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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 4, 1985

Dear Friend:

Because of you or your organization's intense interest in the progress of the Budapest Cultural Forum and the overall CSCE process, Ambassador Stoessel has asked that I keep you informed of the proceedings in Budapest. Enclosed you will find copies of speeches made by the Ambassador as well as several of the private members of the U.S. Delegation. You will also find a precis of significant remarks made by other national delegations at the Forum.

As the Forum proceeds, I will be sending you additional speeches and other documents so you may stay apprised of activities in Budapest.

Sincerely,

David T. Johnson
Office of European Security and
Political Affairs

**ACTION
COPY**

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**INCOMING
TELEGRAM**

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ACTION EUR-00

ON THE DETERMINATION OF SUCH GOVERNMENTS TO SHIELD THEIR PEOPLES FROM RECEIVING A FULL RANGE OF INFORMATION ABOUT WORLD EVENTS AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS.

ACTION OFFICE PHIP-03

INFO EUR-05 PMA-01 PMD-01 EEE-03 PA-01 TE-01 PMS-01 HU-02
PM-01 FILE-01 /B2B A2 TE

MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE IS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT THE PRACTICE OF DELIBERATE INTERFERENCE REMAINS A SERIOUS PROBLEM. THE WORLD ADMINISTRATION RADIO CONFERENCE (WARC) PASSED A RESOLUTION IN 1984 ESTABLISHING A WORLDWIDE MONITORING PROCESS. THE SOVIET UNION AND ALL OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT ARE SIGNATORIES TO THAT RESOLUTION. YET, THOUSANDS OF VIOLATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE THE CONFERENCE ENDED IN JANUARY, 1984. IN THE FUTURE WE HOPE THAT ALL NATIONS WILL RESPECT THE PROVISIONS OF THIS IMPORTANT RESOLUTION.

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00
DODE-00 H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 HA-08 L-03
PM-10 PA-02 OMB-01 INRE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 PRS-01
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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6915
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1718
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

UNCLAS BUDAPEST 9276

FROM USDEL/BCF FOR STATE (EUR/RPM AND PA) AND USIA
(EU:DEMIRAY, P/P:PISTOR, AND P/PF:RUGGIERO)

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, PREL
SUBJECT: BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM: NOVEMBER 1 PLENARY
STATEMENT BY AMB. STOESEL

1. DURING THE NOVEMBER 1 PLENARY MEETING OF THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM, AMBASSADOR STOESEL REFERRED TO THEMES RAISED DURING THE WEEK, SUCH AS THE DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND THE IMPORTANCE TO CULTURAL COMMUNICATION OF INDEPENDENT CREATIVE ACTIVITY. HE ALSO NOTED OUR INTRODUCTION (WITH THE UK, NETHERLANDS AND LUXEMBOURG AS CO-SPONSORS) OF THE FIRST OFFICIAL PROPOSAL FROM THE NATO GROUP. IT IS A NEAR-VERBATIM VERSION OF THE U.S. DRAFT PROPOSAL NUMBER FOUR, WHICH ASSERTS THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS AND INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FIELD OF CULTURE. (SEPTEL WILL PROVIDE DETAILS.)

2. BEGIN TEXT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, FELLOW DELEGATES, AS WE END OUR THIRD WEEK OF DEBATE THE FORUM REACHES ITS HALF WAY MARK, AND I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A FEW MINUTES TO ASSESS OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND TO LOOK AHEAD TO OUR WORK DURING THE FINAL WEEKS OF OUR MEETING.

IN CONTRAST TO THE PRECEDING WEEK THE CULTURAL PERSONALITIES FROM THE UNITED STATES HAVE NOTED SOME PROGRESS IN THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES. THE DISCUSSION OF ISSUES BECAME SOMEWHAT MORE FLEXIBLE PARTICULARLY IN WORKING GROUP TWO AND THE RESULTING SPONTANEITY OF EXPRESSION HAS MADE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THE WORK OF THE FORUM. WE APPRECIATE THE WILLINGNESS OF REPRESENTATIVES TO BE FLEXIBLE ON PROCEDURE AND I HOPE THAT THE GOOD EXAMPLE WILL BE FOLLOWED IN THE WEEKS AHEAD. PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON SOME IMPORTANT ISSUES AND MY DELEGATION IS PLEASED THAT MANY CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS AND PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN DEBATED. I AM ALSO PLEASED THAT SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS SUCH AS THE DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS, CULTURAL REPRESSION, AND THE INVALUABLE EFFORTS OF PRIVATE CITIZENS IN SOME WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE PRESERVATION OF OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE HAVE ALL BEEN RAISED AND DISCUSSED FRANKLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY.

DURING OUR DISCUSSIONS THIS WEEK THE MEDIUM OF RADIO HAS ALSO RECEIVED ATTENTION. THE USE OF RADIO AS A POWERFUL FORCE IN COMMUNICATIONS HAS LONG BEEN RECOGNIZED. INDEED IT IS SO EFFECTIVE IN CROSSING BORDERS AND LOWERING BARRIERS TO CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS, FEARFUL OF ITS IMPACT, HAVE RESORTED TO THE PRACTICE OF JAMMING THE AIRWAVES. IN OUR VIEW, THIS IS A WASTE AND A SAD COMMENTARY

ANOTHER PROBLEM, RELATED TO JAMMING, INVOLVES THE REFUSAL OF SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS TO ALLOW WESTERN JOURNALISTS AND SPOKESMEN ACCESS TO THEIR MEDIA. WITHIN THE PAST WEEK, HOWEVER, THERE HAS BEEN SOME MODEST PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. THE SOVIET UNION, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS AGREED TO PUBLISH AN INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN IN THE SOVIET PRESS.

WE APPLAUD THIS DECISION BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE THE CAUSE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES CAN BE SIGNIFICANTLY ADVANCED BY LETTING THE SOVIET PEOPLE HEAR DIRECTLY FROM OUR PRESIDENT. WE HOPE THIS DECISION IS A PORTENT OF AN EVEN GREATER OPENING UP OF THE SOVIET MEDIA IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS TO COME.

THIS WEEK PERHAPS NO TOPIC HAS CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF SPEAKERS MORE THAN THE QUESTION OF THE CREATIVE USE OF COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY AS A MEANS OF REDUCING EXISTING BARRIERS TO CULTURAL EXCHANGE. THE POTENTIAL FOR USING TECHNOLOGY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WORTHWHILE OBJECTIVE IS HIGHLY EXCITING AND DISTINCTLY POSSIBLE. A MEMBER OF OUR DELEGATION REFERRED TO A PROJECT CURRENTLY TAKING PLACE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN NEW YORK INVOLVING VIEWING OF DAILY PROGRAMMING ON SOVIET TELEVISION VIA SATELLITE. THE STUDY WILL MAKE A VALUABLE AND INTERESTING CONTRIBUTION BOTH TO SCHOLARSHIP AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. WE THINK SERIOUS AND OBJECTIVE PROJECTS OF THIS NATURE OUGHT TO BE ENCOURAGED AND EXPANDED, PARTICULARLY ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS. RATHER THAN WORRY ABOUT WHAT ONE OF THE DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES HAS REFERRED TO AS THE "DICTATORSHIP OF TECHNOLOGY," I SUBMIT THAT WE SHOULD INSTEAD EXAMINE THE MYRIAD POSSIBILITIES OF THE CREATIVE EXPLOITATION OF COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY. THE FORWARD MARCH OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WILL INEVITABLY CONTINUE. WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE ABLE TO KEEP PACE WITH THE PROGRESS OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT IS PERHAPS THE MOST AWESOME AND IMPORTANT CHALLENGE WHICH CONFRONTS US TODAY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, MANY EXCITING IDEAS AND PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN TABLED AND DISCUSSED SINCE OUR DELIBERATIONS BEGAN. WE ARE INTERESTED IN MANY OF THEM WHICH WE FIND BOTH APPEALING AND USEFUL. IN FACT, ONE OF THE AMERICAN CULTURAL PERSONALITIES ON OUR DELEGATION COMMENTED WITH SATISFACTION ON HOW EFFECTIVE HE FOUND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION WHEN INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS USED THEIR OWN ART FORM AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION. ARTISTS GETTING TOGETHER WITH OTHER ARTISTS ARE MORE THAN ABLE TO ESTABLISH A HIGHLY EFFECTIVE CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION WITH ONE ANOTHER. THEY DO NOT NEED ANYONE, LEAST OF ALL A GOVERNMENT, TO TELL THEM HOW TO DO IT. I THINK WE OUGHT TO TAKE OUR CUE FROM THE MANY FINE ARTISTS AND PERFORMERS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF OUR RESPECTIVE DELEGATIONS. CULTURAL COMMUNICATION ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS IS A NATURAL AND LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT. GOVERNMENT SHOULD IN FACT ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT IT, NOT ORGANIZE, DIRECT, OR SUPPRESS IT. ABOVE ALL, ARTISTS WHO ENGAGE IN INDEPENDENT CREATIVE ACTIVITY, WHO PRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THEIR WORK UNOFFICIALLY, WHO ATTEMPT ON THEIR PRIVATE INITIATIVE TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN CONTACTS WITH COLLEAGUES AND AUDIENCES AT HOME OR ABROAD, SHOULD NOT BE

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SUBJECTED TO PENALTIES BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

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FELLOW DELEGATES, LET US ALLOW INDIVIDUALS, AND THE ORGANIZATIONS THEY MAY CHOOSE TO JOIN, TO PURSUE FREELY THEIR CULTURAL INTERESTS AND TO MAINTAIN DIRECT CONTACT WITH EACH OTHER, WITHIN AND ACROSS BORDERS. THE U.S. DELEGATION AND SEVERAL OTHERS ARE PRESENTING A PROPOSAL TODAY ON THIS SUBJECT FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION.

THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN. STOESSEL.



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ACTION EUR-00

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ACTION OFFICE PMP-03
INFO EUR-05 PMA-01 PMD-01 EEE-03 SOEC-01 SOV-01 SOML-01
SOBI-01 PA-01 PMS-01 HU-02 PM-01 RO-02 FILE-01
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PREDECESSORS, ARE THREATENED WITH DESTRUCTION AT THE HAND OF
CONTEMPORARY MAN. SEVERAL DELEGATES HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT THE
EXTENSIVE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. YET, IN THE
AFTERMATH, GOVERNMENTS HAVE SOUGHT AT GREAT EFFORT AND COST TO
REBUILD, OR TO RESTORE WITH PAINSTAKING CARE, THE MOST
SIGNIFICANT OF THESE ARCHITECTURAL TREASURES.

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00
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NOW WE ARE THREATENED BY THE FORCES OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND
CHEMICAL POLLUTION. ALREADY, IRREPLACEABLE LANDMARKS OF OUR
CIVILIZATION HAVE BEEN LOST THROUGH A FAILURE OF CONTEMPORARY
DECISION-MAKERS TO SEE AND APPRECIATE THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO
PROTECT AND PRESERVE THESE ARCHITECTURAL LEGACIES. THE
GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENS OF ALL PARTICIPATING STATES MUST TAKE
STEPS TO UNDERSTAND AND TO MEET THE PRESSING CHALLENGE OF
PRESERVATION BEFORE MORE IRREPARABLE DAMAGE OF THIS KIND IS
DONE.

P 311612Z OCT 85
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6887
USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1710
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

*9015 32-5
cc: HC
MK*

UNCLAS BUDAPEST 9232

FROM USDEL/BCF FOR STATE (EUR/RPM, EUR/EEY AND PA) AND USIA
(EU:DEMIRAY, P/P:PISTOR, AND P/PP:RUGGIERO)

BEYOND THE COMMON THREAT POSED TO ALL NATIONS BY URBAN
DEVELOPMENT AND INCREASING POLLUTION, I REGRET TO SAY THAT IN
SOME PARTICIPATING STATES, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL STRUCTURES
ARE TARGETED FOR DESTRUCTION FOR POLITICAL REASONS. IN
AGGRESSIVE EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A NEW AND HOMOGENOUS STATE
CULTURE, TO REMOVE EVIDENCE OF A NOW-REVISED HISTORY, TO FOCUS
POPULAR ATTENTION ON THE FUTURE BY DETRACTING FROM THE PAST,
OR TO OBLITERATE THE TANGIBLE EXPRESSIONS OF HUMAN VALUES
INCOMPATIBLE WITH CURRENT IDEOLOGY, PRICELESS EDIFICES ARE
BULLDOZED, DEFACED OR LEFT TO THE MERCY OF THE ELEMENTS.

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, PREL, UR, RO
SUBJECT: BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM: STATEMENT BY NANCY
COOLIDGE ON CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS

REF: (A) BUDAPEST 8919, (B) BUDAPEST 9114, (C) BUDAPEST 9115

IN THE SOVIET UNION, THOUSANDS OF BEAUTIFUL AND HISTORIC
CHURCHES HAVE BEEN DESTROYED. STILL OTHERS HAVE BEEN TURNED
INTO STORES, WAREHOUSES, MUSEUMS OF ATHEISM, FILM STUDIOS AND
OFFICES. IN THE NON-RUSSIAN AREAS OF THE SOVIET UNION THERE
IS APPARENTLY A CONSCIOUS EFFORT BY AUTHORITIES TO NEGLECT
NATIONAL MONUMENTS WHOSE THEME DOES NOT COINCIDE WITH THE
OFFICIAL VERSION OF SOVIET HISTORY. THIS IS PARTICULARLY
NOTICEABLE IN ESTONIA, LITHUANIA AND LATVIA WHERE MONUMENTS
AND HISTORICAL SITES REFLECTING PRE-1940 HISTORY HAVE BEEN AT
BEST NEGLECTED AND IN SOME CASES DESTROYED.

1. DURING THE OCTOBER 31 WORKING GROUP ON PLASTIC AND
APPLIED ARTS AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM (BCF), U.S.
PRESERVATIONIST NANCY COOLIDGE DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM OF
DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN THE SOVIET
UNION AND ROMANIA. USDEL/BCF STRONGLY ENCOURAGES STATE/PA TO
SEND HER STATEMENT AND THOSE PROVIDED IN REFTELS TO NGOS
INTERESTED IN THE BCF, USING THE MAILING LIST DEVELOPED FOR
THE NGO MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 6. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE
MAINTAIN OUR DIALOGUE AND CREDIBILITY WITH THE NGOS, NOT JUST
BEFORE AND AFTER CSCE MEETINGS BUT WHILE THEY ARE IN PROGRESS.

THE ENTIRE WORLD IS INDEBTED TO ROMANIA FOR WORKING TO SAVE
AND RESTORE THE UNIQUE PAINTED MONASTERIES OF NORTHERN
MOLDAVIA. WE APPLAUD THE ROMANIAN INITIATIVE IN THIS CASE.
HOWEVER, IN THE PAST FEW YEARS ALONE IN ROMANIA, OTHER,
EQUALLY PRICELESS ARCHITECTURAL TREASURES HAVE BEEN RAZED AND
STILL MORE CURRENTLY FACE DESTRUCTION. IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN
CITIES OF BRASOV, ALBA-IULIA, CLUJ, TIRGU-HURES AND
SIGHISOARA, ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS, MANY OF THEM HAVING A
PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE FOR MINORITY CULTURES, HAVE
DISAPPEARED. OTHER CITIES AND TOWNS FACE SIMILAR FATES UNLESS
PROMPT ACTION IS TAKEN TO SPARE THEM. IN 1983-84, IN THE
HEART OF HISTORIC BUCHAREST, EXTENSIVE DEMOLITION WAS
UNDERTAKEN IN ORDER TO CONSTRUCT A NEW CIVIC CENTER AND PART
OF A NEW BOULEVARD CALLED "THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM." IN THE
COURSE OF REDEVELOPMENT, THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES OF SAINT
NICOLAE LITNITA AND COTROCENI AND THE 17TH CENTURY MONASTERY
OF PANTELIMON HAVE ALL BEEN LEVELLED. THE ENTIRE MONASTIC
COMPLEX OF VACARESTI, A MASTERPIECE OF SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN
ARCHITECTURE BUILT IN THE 18TH CENTURY IS NO MORE. IN
ADDITION, THE BRANCOVENESC HOSPITAL, ANOTHER HISTORICAL
MONUMENT, AND THE INSTITUTE OF FORENSIC MEDICINE HAVE ALSO
BEEN DESTROYED IN THE COURSE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CIVIC
CENTER.

2. BEGIN TEXT

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FELLOW COLLEAGUES,

ON TUESDAY, SEVERAL DELEGATES SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE A
GOOD IDEA TO DEVELOP AN INTERNATIONAL LIST, OR REGISTER, OF
THE IMPORTANT ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORIC STRUCTURES. WHEN I
ENDORSED THIS CONCEPT, DR. AKURGAL OF TURKEY ASKED HOW WE
COULD ACCOMPLISH THE REGISTRATION OF ALL THE HISTORIC
BUILDINGS OF THE WORLD, AND HE COMMENTED THAT HE THINKS IT IS
AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK. I WOULD LIKE TO THANK DR. AKURGAL FOR HIS
QUESTION, AND I WOULD LIKE TO TRY TO ANSWER IT IN TWO WAYS.

FIRST, MAY I PRESUME TO SAY THAT ONE CANNOT ACCOMPLISH
ANYTHING WHICH ONE IS NOT WILLING TO ATTEMPT; MY EXPERIENCE
HAS TAUGHT ME THAT ONE CAN ACCOMPLISH A GREAT DEAL WITH A GOOD
PLAN, A WORTHY GOAL AND STRONG CONVICTION. I AM NOT SURE WHAT
THE BEST PLAN IS, BUT I KNOW THAT THERE IS A NEED TO DEVELOP
AN INTERNATIONAL INVENTORY OF THE ARCHITECTURALLY AND
HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT STRUCTURES. THEREFORE, IT SEEMS
WORTHWHILE TO TRY AND FIND A WAY WHICH WILL BE SUCCESSFUL. I
KNOW THAT IN TURKEY AND GREAT BRITAIN AS IN THE UNITED STATES
AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES, WE HAVE BEEN WORKING FOR YEARS TO
DEVELOP JUST SUCH A LIST ON A NATIONAL BASIS, SO I BELIEVE IT
CAN BE DONE ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS. THE SECOND, MORE
COMPLEX ANSWER TO DR. AKURGAL'S QUESTION CONCERNS THE NEED FOR
THIS INVENTORY.

I HAVE HAD A GREAT DEAL OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE IN THE UNITED
STATES WORKING IN THE AREA OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION. AS THE
ANIMATED DISCUSSIONS IN OUR GROUP BETWEEN CONTEMPORARY
ARCHITECTS AND DESIGNERS ON THE ONE HAND, AND PRESERVATIONISTS
ON THE OTHER HAVE SHOWN, THE CHOICES PRESENTED TO
POLICY-MAKERS AND URBAN PLANNERS ARE HARD ONES TO MAKE.
BUDGETS ARE NOT UNLIMITED. PEOPLE SUCH AS MYSELF OFTEN MUST

IT IS TRAGIC THAT CULTURAL, HISTORICAL, AND ARCHITECTURALLY
SIGNIFICANT STRUCTURES, BUILT FROM STURDY MATERIALS BY OUR

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WAGE AN UPHILL BATTLE TO DEFEND OUR NATIONAL ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE. I CERTAINLY DO NOT WISH TO MINIMIZE OUR OWN DIFFICULTIES IN THE UNITED STATES. MANY IMPORTANT STRUCTURES HAVE BEEN LOST DUE TO SHORT-SIGHTED DECISION-MAKING. YET, MANY OTHERS HAVE BEEN SAVED THANKS TO THE VIGOROUS EFFORTS OF CONCERNED CITIZENS. WE ARE FREE TO CRITICIZE AUTHORITIES AND TO QUESTION THEIR DECISIONMAKING, TO APPEAL TO THE PRESS OR THE COURTS, TO LAUNCH PUBLIC CAMPAIGNS, TO RAISE MONEY OR TO URGE AWARENESS OF THE THREATS TO CULTURAL AND HISTORIC LANDMARKS. IN COUNTRIES WHERE NO SUCH EFFORTS BY PRIVATE CITIZENS ARE POSSIBLE, WHERE GOVERNMENTS REFUSE EVEN TO ADMIT THAT PROBLEMS EXIST, THE DANGER TO CULTURAL AND HISTORIC MONUMENTS IS GREATLY COMPOUNDED.

END TEXT. STOESSEL



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ACTION OFFICE PMP-03
INFO EUR-05 PMA-01 PMD-01 EEE-03 PA-01 PMS-01 HU-02 PM-01
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INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00
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P 281611Z OCT 85
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6806
USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1682
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

UNCLAS BUDAPEST 9115

FROM USDEL/BCF FOR STATE (EUR/RPM AND PA) AND USIA
(EU:DEMIRAY, P/P:PISTOR, AND P/P:RUGGIERO)

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, PREL
SUBJECT: STATEMENTS BY EDWARD ALBEE AND SAM GILLIAM AT
BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM

1. ARTIST SAM GILLIAM AND PLAYRIGHT EDWARD ALBEE MADE THE
FOLLOWING NOTABLE STATEMENTS DURING THE OCTOBER 21-25 WORKING
GROUPS SESSIONS OF THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM. BOTH
EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE TO ARTISTIC CREATIVITY OF INDIVIDUAL
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION.

2. EDWARD ALBEE, WORKING GROUP ON PERFORMING ARTS, OCTOBER
24.

BEGIN TEXT.

I SPEAK FOR MYSELF AS A PRIVATE U.S. CITIZEN, ALBEIT IN A
PUBLIC PROFESSION, WHOSE VIEWS FROM TIME TO TIME COINCIDE WITH
U.S. GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND THIS CONFERENCE AND FROM TIME TO
TIME DO NOT. I HAVE NO IDEA HOW IT WILL GO TODAY.

ON MONDAY, I MENTIONED CENSORSHIP BRIEFLY, QUOTING KARL MARX
(ON CENSORSHIP). I MENTIONED THE TWO TYPES -- GOVERNMENT
CONTROL AND INDIVIDUAL SELF-CENSORSHIP. I CONCENTRATED ON THE
LATTER, EXPLAINING THAT IN THE U.S. OUR PEOPLE ARE FREE TO
IGNORE THE WISDOM PROVIDED BY UNFETTERED ARTISTIC EXPRESSION
-- AT THEIR OWN PSYCHIC PERIL, OF COURSE, BUT PERHAPS I DID
NOT MAKE IT SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR THAT I CONSIDER THIS FAILING
FAR PREFERABLE TO GOVERNMENTAL ARTISTIC CONTROL; THE FIRST IS
CONTROL BY PUBLIC EDUCATION, THE SECOND ONLY BY EDUCATING
GOVERNMENT WHICH IS A FAR MORE DIFFICULT TASK.

AS A CREATIVE ARTIST IN A COUNTRY WHERE THE INDIVIDUAL ACT OF
CONSCIENCE IS REVERED, THOUGH OCCASIONALLY MORE IN PRINCIPLE
THAN IN FACT, I AM CONCERNED WITH AND PUZZLED BY COUNTRIES
WHERE THE INDIVIDUAL ACT IS DISCOURAGED AND EVEN FEARED.

I LEARNED A POWERFUL LESSON ABOUT THE FORCE OF THE CREATIVE
ACT OF THE INDIVIDUAL SEVERAL YEARS AGO WHEN I WAS IN THE
SOUTH KOREA PETITIONING THE PRESIDENT OF THAT COUNTRY FOR THE
RELEASE OF AN IMPRISONED SOUTH KOREAN POET. I WAS TOLD BY THE
PRESIDENT THAT THE RELEASE OF THE POET MIGHT WELL LEAD TO
CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH COULD BRING ABOUT THE FALL OF THE
GOVERNMENT. I TOLD THE PRESIDENT PUBLICLY THAT I HAD BEEN
UNAWARE THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS SO WEAK THAT A POET OR A POEM
COULD BRING IT DOWN; AND PRIVATELY I WAS FILLED WITH WONDER
AND DELIGHT AT THE POWER OF THE WORD.

I BELIEVE IT IS OUR FUNCTION HERE TO SEE TO IT THAT THE
CREATIVE ACT -- AND ALL THE INFORMATION AND INSTRUCTION IT
POSSESSES -- IS GIVEN UNFETTERED EXPRESSION BETWEEN OUR
VARIOUS COUNTRIES. AND MUCH THAT I HAVE HEARD THESE PAST FOUR
DAYS HAS DELIGHTED AND ENCOURAGED ME AND MUCH THAT I HAVE
HEARD HAS FILLED ME WITH MISGIVINGS -- EVEN DISMAY. I WAS
PLEASED BY THE SUGGESTION OF THE DISTINGUISHED DANISH AND
SPANISH DELEGATES THAT THERE BE GREATER FREEDOM IN OUR
CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS -- THAT RECEIVING COUNTRIES HAVE
GREATER SAY IN WHAT THEY RECEIVE, AND THAT SENDING COUNTRIES
BE GIVEN GREATER FREEDOM IN WHAT THEY WISH TO SEND. I HAVE
BEEN PLEASED BY THE SUGGESTIONS MADE CONCERNING THE FREER
EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS AND INDIVIDUAL PRACTITIONERS OF THE ARTS
-- ACTORS, DIRECTORS, PLAYWRIGHTS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN ORDER TO
LEARN OTHER CREATIVITIES, OTHER WISDOMS.

I HAVE BEEN DISCOURAGED BY MUCH OF WHAT I HAVE HEARD. I
DISAGREE WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT WE ARE NOT POLITICALLY
MOTIVATED HERE. IT HAS BECOME TIRESOMELY CLEAR THAT WHILE
SOME DELEGATIONS ARE ENGAGED IN THE ATTEMPT TO ACCOMPLISH AN
EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL CREATIVE DISCOURSE, OTHERS ARE NOT. I AM
DISCOURAGED THAT MOST REFERENCES TO HOW WONDERFUL THE PRESENT
STATE OF AESTHETIC EXCHANGE IS TEND TO CONCENTRATE ON DANCE,
OPERA, BALLET AND CLASSICAL DRAMA, IGNORING THE PROBLEMS
FACING THE FREE DISSEMINATION OF CONTEMPORARY IDEAS AS
REPRESENTED BY THE CONTEMPORARY WORD. IN A WORLD WHERE
GOVERNMENTS FEAR THE WORD, WHERE PRACTITIONERS OF THE ARTS AS
AN ACT OF CONSCIENCE ARE IMPRISONED OR EXILED, THERE IS NO
HEALTHY EXCHANGE OF CULTURES. I AM DISMAYED BY THE TWO
PREVALENT IMPLICATIONS THAT GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO
DETERMINE THEIR INDIVIDUAL AESTHETIC AND IMPOSE THIS VIEW ON
THEIR CREATIVE ARTISTS. AND I AM DISMAYED -- NO, THAT IS TOO
WEAK AN EXPRESSION -- I DETEST THE RECURRENT INVENTION THAT
THE EXPERIMENTAL, THE AVANT-GARDE IS DECADENT. THIS FEAR AND
LOATHING OF THE NEW, THE ADVENTUROUS IS PERHAPS AS GREAT A
BARRIER TO THE HEALTHY GROWTH OF A NATIONAL AESTHETIC AS ANY
OTHER WE FACE. TO PARAPHRASE LINCOLN STEFFANS, THE GREAT
AMERICAN PROGRESSIVE JOURNALIST, WE MUST GO TO THE FUTURE... IT
WORKS! THE ASSUMPTION THAT ONLY THE OPTIMISTIC, THE EASY, THE
PATRIOTICALLY SYCOPHANTIC REPRESENTS THE ESSENCE OF A NATION,
IS THE GREATEST FOLLY.

DURING THE FIRST OF MY MANY VISITS TO THE SOVIET UNION -- IN
NOVEMBER OF 1963, A SAD TIME FOR THE U.S. AND THE WORLD,
COINCIDING AS IT DID WITH THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT
KENNEDY -- DURING THIS FIRST OF MY VISITS I MET, ALL IN ONE EVENING,
IN MOSCOW, FOUR EXTRAORDINARY SOVIET WRITERS -- JOVZHEZHNSKY
, YEVTUSHENKO, ANSYONOV AND ANDREI AMALRIK.
AMALRIK IS DEAD; THE OTHER THREE REMAIN MY CLOSE FRIENDS.

I THINK WE SHOULD SPEND OUR TIME HERE TRYING TO PROVE
AMALRIK'S DEEPEST FEARS UNGROUND.

OF COURSE, WE SHOULD TRY TO REACH AGREEMENTS HERE, AGREEMENTS
REFLECTING EACH NATION'S ASPIRATIONS AND FEARS HOWEVER
REASONABLE OR UNREASONABLE THEY MAY BE. AT THE SAME TIME,
THERE IS A GREAT DANGER THAT FORMALIZATION OF EXCHANGE CAN
BECOME A LIMITATION OF EXCHANGE RATHER THAN AN OPENING TO
GREATER EXCHANGE. THEREFORE, EACH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTED HERE
MUST BEND TO OUR COMMON GOAL, ABANDONING XENOPHOBIA, SUSPICION
AND SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS.

I WARN YOU, UNLESS YOU PAY PROPER ATTENTION TO THESE MATTERS,
YOU WILL ONLY BE SERVING YOURSELVES AND NOT YOUR PEOPLE. THIS
CONGRESS WILL BE LIMITING AESTHETIC EXCHANGE RATHER THAN
OBSERVING ITS MANDATE.

YOU ARE CAPABLE HERE OF AVOIDING THE AESTHETIC AND SEMANTIC
COLLAPSE AMALRIK SPOKE OF, BUT ONLY IF YOU ARE CAPABLE OF

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TRANSCENDING MUTUAL SUSPICION, TRANSCENDING CENSORSHIP,
TRANSCENDING THE SWAMP OF A SELF-SERVING BUREAUCRACY,
TRANSCENDING SHORT TERM NATIONAL INTEREST, AND ARE ABLE TO
BIND THE PROFOUND WOUNDS TO THE ARTS OF THE WORLD PRODUCED BY
THE EAST-WEST SPLIT.

THE PATIENT IS ON THE TABLE BEFORE YOU; YOU CAN EITHER CURE
IT OR SUFFOCATE IT. I BEG YOU, CHOOSE WISELY, CHOOSE
UNSELFISHLY.

END TEXT.

3. SAM GILLIAM, WORKING GROUP ON PLASTIC AND APPLIED ARTS,
OCTOBER 24.

BEGIN TEXT.

WE HAVE HAD CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION SO FAR OF THE NEED FOR
INCREASED KNOWLEDGE AND CONTACTS BETWEEN CREATIVE
PERSONALITIES AS ESSENTIAL FOR BUILDING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.
THERE HAS ALSO BEEN CONSIDERABLE REFERENCE TO THE RELATIONSHIP
OF ART TO POLITICS AND OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ARTISTS TO THE
SOCIETY IN WHICH THEY LIVE AND TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE. THE NOT
SO SUBTLE IMPLICATION OF SOME STATEMENTS HAS BEEN THAT ART,
CULTURE, AND THE FREEDOM OF CREATIVITY OF THE ARTISTS HAVE NO
VALUE IN AND OF THEMSELVES. THEY ARE, IN EFFECT, MERELY TOOLS
IN A BIGGER GAME.

I DO NOT THINK ANY REASONABLE, INFORMED PERSON WOULD DISPUTE
THE FACT THAT ART HAS OFTEN BEEN AN IMPORTANT TOOL IN SOCIAL
CRITICISM IN BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE. THE ARTIST, LIKE EVERY
OTHER HUMAN BEING, HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO TRY TO BUILD A MORE
JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD FOR ALL THE CREATURES OF THIS EARTH.
I DO THINK, THOUGH, THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SOME IMPORTANT POINTS
MISSED IN OUR DISCUSSIONS SO FAR. THE ROLE OF THE ARTIST, AND
HIS RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, IS NOT SO LIMITED AS TO BE
ONLY MECHANISTIC REFLECTIONS OF THE SOCIETY IN WHICH HE OR SHE
LIVES. FREEDOM OF ARTISTIC EXPRESSION AND OF FREE CONTACTS
AND INTERACTION AMONG INDIVIDUALS AND PERSONS IS CENTRAL TO
CULTURE, TO MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, AND TO PEACE ITSELF.

ONE OF OUR BULGARIAN COLLEAGUES TOLD US ON MONDAY THAT THE
STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO REJECT IMPORT OF "SPOILED" IDEAS IN THE
SAME WAY THAT IT HAS THE RIGHT TO REJECT IMPORT OF SPOILED
TOMATOES. PERHAPS I AM BEING OVERLY PESSIMISTIC, BUT I THINK
THAT IT IS MUCH EASIER TO SPOT A SPOILED VEGETABLE THAN IT IS
TO RECOGNIZE A SPOILED IDEA. SINCE NO INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEING
OR GROUP OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN INFALLIBLY CLAIM PERFECT WISDOM,
IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT ANY PERSON OR ORGANIZATION INCLUDING
POLITICAL PARTIES, GOVERNMENTS, OR ARTISTIC UNIONS, CAN THINK
THAT IT HAS THE RIGHT OR ABILITY TO DETERMINE WHAT IS AN
"ACCEPTABLE" IDEA AND WHAT IS NOT. IN ALL TOO MANY CASES,
THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS ABSOLUTE "RIGHT" OR "WRONG."

THE REALM OF ART IS THE SAME AS THAT OF PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS.
THROUGHOUT HISTORY, CREATION HAS COME ABOUT FROM THE CONSTANT
MINGLING AND INTERACTION OF DIFFERENT CREATIVE FORMS AND
IDEAS. THESE ART FORMS OFTEN SEEM CONTRADICTORY TO EACH
OTHER, BUT, TO USE A GOOD MARXIST TERM, IT IS A DIALECTICAL
PROCESS, ONE WHICH COMES TO A SCREECHING HALT AND STAGNATES
ONCE WE STOP INTERJECTING NEW, OFTEN CONTROVERSIAL, IDEAS AND
FORMS.

I FIND IT EXTREMELY IRONIC THAT WE HAVE HEARD PAENS FROM SOME
DELEGATIONS HERE TO A NUMBER OF ART MOVEMENTS OF THE PAST
WHICH WE NOW CONSIDER TO BE HIGHLIGHTS OF WORLD CULTURE. WHEN
SOME OF THOSE MOVEMENTS BEGAN TO DEVELOP, THE IMPRESSIONISTS
BEING A GOOD EXAMPLE, THE ART "ESTABLISHMENT" CONDEMNED THEM
AS BAD ARTISTS; CONDEMNED THEIR WORK AS BAD ART, ANTI-ART. IF

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FRANCE IN THE 1860S HAD HAD THE SAME TYPE OF POWERFUL CULTURAL
BUREAUCRACY WITH STRONG POWERS OF SUPPRESSION THAT SOME OF THE
COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN THIS ROOM TODAY HAVE, WE WOULD NOT
NOW HAVE THE PLEASURE OF PRAISING MONET, Renoir AND OTHER
IMPRESSIONIST MASTERS. IN THE NAME OF "PROTECTING" SOCIETY
FROM BAD ART OR HARMFUL IDEAS, THEY AND THEIR WORKS WOULD HAVE
BEEN SUPPRESSED.

THE POINT IS THAT ALL IDEAS, ALL FORMS OF CREATIVE
EXPRESSION, GOOD BAD, INDIFFERENT, ARE BOTH NECESSARY TO THE
CREATIVE PROCESS AND ARE RIGHTS IN AND OF THEMSELVES. WHAT
ONE PERSON OR GROUP CONSIDERS TO BE GOOD ANOTHER MAY CONSIDER
TO BE BAD, AND CONCEPTS OF WHAT IS GOOD OR BAD CONSTANTLY
CHANGE. THE ARTIST MUST HAVE THE COMPLETE FREEDOM TO FOLLOW
HIS OR HER CREATIVE INSTINCTS WHEREVER THEY MIGHT LEAD, AND TO
BRING THE FRUITS OF HIS OR HER CREATIVE ENDEAVORS TO THE
ATTENTION OF OTHER PEOPLE. THOSE OTHERS MAY DISLIKE WHAT IS
OFFERED, AND MAY, FOR THEMSELVES, REJECT IT. THAT IS THEIR
RIGHT. HOWEVER, THEY HAVE NO RIGHT WHATSOEVER TO SUPPRESS IT,
OR HIDE IT FROM THE JUDGEMENT OF OTHER PEOPLE.

IT IS A FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH OF FREE EXPRESSION IN ALL ITS
FORMS, INCLUDING ARTISTIC CREATION, THAT FREEDOM INCLUDES THE
RIGHT TO BE WRONG, THE RIGHT TO PRODUCE AND PEACEFULLY ATTEMPT
TO DISSEMINATE THE MEDIOCRE OR EVEN BAD IDEAS OR ARTISTIC
WORKS,

AS WELL AS WORKS OF GENIUS. IN THIS ROOM FULL OF PERSONS WHO
HAVE BEEN LABELLED "DISTINGUISHED CULTURAL PERSONALITIES," IT
WOULD BE WELL TO KEEP IN MIND THAT FREEDOM OF ARTISTIC
EXPRESSION IS FOR ALL PERSONS, NOT JUST FOR GENIUSES.

BY DEFINITION, CENSORSHIP, WHETHER FORMAL OR THE
SELF-CENSORSHIP DERIVING FROM FEAR OF SUPPRESSION OR REPRISAL,
IS ANTIMETICAL TO CREATIVITY. AS ARTISTS, WE MUST
EMPHATICALLY ASSERT THE RIGHT OF EACH AND EVERY PERSON TO
EXPERIMENT AND CREATE AS HE OR SHE THINKS FIT. WE MUST REJECT
THE VERY STRANGE NOTION THAT ANY COMMITTEE OR GROUP OR
GOVERNMENT OR POLITICAL PARTY HAS THE RIGHT TO SUPPRESS OUR
WORKS. IF PEOPLE DO NOT LIKE WHAT WE PRODUCE, THEY DON'T HAVE
TO LOOK AT IT OR BUY IT. THAT IS THEIR RIGHT. BUT WE HAVE
THE RIGHT TO CREATE IT AND TO PRESENT IT WITHOUT CENSORSHIP OR
RESTRAINT. I THINK THAT THIS IS WHAT WE SHOULD BE DISCUSSING
IN THIS FORUM, RATHER THAN RECITING LENGTHY PAENS TO HOW GOOD
WE ALL ARE. WE SHOULD BE DISCUSSING HOW TO DO AWAY WITH
ARTIFICIAL ANTI-CREATIVE BUREAUCRATIC OR IDEOLOGICAL
RESTRAINTS ON FREE EXPRESSION. I WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED TO
HEAR THE VIEWS OF MY COLLEAGUES ON THIS THEME.

END TEXT. STOSSEL

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THE POINT FROM WHICH ALL OF OUR DISCUSSIONS MUST BEGIN AND IT IS AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF ANY EXAMINATION OF CREATION, DISSEMINATION AND COOPERATION.

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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6804
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1600
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

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UNCLAS BUDAPEST 9114

FROM USDEL/BCF FOR STATE (EUR/RPM AND PA) AND USIA
(EU:DEMIRAY, P/P:PISTOR, AND P/P:RUGGIERO)

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, PREL
SUBJECT: BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM: OCTOBER 25 PLENARY STATEMENT
BY AMBASSADOR STOESSEL

1. AMBASSADOR STOESSEL MADE THE FOLLOWING PLENARY STATEMENT
AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM OCTOBER 25, AFTER THE FIRST
WORKING GROUPS OF CULTURAL FIGURES HAD FINISHED THEIR SESSIONS.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

MR. CHAIRMAN:
FELLOW DELEGATES:

DURING THE PAST FEW DAYS WE HAVE LISTENED TO PRESENTATIONS BY
LEADING CULTURAL FIGURES FROM OUR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. MANY
CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS WERE ADVANCED, SOME OF THEM
EXPRESSED IN MOVING AND INSPIRED LANGUAGE. ALAS, WE HAVE ALSO
LISTENED TO A GREAT MANY STATEMENTS WHICH, IN MY VIEW, WERE
NOT ALWAYS RELEVANT TO THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS IT IS OUR DUTY
TO EXAMINE AND DISCUSS.

TO SPEAK FRANKLY, SEVERAL CULTURAL PERSONALITIES FROM THE
U.S. DELEGATION HAVE CONFESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AND A SENSE OF
IMPATIENCE BECAUSE ALL TOO FEW OF THE SPEECHES HAVE DEALT WITH
THE INTER-RELATED PROBLEMS OF CULTURAL CREATION,
DISSEMINATION, AND COOPERATION IN A BALANCED AND SPECIFIC
WAY. MOREOVER, THERE HAS BEEN AN ABSENCE OF LIVELY, DIRECT
DEBATE IN THE WORKING GROUPS BECAUSE OF THE RIGID FORMAT
ATTACHED TO THE SPEAKING ORDER. IF THE FORUM IS TO BE A
SUCCESS WE MUST SEE THAT A REASONABLE DISCUSSION OF ALL THREE
ASPECTS OF THE MADRID MANDATE TAKES PLACE IN BUDAPEST.

WE SHOULD NOT HAVE TO SPEND OUR DAYS LISTENING TO A LITANY OF
ACCOMPLISHMENTS INTENDED TO ATTEST TO HOW WELL SOME AMONG US
CONSIDER THEY HAVE DONE THEIR JOBS. IT IS A DELUSION TO THINK
THAT A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF EVERY ASPECT OF STATE TO STATE
COOPERATION ABSOLVES US OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES TO ADDRESS THE
VERY REAL PROBLEMS THAT CONTINUE TO IMPEDE OR OBSTRUCT FREEDOM
OF INDEPENDENT ARTISTIC EXPRESSION. WHILE STATE TO STATE
CULTURAL RELATIONS ARE CERTAINLY AN IMPORTANT PART OF CULTURAL
EXCHANGE, THEY HAVE BECOME SO ONLY BECAUSE SOME GOVERNMENTS
INSIST ON CONTROLLING EVERY ASPECT OF CREATIVE LIFE. WE FEEL
STRONGLY THAT INDIVIDUAL EXCHANGE PROJECTS ON THE PRIVATE LEVEL
ARE ALSO PART OF THE CSCE MANDATE, AND THAT THEY FORM THE MOST
SOLID FOUNDATION FOR GENUINE CULTURAL COOPERATION.

THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF ISSUES TO COMMAND OUR ATTENTION. WHAT
CAN BE MORE RELEVANT THAN THE CRUCIAL QUESTION OF FREEDOM OF
EXPRESSION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE CREATIVE PROCESS? IT IS

GOVERNMENT CONTROLS OR RESTRICTIONS ON THE CREATIVE PROCESS
INEVITABLY LEAD TO A STIFLING OF INDIVIDUAL ARTISTIC
ACHIEVEMENT AND, INDEED, OF THAT PROCESS ITSELF. THE UGLY
SPECTER OF GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP IS DEVASTATING TO BOTH THE
ARTIST AND HIS OR HER WORK. GOVERNMENTS WHICH SEVERELY
RESTRICT FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION CALL POLITICALLY INCONVENIENT
ARTISTS AND ART FORMS "MORALLY BANKRUPT, DECADENT OR
PORNOGRAPHIC." IN DOING SO, THESE GOVERNMENTS DEMONSTRATE
THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE TRUE CREATIVE PROCESS. THEY ONLY
CREATE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH CULTURAL LIFE IS DRIVEN
UNDERGROUND.

