smooth and effective running of the library.

TREASURER'S REPORT

- a) The Treasurer in submitting his Financial Statement for the year 1984 (Appendix C to these minutes) with full explanations and notes was able to show that due to careful budgeting and thanks to some sponsorships he had been able to conclude the financial year with a small surplus. Satisfied with his thorough explanations of the movement of sponsored funds the Committee welcomed and approved his 1984 Statement for submission to the Auditors.
- b) The Treasurer further submitted his proposal for the 1985 minimum contributions from member organisations (Appendix D to these minutes) which were approved.

To facilitate cooperation between member organisations and the ICCJ the Treasurer moved, and the President seconded, that it be resolved that the officers (President, Vice-Presidents Treasurer and Chairman of the Executive Committee) be authorised:

- i) in exceptional circumstances to transfer monies from the general fund to the Special Development Fund;
- ii) to approve, in exceptional circumstances, the payment of monies from the Special Development Fund to a national member organisation;
- iii) to approve joint fund-raising initiatives of the ICCJ and a national member organisation, the proceeds to be shared between the two;
- iv) to approve the acceptance of earmarked donations, including donations to be shared between the ICCJ and a national member organisation.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the members of the Executive Committee, it being understood that the full membership of the ICCJ be advised of this at the forthcoming AGM in Dublin.

- c) The Treasurer further submitted his budget proposals for 1985 (Appendix E to these minutes) explaining that any short-fall from 1984 Institutional Gifts would be made up by funds which it was hoped would be raised by the Association of Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House. He added that while feeling confident with regard to 1985 he must warn that in 1986 the Catholic Bishop's contribution of DM 40,000 would cease. It was hoped that this short-fall would be made up by an ecumenical move to combine the contributions of the Church of Hessen and Nassau and the Evangelische Kirche Deutschland and hopefully also the Catholic Church, with the ultimate aim to spread future contributions in equal parts between Protestant, Catholic and Jewish sources.

In this connection the President reported having made approaches with the help of Dr Riegner during a recent visit together with the General Secretary to New York to the WJC Executive Director, Mr Israel Singer. He had made a specific point of the question of achieving equitable balance in the support of the major communities for the ICCJ and he expressed the hope that once a subsidy was granted by the WJC it would indicate ongoing support. The President promised to pursue the matter.

Rev. Arie Lems report that he had the assurance of the Stockholm Jewish Community to start by giving a contribution of DM 1,000,--.

The President proposed, Mr Simpson seconded and the Committee unanimously approved the acceptance of the Treasurer's 1985 budget proposal.

The Chairman thanked the Treasurer for his detailed reports and commended his circumspect handling of the ICCJ's finances.

ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS AND SPONSORS OF THE MARTIN BUBER HOUSE

Rabbi Levinson reported on first steps taken in visiting heads of individual Federal German Länder who, while on the whole sympathetic to the proposals submitted to them, have first to refer the matter back to their own advisers. But he emphasised that he felt hopeful that some valuable support could be raised.

Ms Brigitte Freudenberg who had accompanied Rabbi Levinson and the General Secretary on some of those visits presented a more detailed account of her own activities, including a visit to the UK to meet with other bodies and personalities involved in the field of dialogue and fund-raising.

It had been decided to have three levels of contributors:

- Friends, with a regular contribution of DM 120.-- p.a. minimum
- Sponsors, with a regular contribution of DM 600.-- p.a. minimum
- Founders, contributing DM 3.000.-- to DM 5.000.--

Draft letters in German and English had been prepared and would be sent to prospective 'Friends', 'Sponsors', and 'Founders', starting with former participants of ICCJ conferences, and then to corporations and the individual Federal German Länder.

The approach in Germany was first of all to inform prospective contributors about the activities of the ICCJ, to make the point of 'honour' by stressing the importance of having moved the head offices from the UK to the Martin Buber House in Germany and setting up a dialogue centre in a post-holocaust setting, to stress 'responsibility' in being involved in anti-defamatory activities (with an eye also on anti-Turkish and other racist attitudes) and to appeal to the 'glamour' of being seen to be involved as Germans in an international setting like the ICCJ.

It was hoped that approaches to corporations could be made under the expert guidance of Mr Sylvester Wöhler who had met the ICCJ Executive Committee a year ago (see minutes of Executive Committee Meeting of 27-29 February 1984) and who, after having moved from Heppenheim continued to be interested and wished to be involved.

Ms Freudenberg added that she would like to be able to present the Martin Buber House to prospective German contributors both as a centre for dialogue and as a place where documentation about German help to Jews during the Nazi period was being collected. In this connection she referred to material at present in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior which had previously been in the care of the DKA.

The Chairman thanked Ms Freudenberg for her activities and report and in a discussion following her report the members emphasised

such points as the possibility of arranging for 'Founders' to spread their contributions over a longer period; the importance of ensuring cooperation with the DKA whose board member, Dr Michael Brocke, had been coopted to the Board of the Association; and the awareness of a danger lest a reference to a collection of documents about German help during the Nazi period could possibly be construed as a form of white-washing operation.

Rabbi Levinson assured the membership that due consideration would be given to all these sensitive issues.

ICCJ SUPPORT FOR THE PROGRAMMING OF NATIONAL MEMBER ORGANISATIONS

The General Secretary emphasised his concern that the carrying out of programmes of good quality by the national organisations was vital to the meaningful and effective functioning of the ICCJ. It was important to have as clear a picture as possible of the specific problems, whether financial or of effective programming of the member organisations.

Mr Simpson said that he had always felt that the sharing of the experiences of member organisations by way of correspondence and/or consultation was imperative to the success of the international programme. He expressed regret that a full discussion of this matter had not been possible at the Annual General Meeting because many member organisations did not have their reports ready, and insufficient time was made available for discussion of problems and exchange of experiences. The matter was fully discussed by the members and there was concensus that efforts should be made on the part of head office

- a) to make available summary translations of the salient points printed in English in the magazine 'From the Martin Buber House';
- b) to ensure that, without waiting for the full minutes, decisions taken at future Annual General Meetings be summarised and circulated to member organisations immediately following the meeting;
- c) to make sure that in the case of such gatherings as the forthcoming consultation on Jewish History in non-Jewish Historiography and History Teaching summaries of findings and decisions be made available as soon as possible after the end of the consultation;
- d) to encourage the General Secretary to visit member organisations as frequently as possible. In the case of financially weaker organisations it should be emphasised that the ICCJ was seeking to offer service in the interchange of ideas, and the offer of models for programming which had proved successful in other member countries;

- e) to make sure that over and above the reports appearing in the magazine "From the Martin Buber House" member organisations be more frequently - and in good time - advised of meetings and consultations taking place in Germany and other member countries. In this connection member organisations should be specifically urged to advise the secretariat of their forthcoming activities and also to send copies of all their printed material for inclusion in the Documentation.

It was agreed to ask the Planning Committee to study these proposals and to prepare a paper for the next meeting of the Committee.

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION ON JEWISH HISTORY IN NON-JEWISH HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY TEACHING

The General Secretary reported on the situation with regard to this consultation, to take place from 28 to 31 May 1985. Sixty invitations had been sent out, and so far 25 definite acceptances had been received. A further 10 possible acceptances were expected.

Referring to the programme schedule (Appendix F to these minutes) he explained the relationship of the consultation to the ongoing work of the ICCJ and emphasised the hope that the working parties would formulate further guidelines for the presentation of Judaism in the teaching of general history to supplement those of 1983 as published in the Journal of Ecumenical Studies. The present consultation was, in fact, envisaged as the second in a series of three. It was expected that the major thrust of the third consultation would be getting the expertise across to the teachers themselves.

The academic level of those experts who had accepted the invitation was very high and it was confidently expected that the exchange of experiences of these historians regarding this historiographical work with people involved in didactics would prove of great value in the preparation of guidelines to be broadcast by the ICCJ to its member organisations.

Mr Trinks said that he felt there had been insufficient communication between the head office and the member organisations concerning the people to be invited, and he urged the General Secretary to in future work in closer consultation with those organisations in this respect. The General Secretary, while sympathising with Mr Trinks' concern, explained that having asked member organisations as far back as September 1984 to submit names of experts and having found himself without adequate response, he felt that he had no alternative but to use his own discretion in inviting suitable experts (he referred to the sample letter (Appendix G to these minutes) which he had then sent out to prospective participants).

Financial difficulties had arisen because the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung who had agreed to contribute DM 15.000,- towards the

cost of this consultation had chosen to do so not from its own funds, but by means of a grant from funds of the Federal German Government. This meant that insufficient Federal German funding would be available directly to the ICCJ for purposes of this consultation. The original budget of DM 120.000,- to cover attendance of some 60 participants appeared to be reasonably assured, but it now seemed certain that there would be a short-fall of some DM 60.000,-, if the original number of participants would attend.

It was unanimously agreed that more care should be taken in future in the planning and related budgeting of such consultation, but that every effort should now be made to raise the necessary funds in order to hold the consultation with the limited number of participants who had thus far accepted the invitation.

Rabbi Levinson hoped to receive positive response from UNESCO to whom application for financial support had been made, and to be also able to raise additional funds from German sources. A letter dated 22nd February 1985 addressed to the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung is attached to these minutes as Appendix H.

ICCJ COLLOQUIUM AND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, DUBLIN 21-25 JULY 1985

The General Secretary, in presenting the programme for the 1985 colloquium which had already been circulated told the Committee that Professor Enda McDonagh and Chief Rabbi Jakobovits would give the opening speeches. He reported on a visit paid by himself and Mrs Grundmann to Dublin to inspect the facilities at the Colaiste Bhantiarna na Trocaire - Our Lady of Mercy College, as well as at the Montrose Hotel which they felt were entirely satisfactory. He would, however, welcome early suggestions for workshop leaders and resource people, but asked to consider as far as possible people from the UK or Ireland in order to keep costs low. It was generally agreed that he should try and draw such leaders and resource people from among the registered participants of the colloquium who, it was hoped, would consider it an honour to be thus involved, so that no undue expenses would be incurred by the ICCJ.

The break-even point would be 120 participants. It was agreed that if there should be fewer participants, the number of workshops would have to be reduced. Contrary to consultations, colloquia and annual general meetings ought to be self-financing.

The General Secretary was commended on the inclusion of Bible studies and of a workshop on common prayer, both subjects of considerable importance and attraction to the younger participants.

He was urged to circulate follow-up reminders to member organisations to ensure full and early reply to the invitations for participation.

It was agreed that provision be made in the programme to include sessions of the Executive Committee.

CONSULTATION OF JEWS AND CHRISTIANS FROM THE EAST AND THE WEST, BUDAPEST, 17-21 NOVEMBER 1985

The programme proposals as worked out in Vallombrosa in collaboration with eastern European representatives were closely studied by the membership.

The General Secretary explained that it was hoped to have 30 participants from the East and 30 from the West, equally proportioned as between Christians and Jews. Participation fees for accommodation in single rooms would be \$130.- and \$100.- for double room occupancy. Travel costs would have to be added to this.

Simon Schoon pointed out that while the financial aspect was important, much more consideration ought first to be given to the viability and contents of the programme. The original idea had been for a 'cultural' or 'historical' consultation. It was felt that the proposed theme of 'Jewish-Christian Dialogue and its Contribution to Peace' was too delicate, considering in particular the hoped for participation from eastern European countries outside Hungary. He raised the question of possible participation by 'unofficial' peace groups, the inclusion of any mention of the Middle East and Israel. It was also generally felt that the wisdom of including the Christian-Marxist ; Jewish-Marxist issue would appear doubtful, particularly in view of the fact that this was an issue within Hungary, but a non-issue within any of the other eastern European countries.

The President reminded the members though that it was Bishop Bartha who at the time of his and the General Secretary's visit last year had drawn their attention to the fact of the believer and the ideologically non-believer having realised that they would have to accept their respective presence within the framework of their society.

Mr Simpson suggested that the General Secretary get in touch with the Rev. Michael Bordeaux of Keston College whose understanding and experience of the situation might prove of great assistance, and the General Secretary was encouraged to seek such advice and guidance. It was agreed that Mr Uli Trinks, Dr Stefan Schreiner and the General Secretary pay a visit to Budapest at the earliest possible opportunity, bearing in mind the points raised by the Committee, make early suggestions of proposed speakers and lecturers and, if need be, effect slight changes in the tenor of the programme, as the most important aspect of this first ICCJ sponsored consultation in an eastern European country was the personal contact between people and their concerns.

**INTERNATIONAL MEETING OF YOUNG JEWS AND CHRISTIANS
JERUSALEM, 22 DECEMBER 1985 to 2 JANUARY 1986**

Referring to the proposals outlined by the Youth Committee in Vallombrosa and the report of the Planning Committee, the General

Secretary on behalf of Rabbi Daniela Thau who regrettably could not be present, submitted the programme on the theme 'Identity and Commitment in the Jewish-Christian Encounter'. The Committee agreed that it was a well-balanced and interesting programme which certainly deserved serious support, particularly in view of the fact that young leadership programmes were of imperative importance to the ongoing survival of the ICCJ. Doubts were expressed, however, whether the timing would suit the heavy financial burden of the ICCJ considering the Historiography Consultation, the Budapest conference and the Dublin colloquium and AGM. Calculating on the basis of 60 participants the local costs would be \$300.- to \$350.- per participant, totalling an estimated \$20,000.-, to which would have to be added the travel costs, it was suggested to postpone the youth conference to Easter 1986. However, after considering that 1985 was the International Year of the Youth and hearing from the Treasurer and Joseph Emanuel that it was hoped to raise the necessary funds, particularly as the members also felt that in their experience churches would be willing to sponsor a Christmas event in Israel, the President suggested looking at the totality of the four conferences now planned to take place within a period of seven months, and concluded that

- a) the History project, though not as well funded as originally envisaged would not involve a major expenditure risk;
- b) the AGM, though needing some Federal Foreign Ministry funds, was expected to break even if carefully handled;
- c) the Budapest programme would involve the ICCJ in major supportive funding;
- d) the youth conference was in fact the only one that represented a major expense. On the other hand the youth work was an indispensable part of ICCJ programming.

He therefore concluded that if it were possible to postpone the youth conference to 1986 it would be financially easier.

Mr Allan Brockway stressed his concern that the youth conference be sufficiently well prepared by way of regional preparatory meetings.

It was agreed that Mr Joseph Emanuel would advise the youth committee of the Executive Committee's reasoning.

INTERNATIONAL AUDIOVISUAL INTERFAITH FESTIVAL

The General Secretary gave a preliminary outline of this proposed festival which it was hoped could take place in either Israel or the Federal Republic of Germany early in 1987 (Appendix I to these minutes).

The Committee agreed with the importance of this interchange of experiences in promoting interreligious understanding and referred

to their respective knowledge of similar ventures, and of different institutions experienced in the field. In principle the project was unanimously approved, but the General Secretary was asked to prepare a more detailed in-depth programme covering aspects of participation, availability of material, forms of presentation, financing etc. for further study by the Planning Committee and for re-submission to the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

UNESCO

The General Secretary reported on the invitation by UNESCO to enter the category of 'Mutual information relationship' (Category C) which he had accepted after consultation with the officers of the ICCJ. He emphasised that there was a possibility that this would after a certain period be changed to Category B. Since accepting this invitation, the General Secretary had been invited by the Director of the UNESCO Division of Human Rights and Peace (Ms Marion O'Callaghan) to participate in a project and write a paper on "Ways in which Jews are perceived as a separate 'race' or, in some cases, other ethnic groups in European history were thus perceived, and the ways in which ethnic boundaries are maintained and the relationship between this and religion". He had in principle accepted this assignment.

The Honorary President proposed and Mr Simpson seconded, that the Executive Committee approve the acceptance of the invitation to become a Category C member, and that its pleasure be recorded at the invitation to the General Secretary to produce the paper he had outlined. This proposal was unanimously accepted.

1986 COLLOQUIUM AND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING IN SPAIN

An invitation extended by Sr Ionel Mihalovici on behalf of the Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos to hold the 1986 meeting in Spain was warmly welcomed. After full discussion on the proposed themes and venues it was unanimously agreed that the meeting be held from 6 to 10 July 1986 (both dates included) at Salamanca and that the theme be concerned with 'Cultural and Religious Encounter between Jews, Christians and Muslims - Lessons from the Past'.

It was suggested by Mr Simpson that the programme should include commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the first ever international conference of Christians and Jews in Oxford in 1948.

It was further suggested that the programme should again include Bible studies to ensure the spiritual dimension of ICCJ, and that it be so framed as to enable some Muslim participation.

Sr Ionel was asked to submit financial assessments as well as plans for kosher catering, and closely coordinate the programming with the Planning Committee and the General Secretary.

The Chairman asked her to express the Committee's gratitude to the Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos for the invitation.

1987 COLLOQUIUM AND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

A suggestion by Madame Marcelle Raber to hold the 1987 meeting in Switzerland to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Ten Points of Seelisberg on the theme, suggested by Bill Simpson, of 'the Follow-Up of the Ten Points of Seelisberg', and to try and invite the few survivors of that meeting, was welcomed in principle.

It was stressed that the recent lack of Swiss participation was regrettable, and it was suggested by Mr Trinks and unanimously approved that the General Secretary should visit various groups and personalities in Switzerland to encourage reactivation and to invite their help in preparing the suggested meeting.

The Chairman offered the hospitality of the British Council of Christians and Jews as an alternative for the 1987 meeting. The offer was gratefully noted by the Committee.

ANY OTHER BUSINESS

1. New Councils Founded or in Process of Formation

- The General Secretary reported on correspondence he had with
- the Rev. Professor R.A. Anderson of the Council of Christians and Jews in Victoria, Australia;
 - Dr Martin Marx and Dr Nahum Bernstein in Montevideo concerning the formation of the Confraternidad Judeo-Cristiana del Uruguay;
 - Mario A. Parada Cobo of the Confraternidad Judeo Cristiana de Chile in Santiago.

Sr Shirley Sedawie gave more details about the Australian Council.

The General Secretary raised the question of an approach to Argentina and was assured by Rev. Allan Brockway that he would try and establish some contact. Sr Shirley Sedawie and Sr Ionel Mihalovici referred to the group of sisters of Zion whose Sr Alda is a member of the Bishops Conference. Sr Alda had in fact been at the ICCJ Jerusalem conference in 1976.

The President told of the possibility that an application for membership be submitted by a group in Capetown, South Africa. It was unanimously agreed that such approach should be very carefully considered with regard to genuine participation by Blacks. The members expressed the view that while it was of great importance to keep all possible lines of communication open, and while there was no hindrance in having South African participants attending the colloquia, it was imperative to consult with the member organisations and the religious bodies in their respective countries before taking up any such request for membership in the ICCJ by a South African group. It was realised that there was some move towards a more liberal modus vivendi in South Africa, but any application ought definitely be accompanied by a written declaration concerning black participation which would fully satisfy the churches in member countries and in South Africa itself. Mr Simpson reminded members that a Council of Christians and Jews, publishing a magazine called 'Common Sense' had once been in existence until it was forced to close down.

The Honorary President raised the point whether the constitution of the ICCJ foresaw the possibility of creating a time-limited Associated Membership for prospective member organisations. It was agreed that the question if the existing bylaws enable such intermediate membership be studied by the General Secretary and his legal advisers, and that the General Secretary would report back to the Committee at its next meeting.

2. Martin Buber House Magazine

Commenting on the excellence of the publication, Rev. Arie Lems asked how the distribution was going. The General Secretary replied that there were only 60 paying subscribers to the magazine which was otherwise generally being used for purposes of public relations, but that occasional visitors to the Martin Buber House tended to purchase it. He further informed the Committee that the last issues had been paid for by the German Federal Ministry of the Interior as they contained proceedings of conferences that were held.

Mr Uli Trinks suggested that the officers re-consider the character of the magazine as being either freely available or subscribed to. He further raised the question of the language barrier. This was of particular concern to all the members with regard to the Spanish speaking membership or projected membership.

3. Honorary Award

The Honorary President, referring to a number of awards for distinguished services in the field of Jewish-Christian or Human Relations already established in Canada, Germany, the UK and the USA, suggested that an Honorary Award by the

ICCJ be given to dedicated personalities to acknowledge their outstanding international leadership or contribution to the cause of the ICCJ. He stressed that such award need be neither annual nor financial. It was unanimously agreed to seriously consider this proposal and to come back to it at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

It was agreed that a suggestion by Ms Brigitte Freudenberg to join the German Association of Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House with such award scheme would need careful weighing.

In closing the meeting the Chairman expressed his gratitude to all members and observers for an extremely good and encompassing session. The members responded by expressing their thanks to Sir Sigmund for his effective Chairmanship.

N O T E S
of the
ICCJ PLANNING COMMITTEE MEETING

22 - 24 October 1984
Martin Buber House, Heppenheim

Present:

- Mr Joseph Emanuel (Chairman)
- Dr Victor C. Goldbloom (departed on 23 Oct.)
- Rev. Arie Lems
- Mr Antoon Ruygers
- Dr Jacobus Schoneveld
- Rabbi Dr N.P. Levinson (part of the time)

1. Finances

The financial situation was reviewed. It looked somewhat better than during the colloquium at Vallombrosa/Saltino. A letter from Mr W. Simpson was discussed, proposing that the James Parkes Fund would be reserved for an annual memorial lecture at the ICCJ international colloquium. However, in the light of considerations discussed at the Executive Committee Meeting preparations for an annual James Parkes Lecture to be held in Jerusalem had already been far advanced. It was felt that it was now too late to make a drastic change in the use of the fund and that the money should be transferred from the ICCJ to the Israel Interfaith Committee.

2. Association Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House

With regard to the Association of Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House the issue of sharing the income with the DKR was discussed and Mr Antoon Ruygers told that an understanding about this had been reached with Dr Michael Brocke, member of the board of the Association nominated by the DKR: only if the DKR became actively involved in the actual fund-raising, such sharing would take place. In the first stage the Association will work on putting the ICCJ on a sound footing. Later any surplus should primarily be used for projects rather than for additional staff.

It was decided to implement the decision of the Executive Committee to appoint a part-time person at the Martin Buber House to deal with the financial administration and book-keeping.

In the presence of Rabbi Levinson and of Ms Brigitte Freudenberg who had been engaged as Development Director of the Association of Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House

in an honorary capacity further matters concerning the Association were discussed. The following minimum amounts have been fixed as contribution asked from the Friends and Sponsors: Friends (only natural persons): DM 120,-; Sponsors ("Förderer" - natural and juridical persons): DM 600,-. Within the category of Sponsors a further category of "Gründer" (Founders) was established. The minimum amounts asked as contribution from those belonging to this category are DM 9.000 (in case of natural persons) and DM 5.000 (in case of juridical persons).

It was recommended that a special event be organised jointly by the ICCJ and the Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House: a) a public lecture with a preceding reception at the Martin Buber House during the meeting of the ICCJ Executive Committee at the end of February 1985, and b) a special event on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Martin Buber's death (13 June 1985).

3. Dublin Colloquium 21 - 25 July 1985

In long discussions the details of the colloquium were worked out. The result is published in the printed programme.

4. Budapest Conference 17 - 21 November 1985

We are still waiting for communication from Budapest concerning the details of the conference. Although the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs is prepared to give a subsidy to the conference, it is clear that potential participants have to be asked to look in their own circles for funds to attend the conference.

5. Young Leadership Project

A proposal by Mr Patrice Brodeur on behalf of the Youth Committee appointed at Vallombrosa to hold the next Young Leadership Conference in Israel from 22 December 1985 to 2 January 1986 was discussed. As theme was chosen: "Identity and Commitment in the Jewish-Christian Encounter". It was strongly recommended that preparatory meetings be held by each member organisation in its own country and that from these meetings representatives be sent to the conference in Jerusalem.

Financial support is still to be found. The European Youth Foundation and the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs were mentioned in this connection.

6. Audio-Visual Project

The evaluation of existing audio-visual material and the development of new audio-visual material on Jewish-Christian relations, on the presentation of Judaism to Christians and of

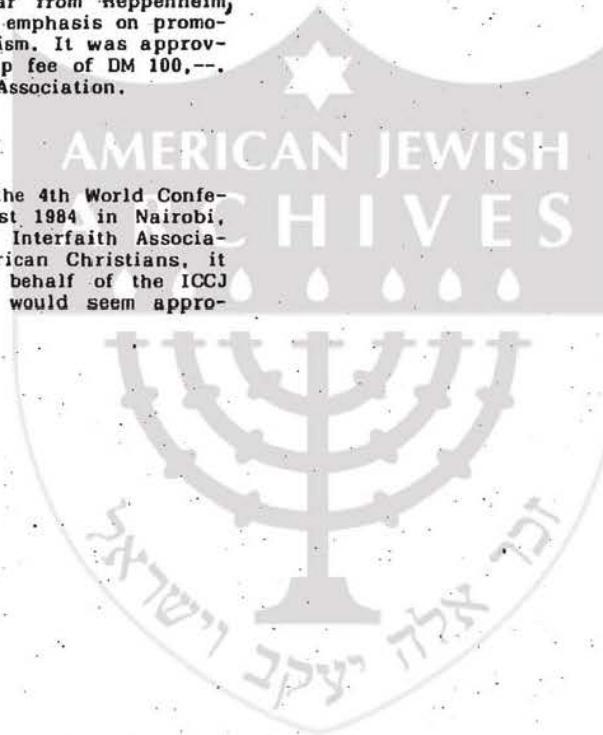
Christianity to Jews are the objectives of this project in which Dr Geoffrey Wigoder is our main adviser. The Anti-Defamation League might be interested in co-sponsoring an international audio-visual festival on interfaith relations.

7. 'Auerbacher Synagogen-Verein'

The ICCJ has been invited to become a member of the 'Auerbacher Synagogen-Verein', an association established to restore the former synagogue at Auerbach, not far from Heppenheim, and to use it for cultural purposes with an emphasis on promoting better understanding of Jewry and Judaism. It was approved that the ICCJ pays an annual membership fee of DM 100,--. Dr J. Schoneveld is a board member of this Association.

8. Contacts with African Christians

Dr Goldbloom reported on his attendance to the 4th World Conference on Religion and Peace held in August 1984 in Nairobi, Kenya. In view of the contacts the Israel Interfaith Association has developed over the year with African Christians, it was agreed that Mr Emanuel could act on behalf of the ICCJ in contact with African Christians if this would seem appropriate or propitious.



INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

General Secretary's Report
of the Period from Mid-July 1984 to Mid-January 1985

ICCJ Colloquium and Annual Meeting 1984

This report covers activities since the ICCJ international colloquium and annual meeting, held in Vallombrosa/Saltino from 8 to 12 July 1984. The colloquium was successful in providing a congenial atmosphere for contact and consultation between the member organisations of the ICCJ. The preceding private audience with the Pope was significant, as it clearly stressed the interest of the Holy See in the work of the ICCJ. Important issues in the Jewish-Christian relationship were considered during the colloquium. The papers given by Brother Marcel Dubois and Rabbi Gordon Tucker at the beginning of the colloquium and by Professor Paul van Buren and Dr David Hartman at the end were very significant contributions to the discussion. As the latter two papers came at the end there was no sufficient opportunity for the discussion of the points, that were raised in the theme. Cardinal Martini's lecture was a most significant expression of the rethinking on Jewish-Christian relations taking place with the Roman Catholic Church.

With regard to the meetings of the Executive Committee and the annual general meeting it is this writer's opinion that the available time could have been used in a more satisfactory way by better methods of conducting the Executive Committee meetings and a better system of reporting by the member organisations at the general meeting.

Among the many informal contacts at Vallombrosa/Saltino those with representatives of Socialist countries of Middle Europe (German Democratic Republic and Hungary) were important. Among other things a programme for the meeting of Jews and Christians from the East and the West to be held in November 1985 was drafted.

The newly elected Executive Committee is to a large extent the continuation of the previous one with the important addition of two persons from socialist countries: Rabbi Prof. Alexander Scheiner (Hungary) and Dr Stefan Schreiner (German Democratic Republic).

Association of "Freunde und Förderer des Martin-Buber-Hauses"

Following the colloquium and the general meeting much attention was paid to the financial situation of the ICCJ. The registration of the Association of "Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House" with the authorities was completed and efforts were made to attract friends and sponsors. Ms Brigitte Freudenberg-Hindmarsh was appointed development director in an honorary capacity of the

Association. Together with Rabbi Dr Levinson and the General Secretary she started to work on creating a circle of friends and sponsors. It was decided to fix the minimum annual contribution of friends at DM 120.—, of sponsors at DM 600.— and within the category of sponsors (Förderer) a category of "Gründer" (minimum contribution of natural persons DM 3,000 and of juridical persons DM 5,000). It is hoped that in this way the financial basis of the ICCJ will be strengthened, but this will take time and considerable effort.

8th National Workshops on Christian-Jewish Relations in the USA

I was invited to participate as a resource person in the 8th National Workshop on Christian-Jewish Relations in St. Louis, USA. About 800 people attended this event that takes place at 18 months intervals. The programme was very rich: there was a wealth of seminars covering almost every imaginable theme in the realm of Christian-Jewish relations. Its value lies in the opportunity it gives for many people involved in Jewish-Christian relations to meet both formally and informally. It further may motivate people not yet involved to take an interest in the encounter between Jews and Christians. It is a huge market place or fair where people standing for the same cause can meet each other. I participated as a resource person in the seminar "Christian-Jewish Relations - an International Perspective" and had prepared an outline which is appended to this report.

During my stay in the USA I discussed with Mr Ted Freedman of the Anti-Defamation League, holding an international interfaith audio-visual festival aiming at evaluating and producing audio-visual material (films, videos and slide-shows) on Jewish-Christian and Interfaith relations. Further I had conversations with Mrs Judith Banki in the office of the American Jewish Committee and with Mrs Jacqueline G. Wexler in the office of the NCCJ.