CREATIVITY, SO BASIC A PART OF THE INHERENT DIGNITY OF THE
HUMAN PERSON, CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED BY OFFICIAL DECREE. ASK A
NON-CONFORMIST ARTIST TAKING PART IN AN UNDERGROUND EXHIBITION,
OR A PLAYWRIGHT WHOSE WORK APPEARS IN A SAMIZDAT PUBLICATION
WHAT HE THINKS OF ARTISTIC FREEDOM AND OFFICIAL UNIONS OF
ARTISTS AND WRITERS.

WHAT A SAD COMMENTARY ON THE STATE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN
THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA THAT GREAT ARTISTS SUCH AS
DANCER RUDOLPH NURYEYEV, PLAYWRIGHT PAVEL KOHOUT, THEATRE
DIRECTOR YURI LYUBIMOV, AND SCULPTOR ERNST NEIZVESTNY ARE NOW
LIVING IN THE WEST AND THE REASON IS THAT THEY REJECTED OR WERE
REJECTED BY A SYSTEM WHICH DENIED THEM THE ONE THING CRUCIAL TO
ARTISTIC INTEGRITY: FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND THE RIGHT TO
EXPERIMENT AND GROW IN ONE'S PROFESSION. AND HOW SAD IT WAS TO
HEAR A REPRESENTATIVE FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA REPORT WITH PRIDE A
FEW DAYS AGO THAT YOUNG PEOPLE IN HER COUNTRY WERE "PROTECTED"
BY THE STATE FROM THE MENACE OF CONTAMINATION FROM THE
"DECADENT CAPITALISTIC MUSIC" OF A ROCK CONCERT.

HOW THE FORUM DEALS WITH THE EQUALLY IMPORTANT QUESTION OF
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT MUST ALSO COMMAND OUR URGENT ATTENTION.
WHAT IS THE RECORD HERE? ON ONE LEVEL IT IS COMMENDABLE THAT
MANY FINE STATE-TO-STATE EXCHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE. BUT IT IS
ALSO DISTURBING THAT SOME GOVERNMENTS REPRESENTED HERE INSIST
ON LABORIOUSLY NEGOTIATED CULTURAL AGREEMENTS AS A PRECONDITION
FOR ANY CULTURAL EXCHANGES AT ALL. SUCH AGREEMENTS ALLOW THESE
GOVERNMENTS TO CONTROL WHOM THEY LET OUT OF THEIR COUNTRIES AND
WHOM THEY LET IN. MOREOVER, THE PRACTICE IN THE SOVIET UNION
OF CLOSING OFF LARGE PARTS OF ITS TERRITORY TO FOREIGNERS, WHO
INCLUDE ARTISTS AND CULTURAL ENSEMBLES, IS HARDLY CONSISTENT
WITH CULTURAL INTERCHANGE AND PROMOTING BETTER
UNDERSTANDING.

IN THE OPINION OF MY DELEGATION, MR. CHAIRMAN, OUR
DISTINGUISHED CULTURAL PERSONALITIES SHOULD BE ALLOWED IN THE
COMING WEEKS THE WIDEST POSSIBLE LATITUDE TO DISCUSS THE
REMOVAL OF THE BARRIERS THAT INHIBIT CULTURAL CONTACT AND
DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN AND AMONG COUNTRIES. WE SHOULD TRY TO
DEVELOP SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF
CENSORSHIP, THE FREE TRANSMISSION OF IDEAS, JAMMING, FREEDOM TO
TRAVEL AND TO ACCEPT INVITATIONS, ACCESS TO RESEARCH
FACILITIES, FREE PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL
EVENTS, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CULTURAL CENTERS, TO MENTION
ONLY A FEW IDEAS. MANY HERE HAVE SPOKEN OF THE IMPORTANCE OF
EXCHANGES AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE. WE SUPPORT THIS CONCEPT. I AM
CONVINCED THAT, GIVEN THE PROPER FREEDOM TO WORK, WHICH MUST
INCLUDE TRAVEL AND OPEN CONTACTS WITH OTHER ARTISTS, YOUNG
MUSICIANS, DANCERS, ACTORS, AND PLAYWRIGHTS, MAKE THE VERY BEST
AMBASSADORS. THEY DESERVE OUR SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT.

FELLOW DELEGATES, IN MY OPENING PLENARY STATEMENT I EXPRESSED
THE HOPE THAT OUR CULTURAL PERSONALITIES WOULD FIND NEW,

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UNEXPLORED WAYS TO ADVANCE THE GOALS OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS. WE WELCOME THE IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS MADE THIS WEEK. THESE, AND OTHER IDEAS I AM CONFIDENT WILL BE MADE IN THE COMING WEEKS, DESERVE OUR SERIOUS ATTENTION. IN OUR VIEW, WE SHOULD EXAMINE THEM AS A TOTALITY, NOT PIECEMEAL, IF WE ARE TO GIVE COHERENCE TO OUR EFFORTS. AND THESE EFFORTS MUST INCLUDE THE BROADER, MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF CULTURAL FREEDOM MANY OF US HAVE BEEN RAISING.

FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE BY RESTATING THE POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT ON THE QUESTION OF A FINAL DOCUMENT. WE DO NOT OPPOSE THE ADOPTION OF A FINAL DOCUMENT. ON THE CONTRARY WE, LIKE MANY DELEGATIONS TO THE FORUM, FAVOR A FINAL DOCUMENT IF IT INCLUDES BOTH SERIOUS COMMITMENTS AND CONCRETE, PRACTICAL PROJECTS WHICH WOULD TRULY ADVANCE US ON THE ROAD TO THE REMOVAL OF BARRIERS AND OBSTACLES TO FREE CULTURAL EXPRESSION AND INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE. LESS THAN THAT SHOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO ANY OF US. NONE OF US SHOULD BE WILLING TO AGREE TO A DOCUMENT CONSISTING OF HOLLOW GESTURES AND MEANINGLESS PLATITUDES, AND LACKING BALANCE AMONG THE THREE ELEMENTS OF OUR MANDATE. THE OPPORTUNITY TO GIVE REAL SIGNIFICANCE TO THE CULTURAL DIMENSION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT IS WITHIN THE GRASP OF THIS DISTINGUISHED BODY. LET US SEIZE THE MOMENT AND RISE TO THE CHALLENGE THAT BECKONS US.

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN.

END TEXT. STOSSEL



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P 281131Z OCT 85
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6792
USIA WASHDC PRIORITY 1675
CSCE COLLECTIVE PRIORITY
INFO AMCONSUL MUNICH PRIORITY

UNCLAS BUDAPEST 9096

FROM USDEL/BCF FOR USIA-EU, P/G-ARNOLD, VOA/D-CHATTEN,
VOA/P-YASHAROFF

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, PREL
SUBJECT: MEDIA COVERAGE OF BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM

1. JUDGED BY NORMAL EAST EUROPEAN PRACTICE AND ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE STIMULATING THEMES AND COMPOSITION OF THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM (BCF), HUNGARIAN MEDIA COVERAGE HAS BEEN EXTRAORDINARY. FAR FROM ATTEMPTING TO INSULATE THE HUNGARIAN PUBLIC FROM THE OFT-TIME PROVOCATIVE CONTENT OF THE BCF, LOCAL MEDIA HAVE APPEARED TO HIGHLIGHT THE PROCEEDINGS, EVEN IF NOT ALWAYS REPORTING EVERY CONTROVERSIAL POINT REGISTERED BY MANY DELEGATIONS. THIS CABLE WILL FOCUS ON HUNGARIAN MEDIA, BUT IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE FIRST WEEK ALSO INCLUDED MANY FOREIGN MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES WHO HAVE SUBSEQUENTLY DEPARTED BUT INTEND TO RETURN TOWARDS THE END OF THE BCF. THEIR FOCUS WAS ON AMBASSADOR STOESEL AND INCLUDED INTERVIEWS AND RELATED STORIES BY THE WASHINGTON POST, NEW YORK TIMES, ASSOCIATED PRESS, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, BBC, REUTERS, TIME MAGAZINE, AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, DIE WELT, FINNISH RADIO, YUGOSLAV TELEVISION, NORWEGIAN TELEVISION, AS WELL AS RADIO FREE EUROPE, VOA'S USSR AND EUROPEAN DIVISIONS AND FINALLY USIA'S WIRELESS FILE.

2. THE FIRST WEEK OF HUNGARIAN MEDIA COVERAGE WAS NO LESS NOTEWORTHY AND WHILE THE GAMUT OF MEDIA REPORTING IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO COVER, THE HIGHLIGHTS WHICH FOLLOW PROVIDE A MOSAIC OF ITS EXTENT DURING THE FIRST TWO WEEKS OF THE BCF. ALL MAJOR BUDAPEST NEWSPAPERS CARRIED -- AND ARE CONTINUING TO CARRY -- SUBSTANTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE FORUM, INCLUDING THE PARTY ORGAN "NEPSZABADSAG," WHICH CARRIED REPORTS, INTERVIEWS AND EDITORIALS. MOST IMPRESSIVE WAS THE COVERAGE OF "MAGYAR NEMZET," THE ORGAN OF THE PEOPLES' PATRIOTIC FRONT, BUT THE NEWSPAPER WHICH IS THE MOST WIDELY READ BY INTELLECTUALS. THERE HAVE BEEN DAYS WHEN THE ENTIRE FRONT PAGE WAS GIVEN OVER TO SUMMARIES OF SPEECHES BY WESTERN DELEGATES AND ESPECIALLY TO THE OPENING STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR STOESEL.

3. AS THE SECOND WEEK BEGAN WITH THE TWO SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES (SWB I AND II), THE EMPHASIS OF MEDIA ATTENTION SHIFTED TO SOME OF THE MORE FAMOUS CULTURAL PERSONALITIES IN THE US DELEGATION. PLAYWRIGHT EDWARD ALBEE DOMINATED THE INNUMERABLE REQUESTS FROM HUNGARIAN -- AND OTHER EE -- MEDIA. ALTHOUGH SOME BRIEF INTERVIEWS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WEEK WERE ARRANGED -- AND ALBEE WAS HIGHLY COOPERATIVE AND PATIENT -- THE REQUESTS BECAME SO OVERWHELMING THAT AGREEMENT WAS REACHED WITH HIM AND THE MEDIA TO HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE ON HIS FINAL DAY AT THE BCF - OCT. 25. FORTY-TWO JOURNALISTS ATTENDED THE PRESS CONFERENCE MOSTLY FROM HUNGARY BUT A FEW FROM ELSEWHERE,

SUCH AS CUBA WHO THREW A CURVE BALL AT ALBEE ON NICARAGUA WHICH ALBEE DEFTLY BATTED OUT OF THE PARK. THE PRESS CONFERENCE WAS REPORTED IN ALL HUNGARIAN DAILIES ON OCTOBER 26 IN VARYING DEGREES OF DETAIL, SOME WITH PHOTOGRAPHS, AND ON THE RADIO.

4. RADIO INTERVIEWS WITH ALBEE AND PIANIST EUGENE ISTOMIN, FOLKLORIST BESS HAWES, DANCER TRISHA BROWN, PAINTER SAM GILLIAM, PHOTOGRAPHER PAUL CAPONIGRO AND PRINTMAKER RUDY POZZATTI WERE ALSO DONE BY HUNGARIAN AND BULGARIAN CORRESPONDENTS AS WELL AS VOA AND RFE.

5. THE CLIMAX OF MEDIA COVERAGE TOOK PLACE ON OCTOBER 24 WITH THREE TAPED INTERVIEWS BY HUNGARIAN TELEVISION OF ALBEE, GILLIAM AND ISTOMIN. THESE ARE FOR A WEEKLY TV CULTURAL MAGAZINE TELEVISED EVERY TUESDAY NIGHT FROM 9-10. (ARRANGEMENTS WERE ALSO MADE WITH THE TV CREW FOR LATER INTERVIEWS WITH US PERSONALITIES.)

6. MEANWHILE, PRIOR TO THE TELECAST OF THESE INTERVIEWS ON OCT. 29, A HUNGARIAN TV GALA LASTING THREE HOURS WILL BE TELEVISED LIVE ON OCT. 28 FOR EAST AND WEST EUROPE FEATURING PROMINENT CULTURAL PERSONALITIES IN PERFORMANCE. BILLY TAYLOR WILL BE THE UNITED STATES' PARTICIPANT IN HIS JAZZ TRIO.

7. ADDRESSEE POSTS ARE REQUESTED TO REPORT ANY MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE FORUM. THUS FAR, THE SUNDAY PAPER "VASARNAPI HIREK" CARRIES ONE REPORT FROM MOSCOW'S "HOVOYE VREMYA" CALLING FOR A SETTING ASIDE OF "POLITICAL AND RELIGI
US VIEWS AT THE FORUM IN THE SEARCH FOR CREATIVE SERVICE TO HUMANITY." MEDIA REACTION WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED AND SHOULD BE SLUGGED FOR BCF/ALEXANDER.
STOESEL

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P 221525Z OCT 85
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6674
USIA PRIORITY 1644

UNCLAS BUDAPEST 8919

FROM USDEL/BCF FOR EUR/RPM AND PA (ILMAR HEINARU)

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, PREL
SUBJECT: PLENARY STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR STOESEL

1. SUMMARY. AFTER THE INITIAL ROUND OF OPENING SPEECHES AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM (BCF), AMBASSADOR STOESEL MADE A STATEMENT DURING THE OCTOBER 18 PLENARY DEBATE THAT REAFFIRMED THE ROLE AND PRECEDENT OF ORGANIZATIONS (READ INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION), AND INDIVIDUALS -- AND OF DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN THEM -- IN THE HELSINKI PROCESS. HE JOINED THE SWISS IN URGING THAT PERSONS WHO HAVE ENGAGED IN SUCH CONTACTS NOT BE SUBJECT TO ANY HARMFUL CONSEQUENCES. HE STRESSED THAT THE WORKING GROUPS SHOULD GIVE EQUAL WEIGHT TO THEIR DISCUSSIONS OF CREATION, DISSEMINATION AND COOPERATION AND ENDORSED A SWEDISH PROPOSAL (ALSO APPROVED BY THE SOVIETS) TO RESTRICT FORMAL PRESENTATION OF PROPOSALS TO THE FRIDAY PLENARIES THAT CONCLUDE EACH WORKING GROUP SESSION.

2. NOTING THAT THE NUCLEAR THREAT NOT BE USED AS AN EXCUSE FOR IGNORING OTHER PROBLEMS, STOESEL SAID THE FORUM MUST TRY TO FIND REMEDIES FOR THE RESTRICTIONS WHICH EXIST ON THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUALS, NATIONALITY GROUPS AND PEOPLES TO PRESERVE AND EXPRESS THEIR UNIQUE IDENTITIES. HE PREVIEWED SOME OF THE PROPOSALS THE U.S. HAS BEEN CONSIDERING. DEPARTMENT IS REQUESTED TO SEND STOESEL'S OCTOBER 15 AND 18 STATEMENTS TO NGOs INTERESTED IN THE BCF. END SUMMARY.

3. THE TEXT OF AMBASSADOR STOESEL'S OCTOBER 18 STATEMENT FOLLOWS. IN ADDITION, AND AFTER USDEL/BCF CONSULTATION WITH THE SOUTH AFRICA DESK, STOESEL DEPLORED THE EXECUTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN POET BENJAMIN MELOISIE. (THE OCTOBER 15 WIRELESS FILE (NO. 199) CARRIED THE FULL TEXT OF STOESEL'S OPENING PLENARY ADDRESS OF THAT DATE.)

4. BEGIN TEXT

MR. CHAIRMAN: DURING THE OPENING PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE CULTURAL FORUM, ALL DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED THE HOPE OF OUR NATIONS AND PEOPLES FOR CULTURAL INTERCHANGE; CULTURAL INTERCHANGE WHICH INCREASINGLY WILL SERVE AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN PEOPLES AND NATIONS; CULTURAL INTERCHANGE WHICH WILL BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE BUILDING OF PEACE AND COOPERATION. INDEED, WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS ONLY UNDER CONDITIONS IN WHICH FREEDOM OF CULTURAL EXPRESSION AND OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT FLOURISH THAT TRUE COOPERATION AND, ULTIMATELY, PEACE, CAN BE ACHIEVED.

NEXT WEEK THE DISTINGUISHED INDIVIDUALS WHO PERSONIFY THE RICH CULTURAL DIVERSITY OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA BEGIN MEETING. THEY WILL BE ABLE TO DO SO BECAUSE THE 35

PARTICIPATING STATES RECOGNIZED AT MADRID THAT SUCH INTERACTION WOULD FOSTER THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ESSENTIAL TO MAKING THE CSCE PROCESS WORK. INTERACTION BETWEEN THESE CULTURAL PERSONALITIES IS BUT A SMALL STEP TOWARDS THIS GOAL. IF WE ARE SINCERE IN STATING THAT CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES ARE ESSENTIAL TO MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, THEN WE MUST APPLY THIS PRINCIPLE IN PRACTICE TO COVER ALL PERSONS, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THIS FORUM.

THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT AND THE MADRID CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BOTH EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZE THE RELEVANT AND POSITIVE ROLE THAT INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND PERSONS, AS WELL AS GOVERNMENTS, HAVE TO PLAY IN FURTHERING COOPERATION AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. THE FINAL ACT IN ADDITION CALLS FOR "ENCOURAGING DIRECT CONTACTS AND COMMUNICATIONS AMONG PERSONS ENGAGED IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES." THERE ARE ALSO THE PRECEDENTS OF OTHER MEETINGS CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THESE PERSONS. I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT MY GOVERNMENT STRONGLY SUPPORTS THESE PRINCIPLES AND PRECEDENTS. I AM PLEASED THAT A NUMBER OF DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES HAVE EXPRESSED SIMILAR VIEWS CONCERNING THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND PERSONS. I ALSO WISH TO EXPRESS MY AGREEMENT WITH THE VIEWPOINT OF THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF SWITZERLAND THAT PERSONS WHO HAVE ENGAGED IN DIRECT CONTACTS AND COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECT TO ANY HARMFUL CONSEQUENCES.

MR. CHAIRMAN: IN THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH BEGIN NEXT WEEK, OUR CULTURAL PERSONALITIES WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONDUCT DETAILED DISCUSSIONS ON THE MANY ISSUES, PROFESSIONAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL, WHICH ARE OF CONCERN TO THEM. WE TRUST THAT THESE DISCUSSIONS WILL COVER THE ENTIRE RANGE OF PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. WE TRUST ALSO THAT THE DISCUSSIONS WILL BE CONDUCTED IN A BALANCED WAY AS AGREED AT THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE LAST YEAR. THAT IS, THE THREE THEMES OF CREATION, DISSEMINATION AND COOPERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN EQUAL WEIGHT AND ATTENTION IN EACH WORKING GROUP. FURTHER WITH REGARD TO THE CONDUCT OF THE WORKING GROUPS, I WISH TO SUPPORT THE SUGGESTIONS ADVANCED BY THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF SWEDEN.

THE GOVERNMENT OF HUNGARY IN ITS OPENING STATEMENT REFERRED TO THE ESSENTIAL ROLE CULTURAL INTERCHANGE AND COOPERATION CAN PLAY IN CREATING AN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE CONDUCTIVE TO THE BUILDING OF PEACE. A NUMBER OF OTHER DELEGATIONS HAVE ALSO SPOKEN, SOMETIMES IN PESSIMISTIC TERMS, ABOUT THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR. CLEARLY, WE ALL SHARE THIS CONCERN. I DO NOT, HOWEVER, SHARE THE PESSIMISM IMPLICIT IN SOME OF THE STATEMENTS WE HAVE HEARD. IN RECENT MONTHS WE HAVE SEEN A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN DIRECT CONTACTS AND IN EFFORTS TO TURN BACK THE ARMS RACE. SERIOUS ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS HAVE RESUMED IN GENEVA WHERE NEXT MONTH PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV WILL ALSO MEET. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THAT MEETING WITH BOTH A REALISTIC APPRECIATION OF THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE CONFRONTED AND WITH A SENSE OF HOPE.

THE NUCLEAR THREAT MUST NOT BE USED AS AN EXCUSE FOR IGNORING OTHER SERIOUS PROBLEMS, PROBLEMS WHICH DESERVE ATTENTION BOTH IN THEIR OWN RIGHT AND BECAUSE THEIR RESOLUTION COULD HELP DEVELOP THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE NECESSARY TO FURTHER THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN CULTURE AS A FACTOR IN BUILDING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND CONFIDENCE, THAT WE OF THE FORUM MUST EXAMINE AND TRY TO FIND REMEDIES FOR THE RESTRICTIONS WHICH EXIST ON THE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUALS AND PEOPLES TO DEVELOP AND EXPRESS THEIR UNIQUE TALENTS. THE SAME APPLIES TO RESTRICTIONS ON THE RIGHT OF ALL PERSONS FREELY TO INTERACT WITH OTHERS IN THE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS.

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THE DISCUSSIONS WHICH BEGIN AT THE FORUM NEXT WEEK SHOULD BEGIN SERIOUS CONTEMPLATION OF WAYS TO BREAK DOWN BARRIERS TO FREE CULTURAL EXCHANGE, WHICH ALL TOO OFTEN TEND TO BECOME INSTITUTIONALIZED. THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION WILL, AT A LATER DATE, HAVE IDEAS TO PRESENT AIMED AT REDUCING BARRIERS TO GENUINE CULTURAL INTERACTION BETWEEN PEOPLES. TO CITE ONLY SOME EXAMPLES, WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE STEPS TAKEN TO PROMOTE UNHINDERED PARTICIPATION IN BOOK FAIRS AND DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL CULTURAL FIGURES ACTING WITHOUT STATE INTERVENTION. WE SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CULTURAL CENTERS ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY AND OF FREE ACCESS TO THEM. RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES OF CULTURAL TELEVISION PROGRAMS, AN END TO JAMMING OF RADIO BROADCASTS, AND THE PROBLEM OF CENSORSHIP ARE ALSO SUBJECTS WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION.

REMOVING BARRIERS APPLIES BOTH TO INDIVIDUALS AND TO GROUPS. BOTH VOLUNTARY COLLECTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND NATIONALITY GROUPS HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERACT AND TO PRESERVE AND DEVELOP THEIR UNIQUE IDENTITIES. MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, INTERACTION, AND COOPERATION BETWEEN PEOPLES APPLIES WITHIN STATES AS WELL AS BETWEEN STATES. MAINTAINING THE LANGUAGE, CULTURAL TRADITIONS, AND MONUMENTS OF NATIONAL GROUPS NEED NOT BE SEEN AS A THREAT TO THE CULTURE AND SENSE OF IDENTITY OF THE STATE AS A WHOLE. IN FACT, AS IS THE CASE IN MY OWN COUNTRY, THE PRESERVATION OF A VARIETY OF CULTURES OFTEN SERVES TO ENRICH THE CULTURE OF A COUNTRY AS A WHOLE. SOME OF OUR MOST INTERESTING CITIES ARE THOSE LIKE NEW YORK, SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW ORLEANS, IN WHICH STRONG MINORITY ETHNIC CULTURES FLOURISH IN ALL THEIR DIVERSITY.

MR. CHAIRMAN: AS WE MOVE INTO AGENDA ITEM III, LET US HOPE THAT OUR DISTINGUISHED CULTURAL FIGURES WILL SHED NATIONAL, POLITICAL INHIBITIONS AND MOVE INTO A FRUITFUL, FREE-FLOWING DISCUSSION OF THE MANDATE. LET US HOPE THEIR DELIBERATIONS WILL DEMONSTRATE THE GREAT VALUE OF HUMAN CREATIVITY, AND OF IDEAS FREELY EXPRESSED AND FREELY SHARED. THAT IS THE ESSENCE OF OUR MANDATE, WHICH WE SHOULD HAVE THE WISDOM TO FULFILL.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION.

END TEXT

5. ACTION. USDEL/BCF REQUESTS THAT DEPARTMENT (PA-ILMAR HEINARU) USE THE MAILING LIST OF NGOS INTERESTED IN THE BCF TO PROVIDE THEM WITH COPIES OF STOESSEL'S OCTOBER 15 AND 18 STATEMENTS. WE ANTICIPATE MAKING THIS REQUEST PERIODICALLY DURING THE BCF TO KEEP NGOS ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS HERE, AND APPRECIATE PA'S ASSISTANCE. STOESSEL

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ACTION EUR-00

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COOPERATION) AND NOTED THAT BARRIERS EXIST TO WHAT MAN CAN

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INFO EUR-05 PMA-01 PMD-01 EBY-03 PA-01 PMS-01 HU-02 PH-01
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INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 SCL-01 CIAE-00
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USIA PRIORITY 1618

UNCLAS BUDAPEST 8808

FROM USDEL/BCF

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, PREL
SUBJECT: BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM: FIRST WEEK'S PLENARY
SPEECHES

*✓ CSCE
32-5
cc: MC
155*

1. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES CHRONOLOGICAL HIGHLIGHTS OF
NOTABLE OPENING PLENARY SPEECHES AT THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL
FORUM (BCF), OCTOBER 15-17. ONCE DELEGATES FROM EACH OF THE
35 PARTICIPATING STATES HAD MADE THEIR INITIAL ADDRESSES, A
PRO-FORMA EXCHANGE OF POINTS OF ORDER AND RIGHTS OF REPLY
INVOLVING GREECE/TURKEY/CYPRUS AND TURKEY/BULGARIA ENSUED.
PLENARY DEBATE ON MATTERS SPECIFIC TO THE FORUM WAS SINCE
RESUMED, AND THE FIRST WORKING GROUPS OF CULTURAL FIGURES IN
CLOSED SESSION START OCTOBER 21. ENGLISH TEXTS OF ALL THE
OPENING SPEECHES ARE BEING POUCHED TO EUR/RPM.

2. LIECHTENSTEIN. COUNT MARIO VON LEDEBUR STIRRED INTEREST.
BY EXPLICITLY LINKING "THE OVENS AND THE GULAG." HE SAID
"SOME HERE" TURN CLAUSEWITZ ON HIS HEAD AND SEE PEACE AS THE
CONTINUATION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE BY OTHER MEANS.

3. ROMANIA. THE FIRST SPEAKER FROM THE WARSAW PACT,
ROMANIA'S DUMITRU ANINOIU SOUNDED THEMES REPEATED BY
SUBSEQUENT PACT SPEAKERS. HE PROCLAIMED THAT STOPPING THE
NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IS THE FUNDAMENTAL TASK OF OUR TIME; THAT
WORKS OF ART CAN ONLY BE PRODUCED IN TIMES OF PEACE; AND THAT
NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES MUST
BE OBSERVED. ANTICIPATING CRITICISM, HE EXPOUNDED ON
ROMANIA'S GOOD TREATMENT OF ITS ETHNIC MINORITIES, REFERRING
SPECIFICALLY TO NEWSPAPERS, THEATERS, BOOKS AND SCHOOLS IN
HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN.

4. SWITZERLAND. JEANNE HERSCH GAVE A TOUGH, ELOQUENT
ADDRESS DEVOTED TO THE CONNECTION BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND
CULTURE. THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEING IS
DEVELOPED BY CONTACTS BETWEEN PERSONS, INCLUDING CONTACTS WITH
THOSE WHO HOLD DIFFERING BELIEFS. "WE ALL KNOW" THIS
PRINCIPLE IS NOT BEING RESPECTED, AND THE FORUM MUST NOT BE
SILENT ABOUT VIOLATIONS. SHE SAID DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN
PERSONS ARE BETTER THAN STATE-TO-STATE AGREEMENTS; CRITICIZED
TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS, PROHIBITIONS ON TRANSLATIONS IN CERTAIN
COUNTRIES, AND THE FACT THAT PERSONS INVITED TO VISIT OTHER
COUNTRIES ARE NOT ALWAYS ALLOWED OUT OF THEIR OWN COUNTRY.
HERSCH STATED THAT THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN CULTURE IS TO OPEN
OPPORTUNITIES, NOT TO IMPEDE OR PUNISH, AND ARGUED THAT
NUCLEAR THREATS NOT BE ALLOWED TO "ENSLAVE" THE MIND.

5. U.S. AMBASSADOR STOESEL'S SPEECH APPEARED IN FULL IN
THE SEPTEMBER 15 WIRELESS FILE (NO. 199). HE STRESSED THE
THREE THEMES OF THE BCF MANDATE (CREATION, DISSEMINATION AND

6. LUXENBOURG. PAUL HERTZ SPOKE ON BEHALF ON THE EC-10 IN A
SPEECH THAT EMPHASIZED THE LINK BETWEEN CREATIVE ACTIVITY AND
THE FREE DISSEMINATION OF CULTURAL MATERIALS. THE 10, HE
SAID, PLACED IMPORTANCE ON THE REMOVAL OF ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND
OTHER BARRIERS TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE PRODUCTION
OF CULTURAL MATERIALS. SUBSEQUENT EC SPEAKERS ASSOCIATED
THEMSELVES INDIVIDUALLY WITH THE SPEECH.

7. CANADA. GHISLAIN HARDY ALLOWED THAT EACH NATION IS
ENTITLED TO CHOOSE THE CULTURAL ROAD IT DEEMS BEST, THOUGH
CANADA CONDEMNED RESTRICTIONS ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF
INDIVIDUALS.

8. NETHERLANDS. CALLING FOR CONCRETE RESULTS FROM THE BCF,
F.V. JALINK SAID THE DRAFTING OF PROPOSALS SHOULD OCCUR DURING
THE FINAL WEEK (IMPLYING THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE THE BUSINESS
OF THE WORKING GROUPS OF CULTURAL FIGURES).

9. GDR. HANS-JOACHIM HOFFMAN (MINISTER OF CULTURE) EXPRESSED
HIS COUNTRY'S DEVOTION TO PEACE AND DISARMAMENT AND LAUDED
GORBACHEV'S DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES. HE RECITED A LONG LIST
OF CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS ATTRIBUTABLE TO STATE CULTURAL
POLICIES.

10. SWEDEN. ILMAR BEKERIS, IN THE FIRST PLENARY ADDRESS
FOLLOWING THE GDR'S FORMAL DECISION TO DENY THE INTERNATIONAL
HELSINKI FEDERATION PERMISSION TO CONDUCT ITS SYMPOSIUM
(BUDAPEST 8655), OBSERVED THE IMPORTANCE OF DIRECT CONTACTS
BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS. HE
CALLED ON THE BCF TO FIND CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS, FOR INSTANCE
TO THE DANGER OF POLLUTION TO HISTORICAL MONUMENTS, AND TO
PRODUCE A FINAL DOCUMENT THAT WOULD SERVE THE VIENNA REVIEW
CONFERENCE AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE.

11. POLAND. KAZIMIERZ ZYGULSKI CRITICIZED PROFIT AND THE
VAGARIES OF INDIVIDUAL CAPRICE AS DETERMINANTS OF CULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT AND SAID MUCH WAS OWED TO THE STATE FOR PROVIDING
BROADER ACCESS TO CULTURE BY EVERYONE. HE OPPOSED
"DISCRIMINATORY" ACTION BY OTHERS WHO TRY TO IMPOSE THEIR
STANDARDS ON OTHERS.

12. TURKEY. CENAP KESKIN REFUTED THE EPITHET "INVADER" THAT
THE CYPRIOT, CONSTANTINOS LEONTIOU, HAD USED AGAINST TURKEY,
SAYING HIS COUNTRY WAS INSTEAD GUARANTEEING THE TURKISH
INHABITANTS ON CYPRUS AGAINST EXTERMINATION. BESIDES ALSO
ATTACKING THE BULGARIAN GOVERNMENT FOR ITS TREATMENT OF ETHNIC
TURKS, KESKIN NOTED THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS AND
"NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS" IN THE CSCE PROCESS.

13. DENMARK. HANS KUHNES STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF
DISCUSSING ALL THREE AREAS OF THE BCF MANDATE, NOT
CONCENTRATING ON ONE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHERS. HE ALSO
SAID THAT IMPEDIMENTS ON THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS WOULD BE A
"RETROGRADE DEVELOPMENT."

14. HUNGARY. MINISTER OF CULTURE BELA KOPECZI ECHOED THE
OPENING STATEMENT OF THE CONFERENCE BY PREMIER GYORGY LAZAR IN
REFERRING TO THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF EUROPE. NEITHER
REFERRED TO NGO ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE BCF. KOPECZI
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WAS ROOM FOR ALL CULTURAL CURRENTS
THAT DID NOT CONTRADICT THE SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE ROLE OF ART

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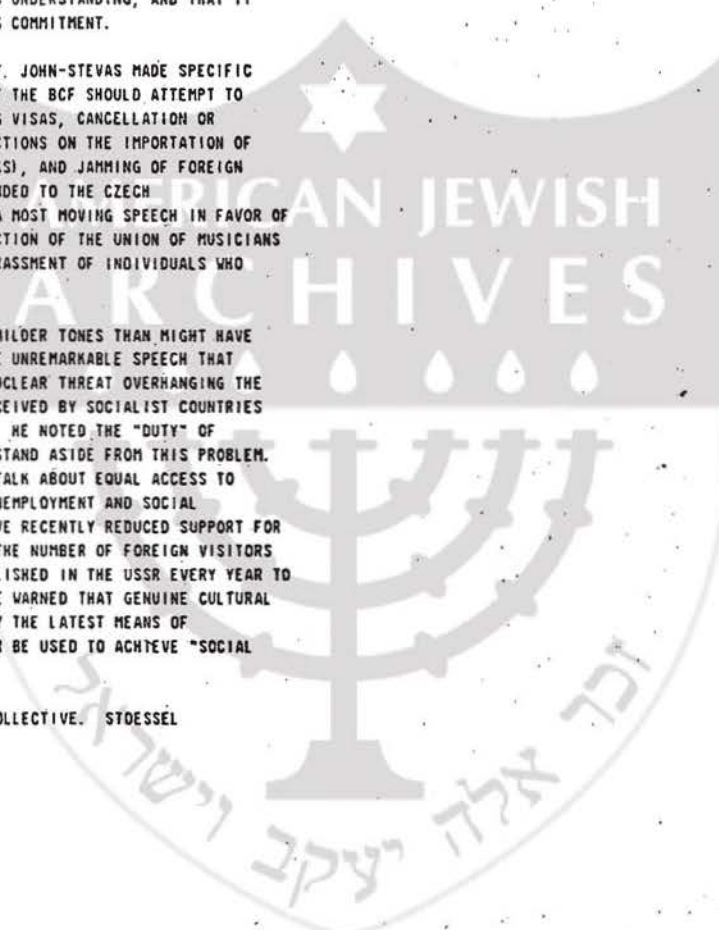
AND DECRIED THE MEDIOCRE PRODUCTS OF CONSUMER SOCIETY. HE CALLED FOR RECIPROCITY IN CULTURAL CONTACTS (SUGGESTING THAT HUNGARY WOULD HAVE A PROPOSAL TO PROMOTE PUBLICATION OF FOREIGN BOOKS IN THE WEST) AND SAID HUNGARY WOULD EXAMINE THE MORAL AND FINANCIAL COMMITMENT OF GOVERNMENTS TO PROMOTING CULTURE.

15. FRG. KARL GUNTHER VON HASE DISCUSSED THE UNITY OF GERMAN CULTURE ACROSS NATIONAL FRONTIERS AND THE LESSONS OF THE PAST AGAINST ATTEMPTING TO AGGRANDIZE CULTURAL AREAS OR PRESUMING TO TEACH OTHERS. HE GAVE STRONG, INDIRECT SUPPORT TO THE EFFORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION, BY STATING THAT AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WAS ONLY POSSIBLE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF OPENNESS, THAT THOSE OUTSIDE THE CONFERENCE MUST BE ABLE TO DISCUSS WHAT HAPPENS WITHIN, THAT THE FRG AGREED TO THE LOCALE OF THE BCF WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING, AND THAT IT TRUSTED THE HOSTS TO UPHOLD ITS COMMITMENT.

16. UNITED KINGDOM. NORMAN ST. JOHN-STEVAS MADE SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO THE BARRIERS THAT THE BCF SHOULD ATTEMPT TO BREAK DOWN: DELAYS IN GRANTING VISAS, CANCELLATION OR POSTPONEMENT OF VISITS, RESTRICTIONS ON THE IMPORTATION OF BOOKS (INCLUDING RELIGIOUS BOOKS), AND JAMMING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE BROADCASTS. HE COMMENDED TO THE CZECH REPRESENTATIVE, WHO HAD "MADE A MOST MOVING SPEECH IN FAVOR OF CULTURAL FREEDOM," THE JAZZ SECTION OF THE UNION OF MUSICIANS AND SAID THERE SHOULD BE NO HARASSMENT OF INDIVIDUALS WHO MONITOR CSCE AGREEMENTS.

17. USSR. P. N. DEMICHEV, IN Milder TONES THAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED, MADE AN OTHERWISE UNREMARKABLE SPEECH THAT OPENED WITH REFERENCE TO THE NUCLEAR THREAT OVERHANGING THE WORLD AND THE BROAD SUPPORT RECEIVED BY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FOR THEIR PROPOSALS TO END IT. HE NOTED THE "DUTY" OF CULTURAL PERSONALITIES NOT TO STAND ASIDE FROM THIS PROBLEM. DEMICHEV SAID THAT ONE CANNOT TALK ABOUT EQUAL ACCESS TO CULTURAL WORKS WHEN THERE IS UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE, WHEN GOVERNMENTS HAVE RECENTLY REDUCED SUPPORT FOR CULTURE. HE CITED FIGURES ON THE NUMBER OF FOREIGN VISITORS RECEIVED AND FOREIGN BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE USSR EVERY YEAR TO DEMONSTRATE ITS "OPENNESS." HE WARNED THAT GENUINE CULTURAL VALUES WERE BEING UNDERMINED BY THE LATEST MEANS OF TECHNOLOGY, WHICH SHOULD RATHER BE USED TO ACHIEVE "SOCIAL PROGRESS."

18. DEPARTMENT PASS TO CSCE COLLECTIVE. STDESSEL



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INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 SCL-01
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6586

UNCLAS BUDAPEST 8763

FROM USDEL/BCF

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: TEXT OF INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION PRESS
RELEASE

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE PRESS RELEASE ISSUED
BY THE INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION ON OCTOBER 17 DURING
THE AFTERNOON SESSION OF THEIR CULTURAL SYMPOSIUM WHICH WILL
CONCLUDE IN THE EVENING.

2. BEGIN TEXT THE INTERNATIONAL HELSINKI FEDERATION FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS REGRETS THAT THE HUNGARIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE
FORBIDDEN US TO USE PUBLIC FACILITIES FOR A CITIZENS CULTURAL
FORUM THAT WE HAD PLANNED TO HOLD IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE
INTERGOVERNMENTAL CULTURAL FORUM THAT IS BEING HELD IN
BUDAPEST. IN OUR VIEW, THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT'S ACTION
VIOLATES THE 1975 HELSINKI ACCORDS, WHICH IT SIGNED, AND THE
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE 1980-83 MADRID CONFERENCE, WHICH IT
APPROVED. IN MADRID, WHERE IT WAS DETERMINED THAT AN
INTERGOVERNMENTAL CULTURAL FORUM WOULD TAKE PLACE IN BUDAPEST
AT THIS TIME, THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT AND 34 OTHER
GOVERNMENTS, COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO TAKE STEPS "TO ENSURE
SATISFACTORY CONDITIONS FOR ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF
MUTUAL COOPERATION ON THEIR TERRITORY, SUCH AS SPORTING AND
CULTURAL EVENTS, IN WHICH CITIZENS OF OTHER PARTICIPATING
STATES TAKE PART." FURTHER, THE GOVERNMENT OF HUNGARY AND 34
OTHER GOVERNMENTS COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO "COMPLEMENT THE
RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, SO THAT RELIGIOUS
FAITHS, INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES
CAN, IN THE FIELD OF THEIR ACTIVITY, DEVELOP CONTACTS AND
MEETINGS AMONG THEMSELVES AND EXCHANGE INFORMATION."

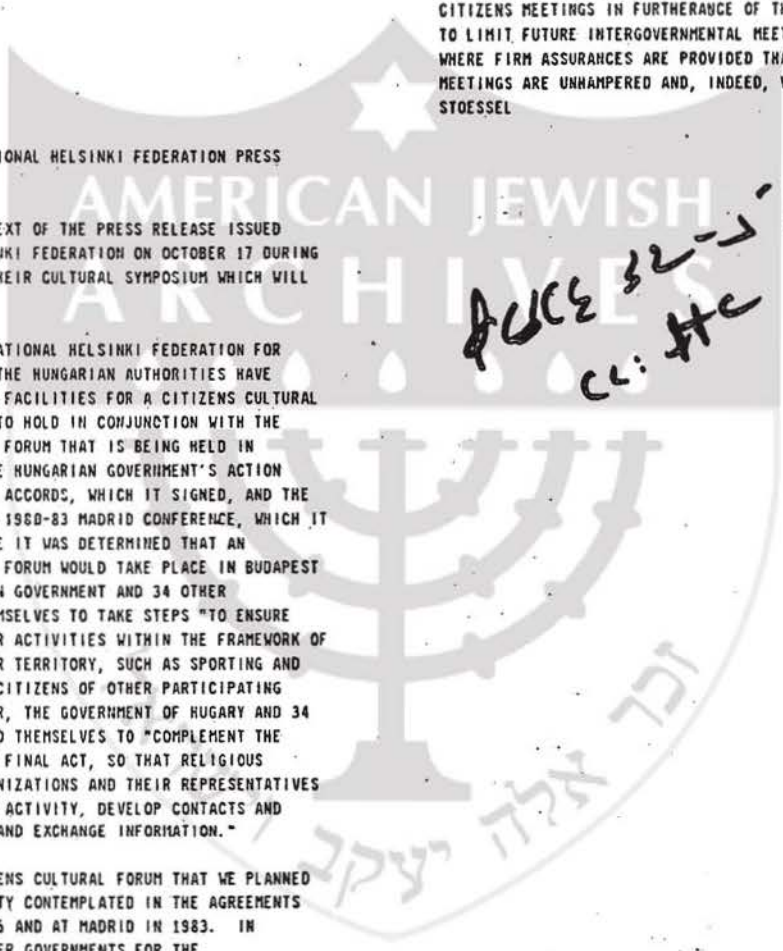
3. IN OUR VIEW, THE CITIZENS CULTURAL FORUM THAT WE PLANNED
IS JUST THE KIND OF ACTIVITY CONTEMPLATED IN THE AGREEMENTS
REACHED AT HELSINKI IN 1975 AND AT MADRID IN 1983. IN
OFFERING FACILITIES TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS FOR THE
INTERGOVERNMENTAL CULTURAL FORUM, WE BELIEVE THAT THE
HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT ASSUMED A SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO COMPLY
WITH THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE AGREEMENTS AT HELSINKI AND
MADRID IN FACILITATING A CITIZENS CULTURAL FORUM.

4. TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, OUR PROPOSAL TO HOLD A
PEACEFUL FORUM IN PUBLIC FACILITIES OPEN TO THE PUBLIC DID NOT
VIOLATE ANY LAWS OR REGULATIONS THAT THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT
ORDINARILY APPLIES EITHER TO HUNGARIANS OR TO VISITORS TO
HUNGARY. MOREOVER, WE CONSIDER THAT THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT
IS OBLIGED TO APPLY ITS OWN LAWS AND REGULATIONS IN SUCH A WAY
AS TO SEEK TO COMPLY WITH ITS UNDERTAKINGS AT HELSINKI AND
MADRID.

5. WE CONSIDER THAT OUR CITIZENS FORUM WOULD COMPLEMENT AND,

WE HOPE, ENHANCE THE INERGVERNMENTAL FORUM. OUR PURPOSE WAS
NOT TO DISRUPT THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE. FAR FROM IT,
WE SEE NO WAY THAT IT CAN BE REGARDED AS DISRUPTIVE. AN
ESSENTIAL PART OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS IS THAT IT IS FURTHERED
NOT ONLY BY CONTACTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS. IT IS ALSO
FURTHERED BY CONTACTS BETWEEN CITIZENS FROM THE PARTICIPATING
STATES.

6. UNDER ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ACTIONS OF THE HUNGARIAN
AUTHORITIES ARE INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO US. WE CALL ON THE
HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT TO RECONSIDER ITS DECISION AND TO DECLARE
THAT CITIZENS GROUPS SEEKING TO FURTHER THE HELSINKI PROCESS
ARE WELCOME TO DO SO WITHOUT HINDRANCE BY THE HUNGARIAN
GOVERNMENT. WE ALSO CALL ON THE 35 NATIONS TAKING PART IN THE
HELSINKI PROCESS TO SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS TO HOLD PEACEFUL
CITIZENS MEETINGS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS AND
TO LIMIT FUTURE INTERGOVERNMENTAL MEETINGS TO THOSE PLACES
WHERE FIRM ASSURANCES ARE PROVIDED THAT PEACEFUL CITIZEN
MEETINGS ARE UNHAMPERED AND, INDEED, WELCOMED. END TEXT
STOESSEL



Handwritten: ACCE 32-1 ✓
cc: HC

FILE

Memorandum from ...

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 10028 • TR 9-4500

November 6, 1985

TO: CRC's
Federations
Jewish Communal Organizations

FROM: Theodore R. Mann.

On November 7, 1985, AJCongress will file a suit in federal district court in Chicago to prevent the City and County government from displaying a creche and a menorah in government buildings this holiday season. We view this case as a "test" case of national import. We expect that it, unlike the recent Pawtucket creche case, Lynch v. Donnelly, will lead to the establishment of clear, unambiguous guidelines for government display of religious symbols.

AJCongress has not reached the decision to file this suit lightly. We are well aware that there may be unpleasant fallout from such a suit, both within the Jewish community and from our Christian neighbors. Nevertheless, the vindication of the principle that government must remain neutral as to religion is sufficiently important to the long term interests of the Jewish community in the United States as to justify our risking some short term discomfort. But because of the possible repercussions of this litigation for the Jewish community in Chicago and around the country, we believe it appropriate to inform the Jewish Community Relations family of our intentions to file suit, and to give a brief explanation for our decision.

The fight against government display of creches is hardly new. For years, the Jewish community has asserted that government display of a creche -- a sacred symbol of Christianity, representing the birth of the Christian messiah -- "establishes" religion not only in a technical constitutional sense, but in a very practical sense as well.

Government display of a Christian religious symbol (to be differentiated from the arguably secular Christmas tree and reindeer) sends a two-fold message to the community: that government officially endorses that Christian symbol, and, therefore, Christianity; and, conversely, that government views Jews and other non-Christians as outsiders, as somehow tolerated guests in our own country. Such government action is a fundamental affront to the idea of equality of membership in the American political community, which is the bedrock of our precious religious liberty.

We believe that if the Jewish community continues to accept the spread of government sponsored creches and their message of political inequality without taking action, we will be conspiring in our own political and psychological disaffection. Only if we Jews assert our rights as the full citizens we are, and as the United States

Constitution intends us to be, can we preserve the integrity of our faith and maintain the proud public posture which has permitted us to flourish as a community.

If our concern about the nativity scene is to be effective we have no choice but to litigate against the menorah. We cannot expect other faiths to understand and respect our views about the creche unless we also seek to ban the government endorsed display of our own religious symbol. There simply is no principled basis to distinguish between government sponsorship of a creche and a menorah.

We do not share the belief that public display of the menorah in a few large cities, where there are substantial pockets of Jews resident, is in the long term interests of the Jewish community. Practically speaking, it is simply impossible for the Jewish community to erect a menorah in every instance where a creche is erected. Jews and members of other minority religions are likely to be consistently "out displayed." More importantly, the "public" menorah and other minority religious symbols cannot have the same impact as a creche. When government supports a creche, the community views it as an expression of the religious beliefs of the majority, as the symbol of the quasi-official state religion. But when a menorah is erected by government, it merely expresses government's toleration of a less favored minority faith. American Jews, however, have always, and should insist on full equality, not mere toleration.

Before initiating this litigation, repeated appeals were made to the Lubavitch movement - which is responsible for its erection - to place the menorah on private land. All appeals were unavailing.

Our objection to these displays is most emphatically not rooted in any embarrassment at public displays of Jewish objects. In fact, we have urged, and continue to urge, the display of Jewish religious symbols on private land and by private individuals. Rather, it is our view that Judaism does not need the approval of government to flourish and in fact that the price of such "approval" down the road may be the loss of religious independence and integrity.

Finally, past efforts of the Jewish community to prevent display of religious symbols in public buildings by measures short of litigation have generated substantial anti-Semitism and ill feelings without accomplishing their intended purpose. We anticipate that the incremental increase in bad feelings attributable to this litigation -- which we believe will accomplish its purpose -- will not be substantial.

We hope that you will support us in this important venture.

NOV 13 1985

NATIONAL JEWISH



COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

443 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • 684-6950

Memo

November 8, 1985

TO: CRC Executives and Chairs
FROM: Charney V. Bromberg, Associate Director
RE: UOJCA Statement on Meir Kahane

Preliminary Observation and Request for Information on Kahane's Most Recent U. S. Visit

I. UOJCA Statement

Enclosed is a press release from the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America condemning the policies of Meir Kahane. All of NJCRAC's national member agencies have publicly condemned Kahaneism, either in the collective statement of August 15 (sent previously) and/or in individual statements, such as the UOJCA's.

II. Kahane's Most Recent Visit

Following through on earlier NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee judgments that it would be virtually impossible to "quarantine" Kahane on his most recent October visit to the U. S., many community member agencies choose to speak out preemptively on Kahane, shun him, and urge others in the Jewish community to do likewise.

As most of you know, Kahane was in Boston on the day of our Executive Committee meeting and tried unsuccessfully to crash a news conference set up by the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Boston (see article enclosed). Similarly, Kahane was also met by rejection in Baltimore and San Diego. I know from telephone conversations with several of you that this was also contemplated in other communities.

My impression--and it is only an impression at this juncture--is that the strong position taken by those communities with which I had communication had a salutary effect on both the organized Jewish community and on Jewish community relations (editorial comment, intergroup relations). It also appears that Kahane departed, increasingly, from the image of diplomatic restraint he had tried to foster, resorting instead to blustering for the benefit of reporters. At the same time, it also appears that attendance at his meetings was meager; publicity did not enhance his credibility or drawing power.

(over)

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But, as I said, these are merely impressions which can be substantiated or modified only on the basis of more information, which I hope you will provide. I'd like to ask those of you in communities which Kahane visited to send me the following:

- A full set of clippings from general circulation and Anglo-Jewish press coverage of Kahane's visit.
- A brief report of his activities in your community.
- Your evaluation of the impact of his visit; how the Jewish organizational structure responded; how, to the best of your knowledge, the Jewish community reacted; and the community relations impact.

Your prompt response to this request is desired so that we can prepare a more definitive report for the December 4, 1985, meeting of the NJCRAC Israel Task Force.



CVB/epl
Enc. 3

O, A, X, X-EC, EX, CHAIR, CJF-EX, ITF-NJ

news from...

Union of
Orthodox Jewish
Congregations
of America

45 WEST 36TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10018 (212) 563-4000

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE. October 2, 1985.

CONTACT: CAROL FRIEDMAN

Mr. Sidney Kwestel, President of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, released the following statement today:

"Several American Jewish organizations joined in a statement last month condemning Knesset member Meir Kahane--a statement that the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America refused to sign. This refusal was unfortunately perceived in certain circles as an endorsement of Meir Kahane's political ideology.

Meir Kahane's views are anathema to traditional Torah teachings--particularly as they relate to our relationship with non-Jews. The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations has long been on record as condemning "paramilitary tactics and offensive confrontational rhetoric". We were, and are, unequivocal in our repudiation of such behavior whether it comes from the Left or the Right.

There have been eleven free elections in the entire history of the Middle East. All eleven have been held in Israel. It is precisely because we do not share Meir Kahane's views concerning democracy that we are profoundly confident that Israeli democracy is sufficiently viable to be able to deal with all of its various components--from the competing Jewish-Arab Communist parties on the left to the newer "Kahane" movement on the right."

###



Jewish group bars Kahane from Cambridge meeting

Rabbi Meir Kahane, a controversial Israeli parliament member who was visiting the Boston area yesterday, was not allowed yesterday afternoon to enter the Charles Hotel in Cambridge where his views were denounced.

Kahane had gone to the hotel to rebut claims of representatives of local and national Jewish organizations who described his views and tactics as racist, violent and contrary to the essence of Judaism and Zionism. Police escorted him out at the request of the gathering's sponsor.

Kahane was here as part of a 12-city US tour designed to raise money for Israel's Kach Party, and, in his words, "to take this issue and compel Jews to deal with it."

But Rea Ginsburg, president of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Boston - which represents 34 local organizations - said the "overwhelming majority" of Jews in the United States, Israel and worldwide deplore Kahane's vitriolic statements and tactics as antithetical to Jewish ideals.

tradition and ethics, as well as to the principles and values of a democratic society."

"Kahane is a hate-monger. Pure and simple," said Kenneth A. Sweder, president of the regional chapter of the American Jewish Congress. "We reject him. His hatred is antithetical to Zionism. Racism is hatred. Kahanism is racism."

"There is a contradiction between Zionism and Western democracy," Kahane said. "And the reason the Jewish leadership hates me so much is that they are

unable to answer this question. ... I force them to choose between their democracy and their Zionism, and that choice is too painful for them to make."

Newton police said they had received death threats against Kahane, who spoke at a fund-raising dinner for the Kach Party at the Congregation Beth El in Newton last night. About 175 demonstrators outside the temple protested his visit.

Earlier at a press conference, Kahane said the choice facing Jews today is whether Israel will be an Arab-free Jewish state or an Arab-dominated democracy.

"I don't hate Arabs; I love Jews," said Kahane, who advocates the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel to maintain a permanent Jewish majority."

"Do Arabs have the right, peacefully and democratically, to become a majority and turn Israel into Palestine? If one is a democrat then of course the answer is yes. If one is a Zionist then he would never allow Arabs to take over Israel through Arab babies, ballots or bullets," said Kahane, the founder of the Jewish Defense League and the Kach Party.

Israel's 3½ million Jews currently outnumber the number of Arab residents by a more than 4-1

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margin, according to Kahane, who estimated that Arabs could become a third of Israel's population within 10 years because of a higher birth rate unless the trend is halted.

Kahane provokes controversy not only in the United States but also in Israel, where he is barred from appearing on the state-controlled television or speaking on the radio.

Earlier this month, the US citizenship of Kahane, who was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., was revoked because of his election to the Israeli Knesset, a decision that he is appealing.

(over)

Cambridge Afternoon:

Community Answer

By Sam Seidner

CAMBRIDGE - The drama of an anti-Kahane press conference, held at the Charles Hotel here was heightened by the appearance of Rabbi Kahane and his followers as they attempted to enter the hotel and join the conference.

Surrounded by Cambridge Police the hotel manager, Brian Fitzgerald refused entry to Kahane. "This is private property," Fitzgerald said after shaking Kahane's hand, "we are respecting the privacy of our guests." Kahane left the scene quietly and without argument.

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Inside the hotel, representatives of Jewish organizations answered questions and issued a statement condemning Kahane's ideology in general and his visit to Boston in particular.

The anti-Kahane press conference was sponsored by the Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Boston and included representatives from the Mass. Board of Rabbis, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, Hadassah, Friends of "Peace Now" and the New Jewish Agenda co-signed the statement, but did not participate in the press conference.

"We represent 34 organizations in our community," said Rae Ginsberg, President of the Boston Jewish Community Relations Council, "so we really speak for the Jewish community." Mrs. Ginsburg read the following statement:

"We join with the overwhelming majority of Jews in America, Israel and around the world in deploring Rabbi Meir Kahane's vitriolic statements and tactics as antithetical to Jewish ideals, tradition and ethics, as well as to the principles and values of a democratic society.

"His urgings and threats of violence to others does injury to the cause of peace, human rights and intergroup understanding in America and Israel."

Rabbi Bernard Mehlman, representing the Massachusetts Board of Rabbis, read a statement which he said, represented the consensus position of Reform, Conservative and Orthodox Jews. The statement read, in part: "We view the racism of Rabbi Meir Kahane to be anathema to both Judaism and Zionism."

Rabbi Mehlman called attention to a statement by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, issued earlier this month, condemning Kahane. "This is the first statement by that group," Rabbi Mehlman said to emphasize a growing wave of opposition to Kahane. This is the same organization to which Kahane once belonged."

Mr. Arden Shenker, vice-president of the National Jewish Community Relations Council, which was holding commission meetings at the hotel, revealed that Rabbi Kahane's former organization, the Jewish Defense League, had applied for membership in NJCRAC in 1975. "They were disallowed," Shenker said.

Leonard Zakim, New England regional director of the Anti-Defamation League issued an ADL statement which said, "Kahane is a false prophet who shames the title Rabbi." The ADL statement laid the rise of Kahanism in part, on the Arab doorstep: "Kahane is as much a creation of Arab rejectionists of peace as he is a result and perpetrator of racism."

Phil Perlmutter, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council, drew a parallel between anti-Semitic demagogues and Rabbi Kahane. "Kahane is a hatemonger," said Perlmutter.

Kenneth Sweder, president, and Sheila Decter, executive director of the New England Region of the American Jewish Congress, spoke on behalf of that organization. Dr. Diane Steinman, area director of the American Jewish Committee represented that organization as spokesperson.

The Evening Sun

Baltimore, Friday, October 18, 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH One more demagogue

In a replay of the flap over Minister Farrakhan, Rabbi Meir Kahane will speak Sunday at a local synagogue. Kahane, like Farrakhan, is a controversial religious leader who has made a career of preaching bigotry and hate. And though born in this country, he is presently a member of Israel's Parliament and a passionate advocate of expelling all Arabs from that country.

Baltimore's Jewish community has denounced Kahane as a racist demagogue. Statements issued in the last few days by the Baltimore Jewish Council, the Board of Rabbis and the Coalition of Blacks and Jews condemn this minister of hate in the same terms used to censure Farrakhan. Still, a big turnout is expected.

There are other similarities between Kahane and Farrakhan. Both are charismatic leaders who manipulate the media in order to gain notoriety. Both are skillful orators, and both cultivate the latent fears and insecurities of their audiences. They attack rival leaders of their own group as savagely as their avowed enemies.

This strange symmetry suggests that fanatics have more in common with each other than with the rest of us. The obvious lesson is that all groups are capable of producing bigots. That is why responsible people in every community will speak out forcefully against intolerance, lest silence be taken as tacit approval.

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(over)

Sponsors of Kahane talk withdraw

By Barbara O'Neil
Staff Writer

The SDSU Jewish Student Union — concerned about possible violence — withdrew its sponsorship of a speech today by radical Israeli lawmaker Meir Kahane, but the rabbi vowed that he will appear anyway.

Campus officials said Kahane will be allowed to use Montezuma Hall for his 2 p.m. speech on "The Arabs of Israel — They Must Go."

Kahane advocates the banishment of all Arabs from Israel.

"He will not allow this hypocrisy of denying his freedom of speech," said Mark Harris, a spokesman for the Kahane organization, of the cancellation. "He feels it is a necessity to speak to the students there."

Harris said Kahane also plans to go — uninvited — to the San Diego office of the United Jewish Federation at noon. Officials there, who Monday issued a statement condemning Kahane's planned San Diego visit and his policies, said they would ask him to immediately leave the premises.

"He surely will not be welcome here," said Steven Klappholz, director of the Jewish Community Relations Council.

Meanwhile, several SDSU groups, which include both Arab and Jewish students, said they plan to demonstrate against Kahane on campus.

"We feel we must counter his racism," said Nina Carmen of the Nov. 29 Committee for Palestine, which will picket the speech. "It could be he is the next Hitler."

Some members of the Jewish Sta-

dent Union also plan to protest.

Matthew Miller, vice president of the Jewish Student Union, said yesterday that the group voted to withdraw sponsorship of Kahane's visit after the rabbi's actions at a speaking engagement in San Francisco Monday night.

"There were demonstrators, and he wanted to confront them," Miller said. "We don't want a confrontation on our campus. It could end up in violence."

Miller and Neil Finkelstein, president of the group, said they also were concerned about fliers Kahane representatives have been distributing on campus. The fliers give the topic of Kahane's speech: "The Arabs of Israel — They Must Go."

"We wanted an educational program, but the messages we've been getting in the past 24 to 48 hours are that that is not going to happen," said Finkelstein. "It's going to be more confrontational than educational."

The two said they were aware of Kahane's controversial stands when they agreed to be host to him on campus, but said the founder of the militant Jewish Defense League promised them he would make it a "peaceful" visit.

The two said their decision was not pressured by the local Jewish community.

"We decided on our own," said Miller. "He can still come if he wants. He has freedom of speech."

Kahane representative Harris said, "Those people are afraid of nothing but a bad reputation. He brings up issues people are afraid to discuss." John Carpenter, SDSU director of public safety, said he planned to have "adequate campus police in the area and San Diego police as a backup. I'm concerned, yes, but not overly concerned."

The speech originally was scheduled for the Casa Real Room in the SDSU Artec Center, but was moved at Carpenter's urging because that room has only one entry-exit way.

Local Jewish leaders Monday said they were opposed to Kahane's visit because he is "an open and hateful Jewish bigot" whose ideas are "totally alien to Judaism."

Klappholz said that if Kahane shows up at United Jewish Federation offices today, the written statement about him released Monday will be shared with him.

"Then we will tell him he has no other business being here," Klappholz said.

Harris said "Let them be upset."

Harris added that Kahane plans to offer people in the federation office ballots that will ask the following question: "Do you want a Jewish state where Jews will be the majority or do you want a Western-style democracy where Arabs can become the majority?"

Klappholz said they would not complete the ballots. "We are not Israeli citizens, so we don't really vote on Israeli policy."

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National Jewish Community
Relations Advisory Council

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

November 13, 1985

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As founding co-sponsors of the International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union, representing 700 of our parliamentary colleagues in 16 countries, we hereby transmit a report of our findings on current Soviet human rights performance.

Your forthcoming meeting in Geneva with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev presents a unique opportunity for the United States to establish human rights progress as a major precondition in the further evolution of U.S. - Soviet relations. This opportunity must be seized and articulated forcefully. It is our belief that this summit meeting will set a tone and an environment for superpower relations which will affect global developments for the remainder of this century.

Based on our report's findings, it is our conclusion that Soviet human rights performance since the late 1970's has deteriorated to a level of repression not seen since the Stalin regime. Of particular concern are three major human rights areas defined by the Helsinki Accords and the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights: 1) Family Reunification; 2) Religious Freedom; 3) Free Flow of Information and Human Contacts.

Family reunification for Soviet Jews and ethnic Germans has declined to a twenty-year low. There are an estimated 300,000 Jews and 100,000 ethnic Germans who have been refused the internationally recognized right to emigration.

There are currently more than 350 prisoners of all religious faiths who have been silenced for attempting to know and act upon their rights to religious freedom. Accompanying this persecution of religious believers has been an officially-orchestrated, anti-religious campaign which, in its most disturbing form, has echoed the cultural and physical genocide of earlier Soviet history.

The President
November 13, 1985
page two

The Soviet Union has also restricted or denied the access to ideas and people which is at the cornerstone of freedom and individual liberty. The continued jamming of foreign radio broadcasts, the censorship practiced with regard to telecommunications, the restricted access and harassment of journalists working in the Soviet Union, the elimination of direct-dial telephone service, and the ongoing violations of the International Postal Convention are eloquent testimony of the Soviet Union's failure to abide by its international and domestic legal obligations.

Agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union, whether they be in arms control, human rights, or trade, are effective only in direct proportion to our commitment to enforce them. There should be no doubt in General Secretary Gorbachev's mind that the United States is prepared to hold the Soviet Union accountable for its past performance and will not undertake new agreements in the absence of verifiable evidence that the U.S.S.R. is honoring past commitments in practice.

We do not suggest that there be an explicit linkage between progress in arms reduction and human rights. Arms control is the paramount issue of our time and should be kept on a separate plane from other bilateral and international issues. However, the United States cannot ignore the fact that Soviet human rights performance, as one measure of the U.S.S.R.'s reliability in implementing Soviet commitments, directly affects our perception of the Soviet Union's seriousness and responsibility in adhering to future arms agreements.

The United States must also demonstrate to Mr. Gorbachev that our concern for human rights will be accompanied by concrete steps which attach a cost to the Soviet Union if its repression continues at current levels. We cannot simply express disapproval, because this will not alter the Soviet Union's behavior. We must be prepared to meet Soviet intransigence with effective, and if necessary punitive action. At a minimum, this should involve a stated policy that no progress on bilateral matters in the areas of trade, cultural and scientific cooperation will be forthcoming until and unless there is a demonstrable improvement in Soviet human rights performance. We cannot expect an immediate change, but we should not be tempted to conclude agreements in the naive hope that the U.S.S.R. will eventually make human rights concessions. History clearly indicates that the Soviet Union will not improve human rights conditions unless there are either tangible benefits or the denial of Soviet interest forthcoming from the United States.

The President
November 13, 1985
page three

We will be sharing our report's conclusions with our IPG colleagues in the Western alliance. We are asking them to urge their governments to adopt the realistic and credible approach to Soviet human rights performance which we have outlined. At this crossroads in East-West and U.S.-Soviet relations, we believe it is essential that the West be united in support of human rights and that this unity be expressed in policies based on concrete action and results.

Like all Americans, we hope that your meeting with Mr. Gorbachev will lead to a framework for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. We have no illusions about the profound philosophical and practical disagreements which separate our two countries and systems. Human rights is perhaps the single most obvious issue which defines our differences.

While we are gratified that Elena Bonner has finally been allowed to receive medical treatment in the West, this gesture is by no means a sufficient step in ameliorating the pervasive Soviet repression of human rights. We cannot be satisfied by minor gestures whose evident purpose is to remove human rights as a summit issue.

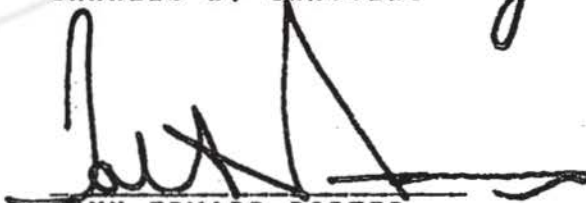
We trust that human rights will be given the priority and the policy commitment from the United States that will ensure a successful outcome to the summit. Human rights is the one issue where progress can have a lasting impact on our ability to channel the superpower competition for the benefit of our countries and the world.

Sincerely,


DENNIS DeCONCINI


CHARLES E. GRASSLEY


TOM LANTOS


JOHN EDWARD PORTER



The International Parliamentary Group For Human Rights In The Soviet Union
Le Groupe International De Parlementaires Pour Les Droits De L'Homme En Union Soviétique

Report on

CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THE USSR

Issued by the International Parliamentary Group

for Human Rights in the Soviet Union (IPG)

on the occasion of the summit meeting between

President Ronald Reagan of the United States

and

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union

November 1985

Edited by:

Bruce Alan Kiernan

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The IPG is a voluntary association of parliamentarians from North America, Western Europe, Israel and other countries who are committed to increasing public awareness of the human rights situation in the USSR.

L'IPG est une association de parlementaires bénévoles de l'Amérique du Nord, d'Europe de l'ouest, d'Israël dont le but est de mettre le public plus au courant du statut des droits de l'homme en Union Soviétique.

Report on
CURRENT SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

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Introduction

The International Parliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union (IPG) is a voluntary association of 700 parliamentarians in 16 countries who are committed to increasing public awareness of Soviet human rights performance and to promoting Western and neutral unity in support of human rights in the Soviet Union.

This report is intended to provide an assessment of the current status of human rights in the Soviet Union on the eve of the Reagan/Gorbachev summit in Geneva, Switzerland (November 19-20, 1985). The report focuses on three major issues in Soviet performance under the Helsinki Accords and the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights: 1) Family Reunification with regard to Soviet Jews and ethnic Germans; 2) Religious Freedom; and 3) Free Flow of Information and Human Contacts.

Family reunification for Soviet Jews and ethnic Germans, as measured by emigration statistics, is currently at the lowest level since the 1960's. The monthly average for Jewish emigration has declined from over 4,000 per month in 1979 to 89 per month in 1985. German emigration has been reduced from 600 per month in 1979 to less than 40 per month in 1985. The report estimates that there are more than 300,000 Soviet Jews and 100,000 ethnic Germans who have been unable to exercise the internationally recognized right to emigrate.

There are more than 350 prisoners of all religious faiths in the Soviet Union who have been silenced for attempting to act upon their rights to religious freedom as defined by both the

Helsinki Accords and the Soviet Constitution. Accompanying this repression has been an increasing level of anti-religious regulations and propaganda sanctioned by the Soviet government in an effort to restrict, if not destroy, the free practice of religious beliefs.

The Soviet Union has also attempted to prevent the free flow of information and peoples, which is a fundamental prerequisite for the exercise of individual liberty and freedom. The jamming of foreign broadcasts into the Soviet Union, the harassment of and limitations on journalists working in the Soviet Union, the reduced access to and prohibition of foreign periodicals and newspapers, the elimination of direct dial telephone service to and from the USSR, and the ongoing violations of the International Postal Convention with regard to the non-delivery of mail are in direct contradiction to the letter and spirit of the Soviet Union's commitments as a signatory to the Helsinki Accords and other international agreements.

This report has been transmitted to President Reagan by Senators Charles E. Grassley and Dennis DeConcini, and Representatives Tom Lantos and John Edward Porter, the co-founders of IPG. The report reflects IPG's view that Soviet human rights performance is an issue of major concern in East-West relations and should be given a priority at the Reagan/Gorbachev summit which is consistent with the United States' historical commitment to human rights as the cornerstone of American and Western foreign policy.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

"The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion...

Within this framework the participating states will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief, acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience."

From the Helsinki Final Act

Within the Soviet Union today, religious freedom is an extremely sensitive issue. Religion is the only alternative ideology to communism in the Soviet Union, providing opposing theological positions and competing for the support of the Soviet people. Because of this role, the authorities are very concerned with religious activity in the Soviet Union.

Despite the official separation of church and state under the Soviet Constitution, the government attempts to control and subordinate all facets of religious life through a series of laws and official codes. These laws require that every religious community be registered with the state and conform to the following regulations: congregations may not own their churches but must rent them from the state, which can revoke the rental agreement at any time; no one under the age of 18 is allowed to be inside a church; children can only be taught religion by their parents at home; all religious leaders and literature must be approved by the state; and the state controls access to seminaries. These regulations result in shortages of churches, religious literature and leaders for all religious groups. In this way the authorities strictly limit the activities and influence of the various churches.

There are almost 100 million religious believers in the Soviet Union, representing most of the world's major religions. There are 52 million Christians, with the Russian Orthodox Church having 40 million members. The other major Christian religious groupings include the Roman Catholic Church (five million members); the illegal Uniate or Ukrainian Catholic Church (three million members); the Lutheran Church (one million members among Estonians and Lithuanians); and Evangelical Protestants. Many of the Evangelical Protestants, including groups of Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists and Pentacostals, have refused to register with the State and are thus considered illegal. Estimates of the membership of these groups are 100,000, 130,000, and 500,000 respectively. The Soviet state also has the power to decide which religious groups have the right to exist. Outlawed religious groups include Jehovah's Witnesses and the True Orthodox Church.

The second largest religious group in the Soviet Union are the Moslems. There are nearly 45 million people that belong to the "Moslem nations" within the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities have attempted to regulate the Moslem believers in the Soviet Union by controlling the number of operating mosques. Before coming under Soviet rule there were almost 25,000 mosques; presently the Soviet government only permits between four and five hundred mosques to remain open.

While the Soviet Constitution guarantees certain individual rights, the Soviet Penal Code can, in practice, negate the freedoms of the Constitution. The Soviet authorities have tried and sentenced individual believers to lengthy prison terms or

hard labor for a number of deliberately fabricated crimes. These convictions violate both the Helsinki Final Act and the provisions for individual religious freedom in the Soviet Constitution. Examples of this practice include Boris Razveyev, a Russian Orthodox Christian, who was sentenced on September 3, 1985 to three years in prison for "circulation of deliberately false concoctions, slandering the state and Soviet order" and "infringement of the person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rituals." Ukrainian Catholic Activist Iosyp Terelya was sentenced to seven years in prison for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Conditions in Soviet prisons, labor camps and psychiatric hospitals can be extremely brutal and ill treatment often results in death. Ukrainian prisoner of conscience Vasyl Stus died in a labor camp near Perm, USSR on September 4, 1985. Religious prisoners are often placed in confinement with convicted murderers and violent criminals and many have been severely injured or killed. Yakov Levin, a Jew from Odessa, was so brutally beaten in a holding prison that his condition was diagnosed as "irreversible." The repression targeted against religious activists is not limited to the activists themselves. Their families are often subject to harassment by local police, loss of employment, forced eviction or arrest.

One of the most recent tactics used by Soviet authorities is the systematic attack on Hebrew teachers. The campaign launched in 1984 by a series of searches, threats and arrests has not subsided under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev. In fact, four

more Hebrew teachers have been arrested since Gorbachev's rise to power, including Aleksander Kholmiansky, who was sentenced to 18 months in a labor camp on charges of "illegal possession of ammunition."

The Soviets have also begun to re-arrest religious believers and sentence them to additional time in prison before they are even released from their original sentence. Nikolai Boiko, a Soviet Baptist, has been sentenced to an additional two and one half years of hard labor for "persistent violation of camp regulations."

N.B.-- This report was based on materials provided by Keston College (United Kingdom), Amnesty International and the Human Rights Internet Reporter.

FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION/HUMAN CONTACTS

The Soviet Government, in signing the Helsinki Final Act, pledged to "facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds, to encourage cooperation in the field of information and the exchange of information with other countries, and to improve the conditions under which journalists from one participating state exercise their profession in another participating state." Contrary to the letter and spirit of the Final Act, the Soviet Government has tried to restrict and control all facets of information flowing into and out of the country. The Soviet government fails to fulfill its

international obligations by restricting the free flow of information and human contacts in three areas: 1) the broadcast and reception of international radio programs within the Soviet Union; 2) the dissemination of Western information including newspapers, periodicals and television; and 3) the working conditions of journalists within the Soviet Union.

There are several major international broadcasting services which transmit programs into the Soviet Union: the British Broadcasting Company, Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk, the Voice of America and Radio Liberty. The Soviets have tried to restrict the flow of information from these services by preventing the clear reception of their signal. This involves "jamming" the incoming signal by causing deliberate interference in the form of noise on the same frequency as the signal. Jamming prevents the reception of the signal and therefore makes listening to the broadcast difficult. Between 1975 and 1979, during the period of detente in East-West relations, the Soviets ended the jamming of western broadcasts, with the exception of Radio Liberty. Since 1980, the Soviets have increased the intensity and scope of their jamming by building additional local jamming stations and by blanketing the signal over a large area with a network of "skyway" transmitters. The Soviets have also tried to discourage radio reception by making it illegal to disseminate "false" information based on these broadcasts. Although it is no longer a crime to listen to the broadcasts, an individual can be arrested and sentenced to prison for discussing the contents of the broadcasts. The Soviets have also used

intimidation tactics against broadcasters throughout the West.

The Soviets keep tight control over all other forms of information entering the country. There are few Western television programs or films shown in the Soviet Union today. Those that are shown often contain an anti-Western bias and have been screened and edited according to strict ideological standards. The Soviet authorities also maintain close control over the dissemination of printed materials such as Western newspapers and periodicals. Although the Helsinki Final Act calls for "the improvement of access by the public to periodical and non-periodical printed matter," Western publications are often kept in "closed stacks" at public or university libraries. Soviet citizens are prohibited from subscribing to Western publications.

Improvement in the working conditions for journalists is also a provision of the Helsinki Final Act. However, the Soviets continue to delay, deny and curtail entry visas on the basis of past or present articles written by journalists. There are also several areas of the Soviet Union that are officially closed to Western journalists. The actual conditions under which journalists in the Soviet Union work can often be considered harassment. Western journalists are questioned at length and threatened with prosecution on baseless charges. Access to local sources, both official and unofficial, is made extremely difficult for foreign journalists. Soviet officials often refuse to respond to questions or agree to interviews. Soviet authorities also strongly discourage contacts between journalists and unofficial sources. Soviet journalists are subject to severe

harassment, including confinement in psychiatric hospitals, for writing any article critical of the Soviet regime. Currently there are several Soviet citizens awaiting trial or in confinement for articles they wrote concerning such topics as economic problems in the USSR or Soviet performance in the Helsinki process.

Finally, the Soviet authorities have limited human contacts by discontinuing the ability of people inside and outside of the USSR to use direct dial telephone service. They have also introduced new postal regulations which have made it extremely expensive for Soviet citizens to receive mail and parcels from outside the Soviet Union, and continue to refuse to deliver mail to and from human rights activists.

N.B.-- This report was based on materials supplied by the United States Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

JEWISH EMIGRATION

The right of Soviet Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union is based on three major agreements which the Soviet Union has signed. These are:

- * The U.N. Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948)
- * The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966)

* Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act (1975)

Since 1968, the Soviet Union has granted 264,764 Jews permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union. In order to apply for emigration from the Soviet Union, a Jew must have an invitation (vizov) from Israel and must prove that he is emigrating for the purpose of family reunification. Since 1968, Israel has sent more than 600,000 invitations to Jews inside the Soviet Union who have requested them. Thus, there are currently over 300,000 Jews who wish to emigrate from the Soviet Union and are unable to do so because of the Soviet government's refusal to adhere to its international obligations. The Soviet authorities claim that all Jews who wish to emigrate have done so, thus explaining the decline in the number of visas issued.

There is a link between the USSR's emigration policy and overall East-West relations. Emigration peaked in 1974 at the height of East-West detente and again in 1979 as a result of progress in arms control and trade. As East-West relations deteriorated during the late 1970's, due to Soviet policies in Afghanistan and Poland, Jewish emigration declined drastically, from a high of 4,277 Jews per month in 1979 to the current rate of 89 per month (January-September 1985). The following chart illustrates the recent decline in emigration:

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER OF PERSONS</u>	<u>MONTHLY AVERAGE</u>
1968-		
1970	4,235	118
1971	13,022	1,085
1972	31,681	2,640
1973	34,733	2,894
1974	20,628	1,719
1975	13,221	1,102
1976	14,261	1,188
1977	15,736	1,395
1978	28,864	2,405
1979	51,320	4,277
1980	21,471	1,789
1981	9,477	787
1982	2,688	241
1983	1,315	110
1984	896	75
1985 (Jan.-Sept.)	795	89

There are currently at least 10,000 Jewish refuseniks (individuals who have been refused exit visas) in the Soviet Union. Recently the Soviet government has stepped up its campaign of harassment and anti-semitic propaganda against the refuseniks and their families. This campaign has taken the form of press conferences linking Zionism with the Nazis, the loss of employment for Jews that have applied for emigration visas, restrictions on university enrollment for Jews, continued illegal searches of Jewish homes, confiscation of property, and the arrests of many Jewish activists on baseless charges. In the past year, these arrests have included: Vladimir Brodsky, sentenced to three years for "malicious hooliganism"; Yuli Edelshtein, sentenced to three years for "trafficking in drugs"; and Leonid Volvosky who was arrested for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." The human rights conditions for those Jews waiting

to emigrate from the Soviet Union have continued to deteriorate since General Secretary Gorbachev ascended to power, despite his recent statement that "I would be glad to hear of Jews enjoying anywhere such political and other rights as they have in our country."

N.B.-- This report was prepared with materials supplied by Keston College (United Kingdom), the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and the Human Rights Internet Reporter.

AMERICAN JEWISH
GERMAN EMIGRATION
ARCHIVES

There are almost two million people living in the Soviet Union who list "German" as their ethnic group; 57% of these state that German is their native language. The vast majority of the ethnic Germans are descendants of settlers invited by the Czars to live and work in Russia during the 18th and 19th centuries. These Germans were accorded special rights, which included religious and cultural tolerance and communal self-determination. These special privileges were gradually abolished after 1871. These communities maintained their cultural identity and national characteristics until 1941, when 545,000 Germans from various regions of the Soviet Union were deported to forced labor camps in Siberia and Central Asia. The 1941 Decree of Deportation termed ethnic Germans "Enemies of the Soviet Union" and accused them of "active support for the Fascist Conquerors", while providing for the confiscation of their property and the complete abolition of their rights. It was not until 1955 that

the deportation order was rescinded and the Germans were allowed to move south into warmer regions. The Germans were not permitted to return to their prewar homes, and were not given compensation for their properties seized during the war.

Currently, the ethnic Germans are still denied their national autonomy and have been unable to establish their own German schools and cultural life. Because of general statutory and administrative restrictions and official anti-religious propaganda, the Germans cannot provide for the religious education of their children, a major component in preserving their national identity.

In order to receive a visa to emigrate from the Soviet Union, an ethnic German must receive an invitation (vizov) from the government of the Federal Republic of Germany and must prove that emigration is for the purpose of family reunification. Additionally, the official application process is extremely cumbersome and can take many years to complete. There are also passport and denaturalization fees which can amount to 9 months salary per person. These factors combine to prevent large numbers of ethnic Germans from completing the application process, and even those who do so are often not allowed to emigrate. The decline in German emigration and the obstacles within the application process are contrary to the provisions of:

* The German-Soviet Repatriation Agreement (1958)

* The International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (1966)

* Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act (1975)

The overall number of exit permits granted from 1955 through September 1985 is 94,227. The average annual figure has varied greatly from year to year and is related to East-West relations. The USSR has claimed that the rapid decline in emigration during the 1980's is due to the fact that most of the ethnic Germans willing to emigrate have done so. In fact, the German Red Cross estimates that there are over 100,000 ethnic Germans who have applied for emigration and been denied their rights under the international agreements signed by the Soviet government.

GERMAN EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER OF PERSONS</u>	<u>MONTHLY AVERAGE</u>	<u>TOTAL FOR FIVE YEAR PERIOD</u>
1955	608	51	
1956	800	67	
1957	1,221	102	
1958	4,681	390	
1959	5,960	497	
1960	3,460	288	
1961	451	38	
1962	927	77	
1963	242	20	
1964	262	22	
1965	365	30	
1966	1,245	104	
1967	1,092	91	
1968	598	50	
1969	316	26	
1970	342	29	
1971	1,145	95	
1972	3,420	285	
1973	4,493	374	
1974	6,541	545	
1975	5,985	499	
1976	9,704	809	
1977	9,274	773	
1978	8,445	705	
1979	7,226	602	
1980	6,954	580	
			1955-1959: 13,270
			1960-1964: 5,342
			1965-1969: 3,616
			1970-1974: 15,941
			1975-1979: 40,644

1981	3,773	314	1980-1984:
1982	2,071	172	15,060
1983	1,447	121	
1984	815	68	
1985	354	39	(Jan.-Sept.)

N.B.-- This report was based on materials supplied by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany.



LEONARD C. YASEEN

November 18, 1985

Dr. Marc Tanenbaum
45 East 89th Street, Apt. 18F
New York, N.Y. 10128

Dear Marc:

Hope this finds you and Georgette in your usual happy spirits and that all symptoms of your cold have disappeared.

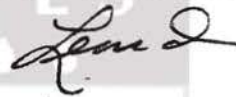
Last night I was interviewed over the telephone by Father Leingwin at KDA Pittsburgh. The first half hour interview proceeded smoothly, but the question and answer period was difficult and, some day soon, I would like to review with you an effective way to handle kooky questions.

My main purpose in writing this letter, Marc, has to do with financial assistance to carry on our program of advertising, public relations and engaging a theologian to arrange interreligious seminars for a trial period of at least a year. One of the reasons I think we should do this now is that tax laws may be substantially changed next year. Many people readjust their contributions at year end when they notice they have money left over for that purpose. So it would appear that now is the time to send out a campaign. It should arrive no later than December 11th. I am enclosing a prime list to which you may want to add some names of those you know to be heavy contributors.

By the end of this year, my total cash outlay for everything in connection with this book will exceed \$200,000. This is going to be pretty tricky because we certainly don't want to make it appear that this is a "Vanity" publication. I suppose it could be said that I have made sizable contributions to the publisher's promotional costs as well as turning back my royalties. Perhaps if you agree to go ahead with this, Marc, you should mention that we hope to raise \$500,000. to make a genuine impact.

Please let me know if you think we can proceed with this schedule using some segment of the AJC as our base.

Warm regards,



LCY/d
Enclosure



Suggested beginning of
Marc's letter

Twelve years ago I asked Leonard Yessou,
then Chairman of our Interreligious Affairs
Commission, if he would write an article
which had been requested from us
by the editor of Together, the United
Methodist monthly publication.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
Leonard agreed. Within three months
there were over 500,000 (?) requests
for reprints. That article has now
been expanded into a book, The Yessou
Connection - Go Triumph Over Anti-
Semitism, a copy enclosed.

Within six weeks of publication,
Nov. 9, 1985 the first ~~printing~~
of 20,000 copies ~~to~~ was sold out,
and Crossroad, ~~with~~ with
distribution by Scribner/Macmillan
are ~~releasing~~ ^{releasing} another ~~at~~ printing.

In a very real sense this is an
A.J.C. inspired project - etc., etc.

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

NOV 25 1985

MEMORANDUM

To: Representatives of National Jewish Organizations

From: I. Barry Mehler and Sydney Jarkow

Date: November 20, 1985

Subject: Meeting With Argentina's Ambassador to the United States

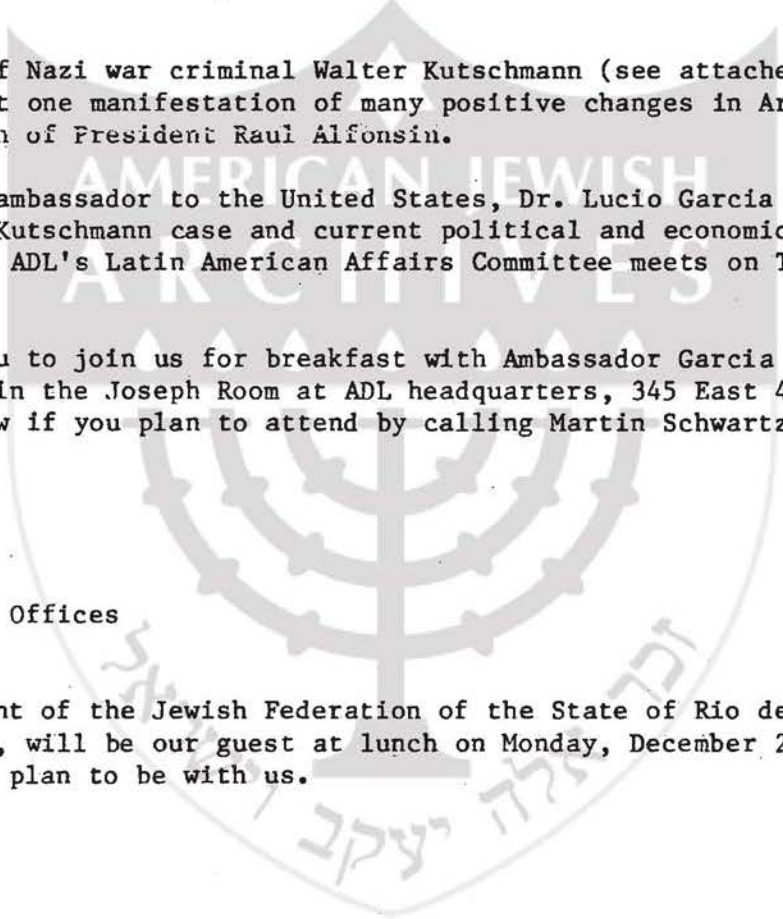
The arrest of Nazi war criminal Walter Kutschmann (see attached New York Times clip) is but one manifestation of many positive changes in Argentina under the administration of President Raul Alfonsin.