Christology Seminar at the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem

A "first" in the field of Jewish-Christian Relation was the seminar on "Christology", led by Prof. Paul van Buren at the orthodox-Jewish Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem. The seminar took place from mid-October to mid-December and was attended by about 20 people: professors, doctors and graduate students of theology. Its purpose was to meet the challenge of developing a Christology (doctrine on Christ) without anti-Jewish implications. This was done in the presence and with the participation of Jewish scholars, who were fellows of the Shalom Hartman Institute. From various angles the theme was approached: exegetical, historical, doctrinal. Classical New Testament texts dealing with Jewish-Christian relations (e.g. Romans 9-11) and with Christological statement were examined. Prof. Paul van Buren and Dr David Hartman presented the manuscripts of books on which they were working to criticism and comment of the participants. Various participants presented their own research projects. The seminar was sponsored by the

National Conference of Christians and Jews of the USA. I was privileged through an NCCJ grant to participate for three weeks in this seminar. After my stay in the USA for the 8th National Workshop on Christian-Jewish relations, I moved on to Jerusalem for this seminar. Most of the participants were accommodated at St. Andrew's Hospice of the Church of Scotland in Jerusalem. The main part of the sessions took place at the Shalom Hartman Institute. During those three weeks I produced a paper on "The Prologue of the Gospel of John: Logos = Torah; a Hypothesis" and presented it at the seminar (see attached copy). This seminar was of great importance to the work of the ICCJ as it dealt with one of the fundamental problems in the Jewish-Christian relationship.

In Israel I laid and maintained contacts on behalf of the ICCJ and met many people: Mr Joseph Emanuel and Dr Geoffrey Wigoder on the History consultation, the Interfaith audio-visual festival and the Budapest conference and also Mr Patrice Brodeur on the international meeting of young Jews and Christians planned to be held at the end of December 1985 in Israel. Further I met Mr Rafael Buber and Mr Kalman Yaron, Director of the Martin Buber Centre for Adult Education of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

IJCIC/WCC Consultation at Harvard Divinity School.

From Jerusalem I went back to the USA to attend a consultation of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) and the World Council of Churches (WCC) held at the Harvard Divinity School, 25 - 28 November 1984. Such consultation is held once in four years, the last time it was held in Aurora, near Toronto, Canada. Its purpose is to examine in the framework of the ongoing contacts between the IJCIC and the WCC important issues of common concern. The theme of this consultation was "Religious Pluralism - Its Meaning and Limits in the World of Today" (see the appended programme, the joint statement that was adopted and the lists of Jewish and Christian participants). The meeting was chaired by Bishop Prof. Krister Stendahl and by Dr Gerhart Riegner.

After the consultation I had - together with Dr Victor C. Goldbloom - the opportunity to meet Mr Israel Singer, Executive Director of the World Jewish Congress at his office in New York and to discuss matters of common concern to the WJC and the ICCJ.

By using charter flights the travel expenses for both trips to the USA and Israel could be covered by the travel allowance which was granted to me by the NCCJ to attend the seminar at the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem.

Trip to Dublin to prepare the 1985 Colloquium and General Meeting

Together with Mrs Grundmann I traveled to Dublin from 13 to 16 December 1984 to prepare the 1985 colloquium and general meeting of the ICCJ. We saw the college where the colloquium will be held and were satisfied with the facilities that are available. As there are only single rooms in the college, couples will be accommodated

at the "Montrose Hotel" in Dublin. We stayed at this hotel and were satisfied with it. With the Irish Council of Christians and Jews we discussed details of the programme.

International Seminar on Alternative Solutions of the Israel-Palestinian Conflict

Returning to Frankfurt Airport I directly went to Gummersbach (about 50 km from Cologne) to attend an international seminar to which I was invited by the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung on "Possibilities of Alternative Solutions in the Israel-Palestinian Conflict". On the establishment level, the positions of Israelis and Palestinians seems to be absolutely contradictory and irreconcilable. The Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung had brought together Israelis and Palestinians who are neither identified with the Israeli government nor with the PLO to engage in creative thinking about alternative solutions. It was especially interesting to meet Palestinians of the Westbank who don't feel represented by the PLO and to see how their position was rejected by some people who are connected with the Israeli peace movement and seem to insist on dealing with the PLO. They were, however, contradicted by other adherents of the Israeli peace movement.

UNESCO

The ICCJ was as a non-governmental organisation invited to enter the category of mutual information relationship (Category C) with UNESCO. After consultation with the officers of the ICCJ I accepted on behalf of the ICCJ this invitation. Since then I received a letter from Ms Marion O'Callaghan, Director of the UNESCO Division of Human Rights and Peace, inviting me to take part in a UNESCO project on social, historical and economic factors leading to the classification of social, ethnic, religious or political groups and to write a paper on "ways in which Jews are perceived as a separate "race" or in some cases ethnic groups in European history and the ways in which ethnic boundaries are maintained and the relationship between this and religion". I have in principle accepted this assignment.

Activities at the Martin Buber House

The local activities at the Martin Buber House continued. From 24 September to 5 October a small exhibition was held about the problem of foreigners in West Germany (in cooperation with the Catholic relief organisation Caritas). The exhibition was visited by several school classes.

The series "Reading the Bible with a Jew" was continued and was very well attended. Topic was "Violence in the Bible - How to deal with this as Bible readers". In cooperation with the German Association of Youth Press a weekend seminar was held for editors

of school journals on Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations (7 - 9 December 1984).

On 7 September the opening of the office of the "Evangelischer Arbeitskreis Kirche und Israel in Hessen und Nassau" at the Martin Buber House was marked through a reception and public lecture which was attended by representatives of civil and religious institutions from the region.

Library in the Martin Buber House

The cataloguing of the library which was given in loan to us by the Gesellschaft für christlich-jüdische Zusammenarbeit of Munich and to which regularly books have been added will be completed in the near future. Through the financial help of the Labour Exchange in Darmstadt and the Ministry of the Interior we were able to appoint for this purpose Mrs Irmhild Oberle who has worked on the cataloguing since the end of October 1983. She worked on this project under the supervision and help of Mrs Ellen Schoneveld, our documentalist who is a trained librarian. Together with the library of the Evangelischer Arbeitskreis Kirche und Israel, which is also housed in the Martin Buber House, this library will mean a very valuable service to the public in Heppenheim and environment. The emphasis of the library lies on Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations.

The Schoneveld Family moved from Bensheim to Heppenheim

As the rent contract of the house where I lived with the family was not renewed we had to move from our house Kelterstraße 67 in Bensheim. We found a very suitable house in Heppenheim (Kreuzberger Straße 55, Tel. 06252/76386). As the treasurer had advised me that no ICCJ funds were available for the moving and my own funds had been depleted by the high education costs for our children, we were forced to do the moving ourselves without the help of a moving company. This of course meant huge efforts on the part of my wife, myself and our children.



CONFIDENTIAL

ICCJ Treasurer's Report to the Executive Committee Members

Financial Statements 1984

I.

I herewith submit the draft of the 1984 financial statements, subject to approval by the auditors.

From the beginning of the year 1984 we all knew that financially it would be a very critical year. Thanks to special efforts made by a large number of friends it was possible to overcome the problems we had been facing. Moreover it was possible to close the year with a decent surplus of about DM 17.500,-- leaving at the same time an unused balance in the special development fund of about DM 22.000,--. Thus our reserves which were nearly exhausted a year ago, could be restored up to about DM 39.500,-

A global analysis of the figures shows the following facts:

- starting with 1984 we were able to raise funds in support of the ICCJ programme in accordance with our planned strategy. This new way of financing is globally reflected in the 1984 surplus. For reasons of discretion a listing of these donators is attached to the present report only;
- on the other hand the very urgent appeals we had to make on our member organisations and other institutions permitted us to cover nearly all 1984 expenses. We are very grateful for these supports.

II.

We were able to overcome the 1984 difficulties, but the future of the ICCJ is not yet secured, although we can look forward to it with moderate confidence. The outcome will largely depend on the following factors:

- the possibility of continuity in raising gifts in support of our programme;
- the renewal in 1985 of additional gifts as they were received in 1984 (mostly institutional gifts shown in Note 1 to the financial statements);
- the outcome of the discussion between our President and the World Jewish Congress. We hope this will lead to a substantial share of the WJC in our financing;
- the decision which will be reached between the German Catholic and Protestant authorities. We hope that at least the anticipated withdrawal of the Catholic church can be prevented. If not, the support by the WJC will be very decisive;
- the development of the association of 'Friends and Sponsors of the Martin Buber House'. The activities of this association have just recently started so that it is yet too early to estimate their results.

Appendix D

Appendix E

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

CONTRIBUTIONS MEMBER ORGANISATIONS 1985 (DM)

	<u>1984</u>		<u>1985</u>
	<u>Forecast</u>	<u>Collected</u>	<u>Proposed</u>
Austria	1.000,--	1.000,--	1.000,--
Belgium	850,--	--	850,--
Brazil	p.m.	100,--	p.m.
Canada	3.000,--	3.125,--	3.500,--
France	2.400,--	2.400,--	2.400,--
Germany	3.000,--	2.600,--	3.000,--
Ireland	500,--	500,--	500,--
Israel	3.000,--	3.000,--	3.000,--
Italy	350,--	435,--	400,--
Luxembourg	350,--	--	400,--
Netherlands	850,--	850,--	900,--
Spain	300,--	295,--	350,--
Sweden	350,--	350,--	400,--
Switzerland	1.800,--	1.900,--	1.800,--
United Kingdom	3.000,--	3.560,--	3.500,--
United States	11.000,--	11.152,03	15.000,--
Venezuela	650,--	1.000,--	1.000,--
	-----	-----	-----
	32.400,--	32.267,03	38.000,--
	=====	=====	=====

To be collected:

Belgium	850,--
Luxembourg	350,--
	1.200,--
	=====
	33.476,03
	=====

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

CONTRIBUTIONS MEMBER ORGANISATIONS 1985 (DM)BUDGET 1985 (DM)

Draft

<u>EXPENSES</u>	<u>INCOME</u>
A. Administration	Subsidies
Occupancy costs	Ev. Church 60.000,--
Office expenses	Cath. Church 40.000,--
Communication expenses	Swed. Church 13.500,--
Travel expenses	Land Hessen 30.000,--
Salaries:	Stadt Frankf. 18.000,--
General Secr. Staff	Herv. Kerk NL 2.500,--
Miscellaneous	Ger. Kerk NL 2.500,--
	166.500,--
	246.000,--
	Member Organisations 38.000,--
	Gifts 61.500,--
B. Projects	
Not subsidised Documentation	10.000,--
Own resources on partially subsidised projects	10.000,--
	266.000,--
	=====
	266.000,--

APP. F.

- 2 -

INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION
ON
JEWISH HISTORY IN NON-JEWISH HISTORIOGRAPHY
AND HISTORY TEACHING

PROPOSED AGENDA

TUESDAY, 28 MAY 1985

- 16.00 - 18.00 Arrival and Registration
18.00 Supper
20.00 Plenary Lecture on:
"The Structure of Jewish History in Relation to
World History" by Professor Frederick M. Schweitzer,
Professor of History at Manhattan College,
Bronx, N.Y., USA

WEDNESDAY, 29 MAY 1985

- 8.00 Breakfast
9.00 Plenary Session:
Summary and discussion of statements presented
by the participants on the treatment of Jewish
history in the teaching and/or research of general
history in various countries. (It is hoped that
all statements will reach the ICCJ office on time
to be circulated among the participants prior to
the consultation)
10.30 - 11.00 Coffee/Tea-Break
11.00 Plenary Session on:
"Why teaching Jewish history in non-Jewish edu-
cation?"
A Jewish point of view: Professor Chaim Schatzker
Professor of History at the University of Haifa,
Israel
A non-Jewish point of view: (to be announced)

THURSDAY, 30 MAY 1985

- 8.00 Breakfast
9.00 Continuation of workshops
10.30 - 11.00 Coffee/Tea-Break
11.00 Continuation of workshops
13.00 Lunch
15.00 Workshops: preparation of preliminary drafts for
guidelines
18.00 Supper
20.00 Plenary Session: Workshop reports and presenta-
tion of the preliminary drafts by each group

FRIDAY, 31 MAY 1985

- 7.30 Breakfast
8.30 Evaluation and summing-up
12.30 Lunch
Departure



INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS
AMITIE INTERNATIONALE JUDEO-CHRETIENNE
INTERNATIONALER RAT DER CHRISTEN UND

MARTIN BUBER HOUSE

Werléstraße 2, 61481
Federal Republic of Germany
General Secretary: Rev. Dr. Jacobus Schoneveld

ICCCJ, Postfach 305, D-6148 Heppenheim

Appendix G

- 2 -

history in your country. The statements we receive from you and others will be sent to all participants of the consultation beforehand. Therefore, we ask you to let us have your statement by 1 April 1985. Should you prefer to write in another language than English we would like to receive your statement by 1 March 1985 thus to give us time to have it translated.

Your travel expenses and the costs of your board and lodging at the conference centre will be covered by us. We shall contact you about more details regarding your travel in due course.

Please let us know at your earliest convenience whether you can accept this invitation.

Hoping to be able to welcome you at this consultation which is of great importance to us,

Yours sincerely,

Dr. J. Schoneveld
General Secretary

The International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCCJ) and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation are inviting about sixty distinguished historians and educators from North and Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe and Israel to participate in an international consultation on the theme "Jewish History in non-Jewish Historiography and History Teaching". A description of purpose, structure and programme of the consultation as well as some information about the organising bodies are enclosed.

On their behalf, I have the honour and the pleasure of inviting you to participate in this consultation which will be held from 28 to 31 May 1985 at the Evangelische Akademie Arnoldshain, near Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany. We would like to have the benefit of your insights and experience with regard to the important question this consultation will consider: what should a young non-Jewish person learn about Jewish history in the growth of his understanding of his own community and of the world in which he lives. We hope that the results of this consultation will be expressed in recommendations and guidelines to teachers, curriculum planners, textbook authors and educational authorities on giving proper place to Jewish history in non-Jewish teaching of general history.

Should you be able to accept this invitation we propose that you join working group No. In case you have a preference for another group, let us please know and we shall try to satisfy your wish. Further, we would be grateful if you could write a short statement of about two or three pages on the treatment of Jewish history in the teaching and/or research of general

HON. PRESIDENT:

The Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon.
Lord Coggan
former Archbishop of Canterbury

HON. VICE-PRESIDENT:

William W. Simpson, O.B.E.
(England)

*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

President:
Dr. Victor Goldbloom, O.C.
(Canada)

Vice-Presidents:
Rev. Arle Lema
(Sweden)

Rabbi Dr. N. Peter Levinson
(Fed. Republic of Germany)

Chairman, Exec. Committee:
Sir Sigmund Sternberg, J.P.
(England)

Chairman,
Planning Committee:
Joseph Emanuel
(Israel)

Treasurer:
Antoon Ruygers
(Belgium)

Members:
Rabbi Pinchas Brener
(Venezuela)

Sr. Ionel Mihalovici
(Spain)

Marcelle Raber
(France)

Rabbi Prof. Dr.
Alexander Scheiber
(Hungary)

Dr. Simon Schoon
(Netherlands)

Dr. Stefan Schreiner
(German Democr. Republic)

Ulrich Trinks
(Austria)

Jacqueline G. Wexler
(U.S.A.)

*

BANKERS:

Dresdner Bank Heppenheim
(BLZ 600 800 50)
Account No. 0233 77700
Postal Cheque Office,
Frankfurt (BLZ 600 100 60)
Account No. 11994-605

*

AUDITORS:
Price Waterhouse GmbH,
Frankfurt

Enclosures

Appendix H

An die
Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung
z.H. Herrn Wolfgang Pollak
Königswinterer Straße 2-4
5330 Königswinter 41

22. Februar 1985

Sehr geehrter Herr Pollak,

es hat mich gefreut, mit Ihnen am Telefon die Finanzierungsprobleme der von der Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung und dem ICCJ zu veranstaltenden internationalen Konsultation besprechen zu können. Ich habe verstanden, daß Sie und nicht länger Herr Holger Bünning mein unmittelbarer Gesprächspartner bei der Vorbereitung und Durchführung dieser Tagung sind.

Die Finanzierung der Tagung bereitet uns beiden Sorgen. Nachdem ich mit Herrn Dr. Fliszar über die grundsätzlichen Fragen der Zusammenarbeit gesprochen hatte, habe ich weiter mit Herrn Bünning in Kontakt gestanden. Er hat den von uns erstellten Kostenplan überprüft und einen neuen aufgestellt, der - auch meiner Ansicht nach - realistischere Zahlen angibt. Ich habe ihm dann meine Sorgen über die Finanzierung zum Ausdruck gebracht und gefragt, ob es unter diesen Umständen möglich wäre, Teilnehmer einzuladen. Er meinte, daß die Einladungen ausgeschickt werden sollten und daß inzwischen die weitere Finanzierung sicher gestellt werden würde.

Ich hatte gehofft, daß auch von Seiten der Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung Versuche dahingehend unternommen werden würden. Zwar hat Ihre Stiftung erfreulicherweise zugestellt, die Konsultation mit DM 15.000,- zu fördern, aber als sich herausstellte, daß dieser Betrag nicht aus den Eigenmitteln Ihrer Stiftung sondern vom Auswärtigen Amt kommen würden, war die Möglichkeit aufgrund der Regeln der Doppelfinanzierung zu weiterer Finanzierung aus Bundesmitteln sehr eingeschränkt. Der Leiterkreis der Evangelischen Akademie hat erreicht, daß die Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung die Verpflegung

und Unterkunft finanzieren wird (ob hier auch das Problem der Doppelfinanzierung auftauchen wird, kann ich nicht gut übersetzen). Was die Mittel der Länder angeht, ist der Hessische Kultusminister bereit, DM 15.000,- zur Finanzierung beizusteuern. Wir haben einen Antrag über DM 15.000,- auch bei der UNESCO gestellt, aber die Erfolgsaussichten schätzt ich nicht sehr hoch ein.

Ich habe auf Ihren Rat hin Herrn Dr. Walter Böhme angerufen. Er erklärte mir, daß die von ihm zu gründende Stiftung sich speziell für Entwicklungshilfe einsetzen würde, zeigte aber doch Interesse an unserer Konsultation und bat um Unterlagen. Ob hier etwas herauskommt, muß abgewartet werden.

Die Frage ist: was tun wir jetzt? Im Bestätigungsbeschreiben der Evangelischen Akademie Arnoldsheim heißt es: "Sollte die von Ihnen geplante Tagung nicht stattfinden und eine Absage innerhalb 8 Wochen vor dem Termin nicht vorliegen, wird Ihnen der Auffall der Übernachtungskosten in Rechnung gestellt", d.h. Ende März wäre der äußerste Termin für eine Entscheidung darüber, ob die Konferenz stattfinden soll oder nicht. Ich wäre Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie Herrn Dr. Fliszar über diese Sachlage in Kenntnis setzen würden.

Inzwischen habe ich, wie ich Ihnen schon schrieb, etwa 50 Einladungen verschickt. Ich erwarte noch Antwort von 23 Personen. Wir haben 15 feste schriftliche Anmeldungen, die ich diesem Brief in Fotokopie beilege, zwei fast feste schriftliche Zusagen (Prof. Castrius, Prof. Marrus) und zwei feste mündliche Zusagen (Prof. Chaim Schatzker, Haifa, Israel, mit dem ich das Programm ausgearbeitet habe, und Prof. Michael Toch aus Israel, z.Z. in der Bundesrepublik). Ich zögere jetzt, weitere Einladungen zu versenden, obwohl ich noch eine ganze Reihe sehr guter Namen habe. Bestimmte Länder sind noch nicht vertreten und Personen aus diesen Ländern sollten noch hinzugezogen werden. Ich muß weiter sagen, daß Prof. Conway die Möglichkeit hat, eine sehr günstige Flugkarte zu bestellen, ich habe ihm gesagt, daß er dies tun könnte. Persönlich glaube ich, daß es sowohl für die Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung als auch für den Internationalen Rat der Christen und Juden eine Blamage wäre, wenn wir die Konferenz absagen müßten. Darum möchte ich Sie bitten, alles zu tun, was in Ihrer Möglichkeit liegt, diese Finanzierung sicherzustellen. Ich werde natürlich auch mein Bestes dafür tun.

Mit Herrn Bünning habe ich vereinbart, daß die Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung die organisatorische und finanzielle Abwicklung der Tagung übernehmen würde. Darum möchte ich bitten, daß Ihre Stiftung sich direkt mit den Teilnehmern in Verbindung setzt, um alle Punkte bezüglich der Reisekosten, Anreise und Unterkunft mit Ihnen zu regeln. Die beigefügten Fotokopien der Briefe derer, die die Einladung angenommen haben, werden Ihnen die erforderlichen Auskünfte geben. Ich habe seinerzeit Herrn Bünning ein Muster des Einladungsschreibens geschickt. Um sicher zu sein, schicke ich Ihnen nochmal eine Kopie.

Es freut mich, aus unserem Telefongespräch den Eindruck gewonnen zu haben, daß Sie sich um eine Lösung dieser Problem bemühen wollen und ich hoffe sehr, daß die von uns angestrebte Zusammenarbeit gelingen wird.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

H. Schoneveld

Dr. J. Schoneveld
Generalsekretär

Anlagen



The Use of Audiovisual Media to Promote Interreligious Understanding

1. Survey of existing audiovisual material suitable for the promotion of interreligious understanding. Information to be obtained from organisations (e.g. Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, ICCJ member organisations, Board of Deputies of British Jews, Selly Oak Colleges, Jewish Welfare Board New York, Diaspora Museum Tel Aviv, World Council of Churches, Catholic organisations etc.)
 2. Exchange of information on future planning between the various organisations in order to avoid duplication.
 3. Evaluation of the existing material
 4. International Audiovisual Filmfestival on the use of audiovisual media to promote interreligious understanding
 - a) Presentation of selected existing material
 - b) Presentation of new material

Two categories of media: a) film and videos
b) slide shows and filmstrips

Division according to subject matter:

Festivals
Customs
History
Holocaust
Dialogue

Apart from dialogue material on Judaism and Jewish/Christian relations, also material concerning other religions (e.g. Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism) should be included.

Apart from the presentation of the audiovisual materials experts should be invited to present papers for discussion.

5. Practical points:

 - a) A professional person should be appointed for a period of time to coordinate the survey of existing material and to prepare the festival
 - b) It may be useful to concentrate the collection of information in certain points, e.g. in Europe (Martin Buber House?), Israel (Diaspora Museum?) and U.S.A. (ADL?)
 - c) Venue of the festival: Israel or Federal Republic of Germany
 - d) Date: early 1987

Massacre in the camps: Why deaths draw less ire

Horrifying scenes are now appearing on television of carnage inside Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut after battles between Palestinians and Shiite Muslims.

Evidence is mounting that scores of Palestinian civilians were massacred. This has led to questions within Israel and the United States as to why international outrage is muted compared to 1982 when Lebanese Christians conducted massacres in those same camps while the Israeli army surrounded the area.

The answer lies in history. The two assaults occurred under very different circumstances. Back in 1982, with Israeli troops at the edge of Beirut, the United States had just brokered an agreement by which the Palestine Liberation Organization had left the camps and its Beirut stronghold. In return, the United States guaranteed the safety of the Palestinian civilians left behind.

But, following the assassination of a key Lebanese Christian leader, Israeli troops entered West Beirut and surrounded the camps, supposedly to prevent political chaos and intra-Lebanese slaughter. But the Israeli command soon sent troops of the Christian Phalange militia into the camps, allegedly to flush out 2,000 armed Palestinian fighters who had remained.

Yet the Christian militia was known for its intention to wipe out the Palestinian camps — civilians and all — in order to force all Palestinians to leave Lebanon. Nor did the "2,000

fighters" ever materialize. The Christians were able to roam the camp massacring hundreds. In contrast, the current slaughter in the camps takes place without Western involvement. It is part of open urban war being waged between returning Palestinian fighters hoping to re-establish a base, and Lebanese Shiites, who want control of West Beirut.

This does not make the slaughter pretty or just. Nor does it excuse the murder of civilians. But what is going on now in Beirut is war. The Palestinians this time had arms and chose to fight. They, as much as the Shiites, bear the blame for the death of their civilian kin.

If the West — and Western media — watched the 1982 massacres with special horror and opprobrium it was because the West was directly involved. United States officials in 1982 believed they had betrayed their pledge to protect Palestinian civilians. Many Israelis felt that their army had made possible a massacre that they had the power to prevent. This judgment was later affirmed by the admirable Kahan Commission, itself a stunning triumph for democratic values that the Arab world at present could never match.

Those circumstances do not exist now. The Palestinians and the Lebanese have only themselves and their Arab allies to blame for this latest round of agony. This is why Western interest in the current round of slaughter in Beirut has waned.



The American Jewish Committee

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

June 5, 1985

TO: Members of the Steering Committee of the
Commission on International Relations

Dear Friend,

If you attended the AJC's Annual Meeting during the first week of May, you would have experienced how significant a role our International Relations Commission played in the thinking and policy-making of our organization. Among the most instructive and moving sessions at the Annual Meeting were those devoted to Western Europe and European Jewry during the past forty years; Israel and the Middle East; Soviet Jewry; Ethiopian Jewry; South Africa; and the moral issues raised by President Reagan's visit to Bitburg.

On Monday, June 24, 9:30 a.m., we will hold the final meeting of our Steering Committee of this program year in Room 800-A at AJC's offices. This meeting will precede the Board of Governors meeting which begins at 1 p.m. Luncheon will be served at the Steering Commission meeting.

Since this will be our last meeting of the 1984-85 program year, this session will provide us with an opportunity to review and evaluate the major program thrusts of our international work. In light of the current budget concerns, we will also review our revised budgetary situation and discuss its implications for our year-ahead planning and program priorities.

On a program level, we will hear reports on a recent joint Arab-Israeli economic and medical project on the West Bank; and reports from AJC members who have recently returned from the Soviet Union.

I hope you will be able to join us for this important June 24th meeting. Please call Celia Horowitz, 212-751-4000, ext. 394, to let her know whether you will be able to join us. Since we are making arrangements for luncheon, it would be helpful to know that you will attend at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Nevas
Chairman

LN:CH
Enclosures

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

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

In its November 1984 Statement on South Africa, the American Jewish Committee reaffirmed its abhorrence of apartheid and called for its elimination. Since November, violence bred by apartheid has led to numerous deaths and to further violation of civil liberties. On March 21, 1985 -- twenty-five years after the Sharpeville massacre -- police gunfire at Uitenhage felled nineteen Blacks. Two days later, the South African Government banned meetings by twenty-nine, largely Black anti-apartheid groups, underscoring the exclusion of Blacks from participation in public life. All of these events, including those of recent months, have prompted us to reexamine our position.

Americans, including American Jews, have condemned the escalation of violence in South Africa and have continued to express their outrage at the South African treatment of Blacks and other non-whites as separate from and inferior to whites in fact and in law. Jewish tradition reveres law as an instrument of justice. Twisting law to make it an agent of racial discrimination is odious and offensive.

South Africa's scheme of legalized racism is devoid of elementary humanity. The abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act and the immorality acts is a positive but inadequate step. If freedom's bell is ever to ring in South Africa, measures such as the influx control laws and the Group Areas Act must be revoked; brutal practices such as forced removals to the so-called "homelands" must be abandoned; detention without trial must cease; and the country's Black majority must be enfranchised within the political system.

As outsiders, we recognize that our role in effecting change in South Africa is limited -- that basic changes must come from South Africans themselves. But Jewish history teaches us that, in the face of a brazen abrogation of fundamental human rights, silence is inconceivable.

We must strengthen and encourage those forces in South Africa seeking nonviolent change, including trade unions, church groups, human rights and other voluntary agencies, educational and professional associations and U.S. companies that practice non-discrimination, provide training and other benefits for Black workers, and work for the elimination of apartheid.

We support:

1. Appropriate proposed Federal legislation that would
 - (a) ban U.S. bank loans to entities owned and controlled by the South African Government, unless and until that Government makes substantial progress toward the elimination of discriminatory practices; and
 - (b) restrict exports earmarked for use by the South African military and police.

2. Federal legislation that would require U.S. companies operating in South Africa with ten or more employees to face appropriate U.S. Government sanctions if within two years they fail to comply with the following principles:
 - (a) non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work facilities;
 - (b) equal and fair employment practices for all employees;
 - (c) equal pay for all employees doing equal work;
 - (d) initiation and development of training programs that will prepare, in substantial numbers, Blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs;
 - (e) to increase the number of Blacks and other non-whites in management and supervisory positions; and
 - (f) to make good faith efforts to improve the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.
3. Those Congressional resolutions that condemn South Africa's "homelands" policy, and call for a study by the Secretary of State, or by other competent and impartial agencies, of the recent violence in that country.

We would also support:

1. The introduction of Congressional resolutions that condemn the Group Areas Act and the influx control laws; and
2. investigation by human rights groups and other nongovernmental organizations of recent violence in South Africa.

We recommend the following new and continuing activities for AJC nationally and at the chapter level, and for individual members:

- (a) encouraging officials of the U.S. Government and other of democratic governments to exert strong diplomatic pressure on the South African Government to end apartheid;
- (b) speaking out against apartheid in international fora;
- (c) working with like-minded groups, including those in South Africa, dedicated to the promotion and protection of human rights to free unjustly jailed, detained or "banned" persons;
- (d) giving support to educational, vocational, and other programs, sponsored by the U.S. Government and by private groups, to promote the full participation of Black and other non-white South Africans in the economic and public life of their country;

- (e) encouraging U.S. companies operating in South Africa to: comply with the code of fair employment practices outlined above; use their influence within the public and private sectors in that country to secure the elimination of all apartheid laws; support the freedom of mobility of Black workers to seek employment opportunities wherever they exist, and make possible the provision of adequate housing for families of employees within the proximity of workers' employment; and
- (f) working in coalition with other groups for the advancement of the principles and activities described above.

The situation in South Africa is dynamic. We will therefore periodically review the measures outlined here.

Adopted at the 79th Annual Meeting, May 1, 1985.

85-570-8
F089/IRD-3/el



M I N U T E S
COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING
Wednesday, May 1, 1985
AJC Headquarters Annual Meeting
Leo Nevas, Chair, presiding

In Attendance:

Lay Members

Matthew Brown
Joseph Durra
Theodore Ellenoff
Howard Friedman
E. Robert Goodkind
Bee Hoffman
Phil Hoffman
Robert Jacobs
Gerald Jeremias
Nicholas Lane
David Langsam
Eleanor Lazarus
Idelle Rabin
Carol Betty Siegler
R. Peter Straus
Cedric Suzman
Carolyn Tumarkin
Maynard Wishner
Marshall Zissman

Staff Members

Ken Bandler
David Geller
David Harris
Allan Kagedan
Jacobo Kovadloff
Sidney Liskofsky
Marc Tanenbaum
Zachariah Shuster
Bertram Gold
Selma Hirsh

Leo Nevas opened the morning session by welcoming the lay and staff members present, and invited President Howard Friedman to report on AJC's involvement in the Bitburg controversy.

Howard Friedman noted that he and Bill Trosten had travelled to Bonn the previous week with two objectives -- first, to find a way to relieve President Reagan of his commitment to visit the Bitburg cemetery, and, second, to find alternative symbols of German-American reconciliation. In an extensive meeting with Alois Mertes, West German State Minister, the AJC delegation suggested the grave of Konrad Adenauer and the Ramagden Bridge as appropriate substitutes for Bitburg. Mertes agreed that the sites might well be appropriate, but felt that West German public opinion would not accept them as replacements for, but rather as possible additions to, the President's itinerary. The idea was presented to Chancellor Kohl's office and the response to adding one of the sites, assuming White House approval, was favorable.

At the same time, in the U.S., Marc Tanenbaum, through the good offices of Billy Graham, was in contact with Michael Deaver at the White House. Deaver was grateful for Tanenbaum's insights and arranged a meeting in his office for a five-member AJC delegation on April 29. (See AJC background memo, "The Bitburg Affair," April 24, 1985.) At the hour-long meeting, Deaver expressed deep appreciation for AJC's role in both Washington and Bonn. He was intrigued by the idea of a visit to Adenauer's gravesite and noted that he would be leaving for West Germany that evening and check out the possibility, perhaps scheduling a visit there as the first event of May 5 and the site of a major presidential address. A visit to the bridge, noted Deaver, would be logistically nightmarish. And, added Deaver, the President's visit to Bitburg would be brief and low-keyed, with no speeches and no wreath-laying by the President himself.

The discussion then turned to the tone of the presidential addresses. The AJC delegation members offered suggestions with respect to the evil of Nazism, the need to stress that reconciliation with the new and democratic Germany does not mean reconciliation with the S.S., the existence of totalitarianism in other parts of the world, and the fact that what Bitburg represents is not exclusively a Jewish phenomenon but a much broader one. Deaver invited a presidential speechwriter to join the meeting and take notes.

Finally, Deaver went into the adjoining Oval Office and returned with President Reagan and Chief of Staff Donald Regan. The President spent ten minutes with the AJC group. He noted that the trip was cast in a spirit of reconciliation and he was distressed at the misunderstanding, "spurred by the press," surrounding the visit. He added that nothing about the trip should be construed to imply that the tragedy of the Holocaust was being in any way diminished or forgotten. The AJC delegation respectfully took issue with the President's view that the press was largely responsible for the attention being paid to the Bitburg visit.

Although the AJC delegation did not mince words in either Bonn or Washington, both governments are appreciative of the AJC role and regard it as being extremely constructive.

Marc Tanenbaum elaborated on his contact with the White House in recent weeks and then raised two significant issues for AJC's consideration in the wake of Bitburg: 1) Notwithstanding the tragedy of Bitburg, the Reagan Administration has been a true friend on such vital questions as Israel, Soviet and Ethiopian Jewry, therefore, we need to find ways to keep open the lines of communication with the White House rather than cause a rupture, 2) AJC will need to devote more time to examining the lessons of the Bitburg story with regard to Holocaust education and sensitivity both in the U.S. and Western Europe, especially West Germany.

Howard Friedman noted that the West German Government understands the need to remind themselves of the horrors of the Nazi regime, but they also recognize the human dimension of the deaths of countless Germans, including German soldiers, and seek reconciliation both with the living and the dead. We have to be particularly careful not to permit a romantic nostalgia or historical revisionism to alter the true character of the S.S.

On the presidential commitment to visit Bitburg, Mr. Friedman added that the President feels duty-bound to go through with the visit both because of geo-political factors and the personal pledge he made to Chancellor Kohl. In the latter context, Mr. Friedman described the President's desire to avoid a repetition of the embarrassment caused to then Chancellor Schmidt by President Carter's abrupt reversal on the neutron bomb issue.

Robert Jacobs commended AJC for an excellent job and then inquired of Mr. Friedman how the agency's role would be perceived by the larger American Jewish community.

Howard Friedman responded that, while there are certainly risks in the position AJC took, it should nevertheless be emphasized that AJC has always begun with the premise that the Bitburg visit should be cancelled and pressed that view vigorously in both Bonn and Washington.

Leo Nevas then turned to the second agenda item and introduced Bob Goodkind who has been chairing a committee on South Africa charged with reviewing AJC policy on the subject.

Bob Goodkind pointed out that the committee had been formed to review AJC's statement, adopted at the November 1984 National Executive Council meeting, in the wake of requests from several chapters to strengthen our position and mindful of the increasing violence in South Africa in recent months. He noted that the views of two prominent South African Jews -- Helen Suzman and Harry Schwarz, both Progressive Federal members of the South African Parliament -- had been solicited. Schwarz's view, enunciated a week earlier to the committee, is based on the need to encourage rather than discourage South African economic development. Otherwise, punitive sanctions imposed on South Africa will have a disproportionately negative effect not just on the 100,000 Blacks who work for U.S. firms but on the 6-700,000 family members who are dependent on them and on other Blacks whose livelihood depends on international trade ties. The view of the committee, noted Mr. Goodkind, is to maintain a U.S. corporate presence in South Africa but, at the same time, to press for adherence to the Sullivan Principles. The ultimate goal of the position proposed by the committee is to promote democratic change and minimize the possibility of violence, and, at the same time, maintain South Africa's ties to the West.

Mr. Goodkind then briefly reviewed the highlights of the proposed statement, noting the strong introductory language condemnatory of the apartheid system, pointing out the call for mandatory corporate compliance with the Sullivan Principles (after a two-year grace period) and a ban on U.S. bank loans to the South African Government, and stressing the importance of the last part of the statement which outline six areas for AJC national and chapter involvement in promoting the goals of democratic, non-violent change. Finally, Mr. Goodkind referred to the last two lines of the statement which refer to the changing situation in South Africa and the need for periodic review by AJC of its position. As part of the need for regular and broad-based consultation, Mr.

Goodkind also referred to recent meetings with Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and Congressman Stephen Solarz, a principal sponsor of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, a bill making its way through the House of Representatives.

Leo Nevas called attention to the letter from Mr. Harry Schwarz to Senator John Heinz, contained in the kits distributed to the Steering Committee, as a more detailed description of the views of the Progressive Federal Party on anti-apartheid measures. He also noted Mr. Schwarz's plea that American Jewish organizations be mindful of and in contact with the South African Jewish community, which itself contains members actively seeking to bring about democratic change in the country. He referred, as well, to Mr. Schwarz's reminder that ultimately it is within South Africa that change will or will not take place, and that the dangers of extremist reaction at both ends of the spectrum are very real, thus, if the current government fails, it is likely to be replaced by the more right-wing Conservative Party rather than the moderate Progressive Federal Party. Americans must, therefore, be mindful of whether their actions vis-a-vis South Africa help foster progressive or regressive change, non-violence or violence.

Mr. Nevas then suggested that the Steering Committee review the proposed statement paragraph by paragraph.

Howard Friedman suggested that reference be made to the move underway to abolish the laws concerning inter-racial sex and mixed marriages. The consensus of others was that while reference could be made to it there should be no doubt in the language that it is viewed as an inadequate step.

Theodore Ellenoff asked whether U.S. personnel are directly involved with the South African military or police.

Cedric Suzman replied that under the Reagan Administration there has been a noticeable relaxation of restrictions on bilateral military contacts and visits.

Joseph Durra expressed concern about U.S. actions that might serve to destabilize the South African regime, citing the examples of Iran and Vietnam, and, consequently, urged caution in considering action.

David Langsam, noting the reference in the proposed statement to support for restrictions on the exports of U.S. material earmarked for the South African military or police (consistent with the Security Council embargo imposed on South Africa in 1977), voiced a fear that Israel's arms sale policy might also unwittingly be implicated.

Maynard Wishner, referring to the Security Council resolution, asked why there was a need in the proposed statement to address U.S. arms exports to South Africa since it was already covered in the U.N. measure.

Allan Kagedan responded that there are varying interpretations of which goods are in fact intended for the military and police, that is, the whole issue of dual-use equipment.

Robert Jacobs, citing the proposed statement's support of a ban on U.S. bank loans, which amounts to approximately \$150 million or a small percentage of the overall South African-U.S. economic relationship, asked whether this was, indeed, the "clear and unequivocal message" the statement's text suggested it was.

Bert Gold responded that the intent of the drafted position was to send a clear message of the need for change in South Africa rather than actually seek to bring harm to the South African economy.

Substantial discussion then followed with respect to the text of the Sullivan Principles, especially Principle 6 which calls on U.S. corporations to "improve the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities." Agreement was reached to add, at Bert Gold's suggestion, "good faith efforts to improve the quality..."

Sidney Liskofsky, referring to the six action proposals for AJC, asked what priority would AJC accord the South African issue, noting that to properly fulfill the suggested proposals would require considerable staff time.

It was agreed by the Steering Committee to refer this issue to the full plenary session meeting in the afternoon.

Idele Rabin asked whether adoption of the proposed statement would commit AJC to additional expenditures.

Bert Gold responded that nothing in the proposed statement, with the possible exception of financially supporting scholarship programs for South African Black youth, required any major allocation of agency funds.

Bob Goodkind then suggested adding one of the revised Sullivan Principles (and Tutu Principles), namely, support for the freedom of mobility of Black workers wherever those jobs exist and creation of housing by the firms in proximity to the place of employment.

The proposal was accepted.

David Langsam asked whether reference ought to be made in the proposed statement to the South African Jewish community.

Leo Nevas cautioned against doing so, indicating that the South African Jewish community would prefer not to be mentioned in this kind of a statement.

There being no other discussion on the proposed statement, compliments were extended to Bob Goodkind and the members of his committee for their excellent work, and the proposed statement was approved for further consideration by the afternoon plenary session.

There being little time remaining, David Harris and George Gruen gave very brief reports on the Steering Committee's mission to Washington on April 17 and 18. They described the meetings on Soviet Jewry held with Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Richard Burt, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Mark Palmer, and with Tel Aviv University Rector Yoram Dinstein and Oxford University historian Martin Gilbert, and on the Middle East with Egyptian Ambassador El-Rheedy and National Security Council staff member Howard Teicher. Reference was also made to attendance at the moving National Holocaust Commemoration at the Capital Rotunda and meetings with Senator Arlen Specter and Rep. Stephen Solarz.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Jacobo Kovadloff ended the meeting with reference to two major conferences in Brazil, to take place the week of October 20, 1985, marking the 20th anniversary of Vatican Council II, to be sponsored, in the first case, by the Pontifical University of Rio de Janeiro and AJC, and, in the second case, by the Latin American Conference of Catholic Bishops (CELAM) and AJC. Noting that Brazil is the largest Catholic country in the world, Mr. Kovadloff indicated that AJC would be forming a delegation of lay members to attend these significant events. He then reported on heretofore little-known efforts by AJC to assist the 800-member Jewish community in Cuba with respect to religious and cultural opportunities, specifically the need for a visiting rabbi since the last permanent rabbi emigrated in the 1960's. While the government is publicly anti-Israel, it has not practiced domestic anti-Semitism, but the community does need outside help to support its Jewish needs and to facilitate compelling cases of family reunification. AJC has been addressing these needs through the efforts of the South American Office.

Submitted by David A. Harris
June 1985

85-550-48
F034-IRD3/smm

Turkey's Relations With Israel and Its Arab Neighbors:

The Impact of Basic Interests and Changing Circumstances

By George E. Gruen

Turkey and Israel share certain fundamental interests and concerns. In the strife-torn Middle East, where one party military dictatorships and Islamic regimes predominate, Turkey and Israel stand out as two non-Arab states whose leadership is essentially secular and Western in outlook and committed to the development of multi-party democratic institutions. Both have thus far successfully withstood domestic and foreign challenges to these democratic institutions.

In the Turkish Republic, established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923, intensive and sustained educational efforts — and three brief direct interventions by the Westernizing military elite — have helped to modernize the traditional Ottoman society of Turkey, 99 percent of whose current population is Muslim. While the founders of the State of Israel were predominantly of European origin, the waves of mass immigration to the Jewish State since 1948 came primarily from the Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa, so that persons of non-Western origin today constitute a majority of Israel's Jewish population. Israel's growing Arab minority adds to the non-European majority in the country. Although some observers have expressed concern that Islamic and Jewish fundamentalist movements, as well as other anti-democratic tendencies, have attracted some followers, most political scientists believe that Israel and Turkey will continue to remain essentially modern, Western democracies.

Dr. Gruen is Director of the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the Institute of Human Relations and an Associate of the Columbia University Seminar on the Middle East. He is the editor and co-author of *The Palestinians in Perspective* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1982).

On the international scene, both Turkey and Israel have displayed a fierce determination to preserve their independence and have maintained a large fighting force to defend the country against threats from hostile neighbors. Both countries share with the United States a basic mistrust of the Soviet Union's global ambitions and oppose the extension of Soviet influence in the region. This has led to Turkey's formal membership in NATO and to a less formal but increasingly close strategic cooperation between Israel and the United States.

Co-operation Against Terrorism

But Turkish-Israeli relations are not based only on the negative principle that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," even though they face some of the same antagonists. For example, each shares a disputed border with Syria, whose rulers have never forgiven Turkey for annexing the province of Alexandretta (Hatay in Turkish) in 1938 on the eve of World War II nor Israel for annexing the Golan Heights after the 1967 War. The current efforts of Damascus to establish its hegemony in Lebanon are thus naturally of concern both to Ankara and Jerusalem, especially since Syrian leaders continue to assert their aim to recreate a "Greater Syria."¹

Both Turkey and Israel have also been the targets of systematic terrorist attacks by well organized ethnic, nationalist and ideological extremist groups, which continue to receive arms and other support from outside powers who back their political and irredentist aims. The destabilization of Turkey through terrorism has long been a Soviet objective. The terrorism on the left had in response spawned terrorism among right-wing extremists in

Turkey. It was primarily to end the chaos and growing carnage within Turkey that had claimed some 5,000 lives that the military seized power from the ineffective civilian government on September 12, 1980.

The Turkish authorities were also naturally interested in ending the anarchy within Lebanon which had permitted that country to serve as a base for all kinds of international terrorist groups. The Turkish press highlighted the news that when the Israel Defense Forces captured PLO bases in southern Lebanon in June 1982 they obtained documentary proof of the extent to which Turkish terrorist bands as well as members of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), which was engaged in a worldwide campaign to kill Turkish diplomats and sought to carve an independent Armenia out of eastern Turkey, had received training and military equipment in camps run by various factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Israelis also reportedly found 26 Turkish terrorists among the PLO fighters it had taken prisoner. Israel offered to extradite to Turkey for trial those who were not wanted for specific crimes against Israel.²

In response to a question from a *Milliyet* reporter about the concern of the Turkish public that several hundred Turkish and Armenian terrorists may have been evacuated to Syria with the PLO from Beirut, Turkish Foreign Minister İlter Türkmen said on August 20, 1982 that the PLO, which had been allowed to open an office in Ankara in 1979, "had repeatedly given assurances that there were no Turkish terrorists in any of the organizations it controlled, but now the existence of these terrorist cells had been proven." He added that Turkish public opinion was "totally justified in its sensitivity on this subject," but that unlike the anarchic situation in Lebanon, he expected the Syrian Government to prevent terrorist elements from operating against Turkey.³

But these Turkish expectations were soon disappointed. In an address to Parliament on October 17, 1984, Prime Minister Turgut Özal said that not only members of ASALA but also Kurdish secessionist groups and other Turkish terrorists had obtained refuge

in Syria. This was becoming an increasingly serious problem for Turkey and he noted that 18 Turkish soldiers had been killed in recent Kurdish guerrilla attacks on Turkish army posts in Southeastern Turkey. In 1983 and again in 1984 the Turkish army carried out "limited" operations some ten miles across the border into northern Iraq, with Baghdad's approval, to pursue the Kurdish rebels. Some of the Kurdish fighters, including those captured in the latest operations had been trained in guerrilla camps in Syria. Turkey had several times warned Syria against sheltering anti-Turkish terrorists but Damascus had disclaimed any responsibility. Özal told Parliament that the attacks had been organized and encouraged by the underground Turkish Communist Party, which is pro-Soviet and has its headquarters in Eastern Europe. He added that the Kurdish militants had been trained in "Palestinian camps" together with terrorists of various nationalities, including the Armenians.⁴ *Hürriyet's* Kasim Gence wrote that Turkey had learned from intelligence reports and confessions of captured terrorists that Rifaat Assad, brother of the Syrian president, had been in charge of setting up camps for the "traitors" near the Turkish border.⁵

To return to the situation in August 1982, Foreign Minister Türkmen in an interview with the leftist *Cumhuriyet* reiterated that it was a mistake on the part of the PLO not to take Turkey's sensitivity on the terrorist issue into consideration, but added that this would not diminish Turkey's support for the Palestinian cause. Speaking at a meeting of Islamic foreign ministers in Nigeria a few days later, Türkmen stressed that the Islamic countries had an obligation to stop Lebanon and other countries from serving as a training field and base of operations for Armenian and other anti-Turkish terrorists. At the Islamic Conference Türkmen coupled his anti-terrorist appeal with a denunciation of Israeli "cruelty" against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and again emphasized Turkey's continuing support for the Palestinian cause. Professor Aydin Yalçın, in a sharply critical commentary in the liberal Turkish journal *Forum*, emphasized the contradiction in the Turkish Foreign Minister's complaining

about terrorism while at the same time virtually "cutting off relations with Israel for the sake of the PLO, which has provided support for the ASALA" and Turkish terrorist groups.⁶

There has always been considerable ambivalence if not duplicity in Turkey's relationship with Israel. Following the Lebanon war the Israeli and Turkish intelligence services embarked upon a renewed program of increased cooperation in combatting terrorism. The Turkish Government, anxious to improve its relations with the Arab world, was apparently embarrassed when *Günes*, a popular Istanbul daily, gave a front-page, banner headline to a report that five Turkish security experts had gone to Israel to examine details of Israeli findings linking the PLO with Turkish and Armenian terrorist groups. The paper subsequently carried a denial that any "Turkish delegation had gone to Israel for such a purpose," but the fact that Israel had provided the information to Turkey was not denied.⁷

The Development of Relationships

Extensive and high level intelligence co-operation among Turkey, Israel and Iran had earlier been developed with American encouragement following the Iraqi revolution in 1958, when Washington was alarmed over what it regarded as Soviet sponsorship of Nasserist and Communist groups, as well as Kurdish and other local ethnic dissident movements designed to destabilize and overthrow pro-Western regimes in the Middle East. The top-secret program, code-named "Trident," became public knowledge from CIA documents revealed by the Islamic militants, who had seized the U.S. Embassy in Teheran following the overthrow of the Shah. The Turkish National Security Service reportedly provided Israel with data on Arab agents and intentions in return for information from Israel's Mossad intelligence agency on Soviet activities in Turkey.⁸

In a conversation with the author, a Turkish diplomat (who asked not to be identified) compared Turkey's relations with its Arab neighbors and Israel to that of a man who has both a wife and a mistress. He may feel a

special attraction to his mistress, who possesses certain charms his wife lacks, but in public he must appear a dutiful husband and cannot even officially acknowledge the existence of the mistress. This is all the more true if the wife comes, as do the Arabs, from a large and prominent family and has brought a big dowry to the marriage. The Israelis naturally resent the analogy. While not demanding that Turkey divorce itself from its Arab and Islamic neighbors, the Israelis have always sought — and the Turks have over the years been generally reluctant to grant them — a status of full diplomatic relations and openly acknowledged friendship.

Although the revelations coming out of Lebanon and Syria have no doubt tarnished the PLO's image in Turkish eyes, there is little likelihood that there will be any significant improvement soon in the public aspects of Turkish-Israeli relations. Turkey had joined with the Arab states at the United Nations in voting against the November 1947 General Assembly resolution to partition Palestine into independent Jewish and Arab states. However, in March 1949 Turkey officially recognized the State of Israel and the following year formal diplomatic relations were established, with diplomats of the rank of minister assigned to head the respective legations in Ankara and Tel Aviv. When the Arab states chastized Turkey for breaking the ranks of "Islamic solidarity" by recognizing the Jewish state, the Turks responded by noting that Turkey was among the last Western European states to recognize Israel. Moreover, Ankara pointed out that it had waited until it was clear that Israel was an established fact. Indeed, since Egypt had already signed an armistice agreement with Israel in February 1949 and Jordan had also begun negotiations, the pragmatic Turks felt there was no justification for further delaying a step that would not only be beneficial in terms of bilateral relations with Israel, but which might also create goodwill for Turkey in the United States, especially in Congress and the White House where pro-Israel sentiment was strong. Officials in Ankara privately acknowledged that they hoped that by recognizing Israel they might also help coun-

teract the vestiges of anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim sentiment in the Christian West by demonstrating that Turkey had become a modern, secular state which deserved American and European economic and political support.

While the Western press had explained Turkey's original vote against the partition plan as simply an act of Muslim solidarity, a factor that was probably at least as important was the Turkish concern, shared at the time by many career officials in the foreign service and defense establishments of Britain and the U.S., that creation of a Jewish state would weaken Western influence in the Middle East and serve Soviet interests. The Kremlin's sudden emergence as a supporter of the partition plan, plus the fact that many of Israel's leaders were socialists who had immigrated from Russia, seemed initially to give credence to these fears. However, these fears were allayed once it became clear from the first Knesset elections in March 1949 that Israel was in fact a Western-style, multi-party democracy in which Communist influence was insignificant. In March 1950, the Turkish Government informed Israel that it had decided to raise its recognition from *de facto* to *de jure*, retroactive to the start of diplomatic relations.⁹

The Effect of the Baghdad Pact

Although the Republican People's Party of President Ismet İnönü was defeated as the polls in May 1950, Turkish-Israeli relations continued to advance in the first years of Democratic Party rule, including the development of commercial ties, establishment of regular air and sea links by both Turkish and Israeli lines, and a variety of sports and cultural events. A formal cultural cooperation agreement was drafted in 1953. In this period, as Turkey and Israel were upgrading the level of their diplomatic missions around the world, discussions also began on raising the legations in Ankara and Tel Aviv to embassies. Nothing came of either plan. The cultural agreement was at first delayed and eventually scuttled by Ankara, when the Democratic Government under Prime Minister Adnan Menderes embarked on an active policy of courting Arab states to join in the

"Northern Tier" Middle East defense system that had been advocated by American Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. The only Arab state to join what was to be called "The Baghdad Pact" was Iraq, which was subjected to harsh attack from Egypt and Syria for allying itself with agents of "Western imperialism and Zionism."

A major crisis in Turkish-Israeli relations occurred in November 1956. Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri as-Said put great pressure on Ankara to break all relations with Israel, because Israel's invasion of Egypt in the Sinai Campaign was being used by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel-Nasser to charge that Iraq had been secretly allied with Israel via Turkey. Ankara devised a typically Turkish solution. To appease the Arabs, the Turkish Government announced that it was recalling its minister from Tel Aviv and that he would not return to his post "until the Palestine question is solved in a just and lasting manner in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations."¹⁰

Although Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact following the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958, Turkey stuck to its formalistic commitment and each head of the Turkish and Israeli legations continued to be technically listed as a mere *chargé d'affaires*. In reality, however, the chief of the legation was usually an experienced diplomat of ambassadorial rank, who was aided by a full complement of staff. This situation continued undisturbed even after the upheaval in the Arab world that followed the Six Day War of 1967.

The next significant deterioration in relations occurred only in 1980, following adoption by the Knesset on July 30 of a basic law declaring that "Jerusalem united in its entirety is the capital of Israel." The Turkish Government immediately protested the Israeli action and on August 28 the Foreign Ministry announced that Turkey had decided to close down its consulate general in Jerusalem "because of the fait accompli which Israel tried to create regarding the legal status of Jerusalem." Responding to a delegation of representatives from 13 Islamic countries and the PLO who came to thank him for Turkey's stand, Prime Minister Sül-

eyman Demirel criticized Israel's action as "erroneous" and contrary to "international law and justice." Turkey opposed a policy of "gaining territory by the use of force," since, he said, this "can never lead to a valid solution." [Presumably Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus in 1974 was exempted from this rule.] He said that he had expressed similar views on the Israeli occupation in 1967, adding that "Jerusalem, which is a holy city, should never be in Israeli hands." The fierceness of Demirel's last remark may in part have been due to the fact that his shaky Justice Party-led government was at the time dependent on the support of the pro-Islamic National Salvation Party (NSP).¹¹

Former Turkish Defense Minister Hasan Işık, a member of Parliament from the opposition Republican People's Party, called the decision to close the consulate "a mistake both politically and diplomatically," because the consulate general, which dated back to the days of the Ottoman Empire, was not a diplomatic mission accredited to the Israel Government. He pointed out that UN Security Council Resolution 478 of August 20 had called upon members states to withdraw only their *diplomatic* missions from Jerusalem, and Turkey had never approved of the annexation of Jerusalem, as proven by the maintenance of the legation in Tel Aviv.¹²

The 1980 Military Coup

After senior army officers led by General Kenan Evren seized power in a bloodless coup on September 12, 1980, dissolved parliament and placed the country under martial law, one might have expected a lessening of Islamic influence on Turkish governmental policy and a consequent improvement in Turkish-Israeli relations. General Evren, Chief of the General Staff, is typical of the generation of army officers who were raised with a spirit of sacred mission to protect the basic principles of the Turkish Republic as set forth by Kemal Atatürk. Evren graduated from the military academy in 1938, the year of Atatürk's death. A cardinal principle of "Kemalism" has been secularism. This grew out of a firm belief that the decline and military defeat of the Ottoman Empire was

due to its association with the backward Arab countries and with fatalistic Islamic fundamentalism. The new Turkey, they believed, could only succeed if it transformed itself into a modern nation-state with close ties to the Western world. In a communiqué issued to the armed services early on the morning of the coup, Evren called upon them to uphold "Atatürk's principles" and to wage an unrelenting struggle against "anarchy, terrorism and division, and against communist, fascist and *fanatical religious ideologies*..."¹³

Among the parties outlawed by the military government was the National Salvation Party. Its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, was arrested, tried and sentenced to four years in prison. According to knowledgeable Turkish sources, the immediate incident that provoked the military intervention was in fact a massive rally organized in the Muslim center of Konya on September 6. Ostensibly called to protest the Israeli Jerusalem law, the rally was addressed by Erbakan, who called on Turkey to break with Israel and for all Muslims to "liberate Jerusalem." But Erbakan went further and proclaimed the start of a struggle to end "the false Western mentality" that ruled in Turkey. Banners in Arabic proclaiming the greatness of Allah and calling for the restoration of the *Sharia* were carried by the demonstrators, who ended the rally with the burning of the Israeli, American and Soviet flags. This symbolized that for Erbakan's followers, as for Ayatollah Khomeini, who had just come to power in neighboring Iran, the three "Satan" which Islam had to confront were Israel, the U.S. and the Soviet Union.¹⁴

The Turkish Jewish community, numbering some 20,000, had been particularly distressed by reports that among the banners carried at the Konya rally was one which said, "Death to the Jews." In his first message broadcast to the Turkish people, General Evren reaffirmed that "our constitution clearly states that Turkish citizens cannot be criticized for their religious beliefs" and he condemned those who sought to "incite sectarian differences" and had forgotten that "all who live within the Turkish Republic and who consider themselves Turkish citi-

zens form the Turkish nation as one body."¹⁵ The Jewish community was both relieved and reassured by this message and by the firm measures taken by General Evren to disband the NSP as well as the neo-fascist National Action Party.

Yet although the military government was vigilant to curb the excesses of Islamic fundamentalism at home, there was no lessening of Turkey's efforts to improve its relations with the Islamic world. On the contrary, Ankara has in recent years worked hard to expand its economic and political ties with individual Islamic countries and has heightened its involvement in Islamic Conferences. A further deterioration in the formal state of Turkish-Israeli relations occurred only a few months after the generals took over. On December 2, 1980 the Turkish Foreign Ministry announced: "Turkey has decided to limit its relations with Israel and to mutually reduce the level of representation." The reason given by Ankara was that Israel would not "retreat from its intransigent policy toward the Middle East conflict and the fait accompli that it wishes to create in connection with the legal status of Jerusalem." Consequently, "all diplomatic personnel, with the exception of a second secretary who will have the title of a temporary chargé d'affaires, will be called back within three months."¹⁶

The Consequences of the Economic Problems

Why had Turkey taken this additional anti-Israel step at this time? The Turkish economy was suffering a major crisis, including a severe shortage of foreign exchange. The sudden sharp escalation of international oil prices following the Iranian Revolution in 1979 meant that the crushing burden of paying for oil imports alone exceeded the dollar earnings of Turkey's exports. The result was shortages of many imported goods from coffee to pharmaceuticals, and schools and even hospitals were closed for lack of heating oil. While Turgut Özal, the financial planner who had in January 1980 introduced economic reforms under the Demirel government, was retained by the military junta, his liberalization mea-

sures had not yet had time to take effect. In the meantime, Turkey was becoming increasingly dependent upon Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq and Libya for its oil supplies. This dependence became acute after the start of the Iraq-Iran war in September 1980.