Argentina's ambassador to the United States, Dr. Lucio Garcia del Solar, will discuss the Kutschmann case and current political and economic developments in Argentina when ADL's Latin American Affairs Committee meets on Thursday, December 5.

We invite you to join us for breakfast with Ambassador Garcia del Solar from 9:00 to 10:00 AM in the Joseph Room at ADL headquarters, 345 East 46 Street. Please let us know if you plan to attend by calling Martin Schwartz at 490-2525, ext. 485.

BM/SJ:sv
att.
cc: ADL Regional Offices

P.S. The President of the Jewish Federation of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Dr. Ronaldo Gomlevsky, will be our guest at lunch on Monday, December 23. Please save the date and plan to be with us.



The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1985

Argentina Reports Arresting Ex-Nazi for Extradition

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

A former Gestapo leader high on the list of wanted Nazi war criminals has been arrested in Argentina on a special extradition warrant from West Germany, Argentine officials reported yesterday.

They identified the man as Walter Kutschmann, a 71-year-old businessman who has been living in Argentina since 1947 under the name of Pedro Ricardo Olmo.

West German prosecutors, who had first sought his extradition nearly 15 years ago before dropping the effort, said he was wanted for the killings of Jews and other civilians in Poland during World War II.

If an Argentine judge approves the extradition, Mr. Kutschmann would apparently be the first Nazi fugitive ever handed over by Argentina. Under previous Governments, Argentina was a favorite refuge for officials of Hitler's Third Reich.

Pressure From Nazi-Hunters

The arrest came after years of pressure by Nazi-hunters like Simon Wiesenthal and officials of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who called repeated attention to Mr. Kutschmann's thinly veiled presence in Argentina. In recent months in particular, Anti-Defamation League officials shuttled between Washington, Argentina and West Germany to press for action.

In Buenos Aires yesterday, Police Inspector Pedro Aybar said that when Mr. Kutschmann was arrested Thursday night outside the capital, he said: "Well, the chase is over. I will not run."

Miquel Angel Deguisa, the head of investigations for the federal police, said the suspect maintained throughout the arrest that he was Pedro Ricardo Olmo. But Mr. Deguisa told reporters, "He denies it, but he is Kutschmann."

In his statement before Judge Fernando Archimbal yesterday, the suspect continued to maintain that he was Mr. Olmo, according to a court source. The source declined to say how long it would take for the judge to hand down a decision.

Police officials said Mr. Kutschmann had been arrested two blocks from an apartment where he was staying in the Buenos Aires suburb of Florida by four police agents working with Interpol, the international police identification network.

The police said he had not resisted arrest and was carrying Argentine identification papers in the name of Olmo and a small sum of money.

Among the charges facing Mr. Kutschmann in West Germany are that as an SS officer and Gestapo leader in 1941 and 1942 he ordered the execution of 1,500 Jews in Berezhan and Podgaitz and the killing of 20 university professors and members of their families in Lvov, in an area that was then German-occupied Poland and is now part of the Soviet Ukraine. Witnesses said the Ukrainians who were ordered to dig the graves for the killings were themselves later slain at Mr. Kutschmann's orders.

Witnesses in Israel have also given statements identifying Mr. Kutschmann as having shot a 17- or 18-year-old Jewish housemaid with the family name of Feld in Drogobych, then in Poland, in 1941 after he accused her of having given him a venereal disease.

According to a declassified State Department cablegram from 1947, at the end of the war Mr. Kutschmann fled to Spain, where he directed an organization of former Nazi security officers. He was said to have moved to Argentina in 1947 and, as Mr. Olmo, taken a job as sales manager for Osram, a West German electrical supply company. A company official said later that Mr. Olmo had admitted his true identity as Mr. Kutschmann but denied committing Nazi atrocities.

In 1967, a West Berlin court issued an arrest warrant for Mr. Kutschmann on murder charges. In 1975, Simon Wiesenthal, the Vienna-based Nazi-hunter, publicly identified Mr. Kutschmann as living under the Olmo name in Buenos Aires. He was arrested and questioned but released the next day.

Arrest Warrant Revoked

The same year, the West Germans revoked their arrest warrant on the

grounds that the statute of limitation no longer allowed war crimes prosecutions except for the most egregious cases of genocide.

Newspaper and magazine articles over the years have depicted Mr. Kutschmann as living quietly with his wife, Geraldina, in the seaside resort of Miramar.

Argentina does not have an extradition treaty with West Germany, and so the Argentine Government had to issue a special order to get the extradition process started.

In New York, officials of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who had been closely cooperating with West Germany and Argentina in the case, said the Argentine Foreign Ministry had told them that President Raúl Alfonsín had signed the arrest and extradition order last week.

But then, they said, when the police sought Mr. Kutschmann at his two known residences, they found he had not been there for the last month.

The two Anti-Defamation League officials, Elliot Welles and Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, directors of units on Nazi war criminals, said last week that they suspected Mr. Kutschmann had been tipped off and had fled.

But they and others involved in the search for Nazi fugitives said they were gratified by the arrest yesterday.

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, described the arrest as a "historic accomplishment" and a warning to other Nazis in hiding "that only the grave will give them immunity from pursuit."

Mr. Wiesenthal, visiting New York yesterday, described Mr. Kutschmann as among the top war criminals sought for trial. Others, he said, included several missing aides of Adolf Eichmann, who was abducted by Israeli agents from Buenos Aires in 1960 and later tried and hanged in Israel.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies in Los Angeles said it "applauds" the Argentine action, and the World Jewish Congress urged a speedy extradition and trial.



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Memo

November 27, 1985

TO: Members, NJCRAC Israel Task Force

FROM: Arden E. Shenker and Rabbi Israel Miller, Co-Chairs

RE: Agenda Update for Wednesday, December 4, 1985, Meeting at NJCRAC from 2:00 - 5:00 P. M.

First of all, an apology for whatever confusion our previous memo may have caused. The hours of the Wednesday meeting are from 2:00 - 5:00 P. M. Please call the office if you have not already indicated your attendance.

Our agenda includes the following:

I. An Update on the Peace Process

It is difficult to know, in recent weeks, just what progress, if any, is being made in advancing toward direct peace negotiations. While there are signs of activity related to the two major outstanding issues--an international conference and Palestinian participation (see enclosed Wolf Blitzer article)--it is not clear yet whether recent Arab meetings and maneuvering, or the U. S.-Soviet summit, have produced positive movement on either question.

In addition, we will explore such questions as:

To what extent has the PLO been rehabilitated? What role is Jordan projecting for Arafat? Has the U. S. position on a PLO role changed since the Achille Lauro affair?

Dr. Barry Rubin, who is presently a Council on Foreign Relations Fellow and, starting next month, will be a Fellow at the Foreign Policy Institute of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, will give us his analysis of these issues.

The Task Force will assess the community relations implications of the current situation and possible scenarios.

II. Outstanding Issues on the Hill: The Jordan Arms Sale; Inouye-Kasten "Buy-Down"; The Pollard Spy Case

It is not too early to start planning a strategy now dealing with the postponed Jordanian arms sale, should Jordan still be absent from the negotiating table. Our strategy to date has been to demonstrate to the Administration the wisdom of not advancing the sale in the absence of "direct and meaningful negotiations" (in the words of Congress).

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Secondly, what are the legislative prospects for the Inouye-Kasten "buy-down" on U. S. loan rates to Israel? (See article enclosed.) What are the community relations dimensions of this issue and what, if anything, needs to be done at this time?

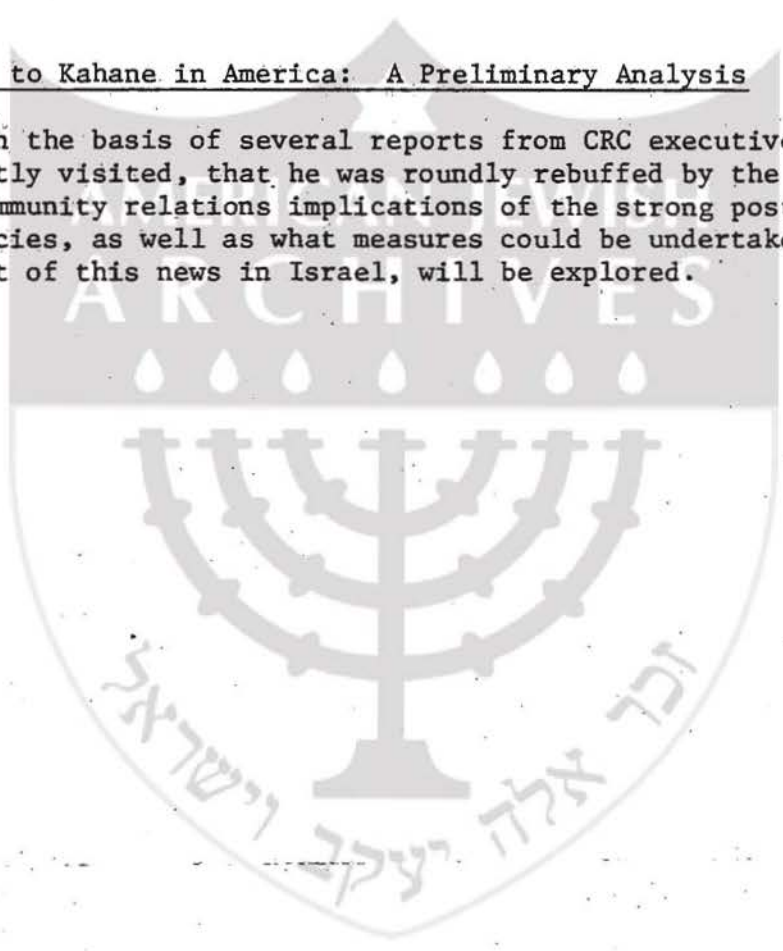
Finally, how is all this--and the broader question of U. S.-Israeli relations and Israel's public image--being affected by the allegations in connection with the arrest of the civilian Navy employee charged with spying for Israel?

III. Report from the Campus Advisory Committee on the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Meeting

We will have a report on last week's MESA meeting, which is a major barometer of the levels of activity and principal issues of the pro-Arab, anti-Israel community on campus.

IV. The Reaction to Kahane in America: A Preliminary Analysis

It would appear, on the basis of several reports from CRC executives in communities where Kahane recently visited, that he was roundly rebuffed by the organized Jewish community. The community relations implications of the strong posture taken by NJCRAC member agencies, as well as what measures could be undertaken to maximize the possible impact of this news in Israel, will be explored.



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ITF-NJ

NEWS REPORT

U.S. has new Mideast ideas as Big Two leaders meet

By WOLF BLITZER

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. - The Reagan administration is looking into the possibility of the UN Security Council adopting a new resolution on the Middle East calling for direct Arab-Israeli peace negotiations under some sort of international framework.

In private diplomatic exchanges with Israeli, Arab, West European and Soviet leaders, the administration has suggested that this proposal might lead to a procedural breakthrough aimed at achieving direct peace negotiations.

U.S. officials last week said President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz would continue to explore this approach during their summit meetings in Geneva this week with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

As seen by authoritative U.S. officials in Washington, a new Security Council resolution calling for direct negotiations might also lead to Palestinian participation in future talks, probably as members of the Jordanian and Syrian delegations. But only those Palestinians who accepted the new resolution would be eligible.

U.S. officials said the resolution they had in mind would explicitly reaffirm that Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 remain the basis for future peace talks. But the new resolution would probably go further by recognizing more directly Israel's right to exist as well as the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

Drafting specific language which would meet the minimal requirements of the U.S., Israel, the Soviet Union, the Arab states and the Palestinians would by no means be easy.

U.S. officials are aware of the longstanding concern in Jerusalem over any new Security Council resolution which would, in effect, go beyond Resolutions 242 and 338. In recent years, Israel has always strongly opposed this approach, fearing that it would be designed largely as a vehicle to bring the PLO into the negotiating process.

Therefore, in order to reassure Israel, the Reagan administration may be prepared to enter into a separate bilateral agreement with Israel spelling out in some detail U.S. policy in a whole host of areas of concern to Israel. U.S. officials cited the September 1, 1975 American-Israeli Memorandum of Agreement which accompanied the signing of the Sinai II accord with Egypt as a possible precedent.

It was in that earlier agreement, for example, that the U.S. pledged not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO until the PLO accepted Resolutions 242 and 338 as well as Israel's right to exist. There were many other political, economic and military commitments contained in the document as well.

U.S. officials believe that Prime Minister Peres, who served as defence minister in 1975, may be prepared to accept a new Security Council resolution which would serve as an invitation to the various parties to participate in an opening international conference on the Middle East.

Peres has made clear to Washington, however, that any such international gathering would have to break down quickly into small working groups, involving Israel and its various neighbours.

The prime minister, in the past, has privately spoken of separate working groups involving Israel and Jordan as well as even Israel and Syria. Beyond those groups, of course, there could be a separate working group involving Israel and Egypt,

focusing on the disputed border territory at Taba, the slow pace of normalization and other outstanding bilateral problems.

Peres's willingness to go along with this approach would be strengthened, U.S. officials added, if the Soviets actually improved relations with Israel either by formally restoring diplomatic ties or by increasing the numbers of exit visas granted to Jews.

U.S. officials, in recent months, have repeatedly cited Peres's address before the Knesset earlier this year in which he raised the possibility of the Security Council's inviting the various parties to some sort of direct negotiations. An invitation, the Americans said, could take the form of a new resolution.

Jordan's King Hussein, for his part, has insisted that the five permanent members of the Security Council be invited to an international conference on the Middle East.

At Geneva this week, Reagan and Shultz are clearly prepared to discuss the Middle East situation with the Soviets, including any specific role to be played by the Security Council.

Meanwhile Prime Minister Peres has sent a message to Egyptian President Mubarak apparently reflecting Israel's belief that patronage of the PLO is not the correct way to advance peace.

In Cairo last week, Yasser Arafat, with Mubarak standing by his side, read out the "Cairo declaration" saying the PLO denounced terrorism against civilians "anywhere," but reserved the right of Palestinians to armed operations in the "occupied land."

Mubarak was quoted later as saying his understanding of the declaration meant that the PLO would carry out military operations only in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and that there would be no such operations in Israel.

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National Jewish Community Relations
Advisory Council

(over)

Philip Geyelin

One Too Many Gifts for Israel?

Old-timers in Congress thought they would never see the day. The Senate Appropriations Committee was meeting routinely to "mark up" the foreign-operations bill. A couple of Israel's faithful friends, Robert Kasten Jr. (R-Wis.) and Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) had slipped a provision into the Israeli-aid program that they claimed would add \$500 million or so in economic aid without costing U.S. taxpayers anything.

Business as usual, you might say. U.S. aid to Israel gets bigger every year, systematically, thanks to an endlessly energetic Israeli lobby. But this time it didn't work. This time, the Israeli issue gave way to the burning issue of budget deficits and the public debt. This time there was a real, honest-to-God fight, with some of Israel's best friends saying, in effect, enough is enough.

"Enough" in this case is something close to \$3.8 billion annually. Economic assistance to Israel in the current fiscal year would be about \$1.2 billion, up from \$785 million only three years ago. Military aid would total \$1.8 billion, up from \$1.4 billion last year. Contrary to past practice of the Israelis paying for at least part of it, it now comes entirely in the form of grants. To help underwrite Israel's economic recovery efforts, a special \$1.5 billion fund has been awarded, half of it in a supplemental appropriation to last year's aid, the other half in the current fiscal year.

But that is not enough for Kasten and Inouye, who wrote into the original bill a "buy down" of the interest Israel pays on its loans from the United States, from about 11.5 percent to 5 percent. The saving to Israel, in effect a gift from the United States, would amount to \$531,710,682.

But the U.S. government would have to pay for it. In an effort to seem not to be breaking through the budgetary ceiling for foreign aid, Inouye and Kasten did a little jiggery-pokery with unused funds of the Export-Import Bank, which conveniently totaled around \$500 million.

It all looks so innocent you would hardly know that Israel would be getting a whopping increase in U.S. aid. Except that Appropriations Committee Chairman Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) did know. So did Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.), whose responsibility as ranking member of the Budget Committee makes him especially deficit-conscious. And so did the new director of the Office of Management and Budget, James C. Miller III.

In confidential, identical letters to Hatfield and the ranking Democrat on Appropriations, John Stennis, Majority Leader Robert Dole, Kasten and Inouye, the OMB director deplored the use of "accounting gimmicks that will distort" Export-Import Bank budgeting and added that the Inouye-Kasten bookkeeping is "completely inconsistent with

established budget-accounting principles." Aid to Israel is already at "extraordinary levels," he argued.

Hatfield was no less vehement, according to those present at the "mark-up" meeting. Arguing that all the other appropriations subcommittees had stayed within their prescribed ceilings, he told Inouye and Kasten that if there was an odd \$500 million lying around in the foreign aid budget, there were some American farmers who could use it.

Chiles told the two sponsors they were living in an "Alice in Wonderland dreamland." He said the Inouye-Kasten provision, while applicable only to this year's aid program, would almost certainly become a fixture; cutting it out next time around in an election year, or in any year, is not something Congress would be likely to do.

The outcome of the Inouye-Kasten ploy is in doubt. At some point it will go to the Senate floor, where opposition to the Export-Import Bank bookkeeping may prompt its sponsors to look for the money elsewhere in the aid program.

What makes this whole business all the more extraordinary is that Israel neither requested the "buy down" nor is actively supporting it, according to embassy spokesmen. They don't quite say that if the issue turns in their favor, they won't be smiling all the way to the bank. But you do get a certain sense that they, too, feel that enough is enough—that any more would be pushing their luck.

What's going on here would appear to be yet one more example of Israel's best friends in America being more Israeli than the Israelis.

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DEC 09 1985



Virginia Commonwealth University

4 December 1985

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

It was a pleasure talking with you earlier today, and I am glad we were finally able to connect. I am delighted that you have accepted our invitation to be a participant at the conference celebrating the bicentennial of the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom. With people like you as our speakers, I know it will be an exciting event.

Mr. Joseph Ward, the vice-president of the Citizens' Committee, will no doubt be contacting you in the near future, and as soon as we have the entire roster for the conference lined up, we will be sending a preliminary program to all of the participants.

It will be my pleasure to send you a copy of the booklet on the Virginia Statute when it comes out next February, and I look forward to seeing the book you are working on, and to meeting you here next fall.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mel. Urofsky".

Melvin I. Urofsky
Professor of History

DEC 12 1985

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S. Joseph Ward
Vice President & Director
of Public Relations

December 9, 1985

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

We were excited to learn from Dr. Melvin I. Urofsky, Professor of History at Virginia Commonwealth University, of your acceptance to appear before the National Conference on Religious Freedom, Friday, October 24, 1986!

We will make reservations for you at the Jefferson-Sheraton Hotel. Please let us know what time you plan to arrive and depart. If there are other requests you have for your visit to Richmond, we would be delighted to work with you in any way. Please have your office send me a black and white glossy head and shoulders photo along with a biographical data sheet for use in the program and for introductions.

Again, thank you very much for accepting the invitation and we look forward to your participation in an exciting National Conference on Religious Freedom.

Sincerely,

S. Joseph Ward, Chairman
National Conference Committee

cc: Dr. Urofsky

*Memo*

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

FROM: Arden E. Shenker and Rabbi Israel Miller, Co-Chairs
NJCRAC Israel Task Force

RE: Summary of Israel Task Force Meeting
Wednesday, December 4, 1985

Among the issues addressed by the NJCRAC Israel Task Force meeting on December 4 were the peace process, the Jordan arms sale proposal and the Pollard spy affair.

Our discussion and recommendations on the Pollard spy affair were sent to you in a previous memo of December 6, 1985.

I. ARMS SALE TO JORDAN

Regarding the proposed Jordan arms sale, the Task Force was reminded that according to the Administration's interpretation of the arms sale agreement, as of March 1, 1986, barring Congressional opposition, the sale will proceed. At this point, there are no concrete indications that King Hussein will meet the conditions for the sale; that is, to enter into "direct and meaningful negotiations" with Israel. Congress will have 30 days (as provided by the Arms Export Control Act) beginning January 27, to pass legislation disapproving the sale. Therefore, the Task Force recommended as essential that member agencies set up meetings now with Congressmen and Senators during the holiday recess and encourage opposition to the sale. The Administration has argued that Jordan needs the proposed \$1.6 - 1.9 billion arms package to defend itself against Syria. However, during the past few months, Jordan and Syria have taken a number of significant steps to improve their relations. A mailing on this and related topics for discussion with members of Congress will be sent shortly.

II. THE PEACE PROCESS

Since the Task Force met in September, there has been a great deal of activity in the Middle East concerning the peace process. Continuing PLO terrorism, highlighted by the Achille Lauro affair, the exchange between Peres and Hussein concerning a framework for peace negotiations, and U. S. efforts to get parties to the negotiating table. While all of this activity has apparently not yet produced any results, many more questions about the complex and evolving Middle East political scene and the likelihood of direct peace talks have been raised.

(over)

To help in its assessment of the peace process, the Task Force asked Dr. Barry Rubin, a noted Middle East specialist and currently a Fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D. C., to present his views on the present situation. Dr. Rubin's most recent publication is "The PLO and the Peace Process," to be published shortly by the Washington Institute on Near East Affairs.

Dr. Rubin prefaced his remarks by noting that the parties to the Middle East conflict have conflicting goals. There are differences between the U. S. and Israel on the one hand, and among the Arab countries on the other hand. In particular, each of the Arab parties--Jordan, the PLO, Egypt, Syria, and Saudia Arabia--has goals that contradict the aims of the others. Therefore, Dr. Rubin cautioned against oversimplifying the interrelationships among the various actors in the peace process. For example, while the PLO has certain leverage over the Arab states, the Arab states also have leverage over the PLO. Thus, neither the Arab states nor the PLO has been able to exert enough leverage to move the peace process forward according to its program.

Hussein View

With this as background, Dr. Rubin retraced the course of the current round of the peace process. The February 11, 1985, Jordan-PLO framework for a joint Jordan-Palestinian approach to peace was concluded by King Hussein with a man he cannot trust, Yasser Arafat. Therefore, Jordan immediately announced the agreement, hoping that Arafat would not be able to back out of his commitment. But, in fact, according to Dr. Rubin, the PLO has been trying to back out of it.

Hussein does not want an independent Palestinian state, but he does want to recover the West Bank. To achieve this, he needs the PLO as a negotiating partner, because the PLO is widely recognized by Palestinians as their spokesman. But, Hussein is determined that Jordan will be the senior partner in the negotiating team. The Hussein posture is essentially U. S. policy as well; i.e., Jordan should be the senior partner.

Arafat View

Arafat has, therefore, resisted following through with his previous commitment to King Hussein because accepting the Jordanian position would threaten Arafat's hold over the PLO and perhaps even his life. Arafat has survived as PLO Chairman for two basic reasons. First, he has succeeded in never allowing the PLO to come under the domination of one Arab state. Second, he has avoided an internal revolt that would not only seriously threaten, but also terminate, his position of leadership. The internal political problems of the PLO are highlighted by the divisions in the organization. Dr. Rubin identified four factions: 1) The pro-Syrian groups, which are the most extreme; 2) The Marxist groups, including the PCP, DFLP, and PDFLP, which do not want the U.S. to be a mediator and oppose Jordanian involvement. These are the groups that initiated the Palestinian-Jordanian war in 1970; 3) The "loyal opposition," in which Arafat's aide Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf) is key among those who want to stop Arafat from pursuing a policy of diplomacy; and 4) Arafat's own internal faction, which is also divided. (See attached New York Times article of Sunday, December 15, 1985.) Terrorism, therefore, is a political necessity for Arafat in order to meet the internal test of legitimacy and thus maintain control over the PLO.

For Arafat, the goal of destroying Israel is more than an ideological issue. Arafat's hard-headed political calculation is that if he comes forward and accepts peace under U. S. terms, then he will have to accept Jordanian domination and possibly Syrian assassination. For this reason, Arafat continues to refuse to accept UN Security Council Resolution 242. Such acceptance is viewed by the U.S., as a necessary precondition to gaining admission to any peace negotiations.

Syrian Role

Syria remains unwilling to join in the peace process, Dr. Rubin noted, because the objective of achieving peace with Israel does not coincide with the Assad government's domestic and inter-Arab interests. The minority Alawi government must prove its commitment to Arab nationalism, it views Syria as the center of the Arab world, and for 50 years, Syria has been trying to keep Jordan from getting the Palestinian "card." In addition, Syria's ties to the Soviet Union mitigate against the peace process.

Regarding the recent rapprochement between Jordan and Syria, Dr. Rubin disagreed with analysts in the U. S. government who argue that this signals the peace process is failing. In Rubin's view, Hussein has nothing to lose by improving relations with Syria; he could just as easily reverse the rapprochement if the peace process advances. In addition, any improvement in Jordanian-Syrian ties puts pressure on the PLO, signalling to Arafat that Jordan does not necessarily need the PLO.

U.S. Policy

In Dr. Rubin's judgment, U.S. policy regarding the PLO has been very reasonable because the U.S. has given the PLO a choice. In effect, the U.S. has told the PLO that if it recognizes Israel and renounces terrorism, it can join in peace negotiations as a junior partner with Jordan in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. If, however, the PLO is not prepared to do this, then it has the option of appointing Palestinian delegates acceptable to the United States to the joint delegation who will be beholden to the PLO and Arafat. But, Arafat has refused both choices. The onus, therefore, is on Arafat.

Dr. Rubin noted that the underlying assumption for most Westerners is that action and progress is normal. Middle East nations, however, act on the basis of their own respective local interests. So, it is not correct to argue that the PLO, Jordan and other Arab nations are anxiously waiting for the U. S. to act. Rather, Hussein and Arafat have analyzed the current situation and decided that, given the political considerations, it is better to wait. In Dr. Rubin's view, the U.S., having made a good offer, should stand firm and remain patient. Neither we nor Israel should view the current situation pessimistically. The ball is in the Arab court, and there is little or no pressure on Israel because Peres appears to be --and has been-- forthcoming in trying to move the peace process forward.

Asked whether the U.S. can afford to be less active regarding the Middle East, Dr. Rubin pointed out that he had spoken of patience, not passivity. He urges the U.S. government to continue trying to advance the peace process, but notes that the need for progress is not so great that, in order to achieve it, the U.S. should make concessions. (over)

Palestinian Alternatives

Responding to questions about alternative Palestinian leadership, Dr. Rubin argued that there are no Palestinian alternatives to the PLO because the PLO will kill opponents and because, at present, the Palestinians by and large support the PLO. If, however, West Bank leadership perceives the PLO as failing and their concern over possible Israeli annexation rises, then it is possible they would favor a return to the situation of 1950, when the West Bank leadership welcomed Jordanian annexation.

Dr. Rubin was asked to comment on the thesis advanced by Kenneth Jacobson at the October 20th NJCRAC Israel Commission meeting. Mr. Jacobson argued that the Jewish community and its allies should launch a broad campaign aimed at changing U.S. policy to one of disqualifying the PLO from consideration as a potential participant in the peace process. Dr. Rubin reiterated that no alternative Palestinian leadership is likely to emerge. Those Palestinians who oppose the PLO's preeminent role in Palestinian politics are likely to be killed. Palestinians on the West Bank, with the possible exception of Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, do not have any independent base and, therefore, need the support of the PLO. For example, in 1982, the U. S. Consulate in Jerusalem circulated among West Bank mayors a petition to support the Reagan Plan. The PLO sent instructions to stop the petition and the mayors complied.

Commenting on Henry Kissinger's approach towards the peace process, Dr. Rubin noted that Kissinger understood the concept of leverage, that the U. S. must show Arab radicals that they will not get anything until they make concessions. The State Department view, according to Dr. Rubin, tends towards desperation: that the U.S. must achieve something now, without necessarily getting achievable concessions from the Arabs.

Conclusion and Recommendation

While mindful that the PLO continues to be a factor, the consensus of Task Force members was to continue to pursue an information campaign aimed at discrediting the PLO as a potential legitimate partner in the peace process. Such a campaign should include the following activities: continue to inform opinion-molders to link the PLO to terrorism and to further examine and publicize the finances of the organization; encourage the U.S. government to continue to pursue the arrest of Muhammed (Abu) Abbas and to explore legal action against Arafat; encourage friendly countries to close down PLO offices. For further information and guidance, please consult with Charney Bromberg or Kenneth Bandler.

P.S. For your information, we have enclosed an editorial from The Economist of December 21, 1985, which clearly puts the onus for advancing peace talks on Yasser Arafat.

AES/IM:tn
Enc.

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December 20, 1985

To: Members of the Jewish-Quaker Dialogue

From: Steve Cary

Subject: My December 3 talk on a Quaker approach to peace in the Middle East

Attached is the substance of my talk at our December 3rd meeting, which you requested to be sent to you for your further reflection and comment. I spoke from rather extensive notes, but I did not follow them precisely, so that this represents my best recollection of what I said.

At one or two places I have taken the liberty of some modest elaboration to clarify points, or speak to criticisms made in our later discussion that evening.

I hope you will find the document helpful, and I look forward to our further considerations of the subject at our January meeting.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: A QUAKER APPROACH

I don't think there is any issue in the world that is more complex and emotion-laden than that of reaching a fair and honorable peace settlement in the Middle East. All of us—Jew and Quaker alike—need to be exercising our minds and our hearts in pursuing the search, to the end that the millions who live there may have their chance to live in peace, and the world at large be relieved of the burden and danger of a tinder box that could erupt into a holocaust.

That is what the American Friends Service Committee has tried to do, and I want to share our thinking with you tonight in the context—as near as I can understand it—of the present situation, fully conscious that our analysis is less than perfect, and that there are other views among both Friends and non-Friends that need also to be considered.

I begin with the recognition that one of our major problems as a Christian body is that try as we may, Quakers cannot ever really put ourselves in Jewish shoes: we cannot fully feel the passionate commitment to Israel that exercises the hearts of Jews after 2000 years of the diaspora, or fully share the Israeli preoccupation with security, born as it is out of millenia of defenselessness, culminating in the unspeakable holocaust. In this connection, I remember talking in Jerusalem with the director of the Van Leer Institute—a sort of Israeli equivalent to the Brookings Institution—and his saying to me: "Mr. Cary, we Israelis are paranoid about security—that is the first thing you must understand about us—and you'd be paranoid too if you had our history."

These realities of passionate commitment and deep need for security are foundation stones in grasping the Israeli starting point in the search for peace. They are also our starting point; we regard Israel as an established state whose fundamental rights include both recognition and secure borders. I agree with David Mallach's assertion last June that the issue is not Israel's right to exist. It does exist. It's needs are recognition and security.

The question then becomes, how are these rights to be secured? This, of course, is where sharp differences develop. We in AFSC have our views, which we believe point in hopeful directions. I will share them with you, but I must comment first on the background out of which they arise.

First, and maybe most important, is our 300 year Quaker approach to

the reconciliation of conflict. We believe that the first responsibility of a reconciler is to try to understand the adversaries and seek accommodation of conflicting claims. There is always the danger that in this process one may appear to be neutral between good and evil, which must never be the case. Terrorism is an inexcusable outrage whoever practices it; repression and torture must be protested under all circumstances. On the other hand, Quakers have never regarded evil as a geographic, or a national, or a racial, phenomenon. All men and women—and the nations they create, have potential for both good and evil. Sometimes, as in Nazi Germany, evil rises dramatically to the surface and manifests itself in hideous ways, but it is our Quaker faith that human beings are redeemable, and that they can respond to other stimuli than fear, and hatred, and naked power. Sometimes even nations rise to positive challenges as, for example, our own country did in carrying out the Marshall Plan in the wake of World War II or in implementing the major civil rights legislation in the 1960's. Another example: Israel's Kahan Commission, charged with investigating the terrible Sabra and Shatila massacres, rendered a verdict that held Israeli officials accountable for the treatment of their enemies in wartime—truly an unprecedented and courageous expression of principle under trying circumstances. Or, one could cite Israel's offer of peace to the Arabs in 1948, or its effort to persuade Jordan not to enter the war in 1967.

Our Quaker approach is to recognize that the possibility for such behavior is always present; we seek out the good and reasonable and try to encourage it as the best way of easing conflict and finding accommodation. This is what we have been trying to do in the Middle East since at least the mid-60's—with people stationed there continually whose sole assignment has been to move among all the peoples and nations in the area and identify the moderate, thoughtful voices on all sides—engineers, professors, civil servants, legislators, religious leaders—and explore their approaches and their hopes, sharing with them the thinking of moderates in other—sometimes enemy—countries. This is the second component of the background out of which the AFSC has spoken out: direct experience in the region, and over the years, it has been the findings and insights of our representatives living there which has had an important role in inspiring the two books AFSC has produced on the subject since 1972.

I was not a member of either of these two writing groups, but read and commented on each chapter and draft produced and helped to assess the criticism and suggestions that came in from thoughtful individuals from all sides who had been sent drafts. I have also made two recent visits to the area—the last in June of this year—an interfaith mission that went out to assess the significance of last February's Hussein-Arafat Accord as a basis for peace negotiations. The group included two prominent Reform rabbis, Eugene Mihaly, Executive Vice President of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and Leonard Beerman, of Leo Baeck Temple in Los Angeles. Also included were Jesuit priest Raymond Helmick, an advisor to Cardinal Law and Boston College faculty member, and several Protestant leaders, including William Sloan Coffin of New York and George Regas of Pasadena.

The group was not given visas to enter Syria, which disappointed us, but we visited Jordan, Israel, the West Bank, and Egypt and met with more than 50 leaders, all arranged by Ron Young who, with his wife, was just completing three years residence in Amman for AFSC, during which he travelled throughout the region; about one-fourth of his time was spent in Israel.

The AFSC was particularly interested in this visit because, as you know, we have long felt that the best hope for peace in the Middle East was embodied in UN resolution 242 which rests on the so-called "peace for

territory" concept—a concept which was embraced by the the Hussein-Arafat Accord of February 11. Beyond this, the Accord seemed to have added significance also because it dropped the demand for an independent Palestinian state, and accepted the idea of confederation with Jordan.

Our visit started on the Jordanian-Palestinian side. We met with Crown Prince Hassan and two cabinet ministers, had two hours with Chairman Arafat, an evening with Abu Jihad and Hani al Hassan, the second and third ranking PLO officers, as well as meetings with PLO Executive Committee members Mohammad Milhem and Bishop Khouri. We also talked with prominent Jordanian journalists and educators.

The outcome of this intense exposure was that we were persuaded that the intent of the Accord was a serious one, growing out of the need of King Hussein for a settlement, plus a general war weariness after nearly 40 years of belligerency. We were mindful of the view that Arafat only entered the agreement because of his lack of other options—foreclosed by his military impotency, the serious split in the PLO, and the enmity of the Syrians. But whatever influence these realities have had, Arafat has demonstrated both courage and seriousness of intent—and risked hard-line Arab wrath—by making the concessions embodied in the proposal, by convening the Palestinian National Council and demanding the backing of the Arab world for his initiative, and finally, by adding three moderate voices to the PLO Executive Committee.

I make these points because I know of the profound antipathy with which the Jewish community views Yassir Arafat, and I think it is important to identify positive, as well as negative, aspects of his leadership. I should note also that the Jewish members of our delegation wrestled hard with the question over whether they should even participate in our visit with the Chairman, but finally concluded that they should do so. Both took a vigorous part in the discussion, and both shared the group's view at the conclusion that Arafat was sincere in his present desire to find a settlement. I might also report at this point a brilliant exposition of the profound Jewish commitment to the state of Israel offered by Rabbi Beerman at our meeting with Abu Jihad and Hani al Hassan. This was one of the high points of our trip, and clearly engaged the keen attention of the two PLO leaders, just as their personal recounting of their families' suffering during their flight from their homes in 1948 had engaged ours earlier in the evening. Such exchanges between enemies seem to me important because they may contain within them the tiny seeds out of which reconciliation can grow.

In addition to our finding on intent during our visit to Jordan, it became clear to us that King Hussein will not, and cannot, go it alone. He is not in a strong enough position to risk alienating the Arab world by making a separate peace, as Sadat did. Partnership with the PLO gives breadth to his bid and helps to validate it in Arab eyes. In accepting this need for partnership, and accepting also the seriousness of intent, we also recognized that the Accord falls well short of what Israel and its supporters demand: specific acceptance of 242 and recognition of Israel. We pressed Arafat hard on this point. His response was (1) that resolution 242 refers to the Palestinians only as refugees and the PLO won't specifically endorse it until this is modified to refer to them as a people, and (2) that recognition of Israel is a negotiating point which he is prepared to accept when the Israeli side accepts the principle of Palestinian self-determination. In support of these caveats, many Jordanians told us that Arafat is already so vulnerable with the rejectionist elements in the Arab world that he can't give further ground unless he gets something in return. To do so would be to risk further breaks and more violence.

On the Israeli side, we explored the issue with a wide variety of people—political scientists, various members of the Knesset, including Abba Eban, party officials, the head of the Association of Settlements, and the mayor of Tel Aviv. We had hoped to see also Prime Minister Peres and Ezer Weizman, but they were so preoccupied with the TWA hijacking issue at the time that they had to cancel appointments. Except for Likud spokesmen and Settlement supporters, we found wide openness to entering negotiations. The assessment we received was that 20% of Israeli voters support the concept of Eretz Israel—the outright annexation of the West Bank, already identified by them as Judea and Samaria; 20% are at the opposite end of the political spectrum, and would support a major territorial concession on the West Bank in order to achieve peace; and the remaining 60% are in the middle, subject to persuasion by events and by strong leadership.

The problem, of course, is that strong leadership is not forthcoming. The indecisiveness of the 1984 elections left neither Likud nor Labor in a position of strength. Power rests with the cabinet. If there is agreement there, the Knesset poses no problem. If there isn't, the Knesset can't break the deadlock—and on the issue of peace negotiations the cabinet is not in agreement. Peres is ready to discuss territorial concessions in return for peace, but has problems with his own right wing and risks bringing the government down if he pushes the subject, since the Likud is adamantly opposed to territorial concessions.

This situation of near political paralysis is greatly complicated by serious Israeli internal problems, most notably its economic crisis—itsself the result of the long continuing conflict with the Arab world, which has forced Israel to allocate 60% of its budget to military purposes. Because of this, the economy is in a fragile and extremely dangerous condition, with rampant inflation that has only recently been partially controlled, but which threatens to again get out of hand. Strong leadership could use this linkage between economic problems and the continuing state of belligerency as a powerful argument for negotiations, but strong leadership is lacking.

Thus our view was—and is—that neither side is in a position to move further—the Jordanians and Palestinians because of the constraints placed on them by the hard line positions of the Arab rejectionists, and the Israelis because of the political limitations imposed by a divided electorate. This situation is widely recognized in the Middle East and is the reason why everywhere we went we were given the urgent message that only the U.S. was in a position to lead in bringing the parties together. A proposed staged-approach, with the U.S. first talking to the parties separately to clarify positions, and then arranging a conference in an as yet undefined international setting to undertake direct negotiation, was generally accepted, but major disappointment was expressed at two points:

(1) No top-level U.S. leaders were yet involved. This was seen as absolutely necessary to give the needed stature to the peace process. Mr. Murphy and Mr. McFarland are fine as advance men, but until Secretary Schultz becomes personally and deeply involved, with the outspoken support of President Reagan, no real movement will occur.

(2) No flexibility had yet been shown. The U.S. continued to reflect the same old rigid positions that it has adhered to for years: no contact with the PLO, no discussion of self-determination. Unless the U.S. can respond creatively to the new situation, it can play no constructive role. It should be noted,

however, that in voicing this criticism, there was no expectation—or demand—that the U.S. alter its close relations with Israel—only that it must, if it is to be a broker in these negotiations, be open and even-handed, and put aside old rigidities.

Unhappily, not much has happened in the past five months—and time is running out. The window will not remain open for long. In Israel, Shamir's accession to the prime minister's office in the fall of 1986, will all but eliminate Israeli interest in negotiation. By March or April, Peres will be a lame duck. In the United States, our 1986 Congressional elections will soon take center stage, precluding major foreign policy initiatives until the late fall. These circumstances heighten our sense of urgency, for we believe that if this opportunity is not seized, the consequences will be disastrous for the Middle East and for the world. For Israel, failure will leave it with only two options regarding the West Bank and Gaza:

(1) continued occupation, which carries with it the certainty of growing bitterness, despair, and ever increasing violence. For the Israeli occupation is harsh. I say this not intending a special censure of Israel: all occupations of hostile populations must be harsh, and that of the West Bank is no exception. The people live under severe economic restrictions. They cannot freely sell their products, they have no banking facilities, their water and power are controlled by Israel. Their lives are dominated by military authority. Punishment is frequently by example, not by guilt. I've never forgotten what Mayor Freij of Bethlehem—perhaps the most distinguished non-PLO Palestinian on the West Bank—said to me two years ago: "With this occupation, the Israelis are making more Sharons every day among both Palestinians and Israelis." This isn't, for me, a happy prospect. How long it will be before a blood bath erupts, no one knows, but the pressure is surely building.

(2) The other option is annexation, which is even worse. It would incorporate 1.3 million Palestinians into Israel, 1.3 million hostile and indigestible people into a state already badly divided. What would Israel do with them?

Beyond these unacceptable West Bank options, there are other dangerous considerations for Israel. It will have no choice but to continue as a militarized nation—a garrison state. What will be the economic consequences of this? And, maybe more important, what will be the spiritual consequences? What will happen to the great Zionist dream of a new, just, and democratic state, where the ancient covenant with God is to find new meaning?

On the Palestinian side, of course, the result of failure will be continued life as refugees, continued occupation, continued oppression and homelessness. More need not be said. Perhaps someone here can identify more hopeful alternatives than these and, if so, I hope they will bring them forward in our small group discussions. But from my perspective, the stakes are high enough to warrant an all out effort to get negotiations

started over the next few months.