The Saudis agreed in August to provide Turkey with a \$250 million 15-year loan. In mid-November, during an official visit to Saudi Arabia, Turkish Foreign Minister İlter Türkmen announced that the Saudis had "responded positively to contributing to Turkey's oil need." But there was a price to be exacted for this aid. Saudi Arabia placed heavy pressure on Turkey to break its remaining diplomatic and commercial relations with Israel. It seems more than coincidental that the Saudi check was delivered to Turkey on December 2. Marvine Howe, the *New York Times*'s correspondent in Ankara reported that sources close to the Turkish Government confirmed that the downgrading in Turkish-Israeli relations was linked to the expansion of economic ties with Saudi Arabia.¹⁷

The Turkish action prompted a negative reaction in Washington. A bipartisan group of 69 U.S. Senators — more than a two-thirds majority — on January 21, 1981 presented a letter to Ambassador Şukru Elekdag, asking him to convey to General Evren "our strong concerns" over the downgrading of relations with Israel. They noted that this step could have "harmful consequences to both Israel and Egypt, two countries which are our great friends," explaining that this action would only benefit "extremist countries" in the region because it would "undermine the Camp David Accords, hurt Israel, and hamper the efforts of President Sadat to bring moderation to the Middle East."¹⁸

Turkey's Involvement in Islamic Politics

While the Turkish Government resented the interference implicit in the Senators' letter, its message was not lost on the leaders in Ankara. General Evren, who had been popularly elected President of Turkey in November 1982, became the first Turkish head of state to participate in an Islamic Conference

when he attended the fourth Islamic Summit Conference in Casablanca in January 1984. But this was prompted more by practical geopolitical and economic considerations than religious sentiment. Thus the semi-official Anatolian News Agency headlined the news that the Islamic Conference had adopted a resolution "to support equal rights for the Turkish Cypriot community" and that President Evren had been elected President of the Islamic Standing Committee on Economic and Commercial Cooperation.¹⁹

In a statement issued on his return to Ankara, Evren declared that the summit had proved useful because it gave Turkey a chance to explain her views on the highest level "to friendly fraternal Islamic countries to whom we are attached with historical, religious and cultural ties. I also observed with great satisfaction that our weight and prestige at the Islamic Conference Organization increased with each day." It was in Evren's political interest to demonstrate that Turkey had been successful in winning support within the Islamic world, especially since Turkey's relations with its NATO allies in Western Europe have been strained in recent years, with some of the Europeans voicing impatience at the pace of Turkey's return to civilian rule and concern over reports of repressive measures taken against journalists and persons in prison.

Turning to the substance of the issues discussed at the Islamic Summit, Evren said that in his speech at the Conference "I reiterated that underlying the Middle East problem, there is the denial of the Palestinian people's legitimate and inalienable rights. I also pointed out that to be able to cope with the continuing Israeli faits-accomplis there should be a united and realistic counter-strategy." While Turkey would continue to "support her Arab brothers in their just cause," he stressed that the Arab countries "must act consistently in unity and solidarity." He believed it "would be useful for member countries to adopt a favorable position towards re-admission of Egypt to the Islamic Conference." By this action Evren was in effect aligning Turkey with the more moderate elements in the Arab world and thus indirectly responded to the American

concern that by improving its Islamic relations Turkey was undermining the Camp David process and encouraging Arab extremism. He also reiterated Turkey's eagerness to see an end to the Iran-Iraq War and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.²⁰

Turgut Özal reportedly had been instrumental in the Turkish decision to lower the level of relations with Israel. In his successful campaign as head of the new Motherland Party, which won the most seats in the November 1983 elections, Özal had advocated stronger ties with the Arab and other Muslim countries, in part to gain "the advantage of a better bargain" with the West, particularly with the European Economic Community. Although Özal is personally an observant Muslim and conservative in matters of morality, he is a Western-trained liberal economist, who believes that economic and foreign policy should be based on pragmatic considerations and not on religious sentiment. He is part of the newer generation of Turks, who do not wish to abandon their Islamic heritage and do not personally harbor the deep-seated resentment of the Arabs for their World War I revolt against Turkey, which Atatürk and İnönü considered a "betrayal" by their fellow Muslims. Thus when Özal indicates that his goal is to make Turkey into a country like Japan, he is expressing a sentiment shared by many of the younger generation, namely that it is possible to modernize and have the latest technology, without abandoning one's own unique cultural and historical tradition. Özal reportedly received a fair share of votes even within the Turkish Jewish community, because of his sound economic program.²¹

Significantly, just before President Evren's state visit to Saudi Arabia in February 1984, Prime Minister Özal emphasized that the Arabs should not object to Turkey's relations with Israel. In an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al-Anba*, which was reprinted in the Turkish press, Özal said: "Turkey's relations with Israel will be maintained. They will neither improve, nor deteriorate.... As I told our Arab friends, we are members of NATO and have close ties with the United States." He noted pointedly that "the strength of the Israeli lobby in the

U.S. is well known... Furthermore, it is a good thing for the Islamic world that an Islamic country should have an open window."²²

The theme that Turkey could serve as a useful bridge between the Middle East and the West has been much stressed by Turkish officials in recent years. Thus, in his speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, on Sept. 26, 1984, Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoğlu emphasized Turkey's "potential for promoting stability and for projecting Western values in the Middle East." He pointed out that as "a Muslim but secular nation, Turkey's historical and religious ties with the Middle East are centuries old. But as a young, vibrant democracy, Turkey has integrated Western values with her own unique culture. She is at once a member of the Islamic conference and she holds membership in all major Western organizations, including NATO. Within the latter she is the only Muslim nation; within the former she is a voice for moderation and progress—Western style."²³

The political significance of Turkey's role remains to be tested. Indeed, Turkey has been very reluctant to allow the U.S. or other Western allies to use Turkish facilities for responding to a military contingency in the Middle East. Ankara has had no success in moderating Libyan or Syrian anti-American positions and Turkey has failed in its various attempts to mediate the Iran-Iraq dispute. Turkey has been scrupulous to maintain its neutrality in the various inter-Arab and inter-Muslim disputes. Even with regard to the Arab-Israel conflict, Turkey has limited itself to verbal support for the Arab position. In 1948 Turkey actively prevented a group of Muslim volunteers from Turkey from joining the Arab armies and in all the subsequent wars Turkey has refrained from giving any military support to the Arab side. During the 1982 War in Lebanon, Turkey said it only permitted planes carrying "urgently needed medical equipment and food aid" to pass over Turkish air space to Syria. Ankara strongly resisted PLO, other Arab and Iranian calls to provide military aid to the Palestinians.²⁴

Turkey and the United Nations

However, when it comes to Turkey's position at the United Nations, it is difficult to detect signs of even-handedness where Israel is concerned. A close examination of Turkey's voting record at the UN on Arab-Israel related issues during the past five General Assembly sessions reveals that Turkey has consistently supported Arab resolutions critical of Israel. Turkey has tended to vote for extreme Arab formulations even in instances when the United States voted against them and most of Turkey's fellow European NATO members either joined the United States and Israel in opposition or abstained. Greece, which has vied with Turkey for Arab support on the Cyprus issue, has been less consistently anti-Israel at the UN than has Turkey. Indeed, even Egypt, which is not only a Muslim but an Arab country, has in recent years displayed a somewhat more pro-Israel voting pattern than has Turkey.

Among the rare instances in which Turkey did not fully go along with anti-Israeli positions were the attempts during each of the last three years by Iran to deny Israel's credentials at the UN. Turkey abstained each time. While Ankara sharply criticized Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights, Turkey's UN Ambassador Coşkun Kirca abstained on a General Assembly resolution which would have mandated that all countries sever their ties with Israel. The fact that both the Golan and credentials issues involved concrete sanctions against Israel, which the United States had made it clear that it strongly opposed, are likely to have influenced Turkey's position on these issues. While Turkey voted for resolutions sharply critical of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, the Turkish delegate also abstained on a paragraph that explicitly accused Israel of "genocide" in the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

But these exceptions were few and far between. In the Fall of 1980 Turkey even voted in favor of a resolution harshly critical of the American-sponsored Camp David Accords because they had not achieved a comprehensive solution of the Palestinian issue. The resolution was opposed by the United States, Israel and nearly all of the Western

European NATO members. France and Greece abstained, as did Egypt.²⁵

In his address to the General Assembly on October 4, 1984, Foreign Minister Halefoglu reiterated Turkey's firm support for "the creation of an independent Palestinian State," called for Israel to "withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem," and to "respect the human rights of the people in the occupied territories." He added that "Israel must not be allowed to further modify the demographic character and the institutional character of these territories," because otherwise "Arab Palestinians will not have the territory upon which to establish their State." He said that the Government of Turkey believed that "the opportunities created by the Fez Plan of 1982 and by the International Conference on the Question of Palestine held last year in Geneva should now be judiciously pursued." Turkey also supported the idea of convening an international peace conference under UN sponsorship; in which "the Palestine Liberation Organization must participate...on an equal footing with the other parties."²⁶

This support for the Arab League plan and the PLO-backed Geneva conference marked a further public shift by Turkey toward the Arab and away from the American approach to the Arab-Israel conflict. In his address to the General Assembly in October 1982, then Foreign Minister Turkmen had welcomed both the Reagan initiative and the "very constructive approach" which the Arab League had adopted at Fez. If Halefoglu had wished to be even-handed, he might at least have acknowledged the Reagan peace initiative, especially since Shimon Peres, who had become Israel's prime minister in September 1984, had given qualified support to the Reagan plan. Thus, Turkey's voting pattern and its statements at the UN give little support to Foreign Minister Halefoglu's contention that Turkey has been serving as a moderating intermediary between the West and the Islamic world.

The Significance of Economic Factors

A cynical explanation for Turkey's behavior is that officials in Ankara believe that

criticism of Israel and verbal support for Arab positions at the UN is a cheap price to pay to maintain Turkey's increasingly important economic ties with the Arab and Islamic world. It is in the economic realm that dramatic changes have occurred in the relative importance of Israel and the Arab countries for Turkey. In the 1950's Turkey was primarily an exporter of agricultural goods and raw materials. Israeli firms did a booming business selling everything from stoves to refrigerators, and Israeli contractors built apartment complexes — including one for members of Parliament in Ankara — major highways, and even airfields in Turkey. In recent years, however, Israeli firms have been unable to participate in Turkish governmental tenders for goods, urban planning, or construction projects.

Today, a relatively steady and modest amount of Turkish-Israeli trade continues. Turkish imports from Israel have increased from \$22.2 million in 1981 to \$28.7 million in 1984. As Israel has run agricultural surpluses in recent years, Israeli importers have found little to purchase in Turkey. Consequently, Israeli imports from Turkey declined from \$14.5 million in 1981 to \$10.0 million in 1984.

But these figures are dwarfed by the spectacular increase in Turkey's economic relations with the Arab and Islamic countries. In the decade since the quadrupling of OPEC oil prices in 1974 there has been a vast accumulation of wealth by the Arab and Islamic oil producers, which has been reflected in a growing appetite for development and consumption. In the same period Turkey has increased its capacity to provide skilled and semiskilled manpower, managerial ability, large-scale contractors, and industrial and consumer goods manufacturers to meet the needs of the oil producers. As already noted, the outbreak of war between Iraq and Iran in September 1980 underscored Turkey's dependence on "Islamic" oil. But as the war continued, Turkey assumed an increasingly important role for both Iraq and Iran as a source of goods and as a transit route for goods from other countries afraid to send ships into the war-torn Gulf. As a result, Iran displaced West Germany as Turkey's best trading partner in 1983, purchasing more

than \$1.08 billion and selling \$1.22 billion, mostly oil. Turkey's sales of \$320 million to Iraq helped offset Turkey's \$947 million in purchases, mostly oil, from Iraq. The capacity of the existing pipeline from Iraq to Turkey was increased to 950,000 barrels a day in July 1984 and a new parallel line is planned.²⁷

Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kuwait and Algeria have also become increasingly important trading partners for Turkey. Because of the above factors as well as the recession in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa have replaced the European Economic Community (EEC) countries as Turkey's primary trading partner. The percentage of Turkey's exports that went to the Arab countries and Iran increased from 22.3 in 1980 to 41.4 in 1983 for a total of \$2.36 billion. This helped Turkey pay for the \$3.39 billion in imports, primarily oil, from the region in 1983.²⁸

The value of Turkish contracting business with ten Muslim countries has also increased dramatically since 1980, rising from \$3.72 billion to a total of \$14.74 billion by the end of 1984, with the chief partners being Libya, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan and Kuwait.²⁹ Some of these countries have also helped finance infrastructure projects and joint ventures within Turkey itself. Moreover, more than 150,000 Turkish workers in the Middle East send home remittances totaling \$1.3 billion a year, exceeding the amount currently sent back by Turkish workers in Europe.³⁰ Despite the recent drop in oil prices which has caused some delays and cutbacks in Turkish projects in Arab countries, Turkish workers are still in high demand. Saudi Labor Minister Muhammad Ali el-Feyyaz said during an official visit to Turkey in May 1984, that Saudi Arabia was prepared to employ an additional 100,000 skilled Turkish workers, ranging from barbers to construction workers.³¹

The basic debate within the establishment in Ankara is whether this improvement in Turkish-Islamic country economic ties requires Turkey to accede to Arab and Iranian demands to cut down on relations, and justifies such recent anti-Israel acts as the barring of Israel since 1981 from participation in the Izmir International Fair, which it had attended regularly since 1951, and the denial

of visas to some Israeli sports and scholarly delegations. Others, such as the four Turkish parliamentarians who accepted invitations from their opposite numbers in the Knesset to visit Israel in September 1984, despite unsuccessful efforts to have them censured by the Turkish Parliament for going without official permission, believe that it is undignified and unprincipled for Turkey to yield to Arab anti-Israeli pressures. Moreover, they contend that the Muslim countries' economic and commercial relations with Turkey are based on mutually beneficial economic factors, which will prevail irrespective of whether or not Turkey maintains normal ties with Israel.³²

Support for the latter position is provided by a recent incident involving Turkey's relations with warring Iran and Iraq. The Turkish Foreign Ministry in June 1984 categorically rejected a rumored \$1 billion offer from Iran if it shut down the Kirkuk-Iskenderun pipeline, Iraq's only currently operating pipeline. [Syria, which has been supporting Iran in the war, has closed the other Iraqi pipeline to the Mediterranean.] A senior Turkish official insisted that "Turkey is determined to pursue her strict neutrality and even-handed policy on the Iran-Iraq conflict. We have all interest in maintaining good relations with both neighbors and we are deploying great efforts to keep them that way."³³

They advocate a similarly even-handed policy in the Arab-Israel dispute. There is evidence that most Islamic states are prepared to acquiesce in Turkey's relations with Israel. During the 15th Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers, held in Sa'ana, Yemen in December 1984, Iran tried to place a resolution on the agenda demanding that Islamic countries maintaining relations with Israel be expelled. Not only was this resolution rejected, but Foreign Minister Halefoglu reported that the Conference had decided to place the cement industry center of the Islamic conference in Turkey. The precedent of the decision of the Islamic Conference at Casablanca to readmit Egypt despite its conclusion of peace and establishment of relations with Israel thus also benefitted Turkey, according to Turkish officials.³⁴

Advocates of a more positive stance by

Turkey toward Israel also point out that in view of Turkey's continuing difficulties with public opinion in the United States and Western Europe, some signs of normalization of Turkey's relations with Israel may help reinforce the image of Turkey as a reliable NATO

ally, which shares democratic values and does not permit pressures from its more extremist Arab and Islamic brethren to influence its essentially pragmatic and secular approach to good relations with all its neighbors.

FOOTNOTES

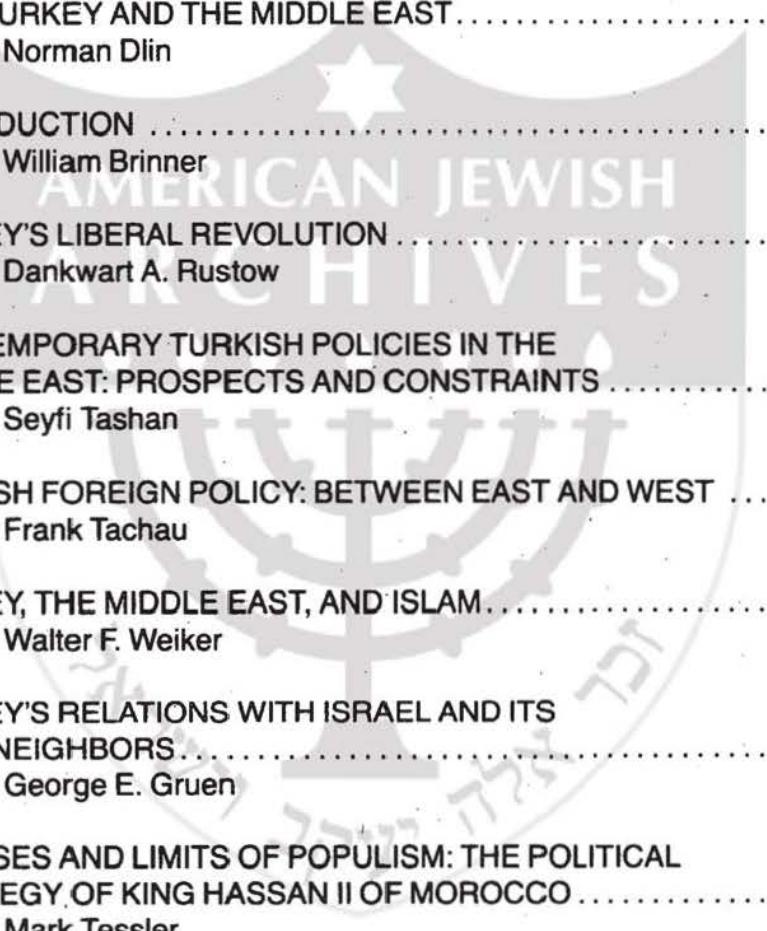
1. There was a furor in the Turkish press in April 1984 after the government-controlled Turkish television had inadvertently shown a Syrian film that displayed a map including Hatay within the borders of Syria. It was noted that the Syrian ambassador in London had also reasserted Syria's claim at a recent press conference. Turkish Minister of State and Government Spokesman Mesut Yilmaz announced that an official investigation had been opened to determine who was responsible for permitting the offensive Syrian program to appear on Turkish television. *Milliyet*, May 3, 1984. See also the column by Semsiz Kuseyri, *Turkish Daily News*, Ankara, April 26, 1984.
2. *Christian Science Monitor*, July 8, 1982.
3. *Milliyet*, August 21, 1982.
4. *Güneş*, *Gunaydin*, *Tercuman*, Oct. 18, 1984; *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 19, 1984; *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, dispatch from Ankara, Oct. 18, 1984; *Washington Post*, dispatch from Ankara by Mustafa R. Gursel, Oct. 18, 1984.
5. *Hürriyet*, Oct. 20, 1984.
6. *Forum*, August 15, 1982.
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MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

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Anti-Defamation League



of B'nai Brith
823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 212-490-2525 Telex 649278

NEWS

LYNNE IANNIELLO
Director, Communications

72nd ANNUAL MEETING
June 5 - June 9

ADL PRESS OFFICE:

June 5 - June 9: Winter Garden Room
Grand Hyatt Hotel
Direct Lines: 661-8241/8216/8217/8218
Hotel Switchboard: 212-883-1234 ext. 3634

George H.W.
Bush
M)

CONTACTS: Lynne Ianniello
Jay Axelbank
Jack Zurofsky
Jane R. Ornauer
Radio/TV: By Kuperstein

For Release Friday, June 7

New York, NY, June 6....An American Jewish leader today declared that "giving additional arms to Jordan at this time would be the wrong signal."

"It would reward rhetoric," said Kenneth J. Bialkin, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and reduce the urgency of asking King Hussein to face "the basic issue" of Mideast peace by entering into direct negotiations with Israel. King Hussein is seeking advanced fighter planes such as the F-20 and F-16 and modern anti-aircraft missiles from the U.S., which reportedly is considering new arms sales to Jordan..

Mr. Bialkin's comments were part of his annual report to ADL leaders attending the agency's National Commission meeting at the Grand Hyatt hotel. The report also focused on the ramifications of President Reagan's visit to the German military cemetery last month.

The ADL chairman, who is chairman as well of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said recent diplomatic moves by King Hussein do not "advance the peace process."

Declaring that the Palestine Liberation Organization has not abandoned its Covenant calling for Israel's destruction and that Jordan has not ended its state of war with Israel, Mr. Bialkin asked: "Have all of King Hussein's positive phrases about how much he would like to be

(more)

able to make peace with Israel brought him any closer to the peace table where he would sit face to face with Israel's leaders and bargain directly?"

In fact, Mr. Bialkin went on, "the latest expressions from King Hussein seem to be a step backward since talks with Israel now seem to depend on an international conference involving the Soviets who have no diplomatic relations with Israel."

He applauded the U.S. State Department's stand opposing Soviet participation in Mideast diplomacy and an international conference "which would only serve as a forum for more anti-Israel rhetoric."

King Hussein, he declared, is not ready to take "risks for peace" as Egyptian President Anwar Sadat did in 1977.

"Yet until he takes that chance," Mr. Bialkin continued, "he should not expect the gratitude of the free world for pious expressions of how much he would like to see peace established. Nor should he expect the U.S. to provide him with additional sophisticated weapons which increase the imbalance of Arab armor arrayed against Israel."

American policy in' the Mideast, according to Mr. Bialkin, should be to press Jordan and Saudi Arabia and other Arab nations to recognize the "reality of Israel as a good neighbor and strong friend" in a region where "Moslem fanatic fundamentalists...threaten the established order."

In addressing the subject of the Bitburg cemetery visit by President Reagan, Mr. Bialkin told the ADL National Commission that "our support for Israel and our determination to expose and resist anti-Semitism wherever it appears have been strengthened by the Bitburg experience."

American Jews, he said, were "reminded how grateful we are that from the ashes of the Holocaust sprang the State of Israel reborn...and we renewed our determination that never again will there be a time when Jews can be cast out of the lands of their birth."

Asserting that the Holocaust is the "central experience of modern Jewish life," Mr. Bialkin recounted the League's opposition to the Presidential visit to Bitburg. "It was the President's misfortune, and ours," he said, "that he and his advisers did not appreciate our deep feelings about the symbolism of the Bitburg ceremony," that Jews resent "any act which appears to minimize the horror of the Holocaust or to trivialize its significance."

(more)

Despite opposition to the Bitburg visit, Mr. Bialkin said that "we will continue to value President Reagan for those policies, sentiments and commitments which we share." He cited the "President's support for Israel, his efforts in rescuing Ethiopian Jewry, his deep concern for Soviet Jewry and his expressions of determination that never again will conditions which could lead to a new Holocaust be tolerated."

AJ,C,DC,IP,EWI,MPC,MP,MPRTV,BHFOR,BHM,BHRTV-85



ETHNIC LABOR COALITION

260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, 6th FLOOR, NEW YORK, NY 10010. (212) 533-8000

Co-Chairs

Norman Hill
A. Philip Randolph Institute

Herb Magidson
Jewish Labor Committee

Henry Lacayo
Labor Council for Latin
American Advancement

L. Howard Molisani
United Italian American
Labor Council

June 6, 1985

Senator Robert Dole
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Dole:

The Ethnic Labor Coalition supports the anti-apartheid legislation sponsored by Representative William Gray (H.R. 1460) and Senator Edward Kennedy (S. 635) which bans new investment in South Africa, loans to the South African government, and the sale of Kruggerands in the U. S. until certain conditions specified by Congress are met.

This legislation would help to dismantle the most fundamental and repulsive elements of the apartheid system. However, we note with concern that the legislation does not demand that the South African government guarantee freedom of association, without which it would be difficult for truly representative leaders of the black population to emerge. Particularly important to us is the freedom to organize and develop leadership for the independent black unions.

The black union movement has already demonstrated that workers organized to defend their interests constitute the most powerful democratic force in a repressed society. This is recognized by the South African government, which has currently imprisoned 21 black trade unionists without charges under the Preventive Detention Laws.

We urge the House and the Senate to press for their immediate release and we urge that conditions be added to H.R. 1460 or S. 635 to:

- 1) require the abolition of the Preventive Detention Laws that have been used so effectively to harass and imprison trade unionists and other leaders, and
- 2) guarantee freedom of association to black South African trade unionists.

The future of democracy in South Africa depends largely upon the development of democratic institutions that will permit black South Africans to take an active part in determining their future. Our Coalition feels that it is incumbent on the United States Congress to express its commitment to the specific freedoms that make such concepts as "democracy" and "participation" meaningful. We urge support for the Gray-Kennedy legislation and the adoption of the additional safeguards outlined above.

Sincerely,

Norman Hill *Herb Magidson* *Henry Lacayo* *L. Howard Molisani*

Norman Hill
A.P.R.I.

Herb Magidson
J.L.C.

Henry Lacayo
L.C.L.A.A.

L. Howard Molisani
I.A.L.C.

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Why Do They Dislike Israel So?

By William Murchison
Associate Editor

NEXT time a spasm of violence wrenches Lebanon, whatever will the outside world do? We don't have Israel to kick around anymore.



That's as of right now, the Israelis having withdrawn, if all goes on schedule, the last of their troops from Lebanon.

The withdrawal comes just three years after Israel sent its forces into southern Lebanon to clean out various nests of Palestinian guerrillas.

From the Kremlin to the New York Times, the Israeli incursion was blasted (with varying vituperativeness) as aggression. Israel, a country used to international popularity, not to say acclaim, could not readily understand what had happened.

THE NIGHTMARE intensified when Christian militiamen — so far as is known — barged into two Beirut refugee camps, killing scores of inhabitants to avenge the militia's assassinated leader, Bashir Gemayel. Not only were the Israelis blamed — they blamed themselves for laxity in guarding the camps. After a government inquiry, prominent heads rolled.

But, as I say, the Israelis are

out of Lebanon, leaving that turbulent country in the care and keeping, chiefly, of the Syrians. Who's to take the fall now when things go wrong?

Nobody apparently. Shiite Moslem violence against Palestinians — there are reports of massacres in some of the same refugee camps as before — has gone almost unrebuked in the world press. Since Israel is not even tangentially a party, possibly no one cares.

One source of hostility to Israel certainly is the rebirth of anti-Semitism — only this time not on the right; rather, on the left.

QUICKLY: Which U.S. presidential candidate had a rabid anti-Semite as friend and adviser? Was it Reagan? Mondale? Hollings? Glenn? It was in fact the Rev. Jesse Jackson, leftmost of all the candidates. Jackson's anti-Semitic pal — whom he never repudiated convincingly — was Louis Farrakhan.

Routinely, at sessions of the Dis-United Nations, left-wing countries vote to condemn Israel for this, that, the other — who pays attention anymore, it's all so stage-managed.

But the new anti-Semitism has to be looked at in context. What has brought it on? Did Brother Farrakhan get hold of a copy of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*?

Let me suggest a reason even less creditable if possible. To the

left, Israel's fault consists not in being a Jewish state; it consists in being a Western, meaning a non-Soviet, non-Third World, state. The Jewishness of Israel is incidental — a pretext more than a cause.

The indictment, as best I can discern it, goes as follows:

(1.) Israel has a culture based, not on Marx or Mao, but on the Hebrew God, who is identifiable (against His own intentions) as a Western deity. Moreover, although African and Middle Eastern (Sephardic) Jews may yet come to dominate the country, European (Ashkenazy) Jews still hold the reins of power.

(2.) Israel is democratic in the Western European-American vein. Its people run the show. Its fundamental sympathies are with human freedom, not with repression of the sort made famous behind the Iron Curtain and in much of the Third World.

(3.) Israel is pro-American without being (God knows!) American-dominated. Americans, and Israelis recognize a mutuality of interests and act often enough in concert. America is the left's No. 1 devil figure.

(4.) Israel is no friend to the Soviet Union, which it recognizes not only as the oppressor of Soviet Jews but also as the chief military supplier to radical Arab governments. The last thing Israel wants is more Soviet influence in the Middle East.

(5.) Israel, like the self-confident Western Great Powers of

yore, uses military force against threats to its security. True, this could be changing, thanks to the bitter aftertaste of the Lebanese incursion. It was entirely atypical of Israel — and a bad precedent — to release more than 1,000 Arab prisoners, many of them convicted terrorists, in exchange for three captured Israeli soldiers.

WELL, I mean, is it any wonder the left, disliking or distrusting the West, dislikes and distrusts Israel also?

There is irony here: Many on the left are themselves Westerners, beneficiaries of the West's unexampled freedom and prosperity. That they seem more sympathetic to Third World designs than to Western interests — well, it's puzzling in the highest degree. But that's a matter for another column, another day.

26 A Thursday, June 6, 1985

Editorials

The Dallas Morning News

For your information
From the desk of: 6/6/85
JACOB KOVADLOFF
Director, South American Affairs



Uzi Diplomacy

■ A week before I visited the Guatemalan highland town of Comalapa in March 1982, an Indian woman from the weavers cooperative had gone to the local army barracks to protest the disappearance of her son-in-law. At the barracks gate she had cursed at the sentries when they refused to let her see the commanding officer. The following evening a small car with three men in civilian clothes pulled up at the woman's house. She and five members of her family—including a newborn baby boy—were machine-gunned to death because, the townspeople were told by the sentries, "she does not know her place."

The weapons used by the death squad, I learned, were Israeli-made Uzi submachine guns. The Uzi is a lightweight, widely available, and relatively inexpensive automatic weapon. Unlike the U.S.-made M-16, the Uzi seldom jams, so it is particularly popular with combat soldiers. Uzis and the larger Galil assault rifles (also Israeli-made), used by Guatemala's special counterinsurgency forces, account for at least half of the estimated 45,000 Guatemalan Indians killed by the military since 1978, when Israel became the chief arms supplier to the first of three consecutive Guatemalan military dictatorships.

Last December, alarmed by Israel's role in fueling the military apparatus that is decimating the native population of my country of birth, I traveled to Jerusalem. I went to visit Jewish relatives and to inquire about Israel's widening presence in Central America and the Third World. Had a viable opposition formed, I wanted to know, to challenge an arms sales policy that seemed critically flawed, shortsighted, and ultimately self-defeating?

Israel's expanded involvement in Guatemala began when the Guatemalan military refused U.S. aid, anticipating President Carter's condemnation of Guatemala's human rights record and his demand that it be improved. Israel's activities in Guatemala have gone well beyond the sale of Uzis, Galils, and at least nine short-take-off-and-landing (STOL) Arava transports. President Romeo Lucas García's successor, the evangelist preacher Efraín Ríos Montt, openly boasted to an ABC reporter in 1982 that he had met with success "because our soldiers were trained by Israelis." (He has since attributed his military successes chiefly to "God.")