This will be painful, as we in AFSC see it, for it will require the Israelis and the U.S. to face two unpleasant realities:

(1) The talks must include the PLO. Hussein cannot negotiate without them and, in addition, whether we like it or not, there is no doubt whatsoever that the West Bank-Gaza Palestinians, whatever their Syrian brothers may think, still regard the PLO and Yassir Arafat as their spokesman. There is no other. For those of you who see this as anathema, I can only say I understand your repugnance, but I would call your attention to two realities. The first is that when one is at war, peace must be made not with one's friends, but with one's enemies. Second, it is time to recognize that the PLO is a large and diverse organization, which has always had its factions. There are indeed bomb throwers within it but it also has its honorable moderates who have sought accommodation with Israel—men like Assam Sartawi, Fahd Qawasme, Mohammad Milhem, and Bishop Khouri, all of whom I have known personally, and all of whom have urged acceptance of Israel.

(2) The talks must include discussion of Palestinian self-determination. This will necessarily carry territorial implications, which raise at once the sensitive issue of Israel's security. In view of this, an extraordinarily cautious Israeli approach must be expected, for security—all paranoia aside—is the major problem when the issue of Palestinian self-determination is discussed. After all, the West Bank reaches to within—what is it?—ten miles of the Mediterranean, and just at the point where the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv-Haifa triangle constitutes Israel's industrial heartland. Whatever territorial arrangements are made, therefore, they must insure that there will be no possibility of an attack that would cut Israel in half. This will, at a minimum, require a carefully phased series of steps, initially involving only measures that provide for local autonomy. Discussion of defensible boundaries will be important, and so probably will provision for an Israeli garrison stationed on the West Bank of the Jordan River to guard against any military buildup on the Jordanian side, or any surprise attack. It will require also negotiations regarding the status of settlers.

It is our belief that if these two concessions—inclusion of the PLO, and willingness to negotiate on self-determination—can be made, they will yield recognition and open the way for a general settlement. We recognize that they are not easy concessions to make, and Israelis may well ask why they should be the ones who have to take all the preliminary initiatives. The answer is that the Palestinians feel, from their perspective, that they have already made their share of concessions. In entering negotiations with Israel, they abandon their claim to return to their old villages in

what is now Israel, and they abandon their claim for a separate independent state and accept the principle of confederation. These may appear to Israelis to be more like givens than concessions, but to Palestinians they are concessions, and they are concessions already made.

This negotiating framework will not solve all problems; full resolution of the conflict will take many years, but we think the important thing is that it offers promise of generating forward momentum and with it, a changed climate—and the climate can be changed dramatically and quickly, as we all learned when Egypt's Sadat undertook his historic trip to Jerusalem.

I only want to make two more comments by way of an addendum. Some on the Israeli side regard the Palestinian issue as politically generated; that it is a phony issue that will go away. We don't believe this, and we think those who do are living with illusion. In this connection, I have read Joan Peters book, From Time Immemorial, which dismisses Palestinian claims as spurious. It has been generally well-received in this country, but one must note the rejection of its thesis, and the research that produced it, by leading scholars in England and Israel, and by U.S. critics who have analyzed its content. The Palestinians do have legitimate claims, and while Israel has every right to demand, as part of a settlement, that Arab countries halt their discrimination and accept the Palestinians in their midst as brothers, there is still a need for a Palestinian entity. Jordan will not fill the bill. It contains large numbers of Palestinians who are well accepted and in some cases hold important positions of leadership, but Jordan is not Palestinian.

A few additional comments on terrorism. I condemn violence against innocent people from any quarter, but sometimes the line between freedom fighters, whom the world applauds, and terrorists, whom the world condemns, is a thin one, and the judgment on which is which may well be determined by which end of the gun you are looking at—whose side you are on. Individual acts of violence are resorted to by people committed to a cause, who are driven to desperation because they see no other channels through which to vent their passion. I believe terrorism will recede in the Middle East only when there is movement toward changing an intolerable status quo against which both sides now lash out. The PLO has been guilty of reprehensible acts of terrorism and because of these acts, Israeli leaders have said they will never negotiate with the PLO, never negotiate with terrorists. I understand that, but I must also say that Israeli retaliation has sometimes taken forms that to Palestinian eyes seem terrorist in character. I also know there are important figures in the PLO who reject terrorism—some of whom have paid for their rejection with their lives; Assam Sartawi and Fahd Qawasne are two who were my friends. And surely we should not refuse to talk to those PLO leaders who have been ready to risk their very lives in their search for accommodation with Israel.

This, then, is the centerpiece of our AFSC approach to peace in the Middle East. I have left out much—how to bring Syria into the process, the role of the Soviet Union, the appropriate international framework for negotiation, the problem of Jerusalem, the future of Lebanon—on all of which the AFSC has views. We may want to talk about these views in our small groups, but it seemed to me most important to deal initially with the most immediate and vexing and emotional issue of the whole tangled web—the issue of Israeli recognition, the Palestinians, the PLO, and the West Bank. That is what I have tried to do in these opening remarks.



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articles of interest in current periodicals

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Black-Jewish Relations

BLACK AND JEWS: REPAIRING THE RIFT, by Annette Daum.

Pioneer Woman, November-December 1985, pp. 3-6, 27-31.

The media have failed to note the growing cooperation between blacks and Jews at national, regional, and local levels. Still, both communities do harbor misconceptions about each other which divert energies from common goals.

Church and State

UNPOPULAR BEDFELLOWS, by Samuel Rabinove.

Liberty, September-October 1985, pp. 24-26.

A charitable-solicitation ordinance enacted by Clearwater, Florida, proposed to regulate fund-raising drives by nonprofit organizations, including religious ones. Aimed at the Church of Scientology, it posed a threat to free exercise of religion for all. Jewish and Christian organizations brought suit against it. A district court ruled the ordinance unconstitutional in 1984. Mr. Rabinove is legal director of the American Jewish Committee.

Civil Rights

CIVIL RIGHTS AND WRONGS, by Samuel Rabinove.

Reform Judaism, Winter 1985-86, pp. 8-9, 22.

Discusses the Reagan administration's outlook on civil rights and on appointments to the Federal judiciary. The President has tended to nominate wealthy, conservative, white Protestant men as trial and appellate judges. There has been a shift to the right in the court system.

Education

THE 17th ANNUAL GALLUP POLL OF THE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, by Alec M. Gallup.

Gallup Report, September 1985, pp. 18-30.

"The public rates the public schools as favorably in 1985 as it rated them in 1984, when the schools achieved the highest grades for performance in a decade. ... Among respondents with children attending public schools, 52% gave [their community school a grade of A or B.]"

Education, Jewish

ON TRANSFORMING THE JEWISH SCHOOL: A CALL TO ACTION, by Bernard Reisman.

Jewish Education, Spring 1985, pp. 12-19.

"The situation in Jewish education is...represented by a one-way street: educators moving in one direction working with children, but without a reciprocal flow from parents. And Jewish communal leaders looking on, like traffic cops, interested in being helpful, but uncertain of whether or how to intervene."

Elections, 1984

ANOTHER LOOK AT THE JEWISH VOTE, by Milton Himmelfarb.

Commentary, December 1985, pp. 39-44.

In 1984 Jews gave two-thirds of their vote to Mondale. On the one hand, this can be interpreted as upholding traditional support for the common good and peace initiatives. On the other, Reagan did win one-third of the vote, which is higher than the Jewish norm for Republicans. "If continuity is there, so is change."

RELIGION AND THE 1984 ELECTION: Special Section.

Review of Religious Research, December 1985, pp. 98-145.

Contents: "Religion and the 1984 Election Campaign," by Richard V. Pierard.-"Socio-Moral Issues and Recent Presidential Elections," by John H. Simpson.-"The Christian Right and the 1984 Presidential Election," by Stephen D. Johnson and Joseph B. Tamney.-"Boundary Maintenance, Social-Political Views, and Presidential Preference Among High and Low Fundamentalists," by Ralph W. Hood, Jr. and Ronald J. Morris.

Ethnic Groups

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON THE ETHNIC ENCLAVE: BLACKS, ITALIANS, AND JEWS IN NEW YORK CITY, by Suzanne Model.

International Migration Review, Spring 1985, pp. 64-81.

An "ethnic enclave" refers to an occupational niche in which an ethnic group has secured some influence in the marketplace. Two aspects are examined: the rewards available to workers in such an environment and the factors leading to the success of the entrepreneurs. Data based on responses from 45 elderly, immigrant blacks, Italians, and Jews in New York City.

IS AMERICA READY FOR ETHNIC MINORITY RIGHTS? by Salo W. Baron.

Jewish Social Studies, Summer-Fall 1984, pp. 189-214.

"Even without formal recognition of Jewish minority rights...the Jewish community in America has been able to build up a magnificent structure of a novel type of communal organization before, during, and after the flowering melting-pot ideology. It now serves...as a model for Jewish communities in the diaspora. While formally treated mainly as a religious community, it succeeded in enlisting even financial aid from the government [for some of its many, essentially secular, endeavors.]"

RETURN TO THE MELTING POT: ETHNICITY IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE EIGHTIES, by Rudolph J. Vecoli.

Journal of American Ethnic History, Fall 1985, pp. 7-20.

An overview of social-science research on migration and ethnic history. Ethnic identity has remained a factor in the lives of many Americans, to the benefit of the society.

Evangelism

JEWS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS, by Nathan Perlmutter.

Reconstructionist, December 1985, pp. 20-23.

American Jews have forebodings about the Fundamentalists for a number of reasons. It is time for a "meaningful dialogue" between the two communities. Mr. Perlmutter is National Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

THE NEW RIGHT AND THE JEWS, by Herbert L. Solomon.

Midstream, December 1985, pp. 7-10.

The New Right is an ultra-conservative movement striving for the following: prayer in the public schools, "pro-life" legislation, high defense spending, and the phasing out of social-welfare programs. Neither Israel nor the Jewish people are a priority. Is it really a new-found ally?

Extremism

EVERYBODY'S FAVORITE SYMBOL. by Donald Bloesch.

Christianity Today, December 13, 1985, pp. 29-32.

Calling one's opponent a Nazi has become a common debate tactic. Although there is some basis for comparison of today's religious-political climate with that of Germany under National Socialism, extremist groups, such as the Christian Identity movement, are unlikely to move beyond the political fringe in our egalitarian democracy.

THE NEW POPULISTS IN THE USA. by David Wemple.

Patterns of Prejudice (London), October 1985, pp. 35-39.

Officials of the Populist party deny that they tolerate racism and antisemitism. Yet they have links with right-wing extremists and share with them a religious conviction that white Christian patriots are the highest order of beings.

THE POPULIST PARTY: THE POLITICS OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM.

ADL Facts, Fall 1985, pp. 2-11.

Despite a poor showing in the 1984 election, the Populist party can still promote its racist message. Since the resources of the Liberty Lobby, an anti-Jewish propaganda organization, are behind it, ADL will continue to monitor its activities.

Holocaust (1939-1945)

COULD THE UNITED STATES HAVE RESCUED THE EUROPEAN JEWS FROM HITLER? by Lucy S. Dawidowicz.

This World, Fall 1985, pp. 15-30.

Rescuing European Jews hinged on two factors: United States immigration policy and military power. A restrictionist attitude prevailed in government offices handling refugee matters, in the State Department, and in Congress. Too many officials were determined to exclude refugees, especially Jewish ones. The second factor, a strong defense, would have stopped the Nazi armies sooner and would have prevented the swift occupation of Europe. If the Allied forces had succeeded by 1941, there would have been fewer Jewish dead.

THE HOLOCAUST HOAX: A REJOINDER. by Wallace Greene.

Jewish Social Studies, Summer-Fall 1984, pp. 263-276.

Greene, using extensive documentation, refutes the revisionist "historians" who deny that there was a Holocaust, notably in the Journal of Historical Review, published in Torrance, California.

WAITING FOR BARBIE. by Patrick Marnham.

Harper's, December 1985, pp. 53-59.

Life in occupied Lyons saw betrayals and collaboration by some and harsh retaliation by others after the Liberation. The trial of former Gestapo chief Klaus Barbie is likely to revive wartime enmities best left buried.

Holocaust (1939-1945) (cont.)

WHAT I LEARNED ABOUT GERMAN JEWS, by Ruth Gay.

American Scholar, Autumn 1985, pp. 467-484.

American Jews responded to the author's study of the vanished German Jewish community with hostility and closed minds. Unable to appreciate the rich history of German Jewry, these people saw only the Nazi past. Hatred against Germany spilled over against the German Jews, who "wanted too much for themselves and not enough for their East European co-religionists."

Human Rights

HELSINKI: TEN YEARS LATER: Special Section.

International Affairs (London), Autumn 1985, pp. 607-642.

Contents: "Helsinki and West European Security." by Mike Bowker and Phil Williams.-"Economic Aspects of Helsinki," by Philip Hanson.-"Human Rights and Basket III Issues: Areas of Change and Continuity," by Geoffrey Edwards.

Israel

THE END OF THE CHIEF RABBINATE? by Daniel J. Elazar.

Viewpoints (Jerusalem, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs), October 31, 1985, pp. 1-4.

"The chief Rabbinate does retain its legal status as the sole custodian of state-supported Judaism. That is no small matter. But, to the extent that a gap is growing between its official powers and its public support, it is entering into an increasingly untenable situation. In fact, the new system emerging is more authentically Jewish than the present hierarchical system."

EZER WEIZMAN AND ISRAELI ARABS: A NEW APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT POLICY, by Kenneth Bandler.

Israel Horizons, September-October 1985, pp. 17-21, 28-29.

Ezer Weizman's appointment as Minister Without Portfolio in Israeli-Arab affairs has instilled a new attitude toward the nation's 700,000 Arabs. They will no longer be treated as second-class citizens. Includes a brief description of Neve Shalom, a cooperative settlement for Israeli Arabs and Jews.

A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR THE APPLICATION OF GESTALT THEORY TO IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION IN ISRAEL, by Shraga Serok.

Journal of Psychology and Judaism, Spring-Summer 1985, pp. 36-45.

"In keeping with the Israeli government's shift from policies of assimilation to those of integration of the various immigrant ethnic groupings, a theoretical approach is presented which proposes to facilitate the process of social integration."

Israel-Arab Conflict

ARABS AND ISRAELIS: A POLITICAL STRATEGY, by Harold H. Saunders.
Foreign Affairs, Winter 1985-86, pp. 304-325.

Several obstacles must be overcome before the negotiations between Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians can get underway. Each side remains internally divided over how to define the problem and over what resolution it supports. Suggests a number of preliminary diplomatic steps that will help change the political environment and make the peace talks more promising.

IGNORING THE REAL "JORDAN OPTION," by Martin Indyk.
National Interest, Fall 1985, pp. 52-63.

As it now stands, the Jordan option is a PLO option, the king of Jordan being unwilling to negotiate without PLO leader Arafat. An alternative would be for King Hussein to enter negotiations with Israel on behalf of Jordan and the West Bank Palestinians. Washington would have to help circumvent the PLO and promote Hussein's legitimacy.

STRATEGIC DISSENSUS, by Harry J. Shaw.
Foreign Policy, Winter 1985-86, pp. 125-141.

The so-called strategic partnership between Israel and the United States has constrained both countries from addressing those areas in which their interests conflict. It also undermines U.S. relations with Arab states and places an unrealistic burden on Israel as a "co-defender" in the Persian Gulf.

U. S. POLICY AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT: OBSERVATIONS ON THE CURRENT SCENE, by Philip H. Stoddard.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1985, pp. 19-39.

"The United States will have to define its concept of engagement in the Arab-Israeli peace process. Will it try to shape this process or will it wait until Arab leaders make enough concessions to interest Israel? The Reagan administration does not view the Arab-Israeli conflict as a serious threat to American interests. It sees no crisis to manage. Instead, it encourages Jordanians and Egyptians to clear the way for direct talks with Israel."

Israel-Arab Conflict - Administered Territories

ISRAEL'S FLEXIBLE VOTERS, by Yadin Kaufmann.
Foreign Policy, Winter 1985-86, pp. 109-124.

"The willingness of most Israelis to compromise on at least some West Bank land in exchange for peace with Jordan should send an encouraging message to policymakers in Israel, Jordan, and the United States. Hussein...should be heartened by the flexibility of the Israeli body politic and by the recent weakening of the PLO to negotiate openly and directly with Israel over the territories."

Israel-Arab Conflict - Administered Territories (cont.)

THE OCCUPATION AND THE CRISIS OF ISRAELI SOCIETY, by Erik Cohen.
Reconstructionist, December 1985, pp. 27-30, 34.

Israel's occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has provoked questions about nationalism and democracy, rights of citizenship, and the principles of the state's legitimation. Postponement of difficult political decisions about the territories will only encourage the anti-democratic views favored by the extremist bloc.

Jews in the U. S.

AFTER STRANGE GODS: RADICAL JEWS IN MODERN AMERICA, by Stephen J. Whitfield.
Forum on the Jewish People, Zionism and Israel (Jerusalem), Summer 1985, pp. 17-41

Comprehensive essay on the involvement of American Jews with radical movements, the dynamics behind this relationship, and the theories proposed to account for it.

JEWISH APARTHEID, by Harold Schulweis.
Moment, December 1985, pp. 23-28.

"In the name of the unity and continuity of my people, I acknowledge the right and privilege of Jews of diverse schools of thought to build their own institutions of learning, to support the rabbis they elect to follow, to entrust their children to these rabbis for instruction. [I am free to criticize their methods and interpretations, but I am pledged to recognize their authority, to accept their marriages, their divorces, their conversions.]"

THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY IN A SUBURBAN TOWN, by Baila R. Shargel.
Conservative Judaism, Fall 1985, pp. 51-61.

A study of the Jewish Community Center of Harrison, New York. The founders wanted an institution that would build a sense of community among the adults, educate the youth, and foster practices of the faith. Preceded by "Toward the Revitalization of an Urban Synagogue," by Howard A. Addison.

WE'VE UNDERESTIMATED OURSELVES, by Gary Tobin.
Moment, December 1985, pp. 59-62.

"The bad news is that our surveys and statistics were wrong. The good news is that there are more of us than we'd supposed."

Latin America - Jews

THE ARGENTINE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN CHANGING TIMES, by Judith Laikin Elkin. Forum on the Jewish People, Zionism and Israel (Jerusalem), Summer 1985, pp. 77-86.

"In sum, the major forces that have animated Jewish life until now--secularism, Zionism, centralism--are being challenged today by a turn toward religion, a shift in focus from Israel to Argentina, and a demand to legitimate diverse strands in Jewish life. [These factors have the potential of awakening communal leadership to the changing needs of changing times.]"

CASTRO, CUBA AND THE 800, by Lisa Aronson Fontes. Present Tense, Autumn 1985, pp. 41-46.

Jews in Cuba are free from persecution, but the once dynamic community, now estimated at 800, will die out without an influx of newcomers.

Lobbying

MIPAC COMES TO TOWN, by Aaron Rosenbaum. Moment, November 1985, pp. 20-25.

MIPAC--the Multi-Issue Political Action Committee--was formed by Jewish leaders to direct funds to candidates "who hold not only a favorable position on Israel but whose views on other issues reflect Jewish values and ideals." Topics of concern include: church-state separation; human rights; endangered Jewry; civil rights; nuclear threat, and social justice.

Middle East

CHANGING ACTORS AND LEADERSHIP AMONG THE SHIITES OF LEBANON, by Augustus Richard Norton. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1985, pp. 109-121.

Under Sayyid Musa al-Sadr, an Iranian cleric of Lebanese descent, the Amal movement emerged as the leading Shi'ite organization in Lebanon. However, since 1982 the Amal has been under attack from more radical groups, including the Hezbollah.

ELECTIONS AND LEGITIMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, by Dankwart A. Rustow. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1985, pp. 122-146.

Examines the role of elections as a means of legitimizing governments, using the case histories of Israel and Turkey.

Middle East (cont.)

MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE MIDDLE EAST: PERCEPTION AND FOREIGN POLICY, by Jack G. Shaheen.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,
November 1985, pp. 160-175.

"News correspondents' misperceptions of Arabs permeate their reports, policymakers' crucial decisions may be influenced by those unrealistic perceptions, and the public's stereotypical images may affect the formation and acceptance of policy."

PATTERNS OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST, by Robert O. Freedman.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,
November 1985, pp. 40-64.

Moscow has experienced setbacks in Egypt's exit from the Soviet camp, the signing of the Camp David accords, and the renewal of relations between Egypt and Jordan. Despite efforts and an input of arms, the Soviets have been unable to end the Iran-Iraq war, the split between Assad and Arafat, or gain much leverage in the peace talks.

WATER: AN EMERGING ISSUE IN THE MIDDLE EAST? by Frederick W. Frey and Thomas Naff.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,
November 1985, pp. 65-84.

"Water is a highly complex, fragmented issue, which possesses special qualities that distinguish it from other foreign-relations determinants." The threat of severe shortages can exacerbate existing conflicts between states. Examines the Jordan river system to identify potential problems and approaches to a solution.

Religion and Social Problems

ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND RABBINIC TRADITION, by Robert Goldenberg.

Sh'ma, December 13, 1985, pp. 17-19.

In general, rabbis have adhered to the precept that "public power should be used to enforce compassion, but in conformity to law." Some social and economic inequalities will always exist. Followed by other essays on the role of Judaism and social welfare.

SANCTUARY: Special Section.

Cross Currents, Winter 1984-85, pp. 385-404.

Contents: "The Refugee," by Elie Wiesel.-"The Birth of a Conspiracy," by Gary Maceoin.-"The Covenant As Sanctuary," by Jim Corbett.

Religion and Social Problems (cont.)

SANCTUARY IS A JEWISH ISSUE, by Charles Feinberg.

Sh'ma, November 15, 1985, pp. 1-2.

"Sanctuary...challenges us to be faithful to the teaching of Exodus. Central American refugees are strangers in our midst. They truly are weak in the face of violence and oppression at home and in the face of the hard-heartedness of American officials. They need our protection. Refugees have been on the Jewish Agenda for centuries if not millennia." Includes other brief essays endorsing the sanctuary movement.

Self-Hatred

JEWISH SELF-HATRED: Special Issue.

Keeping Posted, November 1985, pp. 3-15.

Jewish self-hatred had its onset during the French Enlightenment and is evident today in the works of Jewish critics and comedians.

Social Service

JEWISH PROFESSIONAL--PROFESSIONAL JEW: COMMITMENTS AND COMPETENCIES FOR A JEWISH MISSION, by Eric M. Levine.

Journal of Jewish Communal Service, Fall 1985, pp. 40-48.

"'Detachment and objectivity in the realm of Jewish beliefs and practices are not virtues for Jewish communal workers.' We cannot be the teachers, role models and capable professionals, let alone leaders, without participating fully in Jewish life and community."

JEWISH VALUES FOR JEWISH PROGRAMS, by David Dubin.

Journal of Jewish Communal Studies, Fall 1985, pp. 57-64.

"It is not possible to introduce every activity with a preview of its Jewish roots. Further, it is not necessary to be conscious of Jewish uniqueness in the performance of a mitzvah or enactment of a value. Through education, awareness, and confidence the connection between activity and Jewish roots is naturalized without effort."

Terrorism

P.L.O. AND PALESTINIAN-INSPIRED TERRORISM, 1982-1985: THE CONTINUING RECORD OF VIOLENCE.

ADL Research Report, December 1985, pp. 1-16.

The PLO was expelled from Beirut in 1982, but it has managed to continue terrorist attacks against Israel and other targets. The organization is well received in the United Nations, is supported by Arab governments, and maintains offices around the world.

Terrorism (cont.)

TERRORISM--WHAT SHOULD WE DO? A Symposium.

This World, Fall 1985, pp. 31-84.

Overall, 30 to 35 per cent of worldwide terrorist attacks are directed against the United States and its citizens. A number of writers and policy makers discuss the situation and how the government can respond.

Vatican Council II

CHURCH IN CRISIS, by Kenneth L. Woodward.

Newsweek, December 9, 1985, pp. 66-70, 75.

A synod of 165 bishops has presented a report to Pope John Paul II on challenges confronting the church. With nearly half the Roman Catholic population now located in the southern hemisphere, the church is experiencing a new non-Western orientation. Can it adopt cultural pluralism and still remain a single body?

THE POPE'S GUARDIAN OF ORTHODOXY, by E. J. Dionne, Jr.

The New York Times Magazine, November 24, 1985, pp. 40-46, 52+

Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger grew up in Hitler's Germany and maintains that Catholicism protected him from the atheism and deceit of Nazism. He has been critical of the aftereffects of Vatican II, fearing a dissolution of the true faith. Cardinal Ratzinger is perfect for the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

REFLECTIONS ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF NOSTRA AETATE: Special Section.

Conservative Judaism, Fall 1985, pp. 5-35.

Contents: "Reflections on the 20th Anniversary of Nostra Aetate," by Yocheved Herschlag Muffs. - "Interpreting Nostra Aetate Through Post Conciliar Teaching," by Eugene J. Fisher. - "Nostra Aetate, the Jews, and the Future of Dialogue," by Barry D. Cytron.

SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL, by Magdalen Morawska.

Sidic (Rome), No. 3, 1985, p. 25-29.

A chronicle of events that paved the way for the conciliar Declaration on the Relationship of the Church with Non-Christian Religions--Nostra Aetate No. 4.

Women, Jewish

EXPLORING THE LINK BETWEEN WOMANHOOD AND THE RABBINATE, by Raye T. Katz.

Lilith, Fall-Winter 1985, pp. 19-24.

Amy Eilberg, the first woman to become a rabbi in the Conservative movement, assesses the conflicts between tradition and feminism, as well as the singular qualities of women in the rabbinate.

Women, Jewish (cont.)

POWER PLAYS: BREAKING THE MALE MONOPOLY OF JEWISH COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP, by Aviva Cantor.

Lilith, Fall-Winter 1985, pp. 7-13.

A report on the efforts of women to attain decision-making roles in the Jewish community. Based on interviews with women lay leaders and professionals.

Zionism, Anti

THE NEW ANTI-ZIONISM, by Yohanan Manor.

Jerusalem Quarterly (Jerusalem), Spring 1985, pp. 125-144.

A new anti-Jewish ideology is dispelling the post-World War II taboo on antisemitism. We now see numerous terrorist incidents against Jews and verbal attacks on the community. The Soviet Union and the Arab bloc, initiators of this campaign, have rallied Third World countries to their side and are now seeking allies in the West.



PF/AR
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Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum



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Sunday
Lv. Amer West #421 (Tucson) - 11⁴⁵ a.m. → Phoenix 12³⁰ p.m. December 27, 1985
AA #118 - Lv 1²⁷ → JFK 7⁵⁵ p.m.

To: Members of the Board of Governors

I love you
Rabbi Bull

From: Theodore Ellenoff

As the date of the Board Institute in Tucson draws close, I am pleased to send you the enclosed summaries of the major activities of the agency's program departments during 1985. This material was prepared for the officers' December 15th meeting, and is the first of several information packets that you will receive in advance of the Institute. We hope it will assist you in reviewing the agency's current programmatic thrusts.

Additional material, which will include the program projections for 1986/87 and related resource allocations and plans for the coming years, will be along shortly after the officers formulate their recommendations.

I urge you to read the material carefully in advance of the Institute, as it was compiled with the aim of assisting us in defining our priorities with greater precision and facilitating our deliberations in Tucson.

Best personal wishes for a healthy and happy New Year.

P.S. The cut-off date for room reservations at the El Conquistador is today, December 27th. If you plan to attend the Institute, please phone the New York office immediately and ask for Nancy Merjos or Phyllis Booth.

The Program and Priorities of the
National Affairs Department

1985

The National Affairs Department has actively engaged in a broad range of programs in 1985 that reflect both Jewish interests and broad national concerns. Substantively, we have sought to promote pluralism and define and act on consensus positions on some of the most significant and controversial issues now facing our society. Operationally, we have moved to improve relations and build coalitions with the major ethnic and racial groups in the United States. We also carry out a substantial training, and an applied research, development, and demonstration program. Over the past year, the following issues and programs have highlighted our agenda:

- I. Anti-Semitism, Extremism and Domestic Terrorism
 - II. Church-State Separation, Religious Pluralism and American Values
 - III. Women's Rights and the Status of Jewish Women
 - IV. Intergroup Relations and Coalition-Building (Black-Jewish, white ethnic-Jewish, Hispanic-Jewish, Asian-Jewish).
 - V. Social Issues and Social Policy (affirmative action, immigration, acculturation, executive and club discrimination, public education, poverty, economic development and social services)
 - VI. Applied Research (studies in ethnic identity, group conflict, cultural expression, executive suite and gender status)
- I. Anti-Semitism, Extremism and Domestic Terrorism

Rationale: The past year has seen a disturbing prominence in the public expression of anti-Semitism and extremism with some newsworthy acts of domestic terrorism. AJC has moved firmly to combat these trends through exposing extremists, building coalitions to demonstrate widespread rejection of demagogues and developing new legal initiatives to fight paramilitary activity, and domestic terrorism. Our major activities have included:

- A. Establishment of a national AJC task force to make recommendations to the agency on ways to combat anti-Semitism and extremism through coalitional action, the law, the media, research and public education.
- B. Organizing broad opposition to Louis Farrakhan, both nationally and around the country.
- C. Organization, together with the Interreligious Affairs Department of a coalitional strategy to combat rising anti-Semitism in the Farm Belt.

- D. Development of strong working relations with leading anti-extremist groups in the U.S., including the Center for Democratic Renewal, the National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence and law enforcement agencies, especially on the state and local levels.
- E. Stepped up our legal research on extremism and terrorism; submitted testimony to Congress on national hate crime legislation, including provision, in response to their request, of a legal memorandum to a House Subcommittee investigating anti-extremist legislation.
- F. Drafting of a new model bill outlawing dangerous paramilitary organizations.
- G. Upgrading and computerization of informational resources on anti-Semitism and extremism.
- H. Commissioned pilot media study on coverage of Farrakhan's Madison Square Garden visit.

II. Church-State Separation, Religious Pluralism and American Values

Rationale: Protecting pluralism in the United States ranks at the top of the Jewish community's domestic agenda. Recent events in the political, educational and social spheres have challenged important traditions of church-state separation and equal standing of all groups in the U.S. AJC has worked both to prevent threats to give state sanction to religious activities and to promote the ideal of religious pluralism as a vital element in American society within a context of agreed upon civic core values. Our major activities have included:

- A. The Wingspread Conference on Religious Pluralism in the U.S. which brought together leaders in the political, educational, governmental, religious scholarly and family policy fields to examine the current state of religious pluralism and policy options for the future.
- B. Filing of briefs in key Supreme Court cases on religion in the schools, public displays of religious symbols, accommodation of employers to religious beliefs of their workers, and free exercise of religion.
- C. Representation to Congress and the executive branch opposing school prayer amendments.
- D. Promotion of values education programs in the public schools, including study and recommendations on model curricula and working with local groups and school boards in New Jersey, Philadelphia and other localities on adoption of suitable programs.
- E. Meeting with Secretary of Education William Bennett to state our own and clarify his views of pluralism in education and values education.

- F. Publication and dissemination of guidelines on response to the Equal Access Law and work with school officials and community groups in New York, Long Island, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Portland.
- G. Publication and dissemination of guidelines on holiday observances in the public schools and consultation with several communities on this issue.
- H. Sponsoring a "Visiting Scholars" program bringing important thinkers on this issue to AJC for extended discussions and seeking new approaches.

III. Women's Rights and the Status of Jewish Women

Rationale: The Women's Movement continues to have a significant impact on American life and economic arrangements. Its advances have affected both the broad society and the Jewish community. AJC's program continues to be responsive to both its broader and its communal implications. Our major activities have included:

- A. Formation of a national task force on pay equity which has held several meetings with leading experts in the field and is developing a position for AJC on comparable worth. Depolarizing tensions around this very controversial issue and developing a strategy to advance pay equity in general is our goal.
- B. Support for the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985 which began as a women's discrimination case.
- C. Sponsoring research on the feminization of poverty for Jews.
- D. Worked to open social club membership to Jewish and other women.
- E. Sponsoring research on problems of Jewish women on the way up, obstacles to women in executive suites and on problems of Jewish women on top.
- F. Sponsoring Illinois Consultation on Executive Suite Discrimination
- G. Development of a Women's Issues Resource Kit for AJC chapter programming, including comprehensive backgrounders on current legislative and other women's issues.

IV. Intergroup Relations (including Black-Jewish, white ethnic-Jewish, Hispanic-Jewish and Asian-Jewish relations)

#1 Rationale: AJC has always played a unique role in national intergroup relations activities. Black-Jewish relations are in a particularly critical

period and have required special attention. At the same time, we have reached out to both newer and established ethnic groups that constitute an important segment of American society. Our activities have included:

- A. Sponsoring a series of joint AJC-National Urban League Consultations on Black-Jewish social policy initiatives
- B. Submitting joint Supreme Court briefs in cases involving voting rights and opposition to all-white juries with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.
- C. Sponsoring a movement with several chapters in all parts of the country in establishing and maintaining Black-Jewish dialogues. Examples include New York, New Jersey, Westchester, Hartford, Atlanta, Dallas, Seattle and Chicago.
- D. Sponsoring Black-Jewish group dynamics workshops on ten college campuses and production of videotape and written materials on this experience.
- E. Special efforts made to disseminate to the Black press and to major Black leaders and organizations AJC's affirmative action and other civil rights initiatives.
- F. Organization of multi-ethnic signers from the Black, Hispanic, Asian and white ethnic communities on statements in the New York Times, etc. protesting President Reagan's visit to the Bitburg cemetery.
- G. Co-sponsorship with the Polish American Congress of the National Polish-American Jewish-American Task Force which has in the past year acted on U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council plans for honoring Jewish and non-Jewish victims of the Nazis, anti-Semitism in the Oberammergau passion play, Office of Special Investigations proceedings against Nazi war criminals, human rights in Poland, and refugees from Eastern Europe.
- H. Work with leading Hispanic organizations on immigration and language issues.
- I. Cooperation with leading Italian groups on ethnic portrayals in the media.
- J. Work with Asian organizations on anti-ethnic violence, immigration, reparations for Japanese internees in World War II and community development.

Chicago Office of the Institute for American Pluralism

#2 Rationale: The Chicago office of AJC's Institute for American Pluralism has for over a decade served as a key laboratory for exploring ethnic relations, building coalitions and promoting public awareness of the significance of ethnicity. Many of the programs it pioneered in Chicago have had a broad impact on the national level. Its major programs in the past year included:

- A. Coalition Building Workshops, with AJC leaders and members of the Polish, Asian, Hispanic, Greek and Ukrainian communities in Chicago, Seattle, Portland, Milwaukee, Cleveland and Dallas.
 - B. Organization of multi-ethnic demonstrations against South African apartheid and for Congressional creation of the Ukrainian Famine Commission.
 - C. Creation of multi-group ongoing forums on immigration and ethnicity in foreign policy.
 - D. Consultation with Chicago school districts on ethnicity in the schools and programs to deal with it.
 - E. Organization of a project on ethnic business development in Chicago and follow-up with relevant city agencies.
 - F. Sponsoring the Heritage News Service which places news articles, op-eds and features on ethnicity in major city newspapers throughout the country and in the ethnic press and publishes the quarterly newsletter "Heritage".
 - G. Development of an "urban traditions" project with a grant from the Illinois Humanities Council which preserves the folk heritage of ethnic groups and publishes the newsletter "Expressions".
- V. Social Issues and Social Policy (affirmative action, immigration, acculturation, executive and club discrimination, public education, poverty, economic development and social services)

Rationale: AJC has strong commitment to anti-discrimination, generous immigration, public education and social justice in general. As these issues are increasingly being debated along ideological lines, AJC seeks through its new social policy initiatives and studies to provide an arena for consensus, pragmatic problem solving and depolarization. Our major activities have included:

- A. Convening an AJC Task Force on Social Policy
- B. Stepping up our pro affirmative action initiatives in the courts, in Washington, and around the country and in the press on the controversy over the President's executive order and the Department of Justice's 51 cities plan.
- C. Testimony to both House and Senate committees on comprehensive new legislation proposed on immigration.
- D. Contact with the State Department and other Federal officials on maintaining high levels of refugee entry.
- E. Organization of a coalition of 19 ethnic and religious organizations in opposition to immigration bill amendments that would curtail immigration.

- F. Close contact with the leading organizations in this field and board or advisory committee membership in the Refugee Policy Group, the National Immigration Forum, the Federal Immigration Law Reporter and other key groups.
- G. Publication of articles in major national newspapers on asylum, immigration and acculturation.
- H. Organization of a national task force on the acculturation of new immigrants to American society.
- I. Sponsoring of model acculturation conferences in Dallas and Orange County, Ca.
- J. Work with the Miami chapter in securing city ordinances against conduct of public business in discriminatory clubs.
- K. Work in New York City in opening private clubs to women and distribution of Mayor Koch's executive order as a model for other mayors and public officials.
- L. Presentation of the issue to leading forums such as the New York University School of Business, several UJA groups and business and professional women's clubs.
- M. Membership and advocacy on this issue on the New York State Division of Human Rights Advisory Committee.
- N. Sponsoring a number of research projects mentioned under Women's Rights category (see women's rights, etc.)
- O. Creation, in cooperation with the National Urban League, the NAACP, and the National Council of Churches of the Education Roundtable which brings key groups interested in education together for discussion and planning on major issues.
- P. Preparation and distribution to AJC chapters and others of an analysis of changes in bilingual education policy and guidelines for effective responses.
- Q. Model consultation held in New York for dealing with community relations problems in aftermath of U.S. Supreme Court ruling that public school teachers may not perform remedial services on non-public school premises.
- R. Production of paper analyzing new voucher proposals in education and their policy implications.
- S. Development and passage by AJC of a policy statement on the effects of proposed budget cuts on the college education of poor and middle class students.

VI. Applied Research (studies in ethnic identity, group conflict, cultural expression, executive suite and gender status)

Rationale: Since the late 60's and through the 70's and 80's, AJC through its Institute for American Pluralism (previously called Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity) has gained a national reputation as one of the foremost agencies dealing with the practical applications of ethnic identity and multi-ethnic relations. Its research into the psychological dimensions of group identity at different stages of the life cycle and its continuing inquiries into the problems of group conflict, especially minority-minority relations has been enhanced by its recent use of videotape presentations and new designs for training personnel and the general public in the use of these materials. When it is deemed advisable, we carry out under the name of the Institute for American Pluralism, and its Center on Ethnicity, Behavior and Communications many social action and organizing activities as well as action-oriented research. Our major activities have included:

- A. Action on dealing with ethnicity, group conflict and extremism in the media, including organization or workshops and meetings with CBS and the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.
- B. Promotion and coalition building on the Biaggi Bill to combat ethnic stereotypes in the electronic media.
- C. Work with the National Italian American Foundation on ethnic portrayals in the media.
- D. Work in school districts in Long Island, Connecticut, Chicago and Dallas on handling ethnic issues in elementary, junior and high schools.
- E. Preparation of articles on "White Ethnics" and society for the Encyclopedia of Social Work and a new book on Ethnicity and Aging.
- F. Work with Catholic University on a major new project on ethnicity and aging.
- G. An intergenerational study of Black-Jewish relations based on workshops with college youth and middle-aged mental health and other professionals. Reports and videotaped films to result.
- H. A study of the relationship of ethnicity and aging, report and videotape.
- I. A study of ethnicity and parenting exploring different styles of parenting among Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Irish and Italians, report and videotape.
- J. A study of the relationship of ethnic identity to intermarriage, report and videotape.

- K. A syndicated network film called, "Sticks and Stones" on the problems of adolescent ethnicity.
- L. A study on "Defense Against Prejudice" as part of our youth and bigotry inquiry.
- M. Project investigating the state of multi-cultural training in the New York area which has produced a research report and will hold a training conference with the Department of Justice Community Relations Service.
- N. Project on ethnicity and economic development which will produce a research report and a Chicago Conference.
- O. Numerous training workshops, and conference presentations for educators, mental health and family life professionals, human rights practitioners, ethnic organizations and university seminars on the issue of the ethnocultural factor in American society.
- P. A study on the identity problems of Soviet Jewish immigrants.
- Q. A study on ethnic influences in Congress.