In fact, Israeli advisors, in the guise of agricultural aides, helped devise Ríos Montt's "beans and rifles" counterinsurgency strategy. The beans and rifles program included the formation of Vietnam-style strategic hamlets called "model villages"; the systematic scorching of Indian homes and fields; and the subjugation of hundreds of thousands of highland Indians, who

were forced into so-called civil defense patrols. Patrol members are still routinely coerced into doing the military's bidding by denouncing and executing their own neighbors as "communist guerrillas."

During my travels in the highlands of Quiché in 1983 I saw army bivouacs that looked like virtual replicas of Israeli field stations. Members of the Guatemalan special forces were outfitted like typical Israeli soldiers in Lebanon or the Sinai, with Israeli radio equipment, battle gear, mortars, Galils, and helmets. Even the field kitchens were Israeli.

Guatemala, where my Sephardic family settled in the '20s, has enjoyed a special relationship with Israel since before it became a state. In the halcyon days of 1948, Guatemala's delegate to the United Nations, Jorge García Granados, was one of the three architects of the partition plan that created the modern state of Israel. As a child, I remember García Granados visiting our synagogue and praising Israeli kibbutzim, a concept that he hoped could be adapted to Guatemala's rural areas. His wish turned out to be ironically prophetic, for the "model village" program since adopted by the military is based in part

BY VICTOR PEREBA

PHOTOGRAPHY BY
ALAN REININGER/CONTACT

on the defensive kibbutzim along Israel's borders.

Israel's Central American allegiances are not limited to Guatemala. Another long-standing friend of Israel was Nicaragua's Anastasio "Tacho" Somoza, Sr. As early as 1939, Tacho collaborated with Israel's founders in rerouting arms bought in Poland to the underground Haganah forces in Palestine; and he later allowed Haganah arms purchasers to travel in Europe with Nicaraguan papers. Israel repaid Somoza's favors indirectly by arming his son Tachito's National Guard and keeping it well supplied right down to the final days of his unsuccessful war against the Sandinista rebels.

Israel repaid a favor of a different sort by extending technical aid to the Dominican Republic, whose former dictator, Rafael Trujillo, was among the scant few heads of state to offer haven to Jewish refugee families fleeing Nazi persecution at the outbreak of World War II.

Israel also has a close working bond with Costa Rica, where Israelis are training and supplying President Luis Alberto Monge's police and civil guard. Israel has sold reconditioned French Super Mystère fighters and Arava transports to Honduras, helping to make that country's air force the most potent in the region.

In El Salvador and Haïti, and in African countries as diverse as Zaire, Marxist Ethiopia, and South Africa, Israel's role has gone well beyond that of a competitive arms merchant, as its defense establishment pursues a global strategy of combining arms sales with technical assistance to generate foreign exchange and gain influence in countries throughout the Third World.

"They All Hate Us"

■ Soon after I arrived in Israel last December I learned that a cousin I shall call Isaac had left an army career in communications to sell sophisticated antimissile defense systems for a private company jointly owned by the United States and Israel. (By request, I have changed all Israeli names in this section.) In October 1973 Isaac's eldest son, Uri, an idealistic 22-year-old army captain and engineer and the pride of the family, was killed on a volunteer

mission in the Sinai. Isaac and his wife, Hava, had denounced Israel's corrupt leadership and the rampant materialism that was undermining Israel's spiritual heritage. "When Jews leave the path and forget their prophetic destiny," Isaac warned—echoing the admonition of our rabbinical grandfather—"they find ways to bring about their own downfall."

Hava, the daughter of mercantile German immigrants, wanted new and younger leaders to take over the government, because "only then will the sacrifice of our firstborn begin to have any meaning for me."

In three subsequent visits to Jerusalem, where my ancestors—rabbis and scholars—had lived for seven generations, I learned that Hava continued to visit her son's grave every day. "I had wanted Uri to be perfect," she admitted, "not just good or very good, but perfect."

Isaac had accommodated himself to the rise of both secular and fundamentalist extremists and to the sharp rightward swing of the government's domestic and foreign policies. I sensed that coming to grips with the changes in Isaac and Hava would help me to understand the direction Israeli society had taken, and I welcomed the invitation to their home.

"You come here every four or five years, stay a few weeks, and expect to understand what is happening to us," Hava challenged me at once. "You talk to a few moderate Arabs and leftists in government, and that makes you an authority? I grew up with the Arabs, and I tell you that you can't trust them, not any of them. The only way is to keep them down, control them; as soon as they feel any weakness on your part, they will rise up and destroy you. That is how it is."

"This is a very different Israel we are living in," Isaac reflected, "from the one we knew before the '73 war with Egypt. Americans are the only allies we can trust. On all sides we are surrounded by enemies. The world has become a jungle, and everyone has to fend for himself. We have to sell arms for the foreign revenue, and also to renew our own arms stocks and keep them up to date. If Uri were alive, he would feel the same way."

"They all hate us," said Hava with a bitter tone. "We try our best to help the

underdeveloped countries, and then, when the Arabs come along with their petrodollars, they throw us out and turn against us, like the Africans did. Well, let them go. We will get by, by being just like them—only smarter."

Isaac then got up to play a tape of an antiwar song written by their surviving son, Yigal, who after Uri's death had moved to New York to study electronics.

"Take us to a place where there is no war," sang a chorus of children, against a background of synthesized music. "Take us to a place where there is no war, / And the guns don't open fire / And we can go out and all play ball, / We are not troops for hire."

"Yigal has started his own electronics firm," said Isaac, while the tape played on. "He has just returned from a trip to mainland China. He was invited by the government."

"To sell electronics?" I asked, taken aback.

"Yes, and other security-related products of his company," Hava said, head held high. "We are both very proud of him."

When I met with Yigal in New York he spoke listlessly of his trip to China and showed me pictures of himself at the Great Wall, next to a Chinese functionary. Although he had been spared the close combat that claimed Uri, Yigal still looks haunted by the ghost of his "perfect" older brother, and by the contradictions that govern his own life. When I congratulated him on his antiwar songs, which had received some attention, Yigal shrugged his shoulders. "Oh, that's just a hobby," he said.

I was to learn that Isaac and his son Yigal are typical of a growing number of prosperous Israeli families, including many of liberal backgrounds, who have become adepts of what Yoav Karny, a former correspondent for the centrist *Yediot Aharonot*, has called "the state religion of *Bithonism*," or High Security. This "religion" is upheld in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, by the ultranationalists who persistently bully critics of Defense Ministry policies into silence by calling them traitors, anti-Semites, or self-hating Jews.

One scholar who has not been silenced is Edy Kaufman, an Israeli of Argentine birth who is director of Hebrew University's prestigious Truman Research Institute and a represen-

tative of Amnesty International. Kaufman's extensive study of Israel's Latin American relations documents the long-standing bond between the young state and its allies in Latin America and reminds us that Israel's friends have not always been on the right. Thirteen Latin American states voted to tip the balance in favor of Israel's founding in 1948. Among the supporters of the partition plan, Kaufman reminds us, were four future presidents of Chile, including Salvador Allende. The current president, the entrenched ultraright General Augusto Pinochet, who was not one of the supporters, has nonetheless become Israel's arms-trading partner. Another friend of Israel's had been Fidel Castro; he often voiced admiration for Israeli know-how, which helped to develop Cuba's citrus industry.

Israel continued to send technical and agricultural aid to its Latin friends throughout the '60s, when the country became known for making deserts bloom and led the world in developing solar technology. But it was Africa's emerging nations that captured the Labor government's imagination as a fertile new market for Israeli technology. Israel established relations with 23 African heads of state—including Uganda's dictator, Idi Amin, who had risen to power with the aid of Israel's secret service, the Mossad. (The irascible Amin subsequently betrayed his ally, setting the stage for the remarkable Israeli rescue of hostages at the Entebbe airport.)

Selling To The Devils

■ The '73 war dimmed Israel's aura of invincibility and temporarily slowed the expansionism that followed the heady—and cheap—victory over Egypt in '67 and the occupation of East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. The profound trauma caused by Israel's 3,000 casualties in the Sinai and the Golan Heights was compounded by the defection of its African client states, as one after another severed relations under pressure from the oil-rich members of the Arab League. It was then that Castro also severed relations with Israel. As the African embassies shut down and experts and advisors came home, a hardened, cynical attitude took hold of Israeli foreign

policy—a realpolitik that views the Third World primarily in terms of exploitable resources.

An underlying premise of the new pragmatism is that Israel will not allow itself to be judged by special standards. After the Yom Kippur War in 1973, everything was permissible to ensure Israel's survival and its economic self-sufficiency. A hero of the new pragmatists is Ariel "Arik" Sharon, the former defense minister who in 1982 led his tanks all the way to the outskirts of Beirut, which helped precipitate the most severe military, political, and economic crisis in Israel's history. Another stalwart of the security zealots is Major General Rafael Eitan, "Raful," who brags of his goal to reduce Palestinians on the West Bank to "drugged cockroaches running around in a bottle."

After the rebuff by the African nations, Israel's ruling pragmatists adopted the line of least resistance toward economic self-sufficiency: the development and sale of sophisticated weapons. The focus turned once more to Israel's old friends in Latin America. Since the mid-'70s, about 50 to 60 percent of all Israeli arms exports have gone to 18 Latin American nations.

To counter the influence of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in left-leaning nations with sizable Arab populations like Brazil and Mexico, Israeli arms dealers and defense strategists looked toward countries with "stable" dictatorships, such as Haiti, Paraguay, and the Central American republics. But these shifts were purely tactical. Israel as arms merchant has maintained a chameleonlike role of being all things to as wide a spectrum of potential clients as possible. "We will do business with the devils as well as the angels" is the frequently heard phrase. But from the perspective of many concerned Latin Americans, the shift has clearly been to the devils.

Four years ago Ya'acov Meridor, then Israel's minister for economic planning, said publicly, "We will say to the Americans: Don't compete with us in Taiwan; don't compete with us in South Africa; don't compete with us in the Caribbean or in other places where you cannot sell arms directly. Let us do it.... Israel will be your intermediary."

The United States has taken Israel's offer at face value, most recently in persuading Israel to sell to the Nic-

araguan contras an array of Soviet-made PLO armaments that it captured in Lebanon.

Although the United Nations General Assembly resolution of 1981—condemning Zionism for the second time as "a form of racism and racial discrimination"—was provoked by the UN's powerful Islamic lobby, it was supported by a majority of Israel's Latin American clients. The vote served to further isolate Israel, but it also hardened its determination to make friends and sell arms wherever it could: whether to hardened dictators like Chile's Pinochet and Zaire's Mobutu; religious fanatics like the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran (an enemy of an enemy, Iraq's Saddam Hussein, and therefore a friend—by superpragmatist logic); democrats like Costa Rica's Alberto Monge and Peru's Belaúnde Terry; or even communist nations. Israel recently signed a reported \$3 billion package deal in arms and technical trade with the People's Republic of China.

Most surprising is that Israel has not balked at selling arms to regimes with proven records of anti-Semitism—most notably Argentina, where arms were provided to generals who jailed and tortured publisher Jacobo Timerman in front of a portrait of Adolf Hitler. Israel's timely delivery of updated Mirage aircraft, Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles, and other "smart" weaponry undoubtedly helped the Argentine junta to put up a stiffer fight against the British in the Falklands than its military prowess alone could have made possible.

In 1983 arms sales accounted for 16 percent of Israel's foreign revenue—the highest rate of any arms-exporting nation.

Israel averaged close to \$1 billion in annual military sales to 50 countries over the past three years. This figure may sound unimpressive when compared with sales by the larger industrial nations, but not when you compute it on a per capita basis. The country's defense establishment currently employs one-quarter of all Israeli industrial labor. In 1983, for example, arms sales accounted for 16 percent of Israel's total foreign revenue—the highest rate of any arms-exporting nation.

"Of course, the question of arms sales to repressive dictatorships poses serious ethical issues," admits popular Knesset member Yossi Sarid, who defected from the Labor party after the recent elections and joined the Citizens' Rights party. "I have tried to bring up resolutions in the Knesset and have raised Shimon Peres's consciousness on the dangers involved. But you have to understand: survival too is an ethical issue. The Israeli people are burdened with so many problems, the questions about arms sales do not have a high priority."

After a floor debate in which Sarid deplored Israel's having "abandoned the green route of agriculture for the red and bloody route of arms," Yigal Hurwitz, then a Likud member in the Knesset, remarked: "Your speeches, Yossi, are not salable on the foreign market; weaponry we can sell."

Bithonism's Priests

■ During my stay in Israel I discovered that the defense industry and its two principal arms, the Israel Military Industries and the Israel Aircraft Industries, have sealed themselves off behind an impenetrable screen of censorship and security. But some cracks have appeared in their defenses since the ruinously costly invasion of Lebanon, which was energetically backed by the hawks in the defense establishment.

During six weeks of tracking down recondite sources and interviewing figures on the fringes of the defense industry, I was struck by its almost total lack of accountability to the Knesset and most government ministries, not to mention private citizens. "They will lie to you, just as they lie to us," I was warned by Matti Peled, a member of the Knesset and former army general who now co-chairs the Progressive List for Peace.

Significantly, there is not a major figure in either the Labor or the Likud coalition who has not been pivotally involved in the sale of arms. Even Shimon Peres and Ezer Weizman, who represent relatively dovish positions in their respective constituencies, were instrumental, as former ministers of defense, in enlarging the scope of operations of the arms industry in Africa and

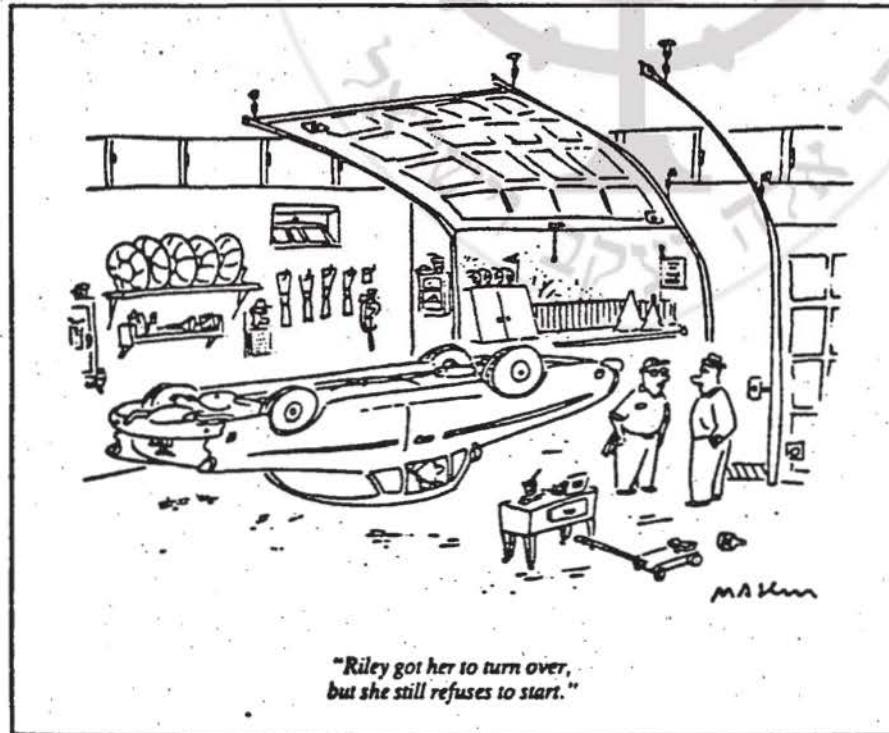
Latin America. Since he became prime minister, however, Peres has adopted a more cautious stance by, for instance, threatening to cut off arms sales to Iran, "because," he says "Shiites are now more dangerous than Iraq."

A growing number of highly placed Israelis, both civilian and military, show no qualms about acting as arms emissaries for notorious dictators. For example, Dov Tamari, a retired army general and a leading dove who opposed Likud policies on the West Bank and the war in Lebanon, is now reportedly a special security advisor to the Philippine military. Former Israeli ambassador to Haiti Rafael Bashan switched sides and became honorary consul general of Haiti in Israel, where he ably represented the interests of president for life Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier, another buyer of Israeli arms.

Equally disconcerting is the fact that supersalesmen like David Marcus Katz, Yacov Nimrodi, and Shlomo Zabludowitz are counted among the most respected men in Israel, untouched by the breath of scandal or the slightest opprobrium. As the roving nuncios of *Bithonism*, they have become an elite of fabulous wealth and influence, Israel's equivalent of Renaissance Italy's Borgias and Medicis.

David Marcus Katz, an orthodox Jew who began his ascent as a plastics manufacturer with contacts in the Mexican defense establishment, is now considered the "godfather" of Israeli arms merchants. His friendship with Anastasio Somoza, Jr., and intimacy with Israeli cabinet ministers made him an ideal middleman when Central America became a major market of the Israeli defense industry. It may have been Somoza who suggested that Katz act as his intermediary in acquiring Arava transports for counterinsurgency operations against the Sandinista rebels. Using his Mexico City plastics firm as a front, Katz has represented the Israel Aircraft Industries as well as 16 competing defense-related companies.

Katz's 15 percent commissions for arranging sales contacts with Central American strongmen like Guatemala's Lucas Garcia and Honduras's General Alvarez Martinez, as well as Somoza, have enriched Katz to the point where he has become one of the important underwriters of Gush Emunim, a sect of fundamentalist zealots whose aim is



to establish enough Jewish settlements on the West Bank to make the Israeli occupation an irreversible fact.

At the Ministry for Foreign Relations I met with Eliezer Armon, former Israeli ambassador to Peru and Guatemala. Armon, a career diplomat, was awarded Guatemala's Order of the Quetzal (Grand Cross) for his usefulness to the government of Lucas García. Armon admitted that "arms sales do not make us friends in Latin America" but insisted that Israel should not be judged any differently from, for example, France, which had also sold arms to Somoza and other dictators. "The extent of our arms transfers is exaggerated by our enemies," he said. "As to the reports of our sales to the Nicaraguan contras, officially I don't tell you yes and I don't tell you no; but personally I can assure you that it is not true. Of course, we have no control over what a third country might do with the arms we sell them."

"What happened to the policy of balancing arms sales with more agricultural and technical assistance," I asked him, "such as sharing your advances in solar technology and desert irrigation? And what happened to the cultural ties you maintained with Guatemala in the 1950s?"

"Of course, we are continuing with this type of aid," he replied testily. "Why, just last week the agriculture minister was sitting in front of me, and the culture minister is coming for a visit a few days from now. Look," he said, "we are not angels—but we are not devils either. [Foreign Minister] Yitzhak Shamir supported the Contadora negotiations. And our sales to Latin countries are less than those of enlightened nations like Switzerland and France, or, for that matter, Brazil, that emerging democracy. Why are they so high and mighty? The truth is, we are a very small arms exporter."

"Speaking personally," Armon said as an afterthought, "I wish our exports were 10 times, 20 times bigger. We need the revenue."

When I spoke with the first secretary at the Guatemalan embassy the following week, he informed me that no visit to Israel had been contemplated by the culture and education minister, and that the agriculture minister had canceled his trip after being dismissed two weeks earlier. The first secretary also verified

Israel's installation of a computerized intelligence system several years ago in the annex to Guatemala City's National Palace. By now that system is said to contain the names of 80 percent of the country's adult population.

One nucleus of opposition to the Defense Ministry's policies is the Israeli Committee of Solidarity with Nicaragua. When I attended one of its strategy meetings in a Jerusalem suburb, the doleful, dedicated members reminded me of the grimly determined cabal that gathered years ago in Buenos Aires's only vegetarian restaurant to scheme against right-wing carnivores. Nine of the ten committee members in attendance were Latin American émigrés, and the tenth belonged to a Communist splinter party.

In November the committee had staged a conference in Kibbutz Harel that was attended by about 50 participants, some of whom later raised questions in the Knesset about the long-term consequences of arms sales to dictatorial regimes.

"To the average Israeli, the ethical issues in arms sales to dictators simply do not exist," said Yvonne Mansbach, secretary of the committee and a Guatemalan by birth. "The typical Israeli knows the country is in desperate need of foreign currency, and arms sales are the quickest way to obtain it. And that's that."

High-Risk Venture

■ A major danger that has been pointed out by Israel's friends in the United States is the potential loss of support from the liberal Jewish community. The 63 percent of Jews who voted against Reagan might well represent the percentage of American Jews concerned by Israel's policies in Latin America and South Africa. That concern can only grow, as more and more repressive regimes are propped up in part by Israeli arms. The loss of American friends could more than offset—in real terms—the combined yearly revenues from arms sales, and there is some indication that this worries some Israeli policymakers, at least on the Labor side of the unity government.

Right-wing pragmatists, on the other hand, will continue to argue that whatever their political coloration, the small

nations of the Third World will continue to require arms, and that Israel can accommodate all of them.

Professor Aharon Klieman of Tel Aviv University, in a recently published book, *Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales as Diplomacy*, describes some of the perils that await an Israeli economy overdependent upon military sales. Klieman recalls that Israel's Likud government warned that arms sales should not exceed 25 percent of the total industrial exports, a figure that may already have been surpassed. Should there be a sharp decline in the market for armaments in the Third World—a very real possibility as arms stocks reach saturation levels—Israel's already shaky economy would suffer a catastrophic setback, with massive unemployment and a ruinously debased currency. Israel already has a foreign debt close to \$30 billion, which on a per capita basis of more than \$7,000 is the world's highest. Not even the massive U.S. aid or the boom in arm sales can pay for the costly wars, the proliferating settlements on the West Bank, or the years of economic mismanagement by both the Labor and the Likud governments.

At present, the only safeguard for Israel's military establishment seems to be the convergence of its interests with those of the United States. The more Israel becomes a surrogate for American interests in the Third World, the more striking become the parallels between the two defense establishments. Israel and the United States are currently collaborating in defense strategies in every Central American country. A secret agreement reportedly signed in 1981 allows many Third World countries to employ U.S. credit to purchase arms from Israel—a privilege extended to no other country. As its economy becomes increasingly dependent on this sort of U.S. underwriting, Israel's room for independent maneuver is bound to shrink. Plans for the new and hugely expensive Lavi fighter-bomber, for example, which some have dubbed Israel's "MX missile," call for large U.S. development loans and the installation of U.S.-made Pratt & Whitney engines, which will permit the United States to exercise a measure of control over the Lavi's maintenance as well as its sale to other countries.

Paradoxically, several of the ministers who formed part of the "High Pol-

icy Elite" that determines armaments policy have on occasion been the most eloquent in warning about the consequences of unrestricted arms sales. In 1979, then Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan wrote to Defense Minister Ezer Weizman of the uproar that would ensue if a representative of the Israeli arms industry were to be found lying dead next to Somoza in his own bunker.

Weizman, who as defense minister refused President Carter's request to cease arms sales to Somoza, has moderated his views since he left the Likud coalition. As minister without portfolio in the present government, Weizman speaks out for protecting the rights of Israel's Arab citizens and for a saner foreign policy.

Ironically, perhaps, it is the current defense minister, Yitzhak Rabin, who has been the most directly outspoken about the dangers of Israel's widening interventions abroad. In an article in *Yediot Aharonot* in late 1982, after then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon flew to Honduras, Rabin wrote: "Israel's military interference in Central America only complicates and damages her posi-

tion, her image and her interests with the few friends she has left. That's all we need."

One of the few journalists who have voiced a sense of urgency and frustration on this issue is Yoav Karny, the former *Yediot Aharonot* correspondent, who is probably the best-informed Israeli on arms sales to Africa. "Humane and progressive Zionism is being sold down the Congo, the Limpopo, and the Choluteca rivers," he wrote. In other articles, Karny has deplored the defense minister's "embracing of apartheid in broad daylight"—after the then South African Prime Minister John Vorster visited Jerusalem in 1976 to discuss economic and military cooperation between the two countries. Their collaboration in carrying out joint nuclear tests, in planning counterinsurgency strategies in Namibia, and in designing electric "security fences" has helped to make South Africa Israel's closest ally, second only to the United States. As the opposition to apartheid intensifies worldwide, the intricate linkages between the two countries are bound to come under closer scrutiny.

Amos Kenan—the prescient and respected author of two futuristic books about an Israel that becomes a prototype of the Oceania depicted in Orwell's novel *1984*—believes, nonetheless, that Israel has peaked as "a colonial power."

"The Israel spawned by Ben-Gurion is just about finished," he said when I met with him in his Tel Aviv flat. "The disaster in Lebanon has sealed its doom, and the last gasps are in Central America and South Africa, where it is dumping not only its obsolete weapons but outmoded strategies of colonization that failed on the West Bank—much as the U.S. dumps its outmoded and outlawed pharmaceuticals and pesticides in the Third World.

"From here, Israel can go in one of three directions: a fundamentalist state dominated by a Khomeini-like figure; an ultranationalist military state run by [Jan Ariel] Sharon or a Raful [Major General Rafael Eitan]; . . . or, something else could happen. Shimon Peres might steer the country out of its present perils by instituting the austerity measures that will make the economy viable again. And then a reformed hawk like Ezer Weizman could become prime minister with the backing of 20 key members of the Knesset and return Israel to its original destiny as an enlightened, liberal Zionist state with a unique part to play in the family of civilized nations."

Divine Justice

In Guatemala, at the cemetery in Chichicastenango two years ago, I spoke with some townspeople who were burying a relative killed by the military. When I asked if any of the mourners had gotten "involved" as a result of the killing, the grave digger replied: "Even if we wanted to join the guerrillas, where would we obtain arms? In church they tell us that divine justice is on the side of the poor; but the fact of the matter is, it is the military who get the Israeli guns."

*Victor Perera is coauthor, with Robert D. Bruce, of *The Last Lords of Palenque* and author of the forthcoming *Rites: A Guatemalan Boyhood*. Perera is a free-lance writer living and teaching in Santa Cruz, California.*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 7, 1985
to Area Directors and Executive Assistants
from George E. Gruen, Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs, IRD
subject Ads by American Arab Groups Against Foreign Aid to Israel

Various American Arab lobbying groups have been stepping up their campaign of ads opposing American aid to Israel. Earlier ads by the National Association of Arab Americans appeared in The Christian Science Monitor (Boston) and in papers in Michigan and Ohio, industrial areas of high unemployment. They often focused on the theme that aid to Israel was at the expense of help to unemployed Americans. The latest series of ads, by the Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), appeared in the Washington Post on June 4, 5 and 6. The full page ads all began with the banner headline "Should Congress give away almost \$5 billion each year for one foreign country's military build-up?" and they ended variously: "while older Americans worry about their future?" (June 4), "while America's family farms get plowed under?" (June 5), and "while young Americans worry about their academic future?" (June 6, 1985).

As you know, we have long tried to make the case that U.S. aid to Israel should not be viewed as charity, since obviously charity should begin at home, but that American aid to Israel strengthens American vital interests and should be regarded as part of our overall goal of promoting international peace and security.

In responding to opponents to aid to Israel the following points should be stressed:

In the war-torn, fanatical Middle East, Israel stands firmly as a bastion of freedom and democracy. American aid to Israel represents one percent of the U.S. defense budget and only about two percent of what the U.S. spends annually on the defense of our European NATO allies and Asia. But unlike NATO, Israel has never asked for American armed forces to be stationed on its soil. In a press conference in New York on October 10, 1984 Prime Minister Shimon Peres reiterated that Israel would continue to defend itself solely with its own personnel.

All Israel seeks is financial help in meeting its colossal defense burden, which in recent years has taken nearly one-third of the country's gross national product. As an example of the escalating cost of weaponry, Peres noted that in 1974 Israel purchased U.S. Phantom jets at a cost of \$4 million each; the F-15s and F-16s Israel is now purchasing to replace the Phantoms cost about \$40 million per plane. Meanwhile the Arab states, benefiting from the 15-fold

increase in oil prices from 1974 to 1983, have been purchasing massive quantities of arms. Saudi Arabian arms purchases in 1982 alone exceeded Israel's entire GNP. (If the Reagan Administration proceeds with its plans to sell additional sophisticated arms to Jordan and Saudi Arabia, this will add additional financial pressures on Israel to keep up in the arms race.)

U.S. support for a secure Israel helped to bring Egypt to the peace table. Steadfast American support for a viable and defensible Israel may finally convince other Arab states to respond to Israel's repeated offers of peace.

One should also point out that the U.S.-Israel relationship is a two-way street. The United States receives important tangible benefits from the relationship:

Maj. Gen. George Keagan, former chief of U.S. Air Force intelligence, has noted that "for every dollar of support which this country has given Israel, we have gotten a thousand dollars worth of benefits in return" - through access to captured Soviet equipment, Israeli technological breakthroughs and vital intelligence information. Noting the crucial role Israel plays in U.S. global strategy to counter Soviet expansionism and to defend the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East in particular, more than 130 retired U.S. generals and admirals in March 1983 urged President Reagan to "revitalize strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel." The defense establishments of the two countries have in fact established close cooperation over the past year in strategic planning, joint medical evacuation exercises, development of advanced electronic equipment and other defense measures.

Moreover, the fruitful cooperation between the two countries is not limited to the field of defense. U.S. aid also helps foster joint projects in such fields as solar energy, arid zone agriculture, and biomedical research, which benefit all humanity.

Aid to Israel does not contribute to unemployment. On the contrary, Israel is a significant consumer of American goods and buys virtually all its arms in the U.S. Some 60,000 American jobs are created for every billion dollars of U.S. assistance to Israel, according to Peter McPherson, director of the State Department's Agency for International Development.

The following additional points can be used specifically to assail the credibility and question the motives of the propaganda campaign by ADC and other Arab groups.

1). The ADC ads fail to mention that the U.S. government gives a greater amount of aid to Arab countries than to Israel. In Fiscal Year (FY) '84 Arab countries received \$3.4 billion while Israel received \$2.6 billion and in FY '85 Arab countries received \$3.1 billion compared to Israel's \$2.6 billion in aid. If ADC is so concerned about increasing social security, educational benefits and aid to farmers, then ADC should be calling also for a reduction in aid to the Arab countries.

2). ADC claims to be an organization committed to combatting anti-Arab discrimination in the United States. However, ADC has published vast amounts of anti-Israel literature with the goal of undermining support for Israel. In these ads, ADC is merely using the plight of depressed communities in the United States as a vehicle for anti-Israel propaganda.