December, 1985



THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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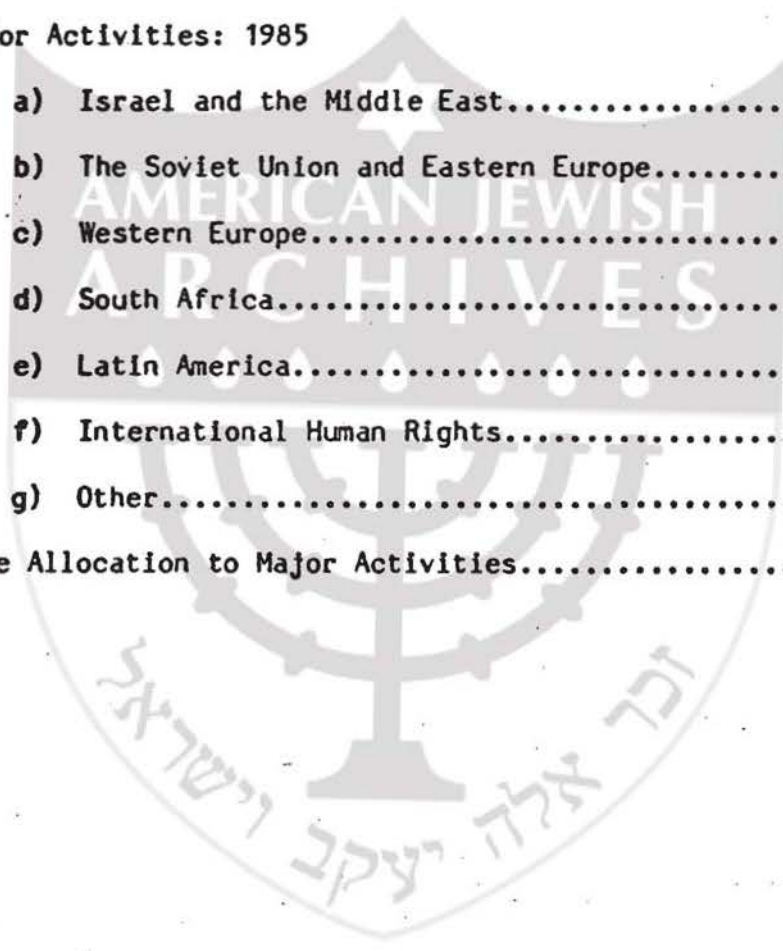
Major Program Activities: 1985



December 1985

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- * Jews in Yemen, March 1985
- * Vatican-Israeli Relations Affected by Islamic Fanatics, April 1985
- * The Kidnapping of Lebanese Jewish Leaders, April 1985
- * Update on Seven Kidnapped Lebanese Jewish Leaders, October 1985
- * The PLO Terrorist Attack in Cyprus and Israel's Response, October 1985
- * Syria -- The Big Question Mark in the Middle East, November 1985

iii) Diplomatic And Other Initiatives

- * Meetings with Vatican and other Catholic Church officials concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel, February and October 1985;
- * Contact with the American, British, French, Italian, Japanese, Lebanese, Spanish and Syrian governments, and other efforts, in behalf of seven kidnapped Lebanese Jews, April 1985 - present;
- * Meetings with the foreign ministers of France, Sweden and West Germany concerning, among other key issues, "Zionism is racism" and anti-Jewish rhetoric at the U.N., September 1985;
- * Ongoing communication with the Tunisian and U.S. governments and the Jewish communities in both France and Tunisia in the wake of the murder of four Tunisian Jews on Simhat Torah, 1985, and other anti-Semitic manifestations.

iv) Ongoing Work

- * Contact with Israeli government officials in Israel, New York, Washington, the United Nations, Paris, Mexico City and elsewhere, and with U.S. Administration policy-makers;
- * In Israel, the AJC Office serves as an important resource for Israeli government officials, the press, academics, immigrants, Christians and non-Israeli visitors, and is actively involved in seeking to reduce inter-group tension and promote greater

tolerance and understanding among all segments of Israel's heterogeneous population;

- * Coordination with the AJC Washington Office and chapters concerning legislative initiatives affecting Israel, such as the foreign aid package and proposed arms sales to Arab states;
- * Consultations and colloquia with American, Israeli and other academicians and regional specialists to assess Middle East developments and help formulate policy recommendations;
- * Communications with the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, America-Israel Public Affairs Committee and other national agencies on key issues.

b) THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

i) Publications

- * Soviet Jewry: an Overview, March 1985
- * Crisis in Soviet Jewry: A Call to Involvement, April 1985
- * Gorbachev in Paris: Important Days in the Struggle for Soviet Jews, November 1985

ii) Diplomatic And Other Initiatives

- * At every meeting with a foreign government official either overseas or in Washington or New York, the issue of Soviet Jewry -- emigration, cultural and religious repression, anti-Semitism, the prisoners of conscience -- is raised. In 1985 alone, AJC's concerns were voiced to representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, France, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Panama, Peru, Romania, Spain, Uruguay, Venezuela, West Germany, Yugoslavia;
- * In addition, AJC chapters have been encouraged to establish contact with foreign consular officials and to press the issue of Soviet Jewry, together with concerns about the Middle East, "Zionism is racism" and Nairobi. A half-dozen chapters met with diplomats from several West European and Latin American nations to discuss these topics;
- * AJC helped conceptualize and implement an "action day" in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, with whom we work closely on all matters

- * Contact was established with the European Economic Community, NATO North Atlantic Assembly, and the regional human rights institutions located in Strasbourg, France, primarily to pursue the issue of Soviet Jewry and other human rights questions.

iii) Missions

- * An AJC delegation visited Spain and met with government and parliamentary leaders, and Christian and Jewish representatives, as well as the ambassador of the U.S. The principal agenda items were: diplomatic recognition of Israel; human rights, including Soviet Jewry; Christian-Jewish dialogue and understanding; and international terrorism, February 1985;
- * An AJC delegation visited Italy and met with three members of the Italian Cabinet, including the foreign and defense ministers, leaders of the Jewish community, and Israeli and American diplomats, and had a private audience with Pope John Paul II, February 1985. The principal agenda items with the Italians included: Italy's relations with the Arab world and Israel, Soviet Jewry, Italian-American relations, and international terrorism. In the case of the Pope, the points raised were: Vatican diplomatic recognition of Israel, Vatican Council II and Nostra Aetate, African famine, and international human rights.

iv) Ongoing Work

- * Regular contact with individual West European Jewish communities, the European Council of Jewish Community Services and other key organizations;
- * Close communication with the French Jewish community, West Europe's largest and most dynamic, via AJC's Paris Office, visits of AJC's leaders to France, and meetings with French Jewish leaders travelling in the U.S.;
- * Meetings with State Department officials responsible for Western Europe;
- * Encouragement of chapter meetings with West European consular officials.

v) ANNUAL MEETING

- * A principal focus of the 1985 Annual Meeting was an examination of the condition of West European Jewry and programmatic implications for AJC. The leaders of the Italian and Spanish Jewish communities and the president

of the Alliance Israelite Universelle were the featured guests.

d) SOUTH AFRICA

i) Publications

- * AJC Policy on South Africa, March 1985
- * Israel and South Africa, April 1985
- * The Jewish Community of South Africa, May 1985
- * AJC Statement on South Africa, May 1985
- * Media Myths: Fallacies about Israel's Ties with South Africa, November 1985

ii) Missions

- * Ten-day leadership mission to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Capetown and Durban. Meetings with government officials, including two Cabinet ministers; leaders of the Jewish community; representatives of the black, colored and Asian communities; officials of the National and Progressive Federal Parties; the American ambassador and Israeli charge d'affaires; members of the academic, business, church and civil rights sectors; October 1985. The principal goals of the trip were: demonstration of solidarity with the Jewish community; information-gathering about the country's current turbulent situation; and an effort to seek to influence decision-making figures to move more rapidly in the direction of democratic, non-violent change, including the complete elimination of apartheid and the introduction of genuine power-sharing.

iii) Ongoing Work

- * Close contact with the South African Jewish Board of Deputies;
- * Meetings with senior State Department and congressional officials;
- * Meetings with South African Jewish personalities traveling in the U.S.

f) INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

1) Conferences and Symposia

- * Colloquium on Human Rights Education in Latin America, sponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights in cooperation with the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, held in San Jose, Costa Rica, July 1985. Representatives of the education ministries of a number of Latin American countries discussed the integration of human rights curricula into their educational systems;
- * Conference on Religious Liberty and Human Rights, sponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute, together with Temple University's Department of Religion and the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, Philadelphia, November 1985. Participants from fourteen countries representing five world religions attended.

ii) Publications

- * Anti-Semitic Rhetoric at the United Nations, (by Daniel Meron for the Jacob Blaustein Institute), March 1985
- * Submission to the European Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the Resurgence of Fascism and Racism in Europe, April 1985
- * Perspectives on Palestinian Women: Information for Participants in the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, Nairobi, Kenya, July 1985 (Note: Both a book-length and a summary report were prepared.)
- * The United Nations Women's Decade Conference at Nairobi, July 1985: A Note on the Zionism-Racism and Palestinian Women Issues, September 1985
- * A Dismal Anniversary: A Decade of the UN's "Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution, 1975-1985, November 1985
- * With assistance from the Jacob Blaustein Institute, Joshua Rubenstein was able to prepare a revised and updated edition of his book, Soviet Dissidents (Boston: Beacon Press).

iii) Missions

- * Assistance in the briefing and preparation of material for the 23-person AJC delegation that attended the Non-Governmental Forum of the Nairobi Conference on Women, July 1985.

iv) Diplomatic and Other Initiatives

- * Participation in the discussions and planning of the non-governmental organizations in preparation for the Nairobi Conference, Spring and Summer 1985;
- * Distribution of the study on Palestinian women (see above) to members of official delegations to Nairobi from the United States, Canada, Israel and numerous other non-communist countries, Spring and Summer 1985;
- * Briefing of members of the American official delegation to Nairobi;
- * Proposal for an annual International Day of Religious Liberty at the United Nations, which has been approved by the committee of non-governmental religious organizations and will now be submitted to the United Nations missions;
- * Pursuit of the case of Soviet Jewish Prisoner of Conscience Iosef Begun through UNESCO's Committee on Conventions and Recommendations in Paris.

v) Ongoing Work

- * Regular contact with officials of the United Nations Secretariat, United Nations Human Rights Center, and various U.N. missions, as well as U.S. human rights officials;
- * Consultation with non-governmental organizations in the field of human rights and leading academic and legal personalities in the field;
- * Monitoring of events at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the General Assembly, and relevant specialized committees, conferences and divisions;

- * Sponsorship of ongoing studies on a number of topics, including genocide, the right to leave, religion and human rights, religious intolerance, and the role of non-governmental organizations, as well as publication of a college-level human rights reader;
- * Staffing of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

g) OTHER MAJOR ACTIVITIES

- * In April, the Steering Committee of the Commission on International Relations, together with members of the Washington AJC chapter, undertook a two-day mission to Washington to discuss with senior Administration, congressional and diplomatic officials some of the principal issues on the international agenda of the American Jewish Committee, which include prospects for peace in the Middle East, Soviet Jewry, South Africa, Ethiopia and, at the time, the Bitburg controversy;
- * Concerning the famine in Ethiopia and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, the International Relations Department during 1985 was engaged in a four-pronged effort: i) to assist in fund-raising efforts for emergency relief needs, ii) to sustain public consciousness through education and interpretation, iii) to encourage the U.S. government to continue to make available its maximum resources, and iv) to work closely with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Catholic Relief Services and Church World Service, as was done during, for example, the "boat people" crisis in Indochina, to define a long-term development strategy, including the use of Israeli expertise, i.e. the Jacob Blaustein Institute for Desert Research, in arid-zone agriculture, desert hydrology, etc, in affected African countries.

IV TIME ALLOCATION TO MAJOR ACTIVITIES

While it would be impossible to pinpoint with mathematical accuracy the proportion of staff time devoted to each of the subject areas listed above, an estimate would suggest the following:

- Israel and the Middle East	40%
- Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	15%
- Western Europe	10%
- South Africa	3%

- Latin America 15%
- International Human Rights 15%
- Other 2%

100

Prepared by David A. Harris

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JEWISH COMMUNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

1985 Program Highlights

Overall Rationale:

The purpose of the JCAD is to enable people to acquire knowledge and appreciation of Jewish ideas and Jewish life and to contribute to the enhancement of the quality of Jewish life. The maintaining of "sure footed" Jews with a Jewish perspective on contemporary issues has been seen by the AJC as an integral part of the continuous endeavors to advance Jewish security and human rights.

The JCAD program has concentrated in the following areas: the family, Jewish education, adult education, Jewish academicians and Jewish identity.

The William Petschek National
Jewish Family Center

Rationale:

The family remains the most important agent in creating and nurturing decent human beings and in preserving Jewish identity. Our work in this area relates directly to our concern for maintaining a harmonious, civil and creatively-involved American and Jewish citizenry.

The WPNJFC has become recognized in the community as the source for information and guidance in family matters.

Research:

The following four studies were completed:

1. Third study on intermarriage. The first study in the middle '70s was a general investigation of the impact of intermarriage on the family and Jewish identity. The second, was made in the early '80s, looked at the children of the first study sample in terms of their Jewishness. This third study probed the factors which influence the decision to convert. It also attempted to assess the role of rabbis in conversion decision and the effect of officiating at mixed marriages.
2. The Ecology of Jewish Family Life. This is an intensive study of the patterns of parenting, focusing on the home and the social networks as support systems. The study was made by Cornell University which had two years ago conducted a major general study on the Ecology of the family. Since the original Cornell study did not have a Jewish sub-sample, we commissioned them to study Jewish families using their developed research instruments and trained interviewers. As a result, our study could also compare Jewish with non-Jewish families.

3. The causes and effects of divorce in Jewish families. This was an ethnographic study of 40 divorced Jewish families. Each former spouse was interviewed in depth probing the causes of the divorce and what happened since in terms of the children and Jewish identity.
4. Unaffiliated Jewish singles. This was also an ethnographic study of 30 Jewish singles, ages 25-40. One or more lengthy interviews were conducted to learn and understand their life styles, attitudes and behavior as Jews.

The following three studies are in progress:

1. Secondary demographic analysis of Jewish birth rates. We are analyzing a Jewish sub-sample of a national study conducted by The National Center for Health Statistics. This study will inform us about the fertility behavior of Jewish women and changes in that behavior within the last 15 years. We are also comparing Jewish and non-Jewish women.
2. Decision making about family planning. Using the methodology of group focused interviews, we wish to explore the factors which influence decisions in family planning, in large and small families.
3. Study of reconstituted (blended) Jewish families. This study consists of two parts: gathering demographic data about reconstituted families and exploring of dynamics of their family life with special emphasis on Jewish identity.

Publications:

- Quarterly WPNJFC Newsletter
- "Grandparenthood" (a book), publisher Sage Publications, sponsored by WPNJFS and the National Institute for the Family (Catholic)
- Jewish Grandparenting and the Intergenerational Connection (summary of seminar proceedings)
- Working with Intermarried (a manual to train group leaders)
- The Divorced Parent and the Jewish Community
- Single-Parent Families at Camp: The Essence of an Experience
- A Family Adventure: Jewish Parents and Children Learn to Play Together
- The Joys of Parenting

Conferences:

An all-day seminar for people who work with intermarried.
Co-sponsored National Conference on Intermarriage
Week-end retreat for Parents and Children, co-sponsored with Dallas chapter.

Jewish Education

Rationale:

Following the home and family, knowledge of Jewish ideas and history is an essential element in forming and maintaining a Jewish identity and in functioning adequately in American society. Our interest has been in both formal and informal Jewish education, for all ages and for AJC members and staff as well as the larger community.

Research:

Extensive efforts and explorations were made to involve reform and conservative schools in a pilot study on accountability in Jewish education. Regretfully, religious schools are reluctant to "expose" themselves. Instead, we are planning to gather all available information and experiences related to accountability through an extended consultation with experts in this field.

Organized think tank on Jewish education, first meeting, December 2, 1985.

Publications:

Background paper on accountability in Jewish education; the Jewish teaching profession; paper on the universal and particular themes in the Bible.

The Academy for Jewish Studies produced two series, five hours each, of videotapes: one on the subjects "The Bible Speaks to Contemporary People," and "Where Judaism Differed." These series are to be used for educational programs in AJC chapters, on campuses, in synagogues and churches and informal home study and discussion.

Conferences:

In the summer of 1985, the Academy conducted five week-long study seminars in Judaica, three at Skidmore College and two at Williams College, with the participation of over 250 students.

Administered courses by correspondence for individual students and for study groups.

Conducted monthly luncheon forums on subjects of Jewish interest.

Jewish Academicians

Rationale:

Our work with Jewish academicians has two objectives: help involve academics in AJC and in Jewish communal life and develop role models and guides to Jewish students on campus. We see this work as directly related to the objective of improving the quality of Jewish life.

Activities:

Conducted the 15th Annual Academicians Seminar in Israel with the participation of chapters.

Conducted two week-end retreats for Jewish academicians from New Jersey universities, jointly with the Metro N.J. chapter.

Held planning meeting in Boston to develop academicians program in New England. First program will be dialogues with visiting Israeli academics, co-sponsored with the Boston chapter.

Helped Atlanta chapter develop and maintain an ongoing program of academicians.

Research:

Completed a study of 270 alumni of the AJC Academicians Seminars in Israel to determine the Seminar impact and results.

Publication:

Published two issues of the special bulletin for alumni, Keshet/Connection.

Jewish Identity

Psychodynamic of Jewish Identity

For the second year conducted an intensive study-research group of psychiatrists and psychologists on the psychodynamics of Jewish identity. The group, which meets bi-weekly, analyzes case records, developed a questionnaire and conducted interviews, and is planning a scholars conference in the spring of 1986.

Jewish Religious Dialogue

In an attempt to counteract growing polarization and conflict within the religious Jewish community, the JCAD has convened lay leaders from all four religious groups. If successful, we plan to hold a series of such dialogues with the aim of bringing about civility and understanding among the groups and hopefully arrive at proposals for policy and action towards greater tolerance and unity within the Jewish religious community.



**INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
1985 PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS**

Rationale:

The Interreligious Affairs Department seeks to eradicate anti-Semitism from all forms and expressions of church life, to build and sustain Christian support for Israel, to develop effective interreligious coalitions against anti-Semitic extremism and on behalf of Soviet Jewry and Jews in Arab countries, to strengthen religious pluralism in the United States, to develop close relations with key Christian leaders, to enhance women's rights and sexual equality in religious communities, to promote positive black Christian-Jewish relations, and to provide interreligious training for AJC lay leaders.

CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS

Description:

This program area covers our relationships with specific Christian Church bodies, including the Roman Catholic Church, the National Council of Churches and its Protestant and Eastern Orthodox member denominations, and the Evangelical community.

Activities:

The department planned and sponsored nearly 30 community commemorations of Vatican Council II around the country that closely involved both national and local staff and leadership. IAD staff members made formal presentations at most of these meetings. In addition, the

department published a comprehensive Vatican II Resource Kit, 5,000 copies of which were distributed to Christian and Jewish leaders and institutions. A book summarizing 20 years of progress in Catholic-Jewish relations will be published early next year.

We are working with the ADL on a common strategy for fundamental reform of the Oberammergau Passion Play. IAD staff also provided testimony and suggestions for the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter on the Economy.

We provide the National Council of Churches with a constant flow of data on a wide range of issues, including Israel, the Middle East, Black-Jewish relations, feminism, religious pluralism, and cults. In addition, IAD staff attends the NCC's semi-annual Governing Board meetings as fraternal observers.

In 1985 the department worked as consultants and advisors to key commissions of the United Church of Christ on their document on Christian-Jewish relations, we well as with other Protestant groups, including a new grass roots organization called "Presbyterians Concerned for Christian-Jewish Relations." Department members addressed several national meetings of Evangelicals during 1985. IAD staff members also published articles in leading Evangelical journals, and the director is editing a book on Evangelical-Jewish relations.

ANTI-SEMITISM & EXTREMISM

Activities:

Activities include fact-finding trips; news conferences; lay education; and maintenance and development of key contacts in the

Midwest, including farmers, Christian bodies, media, public officials, law enforcement leaders, and the academic community. The department issued a backgrounder on the implications of the farm crisis, and wrote articles on this issue for national newspapers.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Activities:

The IAD has intensified its work with America's Black churches, forming the National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish Relations. This body held a major consultation in Cleveland where it formulated an action agenda on international, national and theological issues. Following this meeting, additional local consultations took place in a number of communities around the country. Department staff also consulted with Black leaders and the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission prior to Louis Farrakhan's appearance in Pittsburgh.

The department was involved in training participants for the UN Conference on Women in Nairobi through its "Women of Faith" program. IAD staff also established close working relationships with women in key positions at national and international Christian organizations. IAD staff supervised the work of the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, which held major human rights hearings in 1985 in Chicago and Los Angeles. Planning is also proceeding on an interreligious trip to the Soviet Union in January of 1986.

Interreligious groups from 5 cities visited Israel through the department's "Visitors to Israel" program, and individual trips were designed for 13 key American Christian leaders.

SEMINARIAN TRAINING, EDUCATION, PUBLICATIONS

Activities:

The Seminararians' training program was intensified in 1985, with major conferences taking place in California, Pennsylvania and New York, and additional ones now being planned for 1986.

A training program to help AJC lay leaders participate in inter-religious dialogues was developed in conjunction with the St. Louis Chapter.

IAD publishes the Interreligious Newsletter three times a year. The Newsletter, which features AJC's interreligious activities both nationally and in the chapters, reaches 9,000 Christian and Jewish leaders. IAD staff have also reached key audiences through articles published in leading Christian journals, e.g., Commonweal and Eternity. In addition, the IAD oversees the work of the National Institute for Catholic-Jewish Education, which prepares educational materials and trains Catholic teachers.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ENERGY PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

The American Jewish Committee has long believed that the Jewish community has a vital stake in helping the United States to reduce its dependence on imported oil, particularly Persian Gulf oil. Through AJC's promotion of effective national energy policies, it is helping to keep our foreign policy free from outside influence. AJC's Energy Program initially stemmed from concern about possible backlash against the American Jewish community and Israel as a result of the 1973 oil embargo. Over the years, it has become increasingly a direct response to our priority concerns vis à vis Israel. The American Jewish Committee's pioneer work in this field has made it the major resource for information and guidance on matters of energy policy and program in the Jewish community. The program continues to attract new potential AJC leadership.

While U.S. dependence on Persian Gulf oil has decreased significantly in the past few years, the U.S. must now put into place measures to blunt the impact of the next "oil shock" which experts predict will occur in the 1990s. We are deeply concerned that the U.S. is lulling itself into a sense of false security.

AJC's Energy Program priority in 1986 will be to provide analyses by experts on the continued need for government commitment to further reduction of U.S. energy dependence so as to ensure American energy security in the longer range.

AJC's Energy Program operates on two tracks -- education and advocacy.

Advocacy for federal and local policy and programs to stimulate production of domestic energy resources and to make the most efficient use of energy through conservation and other cost-effective methods.

Some recent activities include:

Meetings and written communications with members of the Administration, Congress and officials of the Department of Energy and the Department of Interior to express AJC's concerns about aspects of U.S. energy policy, notably with U.S. Secretaries Herrington and Hodel, and Senate and House energy committee chairs and staff.

Testified before DOE and Congressional hearings (Howard Friedman, Dr. Lawrence Goldmuntz and Phyllis Sherman) in opposition to cutbacks in the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, rollback of the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards, and in support of offshore drilling with environmental safeguards.

Education about the continued need for priority attention to U.S. energy security needs and dissemination of analytic materials about energy policy choices directed primarily to government officials and the Jewish community. AJC-generated energy materials are, of course, also a tool in promoting our energy policy goals.

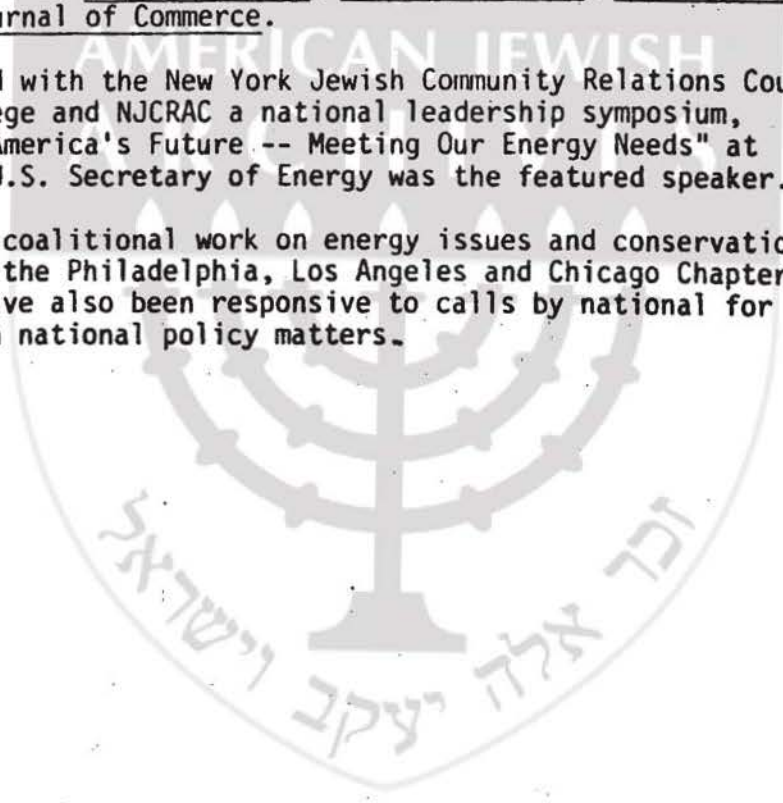
Some recent activities include:

Provided educational materials on energy issues and policy through AJC's periodic issuance of Energy Information Service Bulletin, e.g., "The Oil Glut: Private vs. Public Sector Impacts"; appearance by lay and staff on electronic media; and the stimulation of articles in national magazines, journals and newspapers, including articles by AJC experts Drs., Goldmuntz, Safer and Schlesinger in such publications as Foreign Policy, Washington Post, The New York Times and the Journal of Commerce.

Cosponsored with the New York Jewish Community Relations Council, Touro College and NJCRAC a national leadership symposium, "Securing America's Future -- Meeting Our Energy Needs" at which the U.S. Secretary of Energy was the featured speaker.

Interfaith coalitional work on energy issues and conservation, notably by the Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Chicago Chapters. Chapters have also been responsive to calls by national for advocacy on national policy matters.

PHS:mb
12/3/85



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December 30, 1985

Dear Rabbi,

My new book, Torah Concepts: Book II, should be coming off the presses at the end of December. It contains at least one essay on every Torah portion and on all the holidays. All told, there are 408 pages in the book. It follows very closely the format of my first book. Of course, all the essays are new.

I also reprinted my first book, Torah Concepts: The Source of Jewish Values, since many people requested copies after we had sold out the first printing.

For those who would like to buy both books, we have a special price of \$25 which includes shipping. For those who would just like to buy a single book, Torah Concepts: The Source of Jewish Values or Torah Concepts: Book II, the price will be \$15. This includes postage, shipping, and handling. Please fill out the form below telling us how many books you would like to order. Enclosed you will also find several sample pages of the book.

Sincerely,


Rabbi Joseph Radinsky

Please send me _____ copies of Torah Concepts: The Source of Jewish Values and _____ copies of Torah Concepts: Book II.

Enclosed is \$ _____ for _____ copies.

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Rosh Hashonna

Does Your Life Have Direction, Depth, and Moral Content?

One of the paradoxes of our day is that many people who seem to have everything cannot handle their problems very well at all, while at the same time, many people who seem to have nothing are able to handle their problems easily. There seems to be something missing today in many of the more affluent people's attitudes toward life. The slightest upset renders them completely incapacitated. The slightest problem throws them off balance. On the other hand, there are other people, struggling for the most part, who seem to be able to take almost everything life throws at them. Nothing seems to faze them. Why should this be so?

It seems to me that the answer to this question is found in the last words Moshe Rabbeinu spoke to the Jewish people. The whole fifth book of the Torah, Devoreem, or Deuteronomy, is a record of the last words Moshe spoke to the Jewish people. Moshe concluded his speech with a poem. In this poem he sums up Jewish history, and he tells the people that any time they get into trouble, that any time they think that the problems of the world will overwhelm them, they should read this poem. Why did Moshe Rabbeinu exhort the people to read this poem any time the troubles of the world threatened to overwhelm them? Why couldn't he have just stated what he had to say in prose?

The answer, our rabbis teach us, is because it is the song of Judaism, the poetry of Judaism which allows us to continue. When the dream dies, when the song and the poetry are no longer there then Judaism cannot endure. If a person has a dream, a goal, he can endure everything, but if he has no dream or goal, he cannot handle even the slightest upset. We all know how much suffering the immigrant generation endured in America. They, however, did not call it suffering. They called it sacrificing for the "kinder". Nothing was too hard for them. They wanted their children to get an edu-

Lech Lecha

What's Necessary For a Family?

To build lasting human relationships is a very difficult thing. It is very difficult to build a family. Judaism, we know, is based upon the family. When Abraham was told to leave Mesopotamia, he was promised by G-d that he would be a blessing to all the families of the earth. It does not mention here that he would be a blessing to all the individuals of the earth or to all the nations of the earth, but to all the families of the earth. One of the ways he was going to be a blessing was by demonstrating to everyone how to build a family based on the right values.

In fact, it can be said that the early chapters of the story of Abraham's life are about his failure, how, after he left his own family in Mesopotamia which was based on false values, he first tried to establish a family relationship with his nephew, Lot, but Lot was a man who constantly rationalized. He could make right wrong and wrong right. He could turn everything upside down like those people today who claim that adultery strengthens marriages and neglect of children builds independence, etc.

The Rabbis teach us that Adam, after he sinned by eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, could no longer tell clearly what was good and evil. Before that, he knew what was good and what was evil. He might not have always followed what was good, but he could always see clearly what was good and bad. Since then, good and evil have become mixed up. It is not clear anymore what is good and what is bad, and man, if he wants to, can easily confuse them. That's why we need to constantly study Torah. Man now can, by defending one value, so pervert all other values that good becomes evil and evil becomes good. This is what Lot did and what the Mafia does in our day.

The Mafia believes in family but they have perverted the concept of family. They believe that by enshrining the family

JUST OFF THE PRESS



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Institute of Human Relations
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Sonya F. Kaufer
Director of Publications

TO: Department and Division Heads

December 31, 1985

**TITLE: Jewish Families Together
by Bernard Reisman with Harriet Abraham**

SUBJECT MATTER: A model weekend retreat for family-life enhancement.

TOTAL PRINTING: 750

Sales Price: Single copy \$3.50; 20% discount on 50 or more

THE WILLIAM PETSCHER
NATIONAL JEWISH FAMILY CENTER



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

THE WILLIAM PETSCHKEK NATIONAL JEWISH FAMILY CENTER

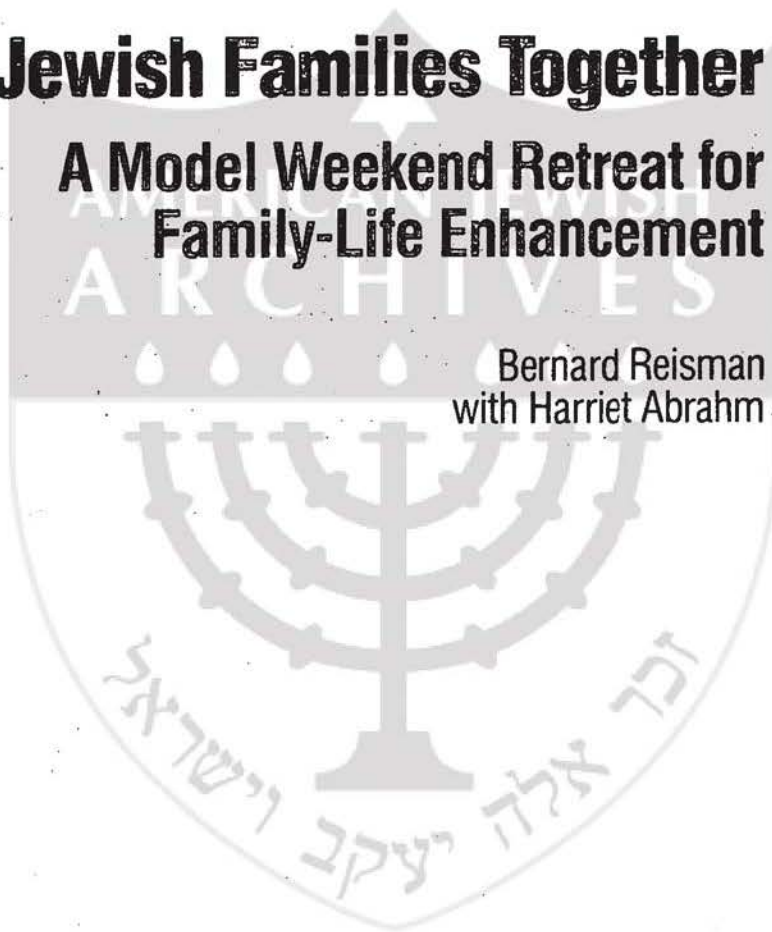
E. Robert Goodkind, Chairman Yehuda Rosenman, Director

The William Petschkek National Jewish Family Center was created by the American Jewish Committee in 1979 as an expression of its commitment to the family as the indispensable social institution for maintaining and enhancing Jewish identity, communal stability and human fulfillment. Its goal is to promote research on family problems, help clarify family values and stimulate the development of innovative programs to help meet the needs of parents, would-be parents and their children. It also strives to encourage an awareness and responsiveness to those needs in the Jewish and general communities.

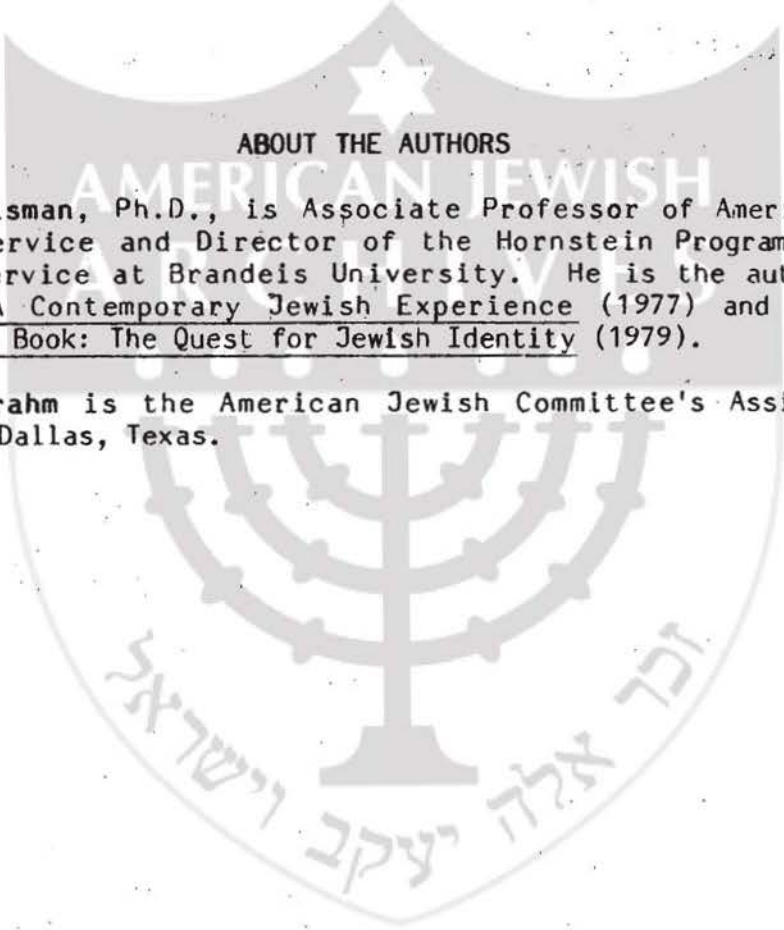
Jewish Families Together

A Model Weekend Retreat for Family-Life Enhancement

Bernard Reisman
with Harriet Abraham



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE



ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Bernard Reisman, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of American Jewish Communal Service and Director of the Hornstein Program in Jewish Communal Service at Brandeis University. He is the author of The Chavurah: A Contemporary Jewish Experience (1977) and The Jewish Experiential Book: The Quest for Jewish Identity (1979).

Harriet Abraham is the American Jewish Committee's Assistant Area Director in Dallas, Texas.

A JEWISH FAMILY RETREAT

Bernard Reisman

AMERICAN JEWISH

Rearing children and sustaining a satisfying family life have always been difficult tasks, but they are especially difficult today when family roles and societal values are rapidly changing. The stressful nuclear family today often lacks help from such traditional informal supports as extended family and neighbors. Formal supports such as community services are typically directed at families that have experienced some form of breakdown. The others are assumed to be "normal" and are left to their own devices.

Since the family is the principal vehicle for the transmission of the Jewish heritage, the Jewish community has a particular interest in strengthening and enriching Jewish family life. Increasingly in recent years, Jewish communal leaders have acknowledged the high priority of services to families. The problem is how to translate this concern into effective programs. Jewish communal agencies are designing new modes of functioning geared to the needs of today's families. But will the families themselves -- especially the vast majority of "normal" families -- avail themselves of the programs and services offered? Already overinvolved in activities and obligations outside of the home, will the members of "normal" families feel sufficient incentive to participate in communal family-life programs?

The American Jewish Committee's William Petschek National Jewish Family Center is committed to strengthening the American Jewish family. Besides conducting research on the contemporary family, it sponsors pilot projects in family-life enrichment intended to provide models that Jewish communal and family-service organizations can replicate. In the summer of 1983 it sponsored a five-day retreat for single-parent Jewish families.¹ The response was sufficiently

¹ See Bernard Reisman and Gladys Rosen, Single-Parent Families at Camp (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1984).

positive to encourage the Center to sponsor a similar retreat for intact Jewish families. The Dallas (Texas) chapter of the American Jewish Committee conducted this program on a weekend in March 1985.

The organizers of the retreat defined four objectives:

(1) Togetherness. Members of contemporary families spend little time together, and when they do their interactions are sometimes unpleasant and stressful. The organizers' first objective, therefore, was to design a program that would be of interest to all family members and afford them a pleasurable experience together.

(2) Jewish content. The weekend's activities were to take place in a positive Jewish environment embracing everything from food and decorations to religious observance and entertainment. The full cycle of Shabbat observance -- from pre-Shabbat preparations on Friday afternoon to the Havdalah service on Saturday evening -- would of course be central. Meals were to begin with the traditional motzi (blessing over the bread) and concluded with the birket hamazon (grace after meals). Entertainment programs would utilize Jewish themes.

(3) Family-life education. A structured program of discussions and role-playing would ensure that all participants would confront -- as families -- issues of Jewish identity, Jewish observance, and Jewish family values.

(4) A support network. The final objective was the establishment of friendships among the participating families that would continue after the weekend, providing a network of informal supports within the larger community suggestive of the traditional extended family.

Program

Setting

The weekend retreat was held at the Greene Family Camp outside Waco, Texas, a two-and-a-half-hour drive from Dallas. The camp is maintained by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The adults were housed in cabins, two couples sharing a bathroom. The children lived in dormitories, one for boys, one for girls. Meals were served family style in the camp dining room. A large all-purpose building was used for programs, and the extensive grounds afforded opportunities for outdoor recreation.

Staff

The retreat was arranged by a committee of the AJC's Dallas chapter headed by Harriet Abraham. The program was planned and led by

the facilitator, Professor Bernard Reisman of Brandeis University. David Perl led the religious activities. Camp personnel provided cooking and housekeeping services, and a counselor was present to assure optimal use of the camp's facilities.

Participants

Nine families attended the weekend retreat, although the recruitment goal had been 15 (see Appendix 1 for recruitment letters and registration form). These families comprised 17 adults and 10 children. The adults ranged in age from 32 to 45; all were college graduates, and six had attended graduate school. Three of the children were 6 and 7; the others ranged in age from 11 to 18.

Seven families identified themselves as Reform, two as Conservative. All reported that they celebrated the major Jewish holidays and two that they regularly observed Shabbat as well. None practiced kashrut. (Prior to the weekend, one family that kept kosher had expressed interest in attending but withdrew even though an offer was made to procure packaged kosher meals for them.) Four adult participants had celebrated a Bar Mitzvah or Bat Mitzvah, and eight had been confirmed. On the whole, the participating families were quite homogeneous in their Jewish values, beliefs, and practices.

The presence of children during the weekend's discussion sessions seemed at first to pose problems. Fortunately -- in view of the unpredictability of adolescents -- the older children were eager to participate in the discussions, and their contributions proved vital to the success of these sessions. The three younger children presented a different problem. Since there was no staff for a separate children's program, these children were cared for by the rest of the group functioning as an extended family. An older girl, with occasional help from some of the parents, created simple craft projects that were well received by the children. These activities took place on the fringes of the discussion groups, the youngsters being content just to be around the older people.

Activities

In advance of the weekend, each participating family was asked to complete a questionnaire (Appendix 2) eliciting information about the family's religious observance, community involvement, etc. At the same time, each family received a list of all the participants in the weekend, travel directions to the camp, and a map of the camp. Upon arrival at the camp, each family received name tags and a schedule of activities (Appendix 3). In their rooms they found a basket of fruit and a welcoming note.

Although the families were encouraged to get to camp early Friday afternoon to enjoy a leisurely preparation for Shabbat, almost all

arrived at dinnertime because of work and school schedules. Families were assigned to tables for their first meal; thereafter people sat wherever they pleased. Kiddush preceded a traditional Shabbat dinner. This was followed by a Shabbat service in which the group participated in the reading and singing.

After the service, each family was asked to create a mural that would graphically represent the special interests and characteristics of each family member. Large sheets of paper were distributed together with art supplies. When the murals were completed, the families took turns introducing themselves and explaining their creations. The murals remained posted on the dining room walls throughout the weekend.

At the end of the evening, everyone -- children and adults alike -- was asked to complete a questionnaire on Jewish attitudes and family values (Appendix 4). After the children had gone to bed, several adults returned to tally the results and prepare them for discussion the next day.

On Saturday, breakfast was followed by Shabbat services. The remainder of the morning and the first part of the afternoon were devoted to discussions of Jewish attitudes and family values for which the responses to Friday night's questionnaire served as points of departure. Saturday afternoon featured a parent-child softball game in which everyone participated as players or cheerleaders.

After dinner on Saturday evening, the group gathered for an entertainment program that they had prepared during the afternoon. This included an animal fashion show in which the younger children displayed their crafts projects and a skit in which adults and children parodied some of the themes of the day's discussions. The highlight of the evening was a presentation of "The High School," a one-act play² based on a story by Sholom Aleichem dealing with the determination of a nineteenth-century shtetl family to get their 14-year-old son into a Russian high school in the face of restrictive quotas on Jewish students. The theme of the tensions involved in living as a minority within a larger culture led to a discussion on tensions in American Jewish life. The evening concluded with a Havdalah service.

Sunday morning was devoted to a practicum on a range of typical family issues, groups of participants role-playing four prepared scenarios (Appendix 5). This was followed by another parent-child softball game. After lunch, the group completed an evaluation questionnaire (Appendix 6). The families left for home in midafternoon.

² From The World of Sholom Aleichem, by Arnold Perl, available from Dramatists Play Services, 440 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016.

Discussions

On Being Jewish

Saturday morning's discussion, "On Being Jewish," was based on the group's answers to questions 2-5 of Part I of the questionnaire on Jewish attitudes and family values (Appendix 4). The answers are tabulated in Table A on page 6.

Questions 2-5 sought to elicit attitudes about the major tensions involved in being Jewish in a predominantly non-Jewish country. On question 2, concerning intermarriage, the attitudes of parents and children were in close agreement, a slight majority of both favoring in-marriages and almost half of both groups either neutral or in disagreement. In view of the implications of intermarriage for Jewish continuity, the relatively high proportion of the respondents who accepted the practice suggests an assimilative inclination.

Question 3 addressed another aspect of assimilation, the issue of Jewish distinctiveness. A large majority of the children, 80 percent, and a smaller majority of the adults, 55 percent, agreed that Jews should be like rather than unlike other Americans. The stronger support by the children of similarity as opposed to distinctiveness was not unexpected. In the discussion of this question, several people -- adults and children -- observed that they did not see any conflict between being like non-Jews in many of their living patterns and thinking of themselves as Jews.

The responses to question 4, about loyalty to Israel, indicate a somewhat more positive identification with Israel by the children than by the adults. Seventy percent of the children and 55 percent of the adults agreed that Jews should have a special loyalty to Israel. The difference may be explained by the different attitudes toward Israel during the years when these two generations were growing up. The children were influenced by the 1967 and 1973 wars, as a result of which Israel became very popular among American Jews. Their parents grew up in the 1940s and 1950s, when Israel was only beginning to assume a central place in the thinking of American Jews. Most of them were reared in Reform households and were probably influenced by the Reform movement's earlier opposition to Zionism.

Question 5 posed the issue of the salience of Jewishness in the lives of the respondents. Somewhat surprisingly, in view of the assimilatory attitudes expressed in their answers to questions 2 and 3, large majorities of the adults (83 percent) and children (90 percent) indicated that being Jewish was "a very important part of my life." In the discussion of the responses to this question, the group recognized the inconsistency of its attitudes. One father made the telling observation: "We all seem to agree that being Jewish is very important to us and our families, but our attitudes and behaviors

TABLE A
JEWISH ATTITUDES

	Strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C	A
2. Jews should only marry other Jews.	20%	22%	40%	33%	40%	17%	--	28%	--	--
3. Jews should try to be like rather than unlike other Americans.	60%	33%	20%	22%	10%	17%	--	11%	10%	17%
4. All Jews should have a special loyalty to the State of Israel.	60%	18%	10%	36%	20%	24%	10%	12%	--	12%
5. Being Jewish is a very important part of my life.	60%	61%	30%	22%	10%	11%	--	6%	--	--

C = Children
A = Adults

about intermarriage and Jewish distinctiveness aren't likely to keep us and our children Jewish."

On Family Life

The Saturday afternoon discussion, "On Family Life," dealt with the group's responses to question 1 of Part I of the questionnaire and to Parts II and III. The responses are tabulated in Table B on page 8.

The sentiment expressed most strongly in response to the questionnaire and in the discussion itself was the desire, by both adults and children, that families spend more time together. Yet at the same time family members were committed to busy schedules that made that wish difficult to fulfill. The dilemma was dramatized in a discussion between a teenage boy and his parents. The boy was actively involved in school work, wrestling, temple, and a part-time job. Both mother and father worked at jobs that required evening and weekend time, and both were also involved in community activities. Family meals were invariably interrupted by phone calls or by someone having to rush off for an appointment. The one solution this family could find was to get away on trips together several times a year. The father observed somewhat plaintively: "With three kids, those family trips are an expensive price to pay for togetherness."