3). ADC's ads are misleading. A decrease in aid to Israel would not guarantee a corresponding increase in education, social security benefits or aid to farmers. This is simply not the way the budget is designed; foreign aid and domestic spending are allocated in separate budgets.

4). ADC's true commitment is evident in its allies: Louis Farrakhan was the keynote speaker at the 1984 ADC annual convention. Serving on ADC's national advisory committee are two known supporters of the PLO, Professor Hisham Sharabi and Professor Edward Said.

5). In the past year, ADC has spent tremendous amounts of money on media outreach, glossy anti-Israel literature and massive mailings to members of Congress. Each full page ad in the Washington Post costs approximately \$30,000. Since the ADC claims a membership of only 9,000, one is led to wonder who is really financing this expensive anti-Israel propaganda campaign.

Please send us copies of ads that appear in your area as well as any responses that are published.

E057/IRD-3
85-580-22
June 1985/smm

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 12, 1985
to Area Directors & Executive Assistants
from Washington Office
subject Middle East Events

While public attention is focusing on the possible developments in the Middle East peace process stemming from King Hussein's and Prime Minister Peres' proposals, our attention must also be focused on two legislative developments concerning Israel.

1. Arms Sale to Jordan: The attached letter from Howard Friedman and Leo Nevas was sent to the 70 co-sponsors of the Kennedy-Heinz resolution, which calls for no weapon sales to Jordan until it enters direct peace negotiations with Israel. You may wish to send similar, but not identical, letters to your area's Senators.
2. Foreign Aid Bill: The House is likely to vote on a bill within the next several days. This important measure provides \$3.0 billion in aid to Israel. Some of our friends on the Hill, traditional supporters of foreign aid, may hesitate to support this year's bill because it may contain language and funds supporting the democratic resistance/"contras" in Nicaragua. AJC has taken no position concerning the situation in Nicaragua, but we are in favor of final passage of the foreign aid bill whichever way the "contra" issue is determined.

Please convey our concerns to your respective members of Congress. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call. As always, please share any correspondence you receive with our office.

NOTE: George Gruen's memo to the field of June 7th concerning the current Arab-American campaign against foreign aid to Israel provides useful argumentation in favor of U.S. aid to Israel.

HK:CH

85-550-55



The American Jewish Committee

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

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

June 11, 1985

address
address
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator

On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, we would like to express appreciation to you for joining with the more than two-thirds of the Senate in urging President Reagan to withhold new arms shipments to Jordan "under present conditions in which Jordan continues to oppose the Camp David peace process."

While every possible avenue for resuming the peace process must be seriously examined, including some of the recent proposals by King Hussein and Prime Minister Shimon Peres, it would not advance that process to sell sophisticated, lethal war material to Jordan unless and until it engages in direct peace negotiations with Israel. There are far more constructive ways for the U.S. to demonstrate to those who would seek to undermine the peace process that the U.S. remains firmly committed to Jordan and its other friends in the region.

It is our hope that the Senate resolution with its impressive sponsorship will persuade the Administration to take no action now on the Jordanian requests.

Sincerely,

Leo Nevas, Chairman
International Relations Commission

Howard I. Friedman, President
The American Jewish Committee

LN:HF:aw

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DAVID F. SQUIRE, Boston; RICHARD L. WEISS, Los Angeles ■

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 13, 1985
to Carol Buglio
from George E. Gruen
subject AJC Support for Israel

In response to your telephone request for information to respond to the concern of one of your members that AJC has not been supportive of Israel, I am enclosing a variety of materials-- statements, articles, backgrounders, reports of conferences-- all of which we have prepared in the past year and which I think make it abundantly clear that we have been very active in support of Israel.

This does not mean that we automatically agree with every nuance of every Israel Government position. We have, for example, joined with other American Jewish groups to oppose a change in Israel's Law of Return which would have invalidated conversions by Conservative and Reform rabbis in the United States. In the end our position was one endorsed by Prime Minister Peres. With regard to the peace process, you will note that our position is quite substantially in agreement with that of the Peres Government. In addition to our vigorous support of aid to Israel, we have also helped testify in favor of the Israel-U.S. Free Trade agreement and through some of our chapters, such as Philadelphia, have directly sponsored efforts to bring together American and Israeli companies for joint ventures. We also testified in support of moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem.

Finally, I am enclosing some materials that relate to other of our Middle East concerns, e.g. the kidnapping of Jewish leaders in Lebanon, the plight of Syrian Jewry, as well as our efforts to improve intergroup relations within Israel itself, witness our work with the International Sephardic Education Foundation. I am enclosing the program of the Conference on Ashkenazi-Sephardi Relations in Israel which we hosted here yesterday, and which many of the 70 participants told me afterwards was a most useful contribution to clarifying the problems and seeking solutions.

Please keep me informed on the success of your efforts to interpret our activities on behalf of Israel.

✓cc: Marc Tanenbaum
Eugene DuBow/Shula Bahat
David Gordis



memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 14, 1985

to Area Directors

from Sonya F. Kaufer

subject

The attached op-ed speaks for itself.

I appreciate the clips that have arrived in recent weeks, and hope you will keep them coming. A reminder: since the purpose is both to present a point of view and to provide visibility for the AJC it would help if the signers of letters to the editor identified themselves as officers of your local AJC chapter.

Regards.



sfk/dr
att.
85-965-28

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE **VIEWPOINT**

INFORMATION AND OPINION TO PONDER AND SHARE
PUBLICATIONS SERVICE

SONYA KAUFER, Director

THE SUPREME COURT SAYS IT AGAIN

The recent Supreme Court ruling striking down Alabama's law requiring a moment of silence for "meditation or voluntary prayer" in public classrooms is good for religion and a victory for the Constitutional protections against government intrusion in religious affairs. In ruling that the Alabama statute was unconstitutional, the Court did not forbid children to pray silently at school. Americans, children and adults alike, are free to do that any time and any place, and need no government permission. In the Alabama case, the Court found that the law was designed expressly to encourage religious practice -- which, as the Constitution makes clear, is not the proper business of the state.

This country's Founding Fathers, who had experienced the dangers of mixing government authority and personal creed, determined to keep the state at arm's length from religious faith and practice. The safeguards they wrote into the Constitution assured Americans of all faiths the freedom to practice their religion according to the dictates of their own conscience, without the prodding or discouragement of officialdom at any level. And that, said the U.S. Supreme Court, is how it must remain.



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



165 East 65th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
212-PL1-4000

from the desk of:

GARY RUBIN
Deputy Director of National Affairs

TO: Marc Tannenbaum

For Your Information —

Remarks:

Here is the Wingspread
Program you requested.
Mine having the tapes
run off. Please let me
know if we can do
anything else for you.

— Gary

WINGSPREAD



THE JOHNSON FOUNDATION
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RELIGIOUS PLURALISM IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

sponsored by

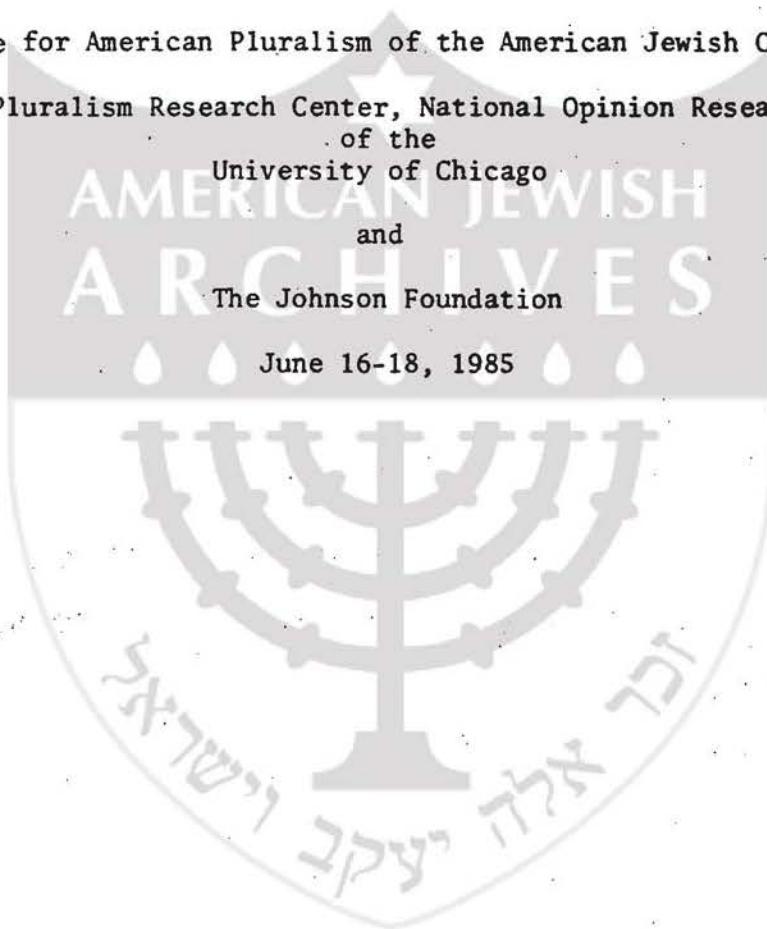
Institute for American Pluralism of the American Jewish Committee

Cultural Pluralism Research Center, National Opinion Research Center,
of the
University of Chicago

and

The Johnson Foundation

June 16-18, 1985



STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Authorities and spokespersons from various traditions and perspectives meet at Wingspread to address the moral, legal and social issues connected with the relationship of religion and public affairs. The purpose of the conference is to identify and clarify these issues and to contribute to our understanding of the prerequisites for a free and pluralistic society.



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



WE REQUEST THAT THERE BE NO SMOKING IN THE PLENARY SESSIONS.

UNLESS A REQUEST IS MADE TO THE CONTRARY, PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS IN THE PLENARY SESSIONS ARE TAPE RECORDED.

PROGRAM

Sunday, June 16, 1985

6:00 p.m. Hospitality

6:30 p.m. Dinner will be served

7:30 p.m. Plenary Session

Terrace Room

Welcome to Wingspread

RICHARD KINCH
Program Associate
The Johnson Foundation

Opening Addresses:

Chair:

THEODORE ELLENOFF
Chair
Board of Governors
American Jewish Committee
New York, New York

Religious Pluralism in the United States

CHARLES M. WHELAN, S.J.
Professor of Law
Fordham Law School
New York, New York

JAMES E. WOOD, JR.
Simon and Ethel Bunn Professor and Director
J. M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies
Baylor University
Waco, Texas

DAVID M. GORDIS
Executive Vice President
American Jewish Committee
New York, New York

9:30 p.m. Adjournment

At the hotel - The Presidential Suite (Room 134)
will be available for conference participants who
wish to join in informal conversation.

Monday, June 17, 1985

9:00 a.m. Plenary Session

Monday, June 17, 1985 (continued)

Nature of Pluralism in America

Chair:

ROBIN W. LOVIN

Associate Professor of Ethics and Society
The Divinity School
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

WILLIAM C. McCREADY

Director

Cultural Pluralism Research Center
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

GWENDOLYN BAKER

Executive Director

National Board

YWCA of the USA

New York, New York

HAROLD J. ABRAMSON

Professor

Department of Sociology
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

10:30 a.m. Coffee and tea will be served

10:45 a.m. Plenary Session

Religion and Education

Chair:

DAVID SEELEY

Author

Education Through Partnership

Staten Island, New York

MICHAEL D. USDAN

President

Institute for Educational Leadership
Washington, D.C.

DENIS P. DOYLE

Director

Education Policy Studies

American Enterprise Institute

Washington, D.C.

Monday, June 17, 1985 (continued)

HARRIET TYSON-BERNSTEIN
Director
Project on Textbooks
Council of Chief State School Officers
Washington, D.C.

12:15 p.m. Hospitality
12:30 p.m. Luncheon will be served
1:30 p.m. Plenary Session

Religion and Politics

Chair:
EDWARD HAMBURG
Assistant Professor
Department of Political Science
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

DICK CLARK
Senior Fellow
Aspen Institute
Washington, D.C.

ROBERT SALISBURY
Souers Professor of American Government
Department of Political Science
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

JOHN R. PETROCIK
Professor
Department of Political Science
University of California-Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California

3:00 p.m. Refreshments will be served
3:15 p.m. Plenary Session

Family Policy and Religious Issues

Chair:
WILLIAM V. D'ANTONIO
Executive Officer
American Sociological Association
Washington, D.C.

CAROL STACK
Director
Center for the Study of the Family and the State
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Monday, June 17, 1985 (continued)

SUSAN HARDING
Associate Professor of Anthropology
Department of Anthropology and the
Residential College
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

HOWARD BAHR
Professor of Sociology
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah

5:30 p.m. Hospitality

6:00 p.m. Dinner will be served

7:00 p.m. Plenary Session

Evening Address:

Chair:
RABBI A. JAMES RUDIN
Director
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
New York, New York

MARTIN E. MARTY
Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished
Service Professor
The Divinity School
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

9:30 p.m. Adjournment

At the hotel - The Presidential Suite (Room 134)
will be available for conference participants who
wish to join in informal conversation.

Tuesday, June 18, 1985

9:00 a.m. Plenary Session

Case Studies of Religious Pluralism Disputes

Moderator:
KENNETH WOODWARD
Senior Writer and Religion Editor
Newsweek Magazine
New York, New York

Tuesday, June 18, 1985 (continued)

JEAN LAWSON STONE
Former Mayor of Scarsdale
Scarsdale, New York

JOSEPH K. HAGGERTY
School Director
Bethel Park, Pennsylvania

KATHLEEN N. STRAUS
Associate Executive Director for
State and Federal Relations
Lansing, Michigan

11:00 a.m. Coffee and tea will be served

11:15 a.m. Plenary Session

Conclusions

GARY E. RUBIN
American Jewish Committee
New York, New York

WILLIAM C. McCREADY

Hospitality

12:30 p.m. Luncheon will be served

1:30 p.m. Conference Adjourns

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Harold J. Abramson
Professor
Department of Sociology
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

Howard Bahr
Professor of Sociology
Brigham Young University
842 SWKT
Provo, Utah 84602

Gwendolyn Baker
Executive Director
National Board
YWCA of the USA
726 Broadway
New York, New York 10003

Marilyn Braverman
Director of Education
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dick Clark
Senior Fellow
Aspen Institute
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

William V. D'Antonio
Executive Officer
American Sociological Association
1722 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Denis P. Doyle
Director
Education Policy Studies
American Enterprise Institute
1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Gloria Revilla Doyle
Research Analyst
110 Summerfield Road
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

Theodore Ellenoff
Chair
Board of Governors
American Jewish Committee
551 Fifth Avenue, 24th Floor
New York, New York 10017

Edna Selan Epstein
Partner
Sidley and Austin
One First National Plaza, Suite 2800
Chicago, Illinois 60603

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

Joseph K. Haggerty
Director
Bethel Park School District
6042 Ramsgate Drive
Bethel Park, Pennsylvania 15102

Edward Hamburg
Assistant Professor
Department of Political Science
University of Illinois at Chicago
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

Susan Harding
Associate Professor of Anthropology
Department of Anthropology and the
Residential College
University of Michigan-Ann Arbor
One Washington Square Village, 8L
New York, New York 10012

Jane Hood
Associate Director
Illinois Humanities Council
618 South Michigan
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Haskel Levi
Research Associate
School of Social Service Administration
University of Chicago
969 East 60th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Jonathan Levine
Midwest Regional Director
American Jewish Committee
55 East Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Robin W. Lovin
Associate Professor of Ethics
and Society
The Divinity School
University of Chicago
Swift Hall
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Martin E. Marty
Fairfax M. Cone Distinguished
Service Professor
The Divinity School
University of Chicago
1025 East 58th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

William C. McCready
Director
Cultural Pluralism Research Center
University of Chicago
969 East 56th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

John McDermott
Director of Urban Affairs
Illinois Bell
30th Floor, A.
225 East Randolph Street
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Midge Miller
Chairperson
Madison Institute
213 DuRose Terrace
Madison, Wisconsin 53705

Reverend Ronald Modras
Professor of Theology
St. Louis University
Member, Advisory Committee
Catholic-Jewish Relations
National Council of Catholic Bishops
St. Louis University
3634 Lindell Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

John R. Petrocik
Professor
Department of Political Science
University of California-Los Angeles
Los Angeles, California 90024

Reverend John E. Pollard
Executive Director
Center for Church-State Studies
DePaul University
25 East Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Samuel Rabinovitz
Legal Director
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

David Roth
National Ethnic Liaison
American Jewish Committee
Suite 1880
55 East Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Gary E. Rubin
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Rabbi A. James Rudin
Director
Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Robert Salisbury
Souers Professor of American Government
Department of Political Science
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

David Seeley
Author
Education Through Partnership
66 Howard Avenue
Staten Island, New York 10301

Carol Stack
Director
Center for the Study of the Family
and the State
Duke University
4875 Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina 27706

Jean Lawson Stone
Former Mayor of Scarsdale
16 Heathcote Road
Scarsdale, New York 10583

Kathleen N. Straus
Associate Executive Director for
State and Federal Relations
421 West Kalamazoo Street
Lansing, Michigan 48933

Harriet Tyson-Bernstein
Director
Project on Textbooks
Council of Chief State School
Officers
400 North Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Michael D. Usdan
President
Institute for Educational
Leadership
1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Charles M. Whelan, S.J.
Professor of Law
Fordham Law School
106 West 56th Street
New York, New York 10019

Edward Wojtkowski
President
Polish American Congress
Wisconsin Division
1801 South 12th Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53204

James E. Wood, Jr.
Simon and Ethel Bunn Professor and Director
J. M. Dawson Institute of Church-State
Studies
Baylor University
Box 380
Waco, Texas 76798

Kenneth Woodward
Senior Writer and Religion Editor
Newsweek Magazine
444 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

The Johnson Foundation Staff

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President

Richard Kinch
Program Associate

Rita Goodman
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Public Information and Program Extension

Kay Mauer
Conference Coordinator



The American Jewish Committee

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Howard I. Friedman, President • 1600 One Wilshire Building, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017 • 213/629-0274

June 17, 1985

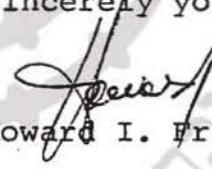
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

I thought you ought to see the enclosed material
from Tom Kahn.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,


Howard I. Friedman

HIF:JA
Enclosures

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President ■ WILLIAM S. TROSTEN, Acting Director
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125 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10004

May 29, 1985

Mr. Howard I. Friedman,
Loeb & Loeb,
One Wilshire Building,
Los Angeles, California 90017.

Dear Howard:

Enclosed please find a copy of a report summarizing my meetings with various U.S. embassy officials and Jewish leaders in Prague and Budapest. Before drafting the report, I decided that it would be most useful if the report attempted simply to provide a summary of statements made by the various individuals with whom I met. As a result, none of the statements in the report should necessarily be construed to reflect my personal opinions.

I hope that you find the report to be of some use. If you have any questions, please feel free to call me.

Sincerely,

Tay
Thomas S. Kahn
Attorney-at-law

Howard -
I look forward to
having lunch with you when you
have some free time!
FSA

REPORT BY THOMAS S. KAHN OF VISITS TO PRAGUE
AND BUDAPEST
FROM APRIL 19 TO APRIL 26, 1985

Note: As a condition to my speaking with U.S. embassy officials in Prague and Budapest, I was asked to promise that all statements made by embassy officials are to be held in confidence and are exclusively for the internal use of American Jewish organizations.

A. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I. Meetings with U.S. Embassy Officials

a. Comments of Ambassador William Leurs

In general, the condition of the Jewish community is "miserable". There is little sense of Jewish community or Jewish religion in Czechoslovakia. There is no synagogue or rabbi in Koschita; Bratislava has a Jewish community but no rabbi; Presha has a synagogue, but no rabbi. Although the Government discriminates against Jews who are religious, the Government also discriminates against observant Czechs of other religions. There is little discrimination against Jews who are not religious.

U.S.-Czech relations are "cool to bad" because of: (1) serious human rights violations in Czechoslovakia; and (2) the Czech government's absolute obedience to the USSR. There is little likelihood of improved relations in the near future between the U.S. and Czechoslovakia. In the Ambassador's view, an improvement in U.S.-Czech relations depends on an improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations. The "Precious Legacy" exhibition did not improve official relations between the United States and Czechoslovakia, although expanded cultural exchanges certainly do no harm to U.S.-Czech relations.

As an aside, the Ambassador mentioned that he attended a reception in honor of Rabbi David Mayer (rabbi of Prague, Moravia and Bohemia) after the Rabbi's wedding this year to demonstrate that the Ambassador maintains personal contact with Jewish leaders.

b. Comments of Thomas L. Delare, Second Secretary and Vice Counsel

The Czech Jewish community is old, small and largely assimilated. Jews who are not religious are treated no differently than gentiles who are not religious. Religious observance, not anti-Semitism, is generally the basis of discrimination. If any Czech is religious, it is almost impossible to gain admission to a university or obtain a good job.

c. Comments of Judith Dean, Second Secretary

Young Jews have told Ms. Dean that they feel Dr. Gaalsky (the head of the Czech Jewish Community) makes too many compromises with the authorities, but she believes that the upcoming programs that Rabbi Mayer has planned for young people, such as educational and cultural events, might help address their complaints.

Catholics who go to church are treated worse than Jews who go to synagogue since Catholicism represents more of a threat than Judaism to the Government. Ms. Dean believes that it may be more difficult for religious Czechs to gain admission to a university or obtain jobs. The Government has banned the Jehovah's Witness religion.

Ms. Dean believes that there probably are no Jews high in the Government or the Party; however, in Bratislava, the Deputy Mayor is a Jew. There are a disproportionate number of Jews in academia and the arts in Czechoslovakia relative to the percentage of Jews in the total population. In Ms. Dean's view, increased U.S.-Czech cultural exchanges could improve U.S.-Czech governmental relations.

II. Meeting with Jewish Community Leaders

a. Comments of Rabbi David Mayer, Rabbi of Prague, Moravia and Bohemia, and Dr. Desider Gaalsky, President of Czech Jewish Community

General Comments on
Jewish Community in Czechoslovakia

In Prague, 1,200 Jews are officially registered with the Community Organization. The total

Jewish population of Prague is 4,000 to 5,000. In the whole country, 6,000 Jews are registered with the Community, and the total Jewish population equals approximately 17,000. Many Jews who are registered with the Community Organization are not believers, but the Community is the only Jewish organization for them to join. Thus, if they have a desire to "identify" as Jews, they must register with the Community. Sixteen Czech cities have organized Jewish communities. Rabbi Mayer is the rabbi for Prague, Moravia and Bohemia. The Rabbi of Prague prior to Rabbi Mayer was Rabbi Feder who died in 1970. There is also a rabbi in Koschita who is 70 years old.

Officially, the Jewish Community Organization provides no cultural programs since it is a "religious" organization. Notwithstanding the above fact, the Community Organization still does offer some cultural programs. Recently, the Community held a cultural evening in honor of Franz Kafka which 500 people attended. On May 5th, in honor of the 40th Anniversary of the end of World War II, the Community held a function at which Jewish and non-Jewish artists performed.

All believers in the country, whether or not Jewish, face the same problem. It is more difficult for them to hold jobs in positions where they may be able to "influence" other people. For example, it is more difficult for believers to become teachers or journalists. However, believers can become architects, doctors or artists. There is relatively little discrimination in Czechoslovakia against Jews who are not religious.

The most serious problem facing the Jewish Community is that it is small and generally old. Only eight to ten young Czech Jews attend synagogue on a weekly basis. 120 to 150 young Czech Jews attend synagogue on the High Holy Days and go to Jewish cultural events on a regular basis. In the last three years, three Bar Mitzvahs and four Jewish weddings have been held in Prague. Six to seven synagogues exist in the whole country. The Jewish Community has good relations with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

Jewish Emigration from Czechoslovakia

The level of Jewish emigration from Czechoslovakia is very low. It is somewhat easier for Jews than gentiles to emigrate since many Jews have relatives in foreign countries. If a Jew has no family in Israel, it is almost impossible to go there legally. A retired Jew can visit the U.S. if he has a friend or relative in the United States. In general, there are two ways for a Czech Jew to go to Israel: (1) the official way -- apply for permission to go to Israel (this is very difficult); or (2) the unofficial way -- apply for a visa to go to Austria or another western country and then go to Israel. The second way is much easier than the first.

New Programs Being Provided to the Czech Jewish Community

1. Starting in June twice a month, on Thursday afternoons, Rabbi Mayer will discuss Jewish culture, history and religion (but not the State of Israel) with interested Prague Jews.
2. Starting in September, Rabbi Mayer will give a Bible and religion class for school children after the regular school program.

How Rabbi Mayer and Dr. Gaalsky Believe the American Jewish Community Can Assist Czech Jews

1. Encourage more Jews from the U.S. and other western countries to visit Prague.
2. Purchase a video tape machine for the Jewish Community. It currently has videotapes but no machine.
3. Encourage the publication of positive newspaper articles in American newspapers stating that there is a small but active Jewish community in Czechoslovakia which is trying to preserve the tradition of Czech Jews. The articles should state that the Government has been spending a great deal of money to build Jewish museums and preserve Jewish establishments such as the synagogues and the cemeteries. The articles

could explain that the Government is doing this not only to build tourist attractions but also because the Government believes that Jewish culture is an important part of Czech culture. In the Government's view, it is impossible to understand the history of Czechoslovakia without understanding the history of Czech Jews. The Czech Government makes a distinction between the observance of the Jewish religion which it opposes, and the granting of recognition to Czech Jewish history which it supports.

4. Rabbi Mayer would like an invitation from an official American Jewish organization to come to the U.S. The invitation should make clear that the organization will pay for all of his transportation and travel costs.

B. HUNGARY

I. Meetings with U.S. Embassy Officials

a. Comments of Ambassador Nicholas M. Salgo

The general condition of Hungarian Jews is very good. The Hungarian Jewish community does not face any major problems. Members of the community have complete access to the United States Embassy and a number of Hungarian Jews come to his home on a frequent basis.

Israeli-Hungarian Relations

There is a slow but pragmatic improvement in the relations between Hungary and Israel. Hungarians have taken trips to Israel and Israelis can obtain Hungarian visas just like citizens of other western countries.^{1/} Travel by Hungarians to

^{1/} It may be interesting to note that I met four Israeli businessmen at the Budapest Hilton Hotel who were negotiating the sale of Israeli chemicals to Hungary.

Israel is treated by the Hungarian Government the same as travel to any other western country. The Ambassador stated it was critical that there be no articles in the news media concerning Israeli-Hungarian relations. Such articles could antagonize the Soviet Union or Arab nations resulting in Arab or Soviet pressure against Hungary to end its contacts with Israel.

How Ambassador Salgo Believes the American Jewish Community Can Assist Hungarian Jews

To aid Hungarian Jews, it would be useful to promote cultural and student exchanges between Hungary and the United States. Newspaper articles or op-ed pieces concerning Hungarian Jews certainly cannot hurt the condition of Hungarian Jews if the articles are written in a positive manner. The tone of such articles should reflect the fact that government relations with the Jewish Community, in general, are very good. However, the articles could provide examples of specific steps the Hungarian Government should take to improve the conditions of Hungarian Jews.

b. Comments of John Menzies, Officer of the U.S. Information Agency

Mr. Menzies believes that the Hungarian Government very much needs and would welcome more cultural exchanges with the United States. If American Jewish organizations were able to facilitate Hungarian cultural exchanges with the United States, the Hungarian Government would see this as an important positive act of good will by American Jews. It is very important to the Hungarian Government that more Hungarian cultural exhibits be displayed in the United States. The United States sends cultural exhibits to Hungary but it is very difficult for Hungary to send cultural exhibits to the United States, in part because of the expense of museum space. The Hungarian Government has threatened to eliminate U.S. cultural exchanges to Hungary unless the U.S. accepts Hungarian cultural exhibits.

Mr. Menzies also believes it would be useful to increase the number of student exchanges with the University of Budapest as well as with the University of Pecs and the University of Szeged.

U.S.I.A. can arrange as many student exchanges as outside financing will permit. Mr. Menzies approached Brandeis University to obtain three fellowships for Hungarian students. One student was accepted and will be starting at Brandeis next fall. Both Brandeis University and the Sords Foundation will be paying the student's tuition. (The address of the Sords Foundation is 330 West 58th Street, attention: Maria Lonya.)

II. Meetings with Jewish Community Leaders

a. Comments of Dr. Lazlo Salgo, Chief Rabbi of Hungary, President of Hungarian Rabbinical Conference, Member of Hungarian Parliament

Conditions facing Jews in Hungary are very good. They have no problems whatsoever. (I should note that I observed that Dr. Salgo did not appear in good health -- an observation which was later confirmed to me by a statement made by a member of the Jewish community.)

b. Comments of Dr. Alfred Schoner, Director of Budapest Rabbinate and Professor at Jewish Seminary, and with Dr. George Landesmann, Professor at Jewish Seminary

General Background Information

Currently, there are 80,000 to 100,000 Jews living in Hungary. The majority of them are old. Some anti-Semitism does exist but it is much more prevalent among uneducated Hungarians. A Jewish secondary school, a Jewish restaurant, a Jewish butcher, and a Jewish newspaper all operate.

Problems Facing Jewish Community

1. Dohany Synagogue has been closed for several months because the ceiling is falling in. During the last High Holy Days, 6,000 Jews attended services at the synagogue. If the synagogue remains closed this would represent a very serious problem for the Jewish community. About \$50,000 is needed for immediate repairs of the synagogue which would permit it to reopen on a temporary basis. However, \$10,000,000, in total, is needed to make long-term repairs to the synagogue.

2. The Jewish population is mainly old and is dying out. Young Hungarian Jews are losing their Jewish identity and becoming more and more assimilated.

3. More money should be given to Hungarian Jewish groups, particularly those which provide assistance to elderly Jews.

4. Old Hungarian Jews still suffer horrible psychological scars from the Holocaust.

How Dr. Schoner and Dr. Landesmann
Believe the American Jewish
Community Can Assist Hungarian Jews

1. Help raise money for reconstruction of the Dohany Synagogue and for various Hungarian Jewish organizations.

2. Encourage greater U.S.-Hungarian cultural and educational exchanges.

3. Encourage positive newspaper articles about the conditions of Jews in Hungary which would also mention some specific ways that the Hungarian Government could improve their status.

c. Comments of Dr. Geza Seifert, Secretary-General of Central Board of Hungarian Jews

In general, the status of the Hungarian Jewish community is very good. The only major problem facing the community is that the major synagogue in Budapest has been closed for the last several months because the ceiling is falling in. Approximately \$40,000 is needed immediately to make the minor repairs necessary to open the synagogue now. \$10 million will be necessary in order to make needed long-term repairs for the synagogue.

850624

June 28, 1985

Ambassador Robert Oakley, Director
Task Force on Counter-Terrorism
Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ambassador Oakley,

I very much appreciate having had the opportunity to discuss with you over the telephone last week the present difficult hostage situation in Beirut. It was extremely helpful for me to have the benefits of your insights.

Enclosed please find some materials which comment on one aspect of that unfortunate situation.

In light of our Government's announced intention to mobilize an effective counteraction to international terrorism, I would welcome an early opportunity to discuss with you an idea for building a constituency for this important undertaking among key segments of the American citizenry.

I know how heavy the current pressures are on you, and I certainly respect your urgent priorities. But whenever time allows, I am prepared to come to Washington, in order to present this proposal to you. I want to be as helpful as I possible can be to you and our Government and this might be a modest contribution in that direction.

With every good wish, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations Department

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

Stewardess got 'bum rap'

"A BUM rap" is how a leading Jewish spokesman yesterday described reports that stewardess Uli Derickson helped pick hostages with "Jewish sounding names" for TWA Flight 847's hijackers.

The FBI, which interviewed freed passengers from the plane, called Miss Derickson a heroine.

Seven leaders of major Jewish groups released a statement in the name of the National Jewish Community Relations Council that said:

"We have no reason to believe that the TWA crew comported themselves in anything less than a professional, courageous and exemplary manner."

Rabbi Marc Tannen-

baum, in a weekly radio commentary to be aired tomorrow, said:

"Reports that this German-born flight attendant singled out 'Jewish-sounding' names of the American hostages and handed them over to the fanatic Shiite hijackers" are "a non-issue."

"We are persuaded that [she] has gotten a bum rap."

The reports were based on a news conference, where questions flew rapidly and sometimes overlapped.

A statement issued yesterday by FBI assistant director William Baker said:

"Uli Derickson was found to have absolutely no complicity with the hijackers".



ULI DERICKSON
A "heroine" to FBI

THE NEW YORK POST, SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1985



His Eminence
Jan Cardinal Willebrands, President
Vatican Secretariat for Religious Relations with the Jews
Via del Erbe
Vatican City

Your Eminence:

As indicated in our communication to you of 17 June, IJCIC and its member agencies hereby offer a more systematic response to the "Notes" than was possible to send by cable. We had hoped that the publication of the "Notes" might be delayed pending mutual discussion and dialogue on the substance and wording of the document. Our public response to the publication of the "Notes" will of necessity, reflect the feelings expressed herein.

We believe there is much of value in the Notes. The sections on the Jewish Roots of Christianity, the Jews in the New Testament, the Liturgy and Judaism and Christianity in History are, for the most part, helpful clarifications which address and correct a number of lingering misconceptions. Such sensitive areas as: the hostile references to the Jews in the New Testament, Jesus' relations with the Pharisees, and with basic pharasaic beliefs, recognition of the "continuous spiritual fecundity" of the Jewish people from the rabbinical period to modern times are handled in scholarly fashion and with delicacy. The commitment to religious liberty and the continuing concern about anti-Semitism are reassuring.

At the same time, we find that many of the formulations in the Notes represent a retreat from earlier Catholic statements such as the 1975 Vatican Guidelines and the declarations of the French, German, Brazilian and United States bishops' conferences. The Notes declare that "respect for the other as he is" is "the fundamental condition of dialogue." (Notes, para. 4 citing Guidelines I) However, the document itself reflects little recognition of how Jews conceive of themselves.

The Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel are absolutely crucial aspects of contemporary Jewish existence. The Notes however are totally inadequate in providing Catholics with sufficient guidelines on how to teach, preach and understand these major events that have so decisively shaped the way Jews define themselves.

Para. 25 is a particularly glaring example of this inadequacy. There it is baldly stated that the existence of Israel should not be "envisioned" in a religious perspective, but rather the Jewish State must be perceived by "common principles of international law." Even within this narrow frame of reference, nothing is said about Israel's right to exist or of the justice of her cause. Modern Israel is emptied of any possible religious significance for Christians. Even Israel's profound religious significance for Jews -- surely the paramount fact to be considered in any document that purports to instruct Christians about Jews and Judaism -- is mentioned in such recondite fashion as to be unrecognizable.

Equally grievous is the vague, passing and almost gratuitous reference to "the extermination during the years 1939-1945." (para. 25) The absence of a strong statement on the Holocaust is particularly disturbing.

Your eminence, we do not expect the Roman Catholic Church to accept for itself the religious significance that the State of Israel has for Jews. We do not find objectionable the argument that the political options of the State of Israel should be discussed in the context of both international law and international politics. But surely some empathy for Jewish feelings regarding the Holocaust and the significance of the State of Israel could appear in the Notes without compromising the Church's position on these issues. Your own Cardinal Bea Memorial Lecture, delivered at the Westminster Cathedral Conference Center in March, reflects exactly that empathy and understanding:

"In this connection Jewish sensibilities should be respected and cared for, although they may not enter into our normal perspectives. I shall name only two here: the recent history of Jewish suffering during the Nazi persecution, and the Jews' commitment to and concern for the land of Israel; this concern is political or secular but also, for many, religious. It belongs, I believe, to an exercise of Christian charity towards one's own brother, with whom we are seeking reconciliation for offences which are very real, not to gloss over this dimension. To carry the memory of many million deaths is a terrible burden; to have a place under the sun where to live in peace and security, with due respect for the rights of others, is a form of hope. Here we have two important points of reference in the Catholics' day-to-day relation to the Jews."

The Notes aim to remedy "a painful ignorance of the history and traditions of Judaism." However, they do not remedy that "painful ignorance"; neither Jewish history nor Jewish traditions are explored in the Notes, or even referred to as having independent value. Rather, the history and traditions of Judaism are appropriated by the Church. The history and mission of Biblical Jewry is seen as only preparatory (indeed, that is the only reason given for Catholics to "appreciate and love" Jews); the development of contemporary Jewish religious life and practice are here valued only to "help us to understand better certain aspects of the life of the Church. Is there no other reason for Christians to learn something about contemporary Jewish religious expression? Granted the common spiritual patrimony, can not Judaism be described or understood in its separateness from Christianity?

Moreover, the typological approach to Jewish-Christian relations forces Jews and Judaism into certain preconceived categories which do not reflect historical or religious reality. Thus, in order to satisfy typological needs, Jews are described as "the people of the Old Testament." As your eminence knows, that is a totally inadequate description.

The Notes allude to the "negative" relations between Jews and Christians for two millenia but offer nothing of this history. How can Jews and Judaism be presented in Catholic teaching and preaching without some acknowledgement of traditional Christian animosity and its historical expressions? Similarly, the "continuous spiritual fecundity" of Jews and Judaism is noted, but not specified. Some examples and illustrations would be helpful -- if not necessary -- to teachers and homilists.

The conclusions call for "objectivity" in teaching about Jews and Judaism. We contend that there is little or nothing of "objective" teaching

in the Notes. Judaism is defined, not in terms of its own self-understanding or religious experience nor in terms of its objective history and development, but only in terms of a certain tradition of Christian triumphalism.

We believe this document will be perceived as a step backward in Catholic-Jewish relations, and that it may undermine the gains we have achieved through dialogue, joint study and joint action in recent years. For this reason, we are all the more dismayed that -- unlike Nostra Aetate itself and the 1975 Guidelines -- it is being published without prior consultation with representative members of the Jewish community.



[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible

JUNE 21, 1985

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1985

NEW YORK

JEWISH GROUPS QUERY VATICAN

THE INTERNATIONAL JEWISH COMMITTEE ON INTERRELIGIOUS CONSULTATIONS (IJCIC) TODAY EXPRESSED ITS DISAPPOINTMENT OVER WHAT WE PERCEIVE TO BE THE REGRESSIVE SPIRIT AND FORMULATIONS ABOUT JEWS, JUDAISM, THE NAZI HOLOCAUST, AND THE MEANING OF ISRAEL IN JUST-ISSUED VATICAN NOTES ON JEWS AND JUDAISM ON CATHOLIC PREACHING AND CATECHESIS.

THE VATICAN "NOTES ON THE CORRECT WAY TO PRESENT THE JEWS AND JUDAISM IN PREACHING AND CATECHESIS IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH" WERE PREPARED BY THE COMMISSION OF THE HOLY SEE FOR RELIGIOUS RELATIONS WITH THE JEWS, WHOSE PRESIDENT IS HIS EMINENCE JOHANNES CARDINAL WILLEBRANDS OF THE NETHERLANDS. THE "NOTES" WERE PUBLISHED TODAY IN THE OFFICIAL VATICAN DAILY, "L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO."

THE IJCIC MEMBER AGENCIES ARE THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH, THE ISRAEL INTERFAITH COMMITTEE, THE SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA AND THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS.

IJCIC SAID THAT WHILE THERE IS MUCH OF VALUE IN THE NOTES, CERTAIN OF THE FORMULATIONS REPRESENT A RETREAT FROM EARLIER CATHOLIC STATEMENTS SUCH AS THE 1975 VATICAN GUIDELINES AND THE DECLARATIONS OF THE FRENCH, WEST GERMAN, BRAZILIAN AND UNITED STATES BISHOPS' CONFERENCES. RABBI MORDECAI WAXMAN, CHAIRMAN OF IJCIC, SAID THAT HE HAD EARLIER SENT A TELEGRAM TO CARDINAL WILLEBRANDS, SIGNED BY ALL THE MEMBER AGENCIES OF IJCIC, WHICH IN A QUERYING TONE HAD SOUGHT CLARIFICATION AND CONSULTATION ON THE NOTES.

AMONG THE POSITIVE FEATURES OF THE NOTES, THE IJCIC SPECIFIED THE FOLLOWING: THE SECTIONS ON THE JEWISH ROOTS OF CHRISTIANITY, THE JEWS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, THE LITURGY, AND JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN HISTORY ARE, FOR THE MOST PART, HELPFUL CLARIFICATIONS WHICH ADDRESS AND CORRECT A NUMBER OF MISCONCEPTIONS. SUCH SENSITIVE AREAS AS : THE HOSTILE REFERENCES TO THE JEWS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, JESUS' RELATIONS WITH THE PHARISEES, AND HIS AGREEMENT WITH BASIC PHARASAIC BELIEFS, ARE HANDLED IN SCHOLARLY FASHION AND WITH DELICACY. THE COMMITMENT TO RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE CONTINUING CONCERN ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM ARE REASSURING.

over.../

POINTING OUT THAT THE NOTES DECLARE THAT "RESPECT FOR THE OTHER AS HE IS, IS THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION OF DIALOGUE," THE IJCIC NOTED THAT THE DOCUMENT ITSELF REFLECTS LITTLE RECOGNITION OF HOW JEWS CONCEIVE OF THEMSELVES.

IJCIC OBSERVED THAT THE HOLOCAUST AND THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL ARE ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY JEWISH EXISTENCE. THE NOTES, HOWEVER, ARE TOTALLY INADEQUATE IN PROVIDING CATHOLICS WITH SUFFICIENT GUIDELINES ON HOW TO TEACH, PREACH, AND UNDERSTAND THESE MAJOR EVENTS THAT HAVE SO DECISIVELY SHAPED THE WAY JEWS DEFINE THEMSELVES.

PARAGRAPH 25 IS A PARTICULARLY GLARING EXAMPLE OF THE INADEQUACY. THERE IT IS BALDLY STATED THAT THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL SHOULD NOT BE 'ENVISAGED' IN A RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVE, BUT RATHER THE JEWISH STATE MUST BE PERCEIVED BY 'COMMON PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.' EVEN WITHIN THIS NARROW FRAME OF REFERENCE, NOTHING IS SAID ABOUT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST OR OF THE JUSTICE OF HER CAUSE.

MODERN ISRAEL IS EMPTIED OF ANY POSSIBLE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE FOR CHRISTIANS. EVEN ISRAEL'S PROFOUND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE FOR JEWS -- SURELY THE PARAMOUNT FACT TO BE CONSIDERED IN ANY DOCUMENT THAT PURPORTS TO INSTRUCT CHRISTIANS ABOUT JEWS AND JUDAISM -- IS MENTIONED IN SUCH RECONDITE FASHION AS TO BE UNRECOGNIZABLE.

ON THE NAZI HOLOCAUST, THE IJCIC SAID THAT EQUALLY GRIEVOUS IS THE VAGUE, PASSING AND ALMOST GRATUITOUS REFERENCE TO 'THE EXTERMINATION DURING THE YEARS 1939-1945.' THE ABSENCE OF A STRONG STATEMENT ON THE HOLOCAUST IS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING.

REGARDING THE TREATMENT OF JEWISH HISTORY AND TRADITIONS, THE IJCIC STATED THAT THE NOTES AIM TO REMEDY 'A PAINFUL IGNORANCE OF THE HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF JUDAISM.' HOWEVER, THEY DO NOT REMEDY THAT 'PAINFUL IGNORANCE', NEITHER JEWISH HISTORY NOR JEWISH TRADITIONS ARE EXPLORED IN THE NOTES, OR EVEN REFERRED TO AS HAVING INDEPENDENT VALUE. RATHER, THE HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF JUDAISM ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE CHURCH. THE ROLE OF BIBLICAL ISRAEL IS SEEN ONLY AS PREPARATORY. (INDEED, THAT IS THE ONLY REASON GIVEN FOR CATHOLICS TO 'APPRECIATE AND LOVE JEWS.')

ON ANTI-SEMITISM, THE IJCIC POINTED OUT THAT THE NOTES ALLUDE TO THE 'NEGATIVE' RELATIONS BETWEEN JEWS AND CHRISTIANS FOR TWO MILLENNIA BUT OFFER NOTHING OF THIS HISTORY. HOW CAN JEWS AND JUDAISM BE PRESENTED IN CATHOLIC TEACHING AND PREACHING WITHOUT SOME ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE HISTORICAL EXPRESSIONS OF CHRISTIAN ANIMOSITY?

THE CONCLUSIONS CALL FOR 'OBJECTIVITY' IN TEACHING ABOUT JEWS AND JUDAISM. IJCIC SAID, WE CONTEND THAT THERE IS LITTLE OF OBJECTIVE TEACHING IN THE NOTES. JUDAISM IS DEFINED, NOT IN TERMS OF ITS OWN SELF-UNDERSTANDING OF ITS RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND HISTORY BUT ONLY IN TERMS OF CHRISTIAN CATEGORIES, WHICH WE REGRET TO SAY -- STRIKE US AS TRIUMPHALISTIC.

IN ITS CONCLUDING STATEMENT, IJCIC DECLARED, THAT WE BELIEVE THIS DOCUMENT WILL BE PERCEIVED AS A STEP BACKWARD IN CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS, AND THAT IT MAY UNDERMINE THE GAINS WE HAVE ACHIEVED THROUGH DIALOGUE, JOINT STUDY AND JOINT ACTION IN RECENT YEARS. FOR THIS REASON, WE ARE ALL THE MORE DISMAYED THAT - UNLIKE 'NOSTRA AETATE' ITSELF AND THE '1975 GUIDELINES' -- IT IS BEING PUBLISHED WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY.

Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews

NOTES

on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism
in preaching and catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church

Preliminary considerations

On March 6th, 1982, Pope John Paul II told delegates of episcopal conferences and other experts, meeting in Rome to study relations between the Church and Judaism:

"... you yourselves were concerned, during your sessions, with Catholic teaching and catechesis regarding Jews and Judaism... We should aim, in this field, that Catholic teaching at its different levels, in catechesis to children and young people, presents Jews and Judaism, not only in an honest and objective manner, free from prejudices and without any offences, but also with full awareness of the heritage common" to Jews and Christians.

In this passage, so charged with meaning, the Holy Father plainly drew inspiration from the Council Declaration Nostra Aetate, § 4, which says:

"All should take pains, then, lest in catechetical instruction and in the preaching of God's Word they teach anything out of harmony with the truth of the Gospel and the spirit of Christ": as also from these words: "Since the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews is thus so great, this sacred Synod wishes to foster and recommend mutual understanding and respect..."

In the same way, the Guidelines and Suggestions for implementing the conciliar declaration Nostra Aetate (§ 4) ends its chapter III, entitled "Teaching and education", which lists a number of practical things to be done, with this recommendation:

"Information concerning these questions is important at all levels of Christian instruction and education. Among sources of information, special attention should be paid to the following:

- catechisms and religious textbooks;
- history books;
- the mass media (press, radio, cinema, television).

The effective use of these means presupposes the thorough formation of instructors and educators in training schools, seminaries and universities" (AAS 77, 1975, p.73).

The paragraphs which follow are intended to serve this purpose.

I.

Religious Teaching and Judaism

1. In Nostra Aetate § 4, the Council speaks of the "spiritual bonds linking" Jews and Christians and of the "great spiritual patrimony" common to both and it further asserts that "the Church of Christ acknowledges that, according to the mystery of God's saving design, the beginning of her faith and her election are already found among the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets".

2. Because of the unique relations that exist between Christianity and Judaism - "linked together at the very level of their identity" (John Paul II, 6th March, 1982) - relations "founded on the design of the God of the Covenant" (ibid.), the Jews and Judaism should not occupy an occasional and marginal place in catechesis: their presence there is essential and should be organically integrated.

3. This concern for Judaism in Catholic teaching has not merely a historical or archeological foundation. As the Holy Father said in the speech already quoted, after he had again mentioned the "common patrimony" of the Church and Judaism as "considerable": "To assess it carefully in itself and with due awareness of the faith and religious life of the Jewish people as they are professed and practised still today, can greatly help us to understand better certain aspects of the life of the Church" (underlining added). It is a question then of pastoral concern for a still living reality closely related to the Church. The Holy Father has stated this permanent reality of the Jewish people in a remarkable theological formula, in his allocution to the Jewish community of West Germany at Mainz, on November 17th, 1980: "... the people of God of the Old Covenant, which has never been revoked...".

4. Here we should recall the passage in which the Guidelines and Suggestions (1) tried to define the fundamental condition of dialogue: "respect for the other as he is", knowledge of the "basic components of the religious tradition of Judaism" and again learning "by what essential traits the Jews define themselves in the light of their own religious experience" (Introd.).

5. The singular character and the difficulty of Christian teaching about Jews and Judaism lies in this, that it needs to balance a number of pairs of ideas which express the relation between the two economies of the Old and New Testament:

Promise and Fulfilment
Continuity and Newness
Singularity and Universality
Uniqueness and Exemplary Nature.

This means that the theologian and the catechist who deals with the subject needs to show in his practice of teaching that:

- promise and fulfilment throw light on each other;
- newness lies in a metamorphosis of what was there before;
- the singularity of the people of the Old Testament is not exclusive and is open, in the divine vision, to a universal extension;
- the uniqueness of the Jewish people is meant to have the force of an example.

6. Finally, "work that is of poor quality and lacking in precision would be extremely detrimental" to Judaico-Christian dialogue (John Paul II, speech of March 6th, 1982). But it would be above all detrimental - since we are talking of teaching and education - to Christian identity. (*ibid.*).

7. "In virtue of her divine mission, the Church" which is to be "the all-embracing means of salvation" in which alone "the fulness of the means of salvation can be obtained" (Unit. Red. 3), "must of her nature proclaim Jesus Christ to the world" (cf. Guidelines and Suggestions, I). Indeed we believe that it is through him that we go to the Father (cf. Jn 14:6) "and this is eternal life, that they know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (Jn 17:3).

Jesus affirms (*ibid.* 10:16) that "there shall be one flock and one shepherd". Church and Judaism cannot then be seen as two parallel ways of salvation and the Church must witness to Christ as the Redeemer for all, "while maintaining the strictest respect for religious liberty in line with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council (Declaration Dignitatis Humanae" (Guidelines and Suggestions, I).

8. The urgency and importance of precise, objective and rigorously accurate teaching on Judaism for our faithful follows too from the danger of anti-Semitism which is always ready to reappear under different guises. The question is not merely to uproot from among the faithful the remains of anti-Semitism still to be found here and there, but much rather to arouse in them, through educational work, an exact knowledge of the wholly unique "bond" (Nostra Aetate, 4) which joins us as a Church to the Jews and to Judaism. In this way, they would learn to appreciate and love the latter, who have been chosen by God to prepare the coming of Christ and have preserved everything that was progressively revealed and given in the course of that preparation, notwithstanding their difficulty in recognising in Him their Messiah.

II.

Relations between the Old^{*)} and New Testament

1. Our aim should be to show the unity of biblical Revelation (O.T. and N.T.) and of the divine plan, before speaking of each historical event, so as to stress that particular events have meaning when seen in history as a whole - from creation to fulfilment. This history concerns the whole human race and especially believers. Thus the definitive meaning of the election of Israel does not become clear except in the light of the complete fulfilment (Rom 9-11) and election in Jesus Christ is still better understood with reference to the announcement and the promise (cf. Heb 4:1-11).

2. We are dealing with singular happenings which concern a singular nation but are destined, in the sight of God who reveals his purpose, to take on universal and exemplary significance.

The aim is moreover to present the events of the Old Testament not as concerning only the Jews but also as touching us personally. Abraham is truly the father of our faith (cf. Rom 4:11-12; Roman Canon: patriarchae nostri Abrahæ). And it is said (1 Cor 10:1): "Our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea". The patriarchs, prophets and other personalities of the Old Testament have been venerated and always will be venerated as saints in the liturgical tradition of the Oriental Church as also of the Latin Church.

3. From the unity of the divine plan derives the problem of the relation between the Old and New Testaments. The Church already from apostolic times (cf. 1 Cor 10:11; Heb 10:1) and then constantly in tradition resolved this problem by means of typology, which emphasises the primordial value that the Old Testament must have in the Christian view. Typology however makes many people uneasy and is perhaps the sign of a problem unresolved.

4. Hence in using typology, the teaching and practice of which we have received from the Liturgy and from the Fathers of the Church, we should be careful to avoid any transition from the Old to the New Testament which might seem merely a rupture. The Church, in the spontaneity of the Spirit which animates her, has vigorously condemned the attitude of Marcion^{**)} and always opposed his dualism.

*) We continue to use the expression Old Testament because it is traditional (cf. already 2 Cor 3:14) but also because "Old" does not mean "out of date" or "outworn". In any case, it is the permanent value of the O.T. as a source of Christian Revelation that is emphasised here (cf. Dei Verbum, 3).

**) A man of gnostic tendency who in the second century rejected the Old Testament and part of the New as the work of an evil god, a demiurge. The Church reacted strongly against this heresy (cf. Irenaeus).

5. It should also be emphasised that typological interpretation consists in reading the Old Testament as preparation and, in certain aspects, outline and foreshadowing of the New (cf. e.g., Heb 5:5-10 etc.). Christ is henceforth the key and point of reference to the Scriptures: "the rock was Christ" (1 Cor 10:4).

6. It is true then, and should be stressed, that the Church and Christians read the Old Testament in the light of the event of the dead and risen Christ and that on these grounds there is a Christian reading of the Old Testament which does not necessarily coincide with the Jewish reading. Thus Christian identity and Jewish identity should be carefully distinguished in their respective reading of the Bible. But this detracts nothing from the value of the Old Testament in the Church and does nothing to hinder Christians from profiting discerningly from the traditions of Jewish reading.

7. Typological reading only manifests the unfathomable riches of the Old Testament, its inexhaustible content and the mystery of which it is full, and should not lead us to forget that it retains its own value as Revelation that the New Testament often does no more than resume (cf. Mk 12:29-31). Moreover, the New Testament itself demands to be read in the light of the Old. Primitive Christian catechesis constantly had recourse to this (cf. e.g., 1 Cor 5: 6-8; 10:1-11).

8. Typology further signifies reaching towards the accomplishment of the divine plan, when "God will be all in all" (1 Cor 15:28). This holds true also for the Church which, realised already in Christ, yet awaits its definitive perfecting as the Body of Christ. The fact that the Body of Christ is still tending towards its full stature (cf. Eph 4:12-19) takes nothing from the value of being a Christian. So also the calling of the patriarchs and the Exodus from Egypt do not lose their importance and value in God's design from being at the same time intermediate stages (cf. e.g., Nostra Aetate, 4).

9. The Exodus, for example, represents an experience of salvation and liberation that is not complete in itself, but has in it, over and above its own meaning, the capacity to be developed further. Salvation and liberation are already accomplished in Christ and gradually realised by the sacraments in the Church. This makes way for the fulfilment of God's design, which awaits its final consummation with the return of Jesus as Messiah, for which we pray each day. The Kingdom, for the coming of which we also pray each day, will be finally established. With salvation and liberation the elect and the whole of creation will be transformed in Christ (Rom 8:19-23).

10. Furthermore, in underlining the eschatological dimension of Christianity we shall reach a greater awareness that the people of God of the Old and the New Testament are tending towards a like end in the future: the coming or return of the Messiah - even if they start from two different points of view. It is more clearly understood that the person of the Messiah is not only a point of division for the people

of God but also a point of convergence (cf. Sussidi per l'ecumenismo of the diocese of Rome, n. 140). Thus it can be said that Jews and Christians meet in a comparable hope, founded on the same promise made to Abraham (cf. Gen 12:1-3; Heb 6:13-18).

11. Attentive to the same God who has spoken, hanging on the same word, we have to witness to one same memory and one common hope in Him who is the master of history. We must also accept our responsibility to prepare the world for the coming of the Messiah by working together for social justice, respect for the rights of persons and nations and for social and international reconciliation. To this we are driven, Jews and Christians, by the command to love our neighbour, by a common hope for the Kingdom of God and by the great heritage of the Prophets. Transmitted soon enough by catechisms, such a conception would teach young Christians in a practical way to cooperate with Jews, going beyond simple dialogue (cf. Guidelines, IV).

Jewish Roots Christianity

12. Jesus was and always remained fully a man of his time, and of his one of the first century, the anxiety cannot but underline both the very meaning of the history of salvation in the Bible (cf. Rom 1:3-4; Gal 4:4-5)

Jew, his ministry was deliberately limited "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 15:24). Jesus is environment – the Jewish Palestinianies and hopes of which he shared. eality of the Incarnation and the tion, as it has been revealed in

13. Jesus' relations with biblical interpretations are undoubtedly towards it (cf. the "antitheses" of 48, bearing in mind the exegetical rous observance of the Sabbath: Mk

law and its more or less traditional and he showed great liberty in the Sermon on the Mount: Mt 5:21-48; difficulties; his attitude to rigorous observance of the Sabbath: Mk

But there is no doubt that law (cf. Gal 4:4), that he was circumcised like any Jew of his time (cf. Lk 2:21-24), that he was trained in the law's observance. He extolled and invited obedience to it (cf. Mk 8:4). The rhythm of his life was marked by observance of pilgrimage on great feasts, even from his infancy (cf. Lk 2:41-50; Jn 2:13; 7:10 etc.). The importance of the cycle of the Jewish feasts has been frequently underlined in the Gospel of John (cf. 2:13; 5:1; 7:2.10.30; 10:22; 12:1; 13:1; 18:28; 19:42 etc.).

wished to submit himself to the rised and presented in the Temple (cf. Mt 21. 22-24), that he was trained in respect for it (cf. Mt 5:17-20; 8:4). The rhythm of his life was on great feasts, even from his infancy (cf. Lk 2:41-50; Jn 2:13; 7:10 etc.). The importance of the cycle of the Jewish feasts has been frequently underlined in the Gospel of John (cf. 2:13; 5:1; 7:2.10.30; 10:22; 12:1; 13:1; 18:28; 19:42 etc.).

14. It should be noted also that Jesus often taught in the Synagogues (cf. Mt 4:23; 9:35; Lk 4:15-18; Jn 15:20 etc.) and in the Temple (cf. Jn 15:20 etc.), which he frequented as did the disciples even

after the Resurrection (cf. e.g., Acts 2:46; 3:1; 21:26 etc.). He wished to put in the context of synagogue worship the proclamation of his Messiahship (cf. Lk 4:16-21). But above all he wished to achieve the supreme act of the gift of himself in the setting of the domestic liturgy of the Passover, or at least of the paschal festivity (cf. Mk 14:1-12 and parallels; Jn 18:28). This also allows of a better understanding of the 'memorial' character of the Eucharist.

15. Thus the Son of God is incarnate in a people and a human family (cf. Gal 4:4; Rom 9:5). This takes away nothing, quite the contrary, from the fact that he was born for all men (Jewish shepherds and pagan wise men are found at his crib: Lk 2:8-20; Mt 2:1-12) and died for all men (at the foot of the cross there are Jews, among them Mary and John: Jn 19:25-27, and pagans like the centurion: Mk 15:39 and parallels). Thus he made two peoples one in his flesh (cf. Eph 2:14-17). This explains why with the Ecclesia ex gentibus we have, in Palestine and elsewhere, an Ecclesia ex circumcisione, of which Eusebius for example speaks (H.E. IV,5).

16. His relations with the Pharisees were not always or wholly polemical. Of this there are many proofs:

- It is Pharisees who warn Jesus of the risks he is running (Lk 13:31);
- Some Pharisees are praised - e.g., "the scribe" of Mk 12:34;
- Jesus eats with Pharisees (Lk 7:36; 14:1).

17. Jesus shares, with the majority of Palestinian Jews of that time, some pharisaic doctrines: the resurrection of the body; forms of piety, like alms-giving, prayer, fasting (cf. Mt 6:1-18) and the liturgical practice of addressing God as Father; the priority of the commandment to love God and our neighbour (cf. Mk 12:28-34). This is so also with Paul (cf. Acts 23:8), who always considered his membership of the Pharisees as a title of honour (cf. ibid. 23:6; 26:5; Phil 3:5).