An interesting exchange took place between children and adults on the adjudication of the different time priorities of family members. The response to question 1 on the questionnaire suggested that the adults were more prepared than the children to give up personal plans for special family gatherings -- 89 percent of the adults agreed with this statement compared to 60 percent of the children. However, in the discussion, several children pointed out a double standard in parent-child relations, complaining that parents did not give serious consideration to the children's priorities. A 16-year-old girl told her parents:

You encourage me to do well in school, be well-rounded, get a part-time job. But if I tell you I can't be available at a certain time for a family get-together because of a school activity or work, you tell me that my activities aren't important. You don't consider my school or work obligations as important as all the work or organizational meetings you guys have. It isn't fair!

Her argument was strongly endorsed by the other children, and the parents acknowledged that this was a reasonable position that they had not really considered.

There were several other exchanges in which parents and children seemed to achieve better understanding of the others' point of view. They were communicating with each other -- something both parents and children had indicated on the questionnaire that they wanted to do. It

TABLE B
ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY LIFE

I. All members of a family should be prepared to give up personal plans for special family gatherings.

Strongly agree		Agree		Neutral		Disagree		Strongly disagree	
Adults	Children	A	C	A	C	A	C	A	C
61%	20%	28%	40%	6%	40%	6%	--	--	--

II. Thinking about your own family life, if there is one thing you could change about how your family operates what would it be? (Responses listed in order of frequency.)

ADULTS

1. Spend more time together as a family.
2. Show more support, consideration and thoughtfulness to each other.
3. Want contact with extended family and grandparents.
4. Husband shouldn't work so hard.

CHILDREN

1. Spend more time together as a family.
2. Not to fight.
3. Listen to each other and be understanding.

III. Advice: What is really important to you? If you had to give only one piece of advice to your children what would it be? (Responses listed in order of frequency of mention.)

ADULTS

1. Be honest with yourself.
2. Respect yourself.
3. Do the best you can for yourself and others.
4. Be caring and giving.

CHILDREN

1. Feel free to talk to your parents.
2. Be a close family.
3. Never eat sugar. Don't talk when your parents are on the phone.

is clear that there is a connection between the goal of family togetherness and improved communication. Families cannot be understanding and supportive of one another if they do not talk and listen to each other.

The advice that parents wanted to give their children (Part III of the family values questionnaire) was interesting both for what was mentioned and what was not. The advice most frequently mentioned centered on the individual: "Be true to yourself"; "Respect yourself"; "Do the best you can." A fourth choice was "Be caring and giving with others." None of the advice had any specifically Jewish content. Did this mean that Jewishness was not important to the respondents, or that they never made a connection between Jewishness and the conduct of life?

The children had been instructed to respond to Part III by assuming that they were parents giving advice to their children. It is reasonable to interpret the children's answers as advice they would like their parents to apply to them. Most often, the children repeated what they had said before about the change they most wanted in their families: "Feel free to talk with your parents" (improve communications) and "Be a close family."

Other responses of the children, such as "Never eat sugar" and "Don't talk when your parents are on the phone," suggest that the children often heard these parental admonitions and took them to heart. While at first the parents laughed at hearing these words parroted by their young children, upon reflection they were led to consider what values they may have been imprinting on their impressionable offspring.

Family Scenarios

The final discussion session, on Sunday morning, was a practicum on typical family problems. Four scenarios had been prepared (Appendix 5): a child no longer wants to attend Sunday school; a family grapples with chaotic mealtimes; a family adjusts to a grandfather recently institutionalized with Alzheimer's disease; a mother and her two children anticipate their first Passover after a divorce.

The participants were divided into four groups, and each group was asked to dramatize one of the scenarios. Family members were separated in the groups and, to the extent possible, based on the background information available, no one was assigned to a scenario involving a situation he or she was actually experiencing.

The groups decided how to role-play their scenarios. Following each dramatization, all the participants discussed the issue portrayed, sharing ideas on how to resolve the problem. No effort was made to arrive at a single recommended resolution. Instead, the session reflected the complexities of "normal" family living: the

participants offering practical suggestions from their own and others' experiences.

Evaluation

Participants' Critique

An evaluation questionnaire (Appendix 6) distributed to the participants on Sunday morning asked them to rate all aspects of their weekend experience. The great majority rated the camp facilities, the program, and the program's Jewish content good or excellent. The respondents stressed their appreciation of the unique opportunity the retreat had afforded family members to function together as a family, to examine together their values and priorities, and to experience the support of similar families similarly engaged -- all in a positive Jewish atmosphere.

They anticipated that their weekend experience would be reflected at home in more family meals, better communication and understanding, and greater cooperation. They particularly enjoyed the experience of the "extended family" and expressed interest in continuing their relationship at social gatherings in town and in other outings. In fact, the group reassembled a month later for a picnic, which led in turn to the organization of a havurah.

Leadership Factors

The weekend's success, in the view of both participants and staff, was due to a combination of pleasant setting, like-minded families, well-structured program, and effective staff work. For organizations interested in conducting similar family retreats, it may be useful to discuss the staffing requirements, and in particular the role of the facilitator.

A hard-working committee of the sponsoring organization is the first essential. The committee formulates the goals for the retreat and selects the facilitator and other personnel that may be required. It is responsible for all logistical arrangements: it selects the date and site of the retreat, recruits participating families, advises them on preparation and travel, ensures that the retreat site is properly staffed and equipped, procures the supplies and materials required for the program itself. In all of this, an energetic chairperson or coordinator is indispensable. Guidelines for conducting a family weekend retreat are provided on pages 12-14.

It is the task of the professional facilitator to plan the weekend program in keeping with the goals that have been established by the sponsoring organization's steering committee. The program plan should be approved by the committee, both to ensure its congruence with their goals and to receive the benefits of their suggestions.

The facilitator should work with the committee to assemble in advance the materials that the program plan requires. Since the actual program will proceed continuously virtually without a break, the facilitator will have no time during the weekend to arrange the next activity. To the extent that needs are anticipated and provided for in advance, the facilitator will be free to devote himself or herself to the participants at all times.

Since a sense of community among the participants is essential, the facilitator should learn the names of the participants in advance and use them consistently. All activities should be designed to maximize interaction among the participants so they get to know and feel comfortable with one another. The facilitator's style of relating to group members will set the tone of the weekend.

In the informal setting of the retreat, the facilitator must be actively involved not only in encouraging interaction among group members but in leading discussions with a clear learning focus. His or her various functions -- initiating, coordinating, encouraging, teaching -- should be exercised with tact, in a nonauthoritarian and nonjudgmental manner. The facilitator must be accessible to group members at all times. This is a taxing experience for the facilitator, but there are no shortcuts. His or her constant presence and tactful direction are essential from start to finish.



GUIDELINES FOR CONDUCTING A WEEKEND FAMILY RETREAT

Harriet Abraham

These brief guidelines are based upon the experience of the Dallas chapter of the American Jewish Committee in conducting a family weekend retreat in March 1985.

1. Steering Committee

Management of the entire event -- from planning to follow-up -- should be vested in a committee of the sponsoring organization, whose chairman or some other member should act as coordinator. The committee selects the professional staff, participates with them in program planning, and then assumes responsibility for the logistical support of the program.

2. Setting

In selecting a setting for the weekend retreat, the steering committee should consider site, accommodations, cost, and transportation.

(a) An ideal site would be a rural camp or conference center where, removed from their regular routines and responsibilities, the participants can enjoy themselves and achieve a sense of community. An isolated site also enables the program planners to establish a Jewish ambience free from intrusions.

(b) The site must be adequate for the comfortable housing and feeding of the participants. Bunk houses or dormitories may be fine for children, but adults will require the privacy of their own rooms or suites. Consideration should be given to the observance of dietary laws so families adhering to kashrut may attend and Conservative and Orthodox congregations can promote the event without reservations.

(c) Costs must be kept to a minimum to avoid excluding families of limited means. The steering committee should of course negotiate

in a businesslike way with the proprietors of the camp or conference center to obtain the best possible terms. It may be advisable to have participants provide some or all of the housekeeping chores to minimize the use of paid personnel. A small grant from a family-service organization or a contribution by a group of AJC members may help defray the costs of the weekend.

(d) Again to avoid excluding families that may lack private transportation, the committee should arrange for group transportation or car pooling, especially if the site of the retreat is remote or difficult to reach.

3. Staff

The steering committee must select a professional staff consisting minimally of a facilitator and a religious leader and also make sure that the camp or conference center is adequately staffed for the weekend.

(a) The facilitator should be an experienced group leader capable of planning and conducting the weekend program. He or she should possess the necessary organizational and leadership abilities as well as those personal attributes necessary to ensure harmonious interaction among the participants.

(b) The religious leader need not be a rabbi but should be well versed in Jewish religious observance and capable of conducting Shabbat services and leading the blessings at mealtimes. He or she might consider writing special Shabbat services to maximize group participation.

(c) The staff at the camp or conference center must include a cook and such other help as may be necessary in the kitchen, dining room, and living quarters. Participants can, of course, assume some housekeeping and dining room responsibilities not only as a means of keeping costs down but also as a means of enhancing community spirit. A teenager who is not a participant in the retreat should be employed to supervise the young children during the day and to baby-sit at night.

4. Recruitment

Twelve to 15 families with children between 5 and 18 may be the optimal number for a weekend retreat. Recruitment should begin at least three months before the date set for the retreat. Flyers or letters of invitation (Appendix 1) may be sent to membership lists of congregations and other communal organizations and to client lists of family-service organizations. Personal contacts -- networking -- of the sponsoring organization's steering committee is an effective means of recruitment. The event should be publicized in the general and Anglo-Jewish press.

Families that express interest should be sent a registration form (Appendix 1). When that has been returned, the family should be sent several additional letters to sustain their interest in the event and to provide advice and instruction on such matters as clothing, transportation, etc. Problems that particular families may have must be dealt with on an individual basis by the steering committee or its coordinator.

5. Program

Once the weekend program has been worked out by the facilitator in consultation with the steering committee, the conduct of the program is entirely in the hands of the facilitator. The committee, however, remains responsible for the logistics of the weekend--making sure that the participants arrive safely and on time, that they are housed comfortably, fed agreeably, and entertained appropriately. The procurement and delivery of all the supplies and equipment required for the weekend are the committee's responsibility.

The committee should be sensitive to those amenities that can contribute to the enjoyment of the participants and the development of a sense of community. These might include fruit or candy, welcoming notes, and name tags to greet participants upon their arrival. Flowers and place cards at meals and additional flowers and music at religious services should not be neglected.

6. Follow-up

One of the objectives of the Dallas weekend retreat was to preserve, after the weekend, the sense of community that had been engendered among the participating families. The hope was that the families would carry back into the larger community the network of newly established friendships and that they would constitute an informal family support system similar to that provided by the traditional extended family. For that reason, the Dallas steering committee maintained contact with the group and facilitated their reunion at a picnic one month later, at which discussions led to the formation of a havurah.

Whatever the particular objectives of the sponsoring organization, it is important to bear in mind that the fruits of a family weekend retreat may become manifest only sometime later. To ensure such manifestation, some type of follow-up is necessary that will reinforce the impact of the weekend and direct it into productive channels. Written communication is perhaps the minimum requirement. Reunions of various kinds can also be arranged on appropriate occasions. The sponsoring organization should stand ready to support any decisions the group might make to preserve and formalize their association.

APPENDIX 1

MODEL LETTERS AND REGISTRATION FORM

Invitation

Dear Friends,

The American Jewish Committee would like to invite you to join a few very fortunate families for a special weekend experience led by nationally known Dr. Bernard Reisman. In response to the growing concern about the challenge of perpetuating traditional Jewish family values, AJC is pioneering this "experiential" camping retreat at Greene Family Camp on March 29 through 31.

Informal activities will highlight this joint exploration of Jewish identities and values. Parents and children will focus on "what is right" about families as they join a fun recreational retreat.

WHERE? At U.A.H.C.'s Greene Family Camp and Conference Center on 149 acres between Waco and Temple, Texas. Families will enjoy great home cooked meals plus the camp's extensive recreational and athletic facilities.

WHO? The discussion leader and guide will be Dr. Bernard Reisman, Associate Professor of American Jewish Communal Studies at Brandeis University and Director of its Hornstein Program in Jewish Communal Service. Dr. Reisman, the author of The Jewish Experiential Book among many other publications, is a pioneer and innovator in the development of experiential approaches to Jewish identity and informal education.

COST. The cost of this unusual weekend will be \$45.00 per person, including meals, lodging, regular camp services, all athletic facilities and special events. Group transportation may be arranged at additional cost if desired.

To assure a place for your family, please fill out the enclosed registration form and enclose a deposit of \$25.00. Recommended ages of children is 6-16. If you wish any additional information, please call Harriet Abrahm at the AJC office, 387-2943.

We look forward to hearing from you. Soon!

Sincerely,

Registration Form

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE (HOME) _____

(WORK) _____

CHILDREN AGES SCHOOL GRADE

<u>CHILDREN</u>	<u>AGES</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>GRADE</u>

DEPOSIT OF _____ ENCLOSED.

ARE YOU INTERESTED IN GROUP TRANSPORTATION? YES _____ NO _____

SIGNATURE

Cost of the program is partially underwritten by the AJC. Planning has been done by the Family Task Force under AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Department. The cost for the program at the Greene Family Camp does not include medical care outside of basic first aid. All fees for the program are due on or before March 8. Additional descriptive and programmatic information will be sent after registration form is received.

First Follow-Up Letter

Dear Friends,

Get ready for a great get-away weekend at Greene Family Camp March 29 through 31.

The activity schedule emphasizes fun for all ages. Plan to arrive by 6:30 p.m. Friday for Shabbat dinner. Bring tennis racquets and balls. or come as you are for volleyball, softball, or canoeing. Gather up some old or crazy garbs for a play Saturday night.

As you know, this is an "experiential" retreat under the guidance of Dr. Bernard Reisman of Brandeis University, noted author and pioneer in informal education and approaches to Jewish identity. Because we hope this weekend will be a successful pilot for similar programs in other parts of the country, we need your help in completing the enclosed questionnaire. The information will help us to better plan this and subsequent programs.

Pack appropriate camping clothes. Bring bedding, pillows and towels. Children will be sleeping dorm style; however, if you wish your children to stay with you, a cot can be arranged.

Cost for the weekend, including meals, lodging and activities. is \$45.00 per person. At this time, please send the balance of \$ _____ to the AJC office.

If you are interested in group transportation, we can arrange it for about \$6.50 per person, round trip. Call Harriet Abraham at 387-2943 if interested.

You are among the 15 family groups that have reservations for the special retreat. There is still room for two or three more families. We invite you to spread the word to your friends.

We look forward to seeing you at camp.

Sincerely,

Second Follow-Up Letter

Dear Campers,

Get ready for a great weekend! We are looking forward to seeing everyone at camp.

Directions to the Greene Family Camp are enclosed. It takes about 2 1/2 hours driving time from Dallas to camp. Shabbat dinner will be served at 7:00 p.m. so try to arrive by 6:30 p.m. so you can get settled in your cabin before dinner. Don't forget your camping clothes, bedding, pillows and towels!

The children will be performing a one-act play, "The High School" by Sholom Aleichem. The setting is 19th century Russia, so if you have any "babushkas" or any other old pieces of clothing or props to help set the "mood" please bring them along -- we can use them!

If you have any last minute questions please call Harriet at the AJC office (387-1943). Drive safely and we will see you Friday at 6:30 at camp.

Cordially,



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

CURACAO - Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee, has been invited to address a ceremony here honoring the governments of Curacao, Dutch West Indies, and of the Netherlands in recognition of their providing humanitarian haven for Jews for over 300 years.

The ceremony, sponsored by the Curacao Jewish community and six national Jewish organizations, will be held Saturday evening, January 11, at the Curacao Concorde Hotel. In addition to his address, Rabbi Tanenbaum has been asked to make a presentation of awards to the Netherlands Governor General and the Curacao Lieutenant Governor.

The ceremony will be preceded by Friday evening services at the Mikve Israel Synagogue, the oldest continually functioning synagogue in the Western Hemisphere.

According to Rabbi Tanenbaum, Curacao is the home of the oldest Jewish community in the Western Hemisphere, having been founded in 1651-2. Most of Curacao's 800 Jews live in Willemstad, the capital of the Netherlands Antilles and of Curacao. Half of the community is Sephardi, largely refugees from the Spanish and Portugese Inquisitions. The Ashkenazi community, of East European origin, developed in the period between the two world wars.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said he was honored to be invited by the Curacao Jewish community to take part in this significant ceremony because "it affords the Jewish people an opportunity to reflect on the vital importance of supporting the principles of religious liberty and safe haven for refugees in a world that urgently needs such affirmations today."

The participating Jewish organizations, in addition to the AJC, are B'nai B'rith, B'nai Zion, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the United Synagogue of America.

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

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PHILADELPHIA...The Philadelphia Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has been told by Philadelphia detectives that "we don't believe there was any anti-Semitism" in the burning on December 12 of the South Philadelphia multi-service senior center, which served elderly Jewish clients.

The center, located on Marshall and Porter Streets in South Philadelphia, served nearly 500 elderly Jews who relied on its social services and programs. Operated by the Jewish Community Centers of Greater Philadelphia, it was one of the last Jewish footholds in what had once been a thriving Jewish neighborhood.

According to Ronald Kaiserman and Irv Broudy, co-chairmen of its Chapter's Urban Affairs Committee, the center was gutted by arson that resulted in a three-alarm fire, with services to the Jewish elderly disrupted for two weeks.

Two young men, one 19 years old and another 18, have been arrested in a combined investigation by the Arson Squad and Detective South Division of the Philadelphia police. Both men live in the neighborhood close by the center.

Conversations with AJC staff and arson investigators revealed that the 19-year-old is "a problem kid," known as a neighborhood trouble-maker. He turned himself in after a warrant was issued for his arrest, and has been charged with burglary, arson, risking a catastrophe, reckless endangerment, criminal mischief, trespassing and conspiracy.

Both police and Arson Squad officers are continuing to investigate the case, and anticipate more arrests. They told AJC that the youths were not involved in full-scale gang activity, but "are the kind that hang out on the corner," the AJC officials noted.

JCC and police officials both confirmed that "this is a rough neighborhood." Other incidents of burnings, defacing buildings, and smashing storefronts have also occurred occasionally in the area. "We are convinced this wasn't anti-Semitism," police stated.

Immediately after the fire, Jewish clients at the center were uneasy and troubled by the destruction. Knowledge of the arrests have provided some reassurance for them. According to JCC staff, "the clients knew these boys since they grew up in the neighborhood. Everybody knows they are trouble-makers."

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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Clients have also been reassured by services continuing at temporary quarters. They are eager to meet with each other again and continue the daily activity provided by the center. Services resumed in temporary quarters on December 23.

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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APPENDIX 2

BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

Your response to the following questionnaire is optional but would be most helpful to us in planning subsequent weekends.

Do you expect to have additional children? Yes _____ No _____
If so, how many? _____

How would you describe the level of Jewish identity expressed within your home (i.e., celebration of Jewish holidays, practice of any Jewish rituals, practice of Jewish ethics and values)?

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How would you briefly evaluate the quality of your own family life (i.e., the way you communicate with each other, spend time together, solve problems)? What are the positives and what are the lapses?

Is there anything else that you would like to share with us about you as a Jewish family?

Are there ways in which the Jewish community could be of greater help to you and your family?

PARENTS

Mother's name _____

Age _____

Secular education level _____ Religious education level _____

Length of marriage _____ Is this your first marriage? Yes _____ No _____

If the answer is "No" please complete the following:

How many times have you been previously married? _____

Were you: Divorced _____ Widowed _____ Other _____

Occupation _____

Please list your civic and professional affiliations:

Please list your Jewish affiliations:

Father's name _____

Age _____

Secular education level _____ Religious education level _____

Is this your first marriage? Yes _____ No _____

If the answer is "No" please complete the following:

How many times have you been previously married? _____

Were you: Divorced _____ Widowed _____ Other _____

Occupation _____

Please list your civic and professional affiliations:

Please list your Jewish affiliations:

CHILDREN

Name _____

Sex _____ Age _____

Secular education _____

Religious education _____

Bar/Bat Mitzvah Yes _____ No _____

Please list his/her secular affiliations:

Please list his/her Jewish affiliations:

Name _____

Sex _____ Age _____

Secular education _____

Religious education _____

Bar/Bat Mitzvah Yes _____ No _____

Please list his/her secular affiliations:

Please list his/her Jewish affiliations:



APPENDIX 3

SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES

Friday

6:30 p.m.	Arrival
7:00	Shabbat Family Dinner
8:00	Shabbat Evening Service
8:45	Family Program: Murals, Questionnaire
9:30	Snacks

Saturday

8:45 a.m.	Breakfast
9:15	Shabbat Morning Service
10:15	Discussion: On Being Jewish
12:45 p.m.	Lunch
1:30	Discussion: On Family Life
3:00	Recreation
4:30	Preparation for Saturday night entertainment
6:00	Dinner
7:45	Entertainment Program
8:30	"The High School," by Sholom Aleichem
9:15	Discussion: Tensions in Jewish Life
10:00	Snacks
10:15	Havdalah

Sunday

8:15 a.m.	Breakfast
9:00	Family Scenarios
10:30	Recreation
12:15 p.m.	Lunch
1:15	Evaluation Questionnaire
1:30	Departure

APPENDIX 4

FAMILY VALUES QUESTIONNAIRE

I. Please answer each of the 5 questions below by checking the one column of the 5 choices which most closely represents your personal views.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strong disagree

1. All members of a family should be prepared to give up personal plans for special family gatherings.

2. Jews should marry only other Jews.

3. Jews should try to be like rather than unlike other Americans.

4. All Jews should have a special loyalty to the State of Israel.

5. Being Jewish is a very important part of my life.

II. Thinking about your own family life, if there is one thing you could change about how your family operates what would it be?

III. ADVICE: What is really important to you? If you had to give only one piece of advice to your children what would it be?

APPENDIX 5

FAMILY SCENARIOS

Your task is to create a short dramatic skit based on one of the following scenarios. Assign characters to each of the roles and then figure out how your skit should be developed. Above all, try to be realistic. These are not comedy skits but real life dramas in which deep emotions are involved. Your skit should not run more than five minutes.

The Schwartz Family and Sunday School

Father: Sol
Mother: Belle
Son: Mark (age 11)
Daughter: Rachel (age 9)

Sol has just received a phone call from the director of the Sunday school saying that Mark has been presenting problems at the school. The director said that Mark has been absent many times, that he never completes his homework, and he often is troublesome in class.

Sol and Belle are very upset at this report and they express their annoyance to Mark. Belle says it is especially embarrassing to her since she is very active in the sisterhood at the temple and has just been nominated for vice-president. Sol acknowledges that as a kid he hated Hebrew school, but advises Mark to cool it and just remain until he is bar-mitzvahed. That would please Mark's grandparents and Sol suggests coyly that Mark would get lots of presents. Mark responds that Sunday school is boring and he can't see any reason that he should continue. He wants to drop out. He would rather spend more time at his tennis lessons. (Mark shows good ability in tennis.) Rachel says she enjoys Sunday school and taunts Mark: "You're a big baby." She also complains that Mark gets anything he wants -- that the parents favor him and she never gets what she would like.

The Brown Family and Passover

Mother: Harriet
Daughter: Betty (age 8)
Daughter: Sandra (age 6)

There is an argument in the Brown family about where to spend the first seder of Passover, which is coming up in two weeks. This is the first Passover since Harriet and her husband were divorced.

The father wants Betty and Sandra to be with him and his parents and Harriet wants the two girls and her to have their own seder in the house. Betty wants to be with her father and his family. "That would be much more fun than just the three of us being here by ourselves." Sandra is very upset about the discussion and can't understand why her mother and father can't make up so "We could all be together, just like other kids."

The Greenberg Family and Mealtime

Father: Al
Mother: Phyllis
Daughter: Cynthia (age 14)
Son: Bruce (age 12)

As the family is about to sit down to dinner Cynthia runs into the room to say she won't be at dinner since she just had a call from her friend, Brenda, and "the kids are all getting together at Brenda's house this evening." Since there is no school tomorrow (holiday), Cynthia says she has no homework.

Bruce wants to continue watching TV because there is a playoff basketball game involving the Dallas team and "it is a very important game." He suggests that he take his meal into the den and eat while he watches TV.

Al and Phyllis seem divided as to how to respond. Al tends to feel that the kids' requests are reasonable, and besides he would enjoy a more relaxed meal without the arguing. Phyllis says they never seem to have a meal with all four of the family together. Between the kids running to their activities and Al going off to so many meetings she wonders what's happening to their family. The four of them discuss if it is important for the family to spend more time together.

The Cohen Family and Grandpa

Father: Harry
Mother: Gail
Son: Billy (age 8)

Gail's father has Alzheimer's disease. Six months ago he was placed in the Hebrew Home for the Aged. Grandpa's illness has been a difficult experience for the family and especially trying for Gail,

since she has only one other sibling, a brother who lives in Los Angeles; also her mother died three years ago.

Gail has become annoyed with her husband and son because she feels they won't visit Grandpa at the Home. Billy says he doesn't want to go because Grandpa doesn't know him anymore and "he talks crazy." Harry says Gail doesn't appreciate the pressures he is under in his new business. (He just started his own accounting company.) Also, Harry feels that since her father's illness Gail hasn't been paying much attention to her own family -- to himself and Billy.



Good

Suggestions

Time of camp

Location of camp

Proportion of free time
and structured program

Size of group

Ages of children

Precamp information

Additional comments:

Please share your comments and suggestions:

1. What is your overall reaction to the weekend experience?
2. What were the most meaningful parts of the program for you? The least?
3. Do you think this is a good program for other AJC chapters to undertake? If so, what topics or questions would you recommend for future retreat programs?
4. Would you participate in another program of this kind? Why or why not?

5. Do you feel that elements of the weekend experience will be carried over to your home experience? In what way?

6. Do you recommend follow-up programs (non-retreat) be held in your home community? What kind?

7. Did you note any specific weaknesses in the program? If so, what improvements do you recommend?

8. Other comments (effect on family life, ties to Jewish community, etc.)





For additional copies, write to
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

MAT

You should have this list

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December, 1985
to Staff
from Personnel
subject HOLIDAYS - 1986

The American Jewish Committee will observe the following holiday schedule for 1986. Please note these dates on your calendar.

LEGAL HOLIDAYS

Table with 3 columns: Holiday Name, Date, Day of Week. Includes New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Labor Day, Election Day, Thanksgiving Day, Friday after Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas.

RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS

Table with 3 columns: Holiday Name, Date, Day of Week. Includes Passover (1st & 2nd days), Shavuoth, Rosh Hashonah, Yom Kippur, Succoth (1st & 2nd days), and Simchat Torah.

sm/mf

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

OF THE

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ARCHIVES

Major Program Activities: 1985



December 1985

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

I STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906 in response to the brutal pogroms in Kishinev and elsewhere in Tsarist Russia. Since that time, AJC has maintained as its central purpose the protection of Jews around the world. In this pursuit, it has become a significant and respected factor on the international scene.

The goals of the International Relations Department today fall into five principal categories:

- a) Strengthening the security and well-being of Israel, interpreting its concerns in the United States and elsewhere, and seeking to contribute to the domestic quality of life, particularly in the sphere of inter and intra-group relations;
- b) Combatting of anti-Semitism and protection of endangered and otherwise vulnerable Jewish communities, including those in the Soviet Union, the Middle East and North Africa, Ethiopia, and South Africa;
- c) Enhancement of the quality of Jewish life, particularly in smaller communities in Central and South America, and Europe;
- d) Promotion of international human rights standards and adherence, including religious tolerance, the right to leave, human rights education, and respect for civil and political rights;
- e) Pursuit of inter-religious dialogue, especially with the Vatican and the hierarchies of the Catholic Churches in Europe, Central and South America, Africa and Asia.

II METHODS OF OPERATION

With a lay Commission on International Relations advising on policy direction, and a full-time professional staff of a dozen specialists in international affairs, located at AJC's New York headquarters and in offices in Jerusalem, Mexico City and Paris, together with a string of correspondents in several key countries, the International Relations Department pursues these five goals through: i) close contact with individual Jewish communities around the world; ii) fact-finding missions; iii) regular contact with foreign government officials, including diplomats stationed in the United States and in United Nations

agencies; iv) preparation of background studies and analyses; v) sponsorship of symposia, colloquia and conferences both in the U.S. and overseas; vi) frequent communication with U.S. government officials; vii) coalitions, when appropriate, with other organizations; and viii) press conferences, background information for the mass media, public statements and other means of public education and interpretation.

III Major Activities (January-November 1985)+

a) ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

i) Conferences and Symposia

- * Consultation on "Censorship in a Democratic Society -- A Case Study: Israel," Jerusalem, January 1985
- * Conference on "The Dhimmi" (Jews and Christians in Islamic lands), New York, April 1985
- * Conference on "The Christian Presence in the Jewish State," Jerusalem, March 1985
- * Conference on "Ashkenazi-Sephardi Relations," New York, June 1985
- * Co-sponsorship of conference on Syrian Jewry, Paris, May 1985

ii) Publications

- * Israel Press Highlights (weekly)
- * Tefutsot Israel (quarterly in Hebrew on Diaspora communities)
- * An Update on Israel's Economic Recovery Measures and U.S. Aid to Israel, January 1985
- * Growing Political Leadership Roles of Sephardi Jews in Israel, February 1985
- * Middle East Peace Efforts, March 1985

*NOTE: It should be emphasized that virtually every activity of the International Relations Department bears directly or indirectly on a concern for issues affecting Israel's domestic or international situation. Additionally, the reader will note other overlap in the activities listed below as a program may seek to address more than one goal.

- * Jews in Yemen, March 1985
- * Vatican-Israeli Relations Affected by Islamic Fanatics, April 1985
- * The Kidnapping of Lebanese Jewish Leaders, April 1985
- * Update on Seven Kidnapped Lebanese Jewish Leaders, October 1985
- * The PLO Terrorist Attack in Cyprus and Israel's Response, October 1985
- * Syria -- The Big Question Mark in the Middle East, November 1985

iii) Diplomatic And Other Initiatives

- * Meetings with Vatican and other Catholic Church officials concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel, February and October 1985;
- * Contact with the American, British, French, Italian, Japanese, Lebanese, Spanish and Syrian governments, and other efforts, in behalf of seven kidnapped Lebanese Jews, April 1985 - present;
- * Meetings with the foreign ministers of France, Sweden and West Germany concerning, among other key issues, "Zionism is racism" and anti-Jewish rhetoric at the U.N., September 1985;
- * Ongoing communication with the Tunisian and U.S. governments and the Jewish communities in both France and Tunisia in the wake of the murder of four Tunisian Jews on Simhat Torah, 1985, and other anti-Semitic manifestations.

iv) Ongoing Work

- * Contact with Israeli government officials in Israel, New York, Washington, the United Nations, Paris, Mexico City and elsewhere, and with U.S. Administration policy-makers;
- * In Israel, the AJC Office serves as an important resource for Israeli government officials, the press, academics, immigrants, Christians and non-Israeli visitors, and is actively involved in seeking to reduce inter-group tension and promote greater

tolerance and understanding among all segments of Israel's heterogeneous population;

- * Coordination with the AJC Washington Office and chapters concerning legislative initiatives affecting Israel, such as the foreign aid package and proposed arms sales to Arab states;
- * Consultations and colloquia with American, Israeli and other academicians and regional specialists to assess Middle East developments and help formulate policy recommendations;
- * Communications with the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, America-Israel Public Affairs Committee and other national agencies on key issues.

b) THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

i) Publications

- * Soviet Jewry: an Overview, March 1985
- * Crisis in Soviet Jewry: A Call to Involvement, April 1985
- * Gorbachev in Paris: Important Days in the Struggle for Soviet Jews, November 1985

ii) Diplomatic And Other Initiatives

- * At every meeting with a foreign government official either overseas or in Washington or New York, the issue of Soviet Jewry -- emigration, cultural and religious repression, anti-Semitism, the prisoners of conscience -- is raised. In 1985 alone, AJC's concerns were voiced to representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, France, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Panama, Peru, Romania, Spain, Uruguay, Venezuela, West Germany, Yugoslavia;
- * In addition, AJC chapters have been encouraged to establish contact with foreign consular officials and to press the issue of Soviet Jewry, together with concerns about the Middle East, "Zionism is racism" and Nairobi. A half-dozen chapters met with diplomats from several West European and Latin American nations to discuss these topics;
- * AJC helped conceptualize and implement an "action day" in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, with whom we work closely on all matters

affecting Soviet Jewry, during which meetings were held with senior diplomats of approximately twenty foreign embassies, Washington, D.C., January 1985;

- * AJC sponsored, together with the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, a similar "action day" in New York during which meetings were held with two dozen U.N. mission or consular officials, as well as U.N. Secretariat personnel, April 1985.

iii) Missions

- * A ten-member delegation of lay and staff members visited Hungary and met with government officials, representatives of the Jewish community, church leaders, and the U.S. ambassador, February 1985. The principal issues discussed included: bilateral relations with Israel, Soviet Jewry, U.S.-Hungarian relations, the Budapest Cultural Forum, and the Hungarian Jewish community;
- * The International Relations Department assisted the Chicago Chapter in its planning of a mission to the Soviet Union in November 1985, and is working with other chapters to encourage such travel. At the same time, it has begun the planning of a leadership mission to the Soviet Union, scheduled for April 1986.

iv) Ongoing Work

- * Participation in the International Council of the World Conference on Soviet Jewry;
- * Cooperation with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews and the Israeli government in behalf of joint efforts for Soviet Jewry;
- * Involvement in discussions on political and diplomatic strategies on a regular basis with other member agencies of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry;
- * Regular contact with the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, including a press conference for Romanian Chief Rabbi Rosen in New York, November 1985;
- * Meetings with Administration officials, including State Department and National Security Council senior staff members;
- * Participation in two major advertisements on Soviet Jewry in the Washington Post, March and November 1985;

- * Concerning Eastern Europe, regular meetings with diplomats and other government officials from Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia in Washington, D.C. and New York. The goals of these meetings include: strengthening of bilateral relations with Israel; interpretation of the Soviet Jewry issue; re-enforcement of the position of the indigenous Jewish population; bilateral relations with the U.S., including the issue of most-favored-nation trade status; and refutation of the "Zionism is Racism" canard.

vi) Annual Meeting

- * An off-the-record session at the 1985 Annual meeting was devoted to examining strategies for addressing the plight of Soviet Jewry. The speakers included a senior State Department official and the editor of Foreign Affairs (and a former National Security Council staff member).

c) WESTERN EUROPE

i) Publications

- * The Jewish Community in West Germany, January 1985
- * Jews in Western Europe: An Update, May 1985
- * Italy and Israel, October 1985
- * Spain/Israel Relations, November 1985

ii) Diplomatic And Other Initiatives

- * In response to President Reagan's intention to visit the German military cemetery in Bitburg in May, which included the graves of members of the S.S., there ensued considerable contact with the White House, including a meeting with President Reagan, Donald Regan and Michael Deaver, other senior American officials and top leaders in Bonn in an effort to reverse the President's decision and to propose, instead, more appropriate alternative sites;
- * Meetings were held with the French and West German foreign ministers to discuss the Middle East, Soviet Jewry, the United Nations and the Nairobi Conference, September 1985;
- * Meetings were held with the Italian ambassador to the United States after the Achille Lauro affair, and with Spanish officials concerning diplomatic recognition of Israel, October 1985;

- * Contact was established with the European Economic Community, NATO North Atlantic Assembly, and the regional human rights institutions located in Strasbourg, France, primarily to pursue the issue of Soviet Jewry and other human rights questions.

iii) Missions

- * An AJC delegation visited Spain and met with government and parliamentary leaders, and Christian and Jewish representatives, as well as the ambassador of the U.S. The principal agenda items were: diplomatic recognition of Israel; human rights, including Soviet Jewry; Christian-Jewish dialogue and understanding; and international terrorism, February 1985;
- * An AJC delegation visited Italy and met with three members of the Italian Cabinet, including the foreign and defense ministers, leaders of the Jewish community, and Israeli and American diplomats, and had a private audience with Pope John Paul II, February 1985. The principal agenda items with the Italians included: Italy's relations with the Arab world and Israel, Soviet Jewry, Italian-American relations, and international terrorism. In the case of the Pope, the points raised were: Vatican diplomatic recognition of Israel, Vatican Council II and Nostra Aetate, African famine, and international human rights.

iv) Ongoing Work

- * Regular contact with individual West European Jewish communities, the European Council of Jewish Community Services and other key organizations;
- * Close communication with the French Jewish community, West Europe's largest and most dynamic, via AJC's Paris Office, visits of AJC's leaders to France, and meetings with French Jewish leaders travelling in the U.S.;
- * Meetings with State Department officials responsible for Western Europe;
- * Encouragement of chapter meetings with West European consular officials.

v) Annual Meeting

- * A principal focus of the 1985 Annual Meeting was an examination of the condition of West European Jewry and programmatic implications for AJC. The leaders of the Italian and Spanish Jewish communities and the president

of the Alliance Israelite Universelle were the featured guests.

d) SOUTH AFRICA

i) Publications

- * AJC Policy on South Africa, March 1985
- * Israel and South Africa, April 1985
- * The Jewish Community of South Africa, May 1985
- * AJC Statement on South Africa, May 1985
- * Media Myths: Fallacies about Israel's Ties with South Africa, November 1985

ii) Missions

- * Ten-day leadership mission to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Capetown and Durban. Meetings with government officials, including two Cabinet ministers; leaders of the Jewish community; representatives of the black, colored and Asian communities; officials of the National and Progressive Federal Parties; the American ambassador and Israeli charge d'affaires; members of the academic, business, church and civil rights sectors; October 1985. The principal goals of the trip were: demonstration of solidarity with the Jewish community; information-gathering about the country's current turbulent situation; and an effort to seek to influence decision-making figures to move more rapidly in the direction of democratic, non-violent change, including the complete elimination of apartheid and the introduction of genuine power-sharing.

iii) Ongoing Work

- * Close contact with the South African Jewish Board of Deputies;
- * Meetings with senior State Department and congressional officials;
- * Meetings with South African Jewish personalities traveling in the U.S.

e) LATIN AMERICA

i) Conferences and Symposia

- * Commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the Second Vatican Council's Nostra Aetate, in cooperation with the Committee of Relations between Churches and Synagogues, Caracas, Venezuela, October 1985;
- * Pan-American Conference on Nostra Aetate and Catholic-Jewish Relations, co-sponsored with the National Conference of Brazilian Catholic Bishops and with the participation of the Latin American Conference of Catholic Bishops, Sao Paulo, Brazil, November 1985.

ii) Publications

- * Bibliography on Argentine Jewry (Vol. III), in cooperation with the Argentine Jewish Documentation Center, June 1985 (in Spanish)
- * Integration and Marginality: Oral Histories of Jewish Immigrants to Argentina, August 1985 (in Spanish)
- * Report on the Earthquake in Mexico, October 1985
- * Central America: A Backgrounder, November 1985

iii) Diplomatic and Other Initiatives

- * Meetings with the Costa Rican, Guatemalan, Panamanian and Venezuelan ambassadors to the United Nations, New York, September 1985. Principal issues discussed: the current political and economic situation in Central America; the Contadora Process; "Zionism is racism" in the tenth year since its passage; anti-Semitic rhetoric at the United Nations; bilateral relations with Israel; and Soviet Jewry;
- * Meetings with key political figures in several Central and South American countries as part of the particularly close relationship of AJC's Central and South American Offices with leading public officials in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, Venezuela and other Latin American countries;
- * In response to the devastating earthquake in Mexico, the Mexico office was heavily involved in assessing the damage to the Jewish community and offering its assistance to the Mexican government. In addition, the New York staff were

in close contact with the State Department and with volunteer ham operators and served as a clearinghouse for information about the Mexican Jewish community for anxious relatives and friends in the U.S. Finally, working closely with the Houston Chapter, two lay leaders of that chapter were asked to fly to Mexico City shortly after the earthquake to establish direct contact with the Jewish community and to make a needs assessment. One of the travellers was a doctor, thus permitting an evaluation of the medical situation. September - October 1985;

- * As a result of very close contact with the Cuban government, the State Department and the small Cuban Jewish community during 1985 to monitor conditions on the island nation, progress was made in enhancing the quality of Jewish life with respect to Spanish-speaking rabbis, Jewish religious freedom, emigration and greater contact with co-religionists outside Cuba.

iv) Ongoing Work

- * Close contact with the Jewish communities in every Central and South American country;
- * Regular communication with the State Department, with Israeli Embassy officials stationed in Latin America, and with major public figures, including political, academic, and religious personalities, and the media;
- * Staffing of the Latin American Conference on Soviet Jewry;
- * Distribution of AJC programmatic materials, translated into Spanish, to Jewish communities throughout Latin America;
- * The International Relations Department is responsible for a major Spanish-language media program which services both electronic and print media in the United States and throughout Latin America with press releases and position papers in Spanish.

iv) National Executive Council

- * A special effort was made at the 1985 N.E.C. to further strengthen the bonds between AJC, the Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama (FEDECO), and individual Central American Jewish communities. Our goal is to identify the particular needs of these small communities, and to continue to develop appropriate AJC National and Chapter programmatic responses.

f) INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

i) Conferences and Symposia

- * Colloquium on Human Rights Education in Latin America, sponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights in cooperation with the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, held in San Jose, Costa Rica, July 1985. Representatives of the education ministries of a number of Latin American countries discussed the integration of human rights curricula into their educational systems;
- * Conference on Religious Liberty and Human Rights, sponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute, together with Temple University's Department of Religion and the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, Philadelphia, November 1985. Participants from fourteen countries representing five world religions attended.

ii) Publications

- * Anti-Semitic Rhetoric at the United Nations, (by Daniel Meron for the Jacob Blaustein Institute), March 1985
- * Submission to the European Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the Resurgence of Fascism and Racism in Europe, April 1985
- * Perspectives on Palestinian Women: Information for Participants in the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, Nairobi, Kenya, July 1985 (Note: Both a book-length and a summary report were prepared.)
- * The United Nations Women's Decade Conference at Nairobi, July 1985: A Note on the Zionism-Racism and Palestinian Women Issues, September 1985
- * A Dismal Anniversary: A Decade of the UN's "Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution, 1975-1985, November 1985
- * With assistance from the Jacob Blaustein Institute, Joshua Rubenstein was able to prepare a revised and updated edition of his book, Soviet Dissidents (Boston: Beacon Press).

iii) Missions

- * Assistance in the briefing and preparation of material for the 23-person AJC delegation that attended the Non-Governmental Forum of the Nairobi Conference on Women, July 1985.

iv) Diplomatic and Other Initiatives

- * Participation in the discussions and planning of the non-governmental organizations in preparation for the Nairobi Conference, Spring and Summer 1985;
- * Distribution of the study on Palestinian women (see above) to members of official delegations to Nairobi from the United States, Canada, Israel and numerous other non-communist countries, Spring and Summer 1985;
- * Briefing of members of the American official delegation to Nairobi;
- * Proposal for an annual International Day of Religious Liberty at the United Nations, which has been approved by the committee of non-governmental religious organizations and will now be submitted to the United Nations missions;
- * Pursuit of the case of Soviet Jewish Prisoner of Conscience Iosef Begun through UNESCO's Committee on Conventions and Recommendations in Paris.

v) Ongoing Work

- * Regular contact with officials of the United Nations Secretariat, United Nations Human Rights Center, and various U.N. missions, as well as U.S. human rights officials;
- * Consultation with non-governmental organizations in the field of human rights and leading academic and legal personalities in the field;
- * Monitoring of events at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the General Assembly, and relevant specialized committees, conferences and divisions;

- * Sponsorship of ongoing studies on a number of topics, including genocide, the right to leave, religion and human rights, religious intolerance, and the role of non-governmental organizations, as well as publication of a college-level human rights reader;
- * Staffing of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

g) OTHER MAJOR ACTIVITIES

- * In April, the Steering Committee of the Commission on International Relations, together with members of the Washington AJC chapter, undertook a two-day mission to Washington to discuss with senior Administration, congressional and diplomatic officials some of the principal issues on the international agenda of the American Jewish Committee, which include prospects for peace in the Middle East, Soviet Jewry, South Africa, Ethiopia and, at the time, the Bitburg controversy;
- * Concerning the famine in Ethiopia and elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, the International Relations Department during 1985 was engaged in a four-pronged effort: i) to assist in fund-raising efforts for emergency relief needs, ii) to sustain public consciousness through education and interpretation, iii) to encourage the U.S. government to continue to make available its maximum resources, and iv) to work closely with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Catholic Relief Services and Church World Service, as was done during, for example, the "boat people" crisis in Indochina, to define a long-term development strategy, including the use of Israeli expertise, i.e. the Jacob Blaustein Institute for Desert Research, in arid-zone agriculture, desert hydrology, etc, in affected African countries.