18. Paul also, like Jesus himself, used methods of reading and interpreting Scripture and of teaching his disciples which were common to the Pharisees of their time. This applies to the use of parables in Jesus' ministry, as also to the method of Jesus and Paul of supporting a conclusion with a quotation from Scripture.

19. It is noteworthy too that the Pharisees are not mentioned in accounts of the Passion. Gamaliel (Acts 5:34-39) defends the apostles in a meeting of the Sanhedrin. An exclusively negative picture of the Pharisees is likely to be inaccurate and unjust (cf. Guidelines, Note 1; cf. AAS, loc. cit. p.76). If in the Gospels and elsewhere in the New Testament there are all sorts of unfavourable references to the Pharisees, they should be seen against the background of a complex and diversified movement. Criticisms of various types of Pharisees

are moreover not lacking in rabbinical sources (cf. the Babylon Talmud, the Sebah treatise 22b, etc.). "Phariseism" in the pejorative sense can be rife in any religion. It may also be stressed that, if Jesus shows himself severe towards the Pharisees, it is because he is closer to them than to other contemporary Jewish groups (cf. supra n° 17).

20. All this should help us to understand better what St Paul says (Rom 11:16 sgg) about the "root" and the "branches". The Church and Christianity, for all their novelty, find their origin in the Jewish milieu of the first century of our era, and more deeply still in the "design of God" (Nostra Aetate, 4), realised in the Patriarchs, Moses and the Prophets (ibid.), down to its consummation in Christ Jesus.

IV.

The Jews in the New Testament

21. The Guidelines already say (note 1) that "the formula 'the Jews' sometimes, according to the context, means 'the leaders of the Jews' or 'the adversaries of Jesus', terms which express better the thought of the evangelist and avoid appearing to arraign the Jewish people as such".

An objective presentation of the role of the Jewish people in the New Testament should take account of these various facts:

A. The Gospels are the outcome of long and complicated editorial work. The dogmatic constitution Dei Verbum, following the Pontifical Biblical Commission's Instruction Sancta Mater Ecclesia, distinguishes three stages: "The sacred authors wrote the four Gospels, selecting some things from the many which had been handed on by word of mouth or in writing, reducing some of them to a synthesis, explicating some things in view of the situation of their Churches, and preserving the form of proclamation, but always in such fashion that they told us the honest truth about Jesus" (n° 19).

Hence it cannot be ruled out that some references hostile or less than favourable to the Jews have their historical context in conflicts between the nascent Church and the Jewish community. Certain controversies reflect Christian-Jewish relations long after the time of Jesus.

To establish this is of capital importance if we wish to bring out the meaning of certain Gospel texts for the Christians of today.

All this should be taken into account when preparing catechesis and homilies for the last weeks of Lent and Holy Week (cf. already Guidelines II, and now also Sussidi per l'ecumenismo nella diocesi di Roma, 1982, 144 b).

- B. It is clear on the other hand that there were conflicts between Jesus and certain categories of Jews of his time, among them Pharisees, from the beginning of his ministry (cf. Mk 2:1-11.24; 3:6 etc.).
- C. There is moreover the sad fact that the majority of the Jewish people and its authorities did not believe in Jesus - a fact not merely of history but of theological bearing, of which St Paul tries hard to plumb the meaning (Rom chap.9 - 11).
- D. This fact, accentuated as the Christian mission developed, especially among the pagans, led inevitably to a rupture between Judaism and the young Church, now irreducibly separated and divergent in faith, and this stage of affairs is reflected in the texts of the New Testament and particularly in the Gospels. There is no question of playing down or glossing over this rupture; that could only prejudice the identity of either side. Nevertheless it certainly does not cancel the spiritual "bond" of which the Council speaks (Nostra Aetate, 4) and which we propose to dwell on here.
- E. Reflecting on this in the light of Scripture, notably of the chapters cited from the epistle to the Romans, Christians should never forget that the faith is a free gift of God (cf. Rom 9:12) and that we should never judge the consciences of others. St Paul's exhortation "do not boast" in your attitude to "the root" (Rom 11:18) has its full point here.
- F. There is no putting the Jews who knew Jesus and did not believe in him, or those who opposed the preaching of the apostles, on the same plane with Jews who came after or those of today. If the responsibility of the former remains a mystery hidden with God (cf. Rom 11:25), the latter are in an entirely different situation. Vatican II in the declaration on Religious Liberty teaches that "all men are to be immune from coercion...in such wise that in matters religious no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs. Nor... restrained from acting in accordance with his own beliefs" (n° 2). This is one of the bases - proclaimed by the Council - on which Judaeo-Christian dialogue rests.
22. The delicate question of responsibility for the death of Christ must be looked at from the standpoint of the conciliar declaration Nostra Aetate, 4 and of Guidelines and Suggestions (§ III): "What happened in (Christ's) passion cannot be blamed upon all the Jews then living without distinction nor upon the Jews of today", especially since "authorities of the Jews and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ". Again, further on: "Christ in his boundless love freely underwent his passion and death because of the sins of

all men, so that all might attain salvation" (Nostra Aetate, 4). The Catechism of the Council of Trent teaches that Christian sinners are more to blame for the death of Christ than those few Jews who brought it about - they indeed "knew not what they did" (cf. Lk 23:34) and we know it only too well (Pars I, caput V, Quaest. XI). In the same way and for the same reason, "the Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God, as if such views followed from the holy Scriptures" (Nostra Aetate, 4), even though it is true that "the Church is the new people of God" (ibid.).

V.

The Liturgy

23. Jews and Christians find in the Bible the very substance of their liturgy: for the proclamation of God's word, response to it, prayer of praise and intercession for the living and the dead, recourse to the divine mercy. The Liturgy of the word in its own structure originates in Judaism. The prayer of Hours and other liturgical texts and formularies have their parallels in Judaism as do the very formulas of our most venerable prayers, among them the Our Father. The eucharistic prayers also draw inspiration from models in the Jewish tradition. As John Paul II said (Allocution of March 6th, 1982): "... the faith and religious life of the Jewish people as they are professed and practised still today, can greatly help us to understand better certain aspects of the life of the Church. Such is the case of liturgy...".

24. This is particularly evident in the great feasts of the liturgical year, like the Passover. Christians and Jews celebrate the Passover: the Jews, the historic Passover looking towards the future; the Christians, the Passover accomplished in the death and resurrection of Christ, although still in expectation of the final consummation (cf. supra n° 9). It is still the "memorial" which comes to us from the Jewish tradition, with a specific content different in each case. On either side, however, there is a like dynamism: for Christians it gives meaning to the eucharistic celebration (cf. the antiphon "O sacram convivium"), a paschal celebration and as such a making present of the past, but experienced in the expectation of what is to come.

VI.

Judaism and Christianity in History

25. The history of Israel did not end in 70 A.D. (cf. Guidelines, II). It continued, especially in a numerous Diaspora which allowed Israel to carry to the whole world a witness - often heroic - of its fidelity to the one God and to "exalt him in the presence of all the living" (Tobit 13:4), while preserving the memory of the land of their

forefathers at the heart of their hope (Passover Seder).)

Christians are invited to understand this religious attachment which finds its roots in Biblical tradition, without however making their own any particular religious interpretation of this relationship (cf. Declaration of the US Conference of Catholic Bishops, November 20, 1975).

The existence of the State of Israel and its political options should be envisaged not in a perspective which is in itself religious, but in their reference to the common principles of international law.

The permanence of Israel (while so many ancient peoples have disappeared without trace) is a historic fact and a sign to be interpreted within God's design. We must in any case rid ourselves of the traditional idea of a people punished, preserved as a living argument for Christian apologetic. It remains a chosen people, "the pure olive on which were grafted the branches of the wild olive which are the gentiles" (John Paul II, 6th March, 1982, alluding to Rom 11:17-24). We must remember how much the balance of relations between Jews and Christians over two thousand years has been negative. We must remind ourselves how the permanence of Israel is accompanied by a continuous spiritual fecundity, in the rabbinical period, in the Middle Ages and in modern times, taking its start from a patrimony which we long shared, so much so that "the faith and religious life of the Jewish people as they are professed and practised still today, can greatly help us to understand better certain aspects of the life of the Church" (John Paul II, March 6th, 1982). Catechesis should on the other hand help in understanding the meaning for the Jews of the extermination during the years 1939-1945, and its consequences.

26. Education and catechesis should concern themselves with the problem of racism, still active in different forms of anti-Semitism. The Council presented it thus: :"Moreover, (the Church) mindful of her common patrimony with the Jews and motivated by the Gospel's spiritual love and by no political considerations, deplores the hatred, persecutions and displays of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews at any time and from any source" (Nostra Aetate, 4). The Guidelines comment: "the spiritual bonds and historical links binding the Church to Judaism condemn (as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity) all forms of anti-Semitism and discrimination, which in any case the dignity of the human person alone would suffice to condemn" (Guidelines, Preamble).

Conclusion

27. Religious teaching, catechesis and preaching should be a preparation not only for objectivity, justice, tolerance but also for understanding and dialogue. Our two traditions are so related that they cannot ignore each other. Mutual knowledge must be encouraged at every level. There is evident in particular a painful ignorance of the history and traditions of Judaism, of which only negative aspects and often caricature seem to form part of the stock ideas of many Christians.

That is what these notes aim to remedy. This would mean that the Council text and "Guidelines and Suggestions" would be more easily and faithfully put into practice.

+ Johannes Cardinal Willebrands
(President)
Pierre Duprey
(Vice-President)
Jorge Mejia
(Secretary)

(May 1985)

[end]

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NEWS

FROM THE COMMITTEE



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

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

**MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

NEW YORK, June 28.....The American Jewish Committee has joined the NAACP legal Defense and Educational Fund in an effort to prevent prosecutors from deliberately excluding blacks as jurors in criminal cases.

The two organizations have submitted an amicus brief to the U.S. Supreme Court urging it to reverse a ruling of the Kentucky Supreme Court that permitted the state to obtain an all-white jury by peremptorily challenging all four blacks on a panel.

James K. Batson, a black defendant who was convicted of burglary by the all-white jury and sentenced to prison, argued that he was entitled by the Constitution to a trial by a representative selection of people from the community. The Kentucky Attorney General insisted that "peremptory challenges should continue to be afforded to all parties in a jury trial without any limitation or examination by the trial court." The state court upheld this contention, and the public defender appealed.

The NAACP-AJC brief claimed that "the misuse of peremptory challenges to exclude blacks from juries is a pervasive and pernicious practice. Its use has supplemented earlier and more obvious devices to prevent minorities participating in this most fundamental of democratic institutions."

The practice, it stated, violated the Sixth Amendment's guarantee of the right to trial by an impartial jury, and the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the law.

The right to a jury that includes the various groups that make up the community, the NAACP-AJC brief asserted, "derives from the principle that their opinions, voices, points of views, and perceptions come to bear on the deliberative process."

When a prosecutor removes from the jury blacks, Hispanics, or other cognizable groups, it added, "the result is a jury which is insulated from those viewpoints and voices."

Co-counsel on the brief were Charles Stephen Ralston, of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and Samuel Rabinov, Legal Director of the American Jewish Committee.

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 Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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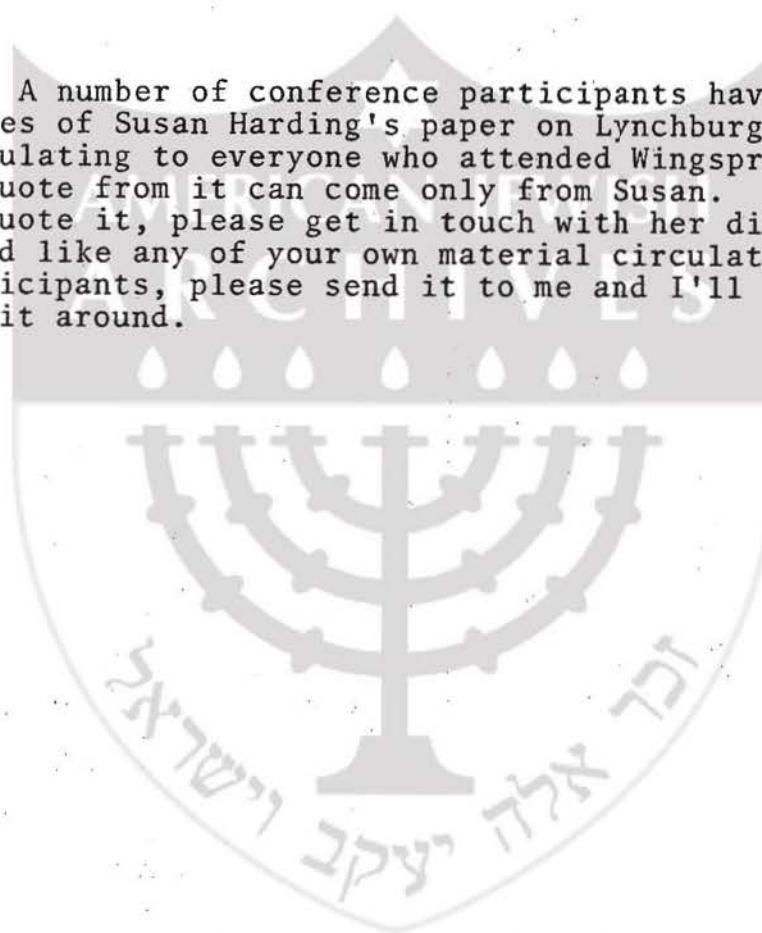


The American Jewish Committee

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TO: Participants in the Wingspread Conference on
"Religious Pluralism in American Society"
FROM: Gary E. Rubin
DATE: June 28, 1985

A number of conference participants have requested copies of Susan Harding's paper on Lynchburg which I am circulating to everyone who attended Wingspread. Permission to quote from it can come only from Susan. If you wish to quote it, please get in touch with her directly. If you would like any of your own material circulated to conference participants, please send it to me and I'll be happy to get it around.



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Susan Harzing 6/17/85
for "Religious Pluralism in America" Gary with Best wishes
and many thanks -
I'll be up
to see you
Susan

Nothing had prepared me before going to Lynchburg for the first time nearly three years ago for the almost euphoric ferment I found among Jerry Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist Church community. There was an electric sense of collective mission in the air, a sense that people were caught up in a larger historical process in which their personal participation mattered very much. Men and women made sacrifices for their community with ready grace, and everyone, it seemed, worked overtime for the Lord. Their gatherings were charged with purpose and conversations with them were often surprisingly open-ended, adventurous and unpredictable. They struck me, ultimately, not as die-hards, but as rebels, as a people aggressively asserting and reshaping themselves and their social order in the context of a larger world that seemed to deny them both passage and dignity.

What I saw in Lynchburg, in effect, was a subcultural movement at full tilt. Jerry Falwell and pastors allied with him are leading a movement within contemporary American fundamentalism to redefine the terms of their separation from nonfundamentalist the world. The current process of "desegregation" is complex and highly controversial. Amid charges of backsliding and apostasy from staunch defenders of old-fashioned separatism such as Bob Jones, Jr., these fundamental radicals are breaking long-standing taboos on personal and denominational associations, on political activism, intellectual discourse, and private habits, thoughts and motivations. At the same time, they are engaging in ritual and conceptual innovations that redefine the place of fundamentalism, that relocate it, within the larger society, culture and polity. For every movement away from the

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old separations, these fundamentalists are drawing new lines of separation and distinction between themselves and the so-called secular world.

Ultimately, they are endeavoring to convert fundamentalism from marginal to mainstream status within American society. They seek the privileges and the prestige of full membership in middle-class culture, along with rights of access to the structures of social, cultural and political domination on a national scale. And they hope to achieve all this without sacrificing their distinctive fundamentalist identity as publicly devout, theologically, morally and politically conservative fundamental Christians.

"You
can take
it with
you"

The organization within Falwell's Christian empire that embodies this movement most fully is not the Old-Time Gospel Hour or the Moral Majority, but Liberty Baptist College. The College last month, in its fourteenth year, was converted to Liberty University, breaking still more out of the fundamental Baptist mold in its name and its ambitions. Liberty University plans, by the year 2000, to have Schools of Graduate Studies, Medicine, Engineering, Business and Law and to offer a full complement of academic and professional degrees to 50,000 students. Falwell and his colleagues envision a kind of fundamentalist diaspora through which Liberty will spin out doctors, lawyers, school teachers and college professors, journalists, government officials, business executives, movie makers and performers who can function anywhere in the country and succeed both by fundamentalist and worldly standards.

The movement afoot under Falwell has been percolating for some forty years. In many respects, it is the same movement spearheaded after World War II by the National Association of Evangelicals and the Billy Graham crusades. But this fundamental movement separates itself from the broader evangelical movement in two important ways -- in its commitment to destigmatizing rather than discarding the fundamentalist label and heritage; and in its overt, highly organized, archly conservative politics.

In its politics, most especially its family and moral politics, the Falwell faction of fundamentalists appears most frozen and static. The face it presents and the face we see is that of a community clinging to old-fashioned traditions and immutable codes according to which men are leaders, women ladies, children obey, and sex outside marriage is sin. This fixed and one-dimensional facade however masks a good deal of flux in the community.

Sex inside fundamentalist marriages has come out of the closet in the form of a burgeoning Christian manuals and seminars on sexual techniques and pleasure. The customary code that condemned divorce and banished divorcees is being rewritten, slowly, painfully, to permit divorce under "certain circumstances" and to admit divorcees into the church as damaged or fallen brothers and sisters in Christ. So many wives and mothers of male graduate students and faculty at Liberty University work -- one professor estimated 70 or 75% of them work -- that this past year heated public debates broke out among women about the consequences of their working for children,

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homelife and the meaning of family. In this instance, church leaders decided the process of opening-up had gone too far, and a mild but pervasive and unambiguous propaganda campaign was inaugurated from above to rally working women back home.

It is no accident that this process of inner collective transformation among fundamentalists is peaking at the same moment they are entering the political arena in bold new forms. Most obviously, they could not become political without calling into question the taboos on alliance and activism that have for decades hamstrung them in public. But also, the American political arena has long been a stage upon which the peoples of our nation perform time to time their collective rituals of renewal and reconstitution. This use of public space for subcultural ends cannot be easily constrained on procedural grounds, even though the actors are very often religiously motivated, nor do I think it should be so constrained. Many times in American history, popular movements have succeeded in fashioning a new consensus that has made us a more whole and just people.

Sometimes, however, popular movements thwart consensus and divide us in two. This, in my opinion, is what has happened in the area of family policy. In theory, pluralistic principles and broker politics produce multivocal solutions -- public policies that represent multiple interests. However, when popular debate polarizes into two mutually exclusive, morally absolute positions that come to stand for whole subcultural traditions, pluralism is put seriously to test and broker politics seems to fail -- indeed,

politics as usual seems to reproduce rather than solve the problem. Repeatedly, we have seen this happen around most so-called family issues, and the current conflict over abortion rights is the most severe case in point. Over the past decade prolife and prochoice movements have turned abortion into a kind of symbolic votex that swallows up tangible, soluble issues and converts them into a mythic drama upon which the whole world hangs.

The first step toward breaking the grip that such cataclysmic discourse has on public debate is to look directly and dispassionately at the adversaries and disspell their illusions of absolute unity and immobility. In conflicts of mythic proportions, the protagonists, Murray Edelman tells us, "are perceived as monolithic and resolute even though they are in fact divided into factions or diverse group interests and are typically ambivalent and susceptible to influences for change. So long as it is recognized that one's adversary is internally divided and not monolithic, political negotiations are possible and encouraged."

Prolife efforts to win legislation restricting abortion rights in Congress have failed in part for just this reason -- the movement is so internally divided it cannot agree what to lobby for. Indeed, Jerry Falwell is one of the major mavericks of the pack of prolife leaders, and even many of his own church members disagree with his position that the law should permit abortion in the case of rape and incest. Through this concession, Falwell, fatally for his cause, shifts the focus off "life" and onto sin. He exposes the fact that the fetal life debate is a smoke screen for broader symbolic crusade, one that,

for him, would punish "bad" women, women who voluntarily have sex without being ready to deal with the reproductive consequences.

Aside from reminding ourselves that our adversaries are a fractious lot, we need to unload abortion of the extraordinary symbolic weight that has been poured into it by both sides. I am not referring here to the legal arguments for and against abortion. The Supreme Court has ruled on the issue, and I think the law as it stands now, which leaves the choice of whether and why to abort up to women, is not only the most just but is the only one we can live with practically. The legal debate focuses on fetal life and viability, but, as Falwell's position and conversations with prolife activists divulge, the fetus is not really the issue, but is a symbol that stands for a bundle of cultural, social and personal issues about which many Americans are rightfully concerned.

The problem is that we cannot address those issues effectively as long as we are captive of the symbolic spells cast on the fetus by the prochoice and prolife movements. Each side claims the fetus whole, indivisible, portrays the other side as the personification of evil and oppression, and absolutely rejects the world defined by the other's interpretation.

The War in Vietnam tore this country in two for a decade, yet the Vietnam memorial in Washington is a monument of reunion. Two huge blacks slabs speak the names of the dead and missing and their silence about the war implies we do not know, cannot agree about, why they gave their lives. At some distance, a human-scale statue lightly glorifies the men, as if they were innocent,

bewildered yet courageous. And beside it, an American flag flies very high, too high, with tiny words wrapped around the base lauding the five armed services and the men who died defending the principles of honor and freedom. The Vietnam memorial is not unitary statement about the war, but an ensemble of three different, dissonant views of the war.

For the majority of Americans, the war over abortion is over; abortion rights have been won. But we continue to risk loosing them because we have not yet imagined as a nation how to live with abortion symbolically. The way out of the impasse is to find an alternative interpretation of the issue that is multivocal, that unites us in our differences. Just at the Vietnam memorial opens up middle ground and gives very little, almost no, space to either extreme interpretation of that war, we must deny the extremes in the abortion controversy. In the public mind, abortion cannot stand for the sanctity of human life nor for women's sexual and reproductive freedom. We must change the subject and say what abortion is in compelling enough terms that the ghosts of "wanton murder" or "idle birth control" are chased away.

The position of the Catholic nuns who support abortion rights suggests an alternative interpretation of abortion. The nuns personally oppose abortion yet support the legal and moral right of woman to have an abortion if need be. Their work with and special concern for poor women puts the stress on necessity in making the decision to abort. In limited senses, the nuns are both prolife and prochoice, but, mostly, they are pro-necessity. "Necessity" implies that ideally abortion would not be necessary,

that the law and agencies of state and society should work toward eliminating the conditions which make abortion necessary, at the same time acknowledging that women have the right to decide when that difficult decision is a necessary one. The nuns argue implicitly that the right to an abortion neither destroys the American family nor represents the liberation of women in America; it is simply something women do when they have to and will do, right or wrong, whether or not it is legal. They strip abortion of its ultra-symbolic charges and focus our attention on real issues.

Why, after all, are 1/3 of the pregnancies in the U.S. today terminated by abortion? Why does the U.S. have the highest rate of teenage pregnancy in the world? Should we intervene more in teenage subcultures and sex education in an effort to reduce the pregnancy rate; how might we intervene and who should do it? How can we assure poor women the right not only to have an abortion, but to choose not to have one?

The real issues in the debates over family policies have to do with the increasingly problematic nature of dependency, nurturance, and interpersonal responsibility and obligation in contemporary America. These issues cannot be solved by symbolic crusades, by fiats of state, or by relabelling homes for unwed mothers Save-a-Baby Homes. Access to the public stage to debate family issues should be as open as possible, but we must turn our gaze from any who would monopolize our attention and set up new spotlights that include those the more egotistical actors would ignore. Most of us know that the meaning of "family" has

broken into many pieces in our lifetime, that first marriages and blood ties are no longer the only bases of kinship in our lives. I even think many of men and women in Jerry Falwell's community know this and will over time, perhaps with much more protest along the way, come to accept it as beyond their symbolic control. Meanwhile, those of us who would seriously address the infinitely diverse personal and family needs of American men, women and children through public policy should devote ourselves to recasting the rhetoric of debate and opening up the middle ground politically.



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Richard H. Davimos CFP
Executive Vice President

29 June 1985



Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc,

Last week, David Roth ran a seminar on Ethnicity and Sensitivity for the South Florida media, a seminar that resulted from an article that appeared in the local newspaper last year. I have enclosed the article and the responses.

One of the AJC members that attended a dinner meeting with David at my home after the media seminar asked if I could get her a copy of the TV program "Appointment with Destiny: The Crucifixion of Jesus" (see enclosed).

I immediately realized that this would give me an opportunity to once again apologize to you for not getting back to you two years ago for weeks--and to yell at you for not getting back to me with the additional information I needed once I finally called you.

I hope all is well with you in your new position. I heard you on the radio last week re Reagan's visit to Germany.

Please let me know if I can get a copy of that program for the lady--and give me a call so we can go over what I need to do a decent cash flow for you. I now have two CPA's and two bookkeepers working with me so we have a little more time to work on cash flows for friends.

Hope all is well with your family.

Most cordially,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dav' or 'Davimos'.

Richard H. Davimos

RHD/nab
Enc.

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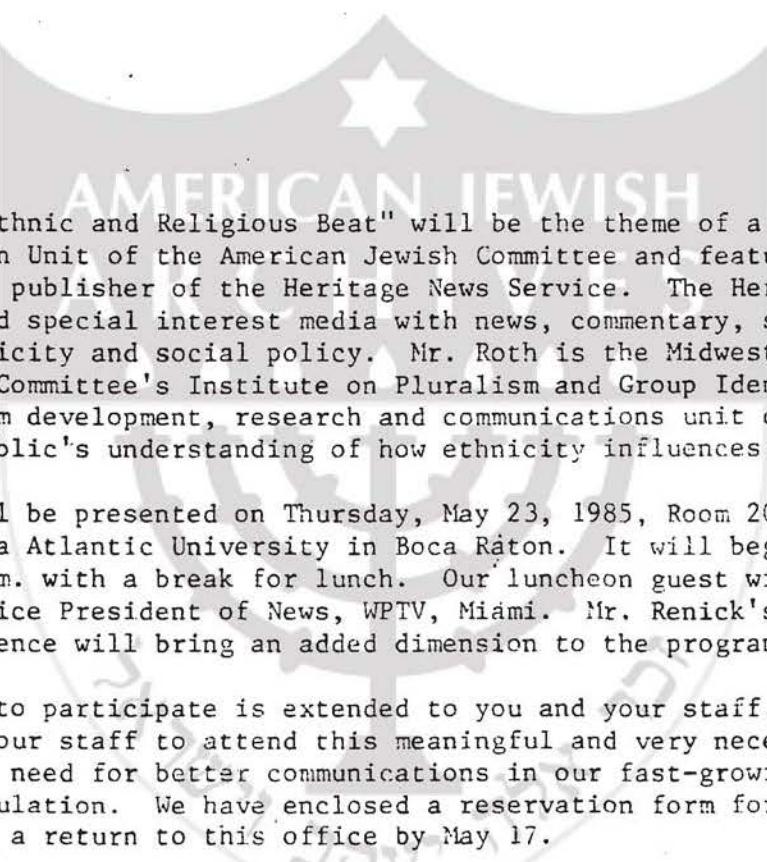


THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOCA RATON UNIT

RICHARD H. DAVIMOS, PRESIDENT

April 26, 1985



"Reporting the Ethnic and Religious Beat" will be the theme of a Seminar sponsored by the Boca Raton Unit of the American Jewish Committee and featuring Mr. David Roth of Chicago, publisher of the Heritage News Service. The Heritage News Service provides mass and special interest media with news, commentary, story ideas and features on ethnicity and social policy. Mr. Roth is the Midwest Director of the American Jewish Committee's Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, organized in 1968 as a program development, research and communications unit concerned with deepening the public's understanding of how ethnicity influences social policy.

This Seminar will be presented on Thursday, May 23, 1985, Room 207 at the University Center of Florida Atlantic University in Boca Raton. It will begin at 11 a.m. and will run to 3 p.m. with a break for lunch. Our luncheon guest will be Mr. Ralph Renick, former Vice President of News, WPTV, Miami. Mr. Renick's over 30 years of broadcast experience will bring an added dimension to the program.

This invitation to participate is extended to you and your staff. Please encourage the members of your staff to attend this meaningful and very necessary program created out of a need for better communications in our fast-growing, diverse, multi-ethnic population. We have enclosed a reservation form for your use and would appreciate a return to this office by May 17.

I look forward to meeting you and many members of your staff on that day. By the way, there is no charge for this Seminar and lunch.

Sincerely,

Richard H. Davimos
President

RHD/sf
enclosure

supplant them. The formulation and publication of such material is particularly cogent because all the encyclopedias examined presented the Jews as being responsible for the death of Jesus without any questions as to the validity of the evidence on which this charge was based or the presentation of any contrary point of view; ten of the textbooks examined implicated Jews and Jewish leaders in the death of Jesus without any qualifications.

The sixty minute television program, "Appointment with Destiny: the Crucifixion of Jesus", sponsored by Timex on the Columbia Broadcasting System of Friday, March 31, 1972, was far superior to all textbooks and encyclopedias reviewed in the treatment of this subject, and copies should be prepared for use in the public schools. All the actors in the presentation portraying Jews were Israelis in a movie made in Jerusalem. This helped bring out and emphasize that Jesus in his human lifetime was a humble Jew, that Jesus' family was Jewish and so were all their friends and relatives. Jesus is referred to as 'rabbi' and all his followers are shown to be simple and poor Jews, all living and following Jewish law without any question as to its validity. The teaching mission of Jesus is shown to take place in the traditional Jewish setting, and according to liberal Jewish custom, this ordinary Jew is shown speaking and teaching wherever Jews gather, even in the Temple in Jerusalem. His behavior in the Temple and its courts when he attacked persons working there is described as violent. The high priest and his co-officials are shown as Jewish "quislings" for the Romans, while the multitude of Jews are shown as detesting Rome and Jews who worked for Rome. One sees and hears the Jews looking forward to regaining their national state. They look upon the messiah to come as the person who will lead

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Join us in an Anti Gay Rally at the Gay Parade.

Sunday, June 30, 1985 12 Noon Sharp at 49 Street & Fifth Avenue

SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 1985

*ו'נש סינח ק' - ק' פ'!
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