IV TIME ALLOCATION TO MAJOR ACTIVITIES

While it would be impossible to pinpoint with mathematical accuracy the proportion of staff time devoted to each of the subject areas listed above, an estimate would suggest the following:

- Israel and the Middle East	40%
- Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	15%
- Western Europe	10%
- South Africa	3%

- Latin America 15%
- International Human Rights 15%
- Other 2%

100

Prepared by David A. Harris

9860-IRD-4
12/6/85-smm
85-550-112



Blahoslav S. Hrubý
Executive Director and Editor

Winter 1985

Dear Reader:

We present to you RCDA, V. XXII, Nos. 10, 11 and 12 (1983), with our profound apologies for the delay caused primarily by deferred grants on which RCDA depends. We hope, however, that this issue will be of interest to you, since it offers a broad scale of views on the problem of religion and Communism -- a sermon by the martyred Polish priest, F. Jerzy Popieluszko; a study of theology of liberation by Rabbi Leon Klenicki; a Communist interpretation of the role of Islam in the Iranian revolution; a report on Indians in Nicaragua; an open letter to U.S. Jews by a Soviet anti-Zionist organizations; and various other items.

We are happy to report that our Conference on Religion in the Soviet Union, co-sponsored by our Research Center and the Anti-Defamation League, held in the Interchurch Center in New York on January 29, 1985, was most successful. One of the participants writes: "The panel of speakers was once again of very great interest to all of us who attended... The conference was an invaluable opportunity for us to hear people like Pastor Vins, Nadia Svitlychna and Ayshe Seytmuratova, who have suffered so because of their faith and ethnic background." Another participant notes: "... for me it was an ecumenical experience that carried me beyond the usual 'faith and order' questions, or even the 'interfaith' questions, the wider ecumenism. So much of our experience of what believers go through in the Soviet dominated areas is edited and controlled and subjected to interpretation and carefully staged propaganda on both sides... At this conference we had and heard the living voices of living witnesses to faith in the one true God."

We should like to stress that Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty broadcast our conference to the USSR; their coverage has a tremendous impact on those who are struggling for freedom of conscience.

Encouraged by the success of our recent conferences, we are planning the "Conference on Violations of Religious Freedom and Human Rights in Soviet-Controlled Central Europe: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary and Poland" on May 15-17, 1985, at Marymount College in Arlington, VA. It will be chaired by our President, Hon. Richard T. Davies, former U.S. Ambassador to Poland, and addressed by diplomats and scholars. The cost (including registration, all meals, coffee breaks and lodging) is only \$ 120 per person, if you register before April 30th, and \$ 130 thereafter. For information write to RCDA, 475 Riverside Drive, S. 448, New York, NY 10115, or call 212-870-2481. Please inform your friends about this timely and important conference.

We thank you very much for your continuous moral and financial support.

Sincerely

Blahoslav and Olga Hrubý
Editors

..... Please Detach

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The Micronesia Institute

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Republic of Nauru ★ Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands ★ Republic of Palau

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Dear Colleague,

This Fall the U.S. Congress finally approved the Compact of Free Association with the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia. Sometime, it is hoped, final details will be worked out for a similar Compact arrangement with Palau. President Reagan signed this legislation in January.

As one who has worked closely on this legislation with the U.S. Catholic Conference I am very pleased that we now have an arrangement that can move these island nations away from the limitations of Trusteeship towards authentic economic, cultural and political development. But we Americans should not think that our responsibility to the Micnesian people is now over. We are in a **partnership** under the Compact. Enclosed is the annual report of The Microensia Institute which I helped to found. It represents one attempt by concerned American citizens to respond to the continuing needs of this region which is assuming increasing importance in global politics. I hope you will find our activities of interest. Do not hesitate to call upon us if you have any questions about our work.

Father John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M., Ph.D
Professor of Social Ethics
Catholic Theological Union
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The Micronesia Institute

**Federated States of Micronesia ★ Territory of Guam ★ Republic of Kiribati
Republic of the Marshall Islands ★ Republic of Nauru
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands ★ Republic of Palau**



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Micronesia: PO Box 121, Kolonia, Pohnpei, Federated States of Micronesia 96941

ORGANIZATION

Board Notes

The Institute is honored to announce that at its November 7, 1985 Annual Meeting, for which the Evans Corporation/Fitch Fix & Brown hosted our Luncheon, Mr. David Chewing, consultant with extensive experience in business and institutional development activities, was elected Treasurer and Chairman of the Resource Development Committee. For 12 years a Senior Member of Robert R. Nathan Associates Inc., Mr. Chewing headed their Micronesia project. Fr. John Pawlikowski, who had served as both Secretary and Treasurer since the creation of the Institute, has confidently turned over this portion of his duties to Mr. Chewing. The Board expresses appreciation to both.

Mr. Allan Hayes Williams, Program Director of the Washington World Trade Institute while completing his law studies, also found time to serve as Chairman of the Student Program Committee, as Rapporteur and advance person in Micronesia for the Symposium, and as originator and editor of RESOURCES. We thank Mr. Williams for his outstanding services to Micronesians.

Joseph W. Harrison, founder of the Pan-Pacific Alliance for Trade and Development, has resigned from the Board due to responsibilities he will undertake as Commercial Attache, US Embassy, Jakarta, Indonesia. His balance, quick mind, and experience will be missed; we thank him for his help, and wish him well in his new adventure.

Others of the Class of 1986 are shown on the back cover, which also lists Honorary Directors, Advisors and Program Liaison Coordinators. Some additional advisors are named on the following pages with their respective committees. Still others are helping with tentative new projects.

Program Notes:

Networking with organizations whose goals are similar to ours may be increased during 1986. We

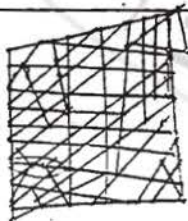
thank those not credited elsewhere for help: Washington World Trade Institute/George Washington University; Partnership for Productivity; Marimed Foundation; Partners for Livable Places; Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance.

The United States government also has helped. Notable have been: the Trade & Development Program, which demonstrated exceptional sensitivity with the complex research mission to the FSM and China. The Department of Commerce provided contacts which helped the Symposium (as did the East-West Center.) We have been made welcome by the Office for Micronesian Status Negotiations again and again, for briefings, critique, advice, contacts, help, morale; these have always been given and sometimes initiated. Members of the Interior Department and Congress have given advice based on long experience in program development. We thank these warmly and look forward to further private/public sector activities.

Inclusion of Micronesians in programs of other groups, thus opening the doors for Pacific islanders as needed, is an important element of our work. We are pleased that the Association of Junior Leagues has invited two leaders from the active Marshall Islands Women's Committee to observe its Annual Conference in 1986. Marshalls' Secretary of Interior and Outer Island Affairs Carmen Bigler met with National Past President of the AJL Meg Graham this summer to learn about the organization. Similarly, the Pacific Tropical Botanical Gardens has invited one Marshall and one other Micronesian student to participate in either its full or summer courses conducted through the Community College of Kauai. Neijon Edwards of the Marshalls and Pat Chapman visited the site at the invitation of the Gardens in July. In both cases, funding must be found to enable participation. Initiatives similar to these will be developed for Micronesians from other areas in the future.



MAIL ORDERS IN 1986



The Institute will take mail orders for hand craft, books, and goods during the coming year. People who can't travel often to the islands will have access to this beautiful, unusual culture; net proceeds will be divided between the Micronesia Institute for operating costs and the community from which the goods come for service-oriented programs benefiting the area. Among items offered:

Palau: hand-carved monkey-men; story boards, chess sets; cards with drawings of legends;

place mats of Charlie Gibbons prints
Yap: Calendar/almanac from the Yap Institute of Natural Science; stone money; woven "thus"
Truk: Fefen hand-carved figures, statues; woven mats; purses; fans; jewelry
Pohnpei: pepper; coconut soap and oil; purses; Kapingamarangi wood carvings
Marshalls: Kili purses; Likiep fans; Aur hats; Majuro flowers; model sailing canoes; charts
Marianas, Guam, Kosrae, Kiribati, Nauru
Contacts will be developed for mail orders.

Books of legends and photos and music cassettes from the areas will also be offered.



MICRONESIAN ENDOWMENT FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

How many people who have not been to Micronesia can visualize its distinctive culture? Most can picture Polynesian (Hawaii, Tahiti) and Melanesian (Fiji, Papua New Guinea.) These are lovely, but they are not Micronesian.

The art of Micronesia is unlike any other. It is elegant, subtle, charismatic, finely crafted. It has at once panache and restraint, vitality and stillness. Its geometric beauty never has an unnecessary line, nor a shell misplaced or a wood carving without grain appropriately integrated into the design.

Massive stone ruins--some dating back over 1,000 years--also show this craftsmanship, sense of design, and originality. To name one: The brooding parapets of Nan Dowas islet (right) of the one-time city of Nan Madol, Pohnpei, were designed by master architects, who also created sneaky entrances to deter unwanted visitors. Master engineers transported tons of solid columnar basalt across 30 miles of water to build Nan Madol's 95 artificial islets on the reef. Canals between the islets turn smartly; nothing is unplanned.

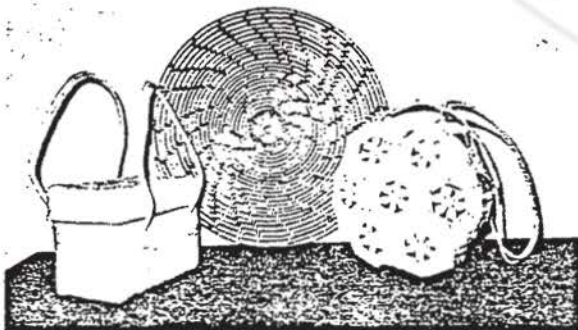
In its variety as one comes to know it, Micronesian art is one of the world's treasures. Yet today, what is left of this culture is imperiled. The Historic Preservation program created by the National Park Service will almost cease under the Compact of Free Association. Already pitifully inadequate funding by the US Congress (\$223,000 in FY 1985) will be greatly restricted and reduced.

Nan Madol is in ruins, the jungle steadily toppling its walls and parapets. Kosrae State's Lela Ruins, "one of the most impressive historic sites of the Pacific--easily

qualifying as a Wonder of the Pacific along with Nan Madol on Pohnpei and Easter Island's statues" ... (Dr. Ross Cordy) needs help. Historic World War II sites must be maintained. Reconstruction of a pre-Western, pre-Japanese village in Yap will not endure. Trukese legends and moral stories, as also those of the other areas, are disappearing, unrecorded.

Looking ahead, Micronesian Historic Preservation Officers are establishing the structure for an independent Endowment through which monies received will be channelled by careful procedures to all the different areas. Draft Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws agreed to in consensus and written by Gerald Knight, Alele Museum, Marshall Islands and his attorneys, have been reviewed by a select team to ensure the Endowment's conformity with international funding procedure and law. The team includes Dr. David Challinor, Smithsonian Institution; Barry Israel Esq., Attorney for the Federated States of Micronesia; In-Thomas Council on Micronesia; and Robert McNulty, President, Partners for Livable Places; former Micronesia

Micronesia and Microne-
stitute Counsel; Dr.
King, Advisory Coun-
Historic Preserva-
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dent, Partners for
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former Mi-
cronesia



Above: from left, Kili purse, Marshalls; Mat, Truk, FSM; Pohnpei purse, FSM. Similar fine hand craft will be made available by mail orders in 1986 (See previous page.)

Right: A parapet of Nan Dowas of Nan Madol, Pohnpei. Beams are solid columnar basalt.



"Dream big and do some action,
and your dream will come true"



'You will be with me in Paradise'...Altarcloth in the Chapel on Kili Island, Marshalls, designed and embroidered by the ladies of Bikini Atoll waiting to return to their homeland. These gifted women also create the fine Kili purses.

Institute Treasurer Fr. John Pawlikowski; former Ambassador Peter H. Rosenblatt, Attorney; and myself. Resulting recommendations are now back with the Endowment Board.

Incorporating Officers of the Micronesian Endowment Board are: President, Mr. Moses Sam, Chief, Cultural Affairs, Palau; Vice President, Mr. Jesus Pangelinan, Northern Mariana Islands; Treasurer, Mr. John Palomo, Guam; Secretary/Executive Director, Mr. Jerry Knight, Marshalls. President Amata Kabua of the Marshall Islands is Honorary Member. Board Members also include Mr. Teddy John, Kosrae, FSM; Mr. Andrew Kugfas, Yap, FSM; and Mr. Kayo Nuket, Truk, FSM.

After its incorporation in the Marshalls, the Micronesia Institute will establish a US support committee and will work, in cooperation with the Endowment, to develop similar committees in other areas of the world. The target is a fund of four million dollars, yielding an amount similar to what is presently received.

We're pleased to have been contacted by people who, aware of some aspect of need, have nominated themselves to take on tasks. One such angel is Mrs. Jana Burkhalter, affiliated with Tarkio College, Tarkio, Missouri. Tarkio, Peru, Eastern Arizona, Black Hills, Concordia, Eastern Oregon, are among some 90 US colleges attended by the cream of Micronesia's youth--intelligent, hard-working, highly motivated young people.

The students in general suffer from extreme financial need, culture shock for which they are not prepared, bitter weather for which they are neither dressed nor physically adjusted, and with insufficient English and math to meet their own expectations. On work-study programs, most can't afford to leave during the summers. For many, their American experience is limited to airports and the one college town.

Mrs. Burkhalter, with four Micronesian students in her care, found the plight of these and others so miserable that she could not remain passive. She found warm clothes for them, has arranged Christmas hospitality, wants more to be sent to Tarkio, and has joined our Student Program Committee.

The quality of these young people is demonstrated in the following quotes from a survey prepared by Pohnpeian Martin Jano and sent to a number of students:

What is your single most important piece of advice to Pacific students?

- Persevere when hardships are encountered
- Have a notion of what field of study you'll want to pursue
- Be extra careful in every step you make
- Go for your goals and do your best; Don't turn back; Aim for your goals
- Dream big and do some action, and your dream will come true
- Study hard, attend classes



Detail from a Palauan legend painted on a cross-beam in the 'Bai Ra Irras.' The last original

Chief's Meetinghouse intact in Palau, it stands on land similarly used over 1,000 years ago.

Budget your time for playing, studying, etc.
 Be aware of the responsibilities
 Know how to speak English well
 Be well-prepared financially
 Be willing to learn and interact with other people and their cultures
 Never spend money on unimportant things like drugs or travelling without reason; use your money wisely
 Store all personal problems behind and think only of succeeding in school

What kind of summer activity would interest you?

Interrelation, communication, cooperation with the American community
 Travel to interesting places -- To benefit my academic discipline
 Any kind that would be educational
 Any kind that would benefit the Pacific students
 Any kind that would generate more income
 Prepare orientation booklet for new students
 Basketball, softball, hiking, swimming
 Helping new students learn how the custom in the US is different
 A program that would develop our interest in our goal and what is good for us to study to help our country

Student Information Program:

A grant of \$5,000 from the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs enables the Institute to prepare a program of information on a tape cassette for students presently in the United States, and planned for distribution by summer 1986. A similar tape with additional information vital to making judgments as to whether to attend a mainland US college, and with pre-arrival tips, will be created for island use.

The draft script is now being reviewed by the Student Program Committee: Chairman Allan Williams; David Burt, George Washington U, DC; Jana Burkhalter, Tarkio College, MO; Elizabeth Haacke Cruz, DC, for the Marshalls/Guam; Hon. Epel Ilon, Federated States; Janice M. Johnson, DC; Ringlen Ringlen, Federated States; David Rothgary, E. Oregon State; Dr. Singeru Singeo, Coll. of Micronesia; Hon. Noriwo Ubedei, Palau.

TRUK FAIRO INSTITUTE and MEDICAL PROGRAM

The concept for a privately-run center with rotating programs involving outer and lagoon island youth in skills and traditional cultural training, and suicide prevention therapy, was already Linda Mori's concept when she came from Truk to the Mike Institute as an intern. This was at the height of Truk's cholera epidemic. Our interest in finding a long-term solution to Truk's continuing health problems was wedded to Linda's rotating training program idea, in turn enriched by our Advisory Council of Physicians's approach to training in contemporary (and

traditional) preventive health care through traditional cultural structures.

Linda returned to Truk. On receiving positive reactions from fellow Trukese, she established the Fairo Institute. "Fairo" is an ancient Trukese word signifying virtues like respect, learning, tradition, modesty, goodwill. Fairo moved into a building temporarily made available by Governor Erhart Aten, a help and courtesy graciously renewed by the Truk Legislature.

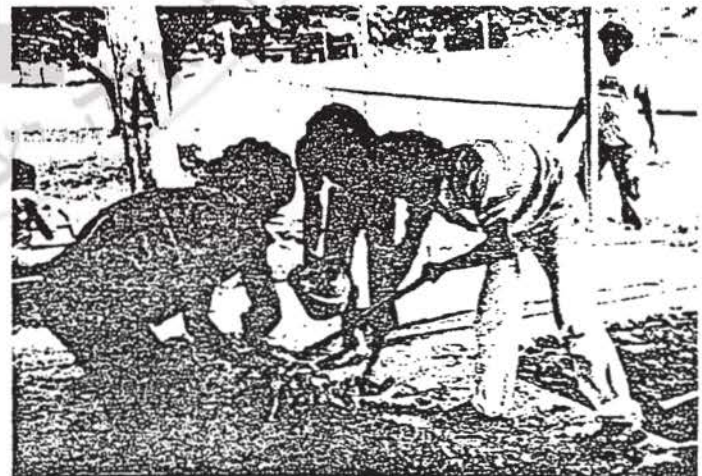
However, there was no money. Job and cultural skills training programs got underway this summer on a small scale, with local fund-raising and all that the Micronesia Institute could find. Further outside funding was sought.

Youth from Udot Island, Truk Lagoon, inaugurate Fairo's training programs in July 1985.

Right: the boys have learned to erect a traditional shelter and to thatch...now the first panel of thatch is placed.

Below: the youth learn to frame, bed, mix, smooth-and-cure concrete for a modern structure. Teacher Soar Walter checks to see that his instructions are followed.

The unemployed boys today have marketable skills to offer, and pride in personal accomplishment and service to their people.



The Ferguson Foundation of California exhibited interest in Fairo. After reviewing documents forwarded by the Micronesia Institute, it offered to engage in a joint project with the Micronesia Institute to help support Fairo's public health and family therapy/suicide prevention projects. An initial expenditure of \$30,000 has

been budgeted to help get these projects off the ground--projects which, designed by Trukese with American help, will bring better health through traditional cultural structures to villages on every island and atoll.

The long-term benefit in the areas specified by the Ferguson Foundation to Truk, to the FSM, and probably further as a model to other areas with similarly isolated islets, could be tremendous. When it is fully operative in its own complex of buildings and facilities, Fairo will be the center of a rich and enriching variety of activities touching the lives of all Trukese.

Micronesia Institute Medical Library



Several cartons of medical books have gone to the Truk Hospital as the nucleus of the Micronesia Institute Medical Library; others await shipment. Our Advisory Council of Physicians has released a statement for publication in medical journals asking for gifts of additional medical books for the library, and also for audiovisual (VHS) and audio cassettes on clinical and preventive medicine and mental health. (See below.)

Medical Teaching Tape Cassettes



A vital element of the medical program is a follow-up to an oral request by Dr. Eliuel K. Pretrick, Chief of the Health Services of the Federated States of Micronesia, for teaching tape cassettes. In response to an earlier gift of books he wrote, and I share it for the pleasure it will give the donors and the inspiration it will give others:

"Two days ago I received five copies of the books, Where There Is No Doctor. We are all very pleased with the shipment. Please extend our sincere appreciation to those who made it possible for the contribution of these books. We understand that some will be arriving by surface mail. When that happens we will share them with other State Directors of Health Services for their use ...It is good to know that many people in the big country of USA outside of the government make sincere efforts to help those of us far out here in remote and isolated islands...Thank you for all your kind voluntary efforts to assist us."

The Advisory Council of Physicians is led by Dr. Harvey Blank, Professor Emeritus, U. of Miami School of Medicine, Department of Dermatology, together with Dr. Jack Millar, Vivian Gill Professor of Epidemiology and Environmental Sciences, George Washington U. School of Medicine, Dr. James Marzolf, Pacific Health & Development Resources, Hawaii, and Mr. Jerry Coron, Director, Institute Henry Dunant of the Pacific.

During 1986, closer forms of consultation and cooperation between Micronesian medical officers and foreigners will be established.

RESOURCES: A New Bulletin

A publication tailored for the Micronesian entrepreneur resulted from discussions at the First Annual Symposium, which made clear the hunger for hard information and hands-on experience which can enable them successfully to do more for themselves. Isolation from access to such sources, a daily frustration, might not be overcome until the economies have grown enough to permit overseas work training. There was also a desire for continuing communication among us. In response, Allan Williams proposed a bulletin. The result, just off the press: **RESOURCES**.

The first issue, a hefty 12 pages, serves as the Report on the First Annual Symposium. Apart from special issues, **RESOURCES** will publish reports, notes, articles, and interviews relevant to Micronesian growth, including activities in development organizations; tips on business know-how; training opportunities; research, publications and information sources; profiles of individuals and organizations; Micronesia Institute programs and news. As it becomes established, it may address other topics as well. It will be circulated to Symposium participants, Micronesian businesses, government agencies and policymakers and development organizations, and current and potential program donors, among others.

In the interest of a free flow of information and an unimpeded dialogue, recipients will not be charged. However, it is apparent that funds for its creation and distribution must come from somewhere. If you are aware of potential sponsors or if you or your organization are able to contribute funds in any amount, please contact us. A program proposal and budget are available.

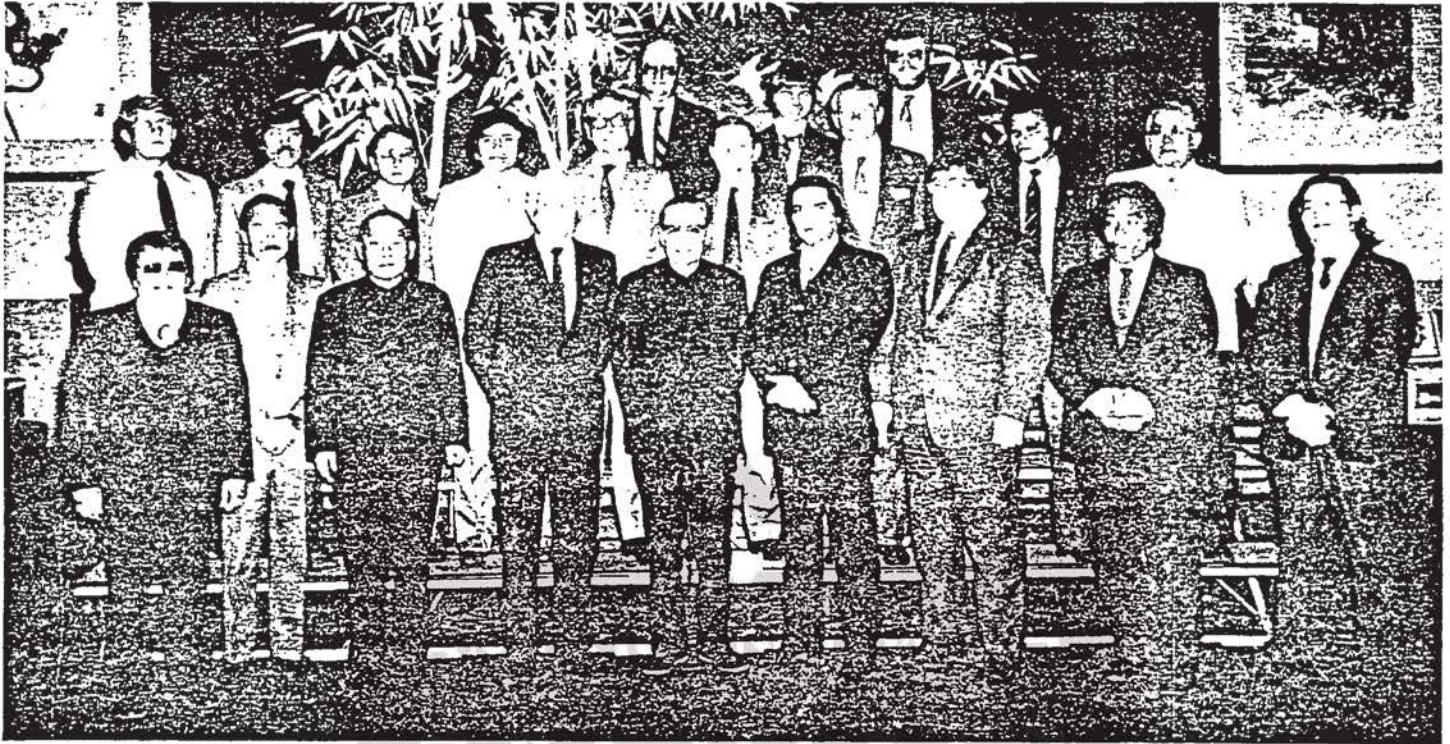
As **RESOURCES'** primary target audience is Micronesian, other copies will go automatically to a very limited outside readership. We'll be glad to send a copy of this first issue (with abstracts of Symposium presentations,) if you'll please so state on your return coupon.

MUSIC PROGRAM

Music--to create, to play, to hear, is a love of all Micronesians. All kinds, all instruments.

The Marshallese run an annual nation-wide contest for the 20 top new songs; they also stage traditional songs and dances from the different atolls, transporting groups across great distances for the event. Natural musicians, some yearn for formal music education to expand their knowledge. Most have access only to very inferior guitars; there are almost no other instruments.

The Mike Institute has two small attempts to meet the desire. One: donations of music tape cassettes for the Bikini Music Library on Kili Island, which now has some 65. When it has 100, we will start collecting for another area. The other: donations of guitars and other instruments to be distributed as needed.



The Great Hall, Beijing, April 15, 1985. First row, from left: Fred Lane, Luoni; Howard Zeder, Hannah Marine; Xiong Xianghui, CITIC; Louis Sleeper, Mission Coordinator; State Councillor Ji Pengfei; David Matheson, Coeur d'Alene; Guy McMinds, Quinault; Sen. Pedro Marris, Fed. States of Micronesia; Yao Wei, CITIC. Second: Barry Israel Esq., Micronesia Institute; Truman Picard, Colville and Intertribal Timber Council; George Smith, Bureau of Indian Affairs; Ted Strong, Yakima; Malarkey Wall, Longford-Hamilton; Samuel Thomsen, Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations; Donald Hannah, Hannah Marine; Dep. Foreign Secretary Asterio Takesy, Fed. States of Micronesia; George Bowchop, Makah. Third: Melvin Searls, US Commercial Counselor; Catherine Houghton, US Commercial Officer; Steven Craven, US Chamber of Commerce.

AMERICAN INDIAN/MICRONESIAN TIMBER AND WOOD PRODUCTS RESEARCH MISSION

The Micronesia Institute sponsored a definitional (research) mission to examine the short- and long-term prospects for the establishment of sawmill or other wood-products-processing facilities in the FSM. Specifically, it explored the possibility of shipping logs (or timber by-products) from American Indian reservations or other privately held lands in the US to the FSM for further processing into products in demand principally in the People's Republic of China, Japan and Hong Kong, as well as in other Pacific Basin countries.

The mission had two phases:

Phase I, in April, involved travel by a group of American Indians, experts in timber, timber processing, and shipping, US investors, and government officials, through the FSM, then into China, Japan and Hong Kong to explore the market potential for products which could be manufactured in the FSM, or on Indian reservations, or by other private manufacturers.

Phase II, in June-July 1985, involved travel to China by a group of US business persons head-

ed by Congressman Donald Bonker in an effort to build upon the market opportunities for wood products identified in Phase I. The specific focus for this second visit was to explore the opportunities for constructing prefabricated housing in China which could utilize timber from the US as well as wood products manufactured both in the FSM and the US.

The Intertribal Timber Council, representing the 26 major timber-owning tribes in the US, co-sponsored Phase I. It was organized as an Industry-Organized Government-Approved mission under the US Department of Commerce.

Phase II was co-sponsored by the American Plywood Association and was organized by Congressman Bonker as part of a Congressional Delegation to China, resulting in the installation of a pre-fabricated house in Beijing to be dedicated by the Micronesia Institute in January 1986.

We regret to report the untimely death this month of Mr. Truman Picard of the Colville Tribe, who ably represented the President of the Intertribal Timber Council on Phase I of the research mission. His family, his Nation, and the Council have our sympathy in their great loss.



Symposium members at Pohnpei Cultural Center. Circling from lower left: Ishmael Lebehn; Humei Wang; Bill O'Callaghan; Patricia Chapman; Victor Milne (standing); Allan Williams; Sheanya Yeh; Abe Abrahamsen; Jack Barrett; Marilyn Liebrez. Top left, unidentified tourist.

FIRST ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM ON RESOURCES FOR PRIVATE SECTOR DEVELOPMENT

The Institute emphasizes Micronesian initiation of program requests and joint program design and execution, with flexibility in adjusting American concepts to Micronesian suggestions. Most programs coming from outside arrive fully packaged, frequently without consultation with Micronesians until after they have been worked out in detail. Thus, Micronesians are accustomed to receiving them passively. Their resulting unfamiliarity in general with joint responsibility in creating and executing such programs adds an interesting dimension to the task of bringing them. A major, unanticipated, part of our value is in building programs together as active equals with joint design, joint execution, joint problem-solving and responsibility.

Pohnpei's Governor Resio Moses identified the primary cause in this quote from his Welcome Address at the opening of the Pohnpei Symposium, June 20:

"I thank you very much for having chosen Pohnpei as the venue for this meeting...to discuss certain matters that are of importance not only to Pohnpei but also to the rest of Micronesia.

"I understand you will be dwelling primarily on the development of the private sector. For those of you who are not familiar with the history of the politics of this region, please allow me to comment. Although the United States has done a beautiful job of developing Micronesia in the areas of government and politics, they failed to implant the American sense of business.

"Micronesia is politically sophisticated but economically rudimentary in what it can do. The psychology of people here, following the

practice of governments, has been essentially that the government provides. What you will find when you get into a deeper analysis of life in Pohnpei and Micronesia is that we are flourishing socialist states. I guess the American politicians have done a wonderful job in obtaining a lot of social programs but I wish they hadn't, so that by this time our economy and our sense of economy would have followed what has been successfully accomplished in the areas of politics and government."

In addition to the cosponsors, we thank Senator Peter M. Christian of the FSM Congress, and Mr. Ishmael Lebehn, Director of the College of Micronesia's College of Tropical Agriculture and Science, for their participation in chairing or moderating panels.

Business education in general was a Micronesian request. Our preliminary proposal in response was politely but firmly redesigned by our Micronesian colleagues; in its place was created the Symposium on Resources for Private Sector Development. This format proved to be the right answer at the present stage of political transition.

The transnational College of Micronesia, which conducts courses throughout the area, co-sponsored the revised program in Pohnpei and Truk, with the Pohnpei Chamber of Commerce and the Truk Fair Institute serving as local facilitating host bodies. We would like to express our great appreciation to Mr. Alfred Capelle of the Marshall Islands, Rector of the College of Micronesia, and to its Board of Regents; to Dr. Singuru Singeo, the College Executive Director and Acting Chancellor; to Mr. Ishmael Lebehn, Director of its College of Tropical Agriculture and Science; to Mat Mix, Esquire, President of



Ishmael Lebehn, Director of the College of Micronesia's College of Tropical Agriculture and Science, moderates panel on cooperatives, flanked by Bill O'Callaghan (L), and Abe Abrahamsen (R), at Truk Symposium.

the Pohnpei Chamber of Commerce, and to Ms. Linda Mori, Director of the Truk Fair Institute. Their thoughtful program planning and hospitality enriched the programs immeasurably.

Financial support for the Symposium came from international sources which are warmly thanked for their demonstrated interest in the growth of the Micronesian nations and states: Cemac Ltd., Canada; COMSAT, USA; Gold Bar Ltd., Canada; the Government of New Zealand; Mobil Oil Micronesia, Inc., USA; the Republic of China.

Courtesies extended by the Cliff Rainbow Hotel and Hervis Rent-A-Car, Pohnpei, and the Continental Hotel, Truk, are equally appreciated.

The international visitors' personal interest in Micronesia (their voluntary participation made their presence possible) and their modesty, humor, and adaptability, built an atmosphere where first there grew mutual respect and then friendship. Allan Williams, our advance person in Pohnpei and Rapporteur for the Symposium, describes the experience:

As one of the international participants, I recall the general feeling among us on arrival. We were all painfully aware of our lack of knowledge about Micronesia. Many of us were concerned about the relevance of our presentations. What really was the benefit that our visit needed to confer? There were late-night revisions and dawn soul-searchings. This is not to say that we have become experts on Micronesia or anything like that. However, we are distinguished from many by our experiences in Micronesia. I believe we have begun to grasp the complex issues of economic life in



Truk's Hans Hiliander (R) briefs Jack Barrett of the Pacific Forum on Micronesia at a luncheon hosted by the Truk Chamber of Commerce.

the islands. We have some sense of the special geography and what this means, for example, to transportation, communication, and national unity; of the level of Micronesian economic development, and so much else. We witnessed a privileged relationship with a metropolitan power, along with the tensions and opportunities this creates, especially when that relationship is in a transitional phase. The presence of developed political institutions highlighted the connection between the political process and economic development.



Allan Williams and Bill O'Callaghan (seated) glimpse a superior society at Pohnpei's Cultural Center.

Undeterred by the tin roof of the College flying across the street in a storm or by water and power outages were: Dr. Martin Abrahamsen, author, professor and international consultant on cooperatives, of Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (VOCA); Rear Adm. John Barrett, USN Ret., Senior Associate, Pacific Forum; Dr. Marilyn Liebrez, Associate Professor of Business Administration, George Washington U. School of Government and Business Administration; Mr. William O'Callaghan, Program Development Specialist, VOCA; Ms. Humei Wang, Chung-Hua Institute for Economic Research, Taiwan; Mr. Allan Williams, Program Director, Washington World Trade Inst.; Dr. Shean-ya Yeh, Inst. of Oceanography, Taiwan University, Taiwan. None had ever been to Micronesia. With us were also Mr. Victor Milne of the Marshall Islands, and, myself.

Sometimes we felt like culturally-deprived peoples glimpsing a superior society where community and family values prevail, for example, over the pursuit of individual achievement. Yet some of the same cultural values were singled out elsewhere as obstacles to economic development.

As a result of these experiences, limited though they were, this group has become a unique resource for Micronesian growth, with responsibility at home to educate, translate, explain, and report back. A present challenge is to think creatively and identify and develop individuals and groups which can have a positive impact.

PLANS FOR THE SECOND ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM

Continental Airlines has led off fund-raising for the next symposium, to be held during June-July 1986, with a major contribution to its cost. The Micronesia Institute and the host organizations are deeply grateful.

The program is held in different areas yearly to bring business know-how to a broad audience. We are honored that the College of Micronesia will again co-sponsor, and that the Majuro, Marshall Islands Chamber of Commerce will co-sponsor in that capital. The site of the second will be announced later.

FINANCES

The Micronesia Institute expresses great appreciation to the individuals, corporations, foundations, granting agencies, and governments which have put their faith in the ability of this young organization to use each dollar effectively and appropriately. The previous pages review programs for which funds were spent during fiscal year October 1984-September 1985; these show where the monies came from, and how they were allocated.

Extensive, extraordinary, volunteered clerical, professional, and in-kind help enabled us to carry out activities with minimal administrative costs. We thank the many Micronesians and Americans for hours of unpaid work sometimes tedious, sometimes exhilarating, always rewarding.

Grants were received from the following:

C.A.L. Foundation
 Cemac Ltd.
 COMSAT
 Gold Bar Ltd.
 Government of New Zealand
 Mobil Oil Micronesia Inc.
 Nat. Association for Foreign Student Affairs
 Republic of China

Stovall Spradlin Armstrong & Israel
 US Trade and Development Program

Gifts of medical books, supplies, and cassettes came from: Dr. Harvey Blank; Mrs. Emile Gribovski; Dr. Istvan Nyirjesy; Dr. Richard Pesche.

Gifts of music cassettes for the Bikini Music Library came from Robert Reimer's Department Store, Marshalls; Mrs. Brewster Chapman; one anonymous donor.

Several individual financial donors have asked not to be publicly listed. We respect that wish by not listing any, with this observation: you are the life-blood of our ability to respond to the varied needs of the peoples of Micronesia. You enable us to function. Every donation in every amount is a treasure far in excess of its cash value because it also restates to our Micronesian friends that individual Americans reach into their pockets to help--because we want to, like the friends we are. Thank you. Don't stop now!

Patricia Luce Chapman
 Patricia Luce Chapman
 Chairman, Micronesia Institute

MICRONESIA INSTITUTE	
Balance Sheet	
9/30/1985	
(Unaudited)	
ASSETS	
Current Assets	
CASH - CHECKING	992
ESCROW - RESEARCH MISSION GRANT	10
CASH ON HAND	4
ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE	<u>2,500</u>
Total Current Assets	3,506
Inventory	
INVENTORY	36
GOODS TO MICRONESIA	<u>868</u>
Total Inventory	904
Fixed Assets	
OFFICE EQUIPMENT	200
LESS: ACCUMULATED DEPRECIATION	(80)
EXHIBITS	<u>158</u>
Total Fixed Assets	<u>278</u>
TOTAL ASSETS	<u>4,688</u>
LIABILITIES AND EQUITIES	
Current Liabilities	
ACCOUNTS PAYABLE	7,335
Total Current Liabilities	7,335
Equities	
NET WORTH - PRIOR	(2,862)
Total Equities	(2,862)
Excess of Revenues over Expenditures	<u>215</u>
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND EQUITIES	<u>4,688</u>

MICRONESIA INSTITUTE

Income Statement

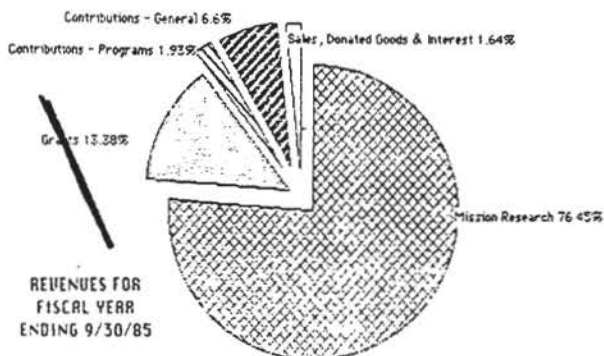
For 12 months ending 9/30/1985
(Unaudited)

<u>Revenues</u>		<u>Percent</u>
CONTRIBUTIONS - GENERAL	8,140	6.60
CONTRIBUTIONS - PROGRAMS	2,385	1.93
GRANTS	16,500	13.38
RESEARCH MISSION GRANTS	94,280	76.45
SALES	125	0.10
DONATED GOODS	521	0.42
INTEREST INCOME	1,356	1.10
<u>Total Revenues</u>	123,307	100.00

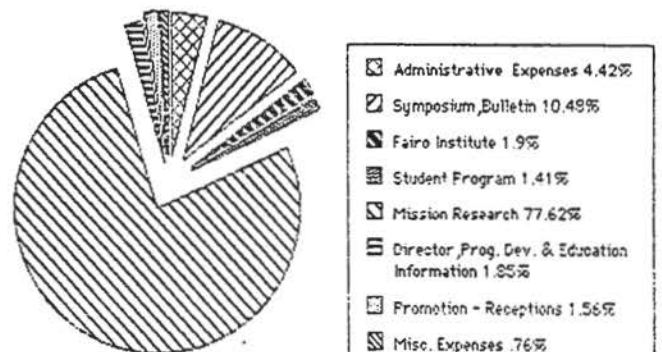
<u>Program Services</u>		
CONSULTANT	463	0.37
PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT	643	0.52
INFORMATION AND EDUCATION	1,174	0.95
PROMOTION; RECEPTIONS	1,923	1.55
HEALTH & ENVIRONMENT	309	0.25
HISTORIC ENDOWMENT	55	0.04
SYMPOSIUM: BUSINESS EDUCATION	12,911	10.47
TRUK FAIRO INSTITUTE	2,341	1.89
MUSIC PROGRAM	44	0.03
INTERNSHIP/STUDENT PROGRAM	1,718	1.39
MICRONESIA ITEMS - SALES	120	0.09
RESEARCH MISSION	95,538	77.48
<u>Total Cost of Program Services</u>	117,649	95.41

<u>General and Administrative Services</u>		
ACCOUNTING	1,100	0.89
BANK CHARGES	85	0.06
DEPRECIATION	40	0.03
FUND RAISING	490	0.39
LOCAL TRANSPORTATION	389	0.31
OFFICE & POSTAGE	2,115	1.71
TAXES - GENERAL	219	0.17
TELEPHONE	1,005	0.81
<u>Total General & Administrative</u>	5,443	4.41
<u>Excess of Revenues over Expenditures</u>	215	0.17

The Micronesia Institute



The Micronesia Institute



Program Services & Administrative Expenses
Fiscal Year Ending 9/30/85

PURPOSE

The Micronesia Institute was incorporated in 1983 as a private sector resource to the peoples of Micronesia and to promote their long-term well-being. Its priorities are:

- to evaluate, obtain international funding for, and aid in execution of, cultural, educational, and medical programs proposed and needed by Micronesians
- to expand international awareness of the different Micronesian nations, cultures, and opportunities
- to foster good US-Micronesian relations and mutual interests
- to enable Micronesians to initiate, develop, and execute suitable and needed programs, with guidance and advice as necessary
- to unite, symbolically, the different peoples of Micronesian heritage as a cultural family.

ORGANIZATION

The Institute is led by a Board of Directors, an Honorary Board of Representatives from Micronesian states and of the Institute's primary liaison officer in Micronesia, and an Advisory Council of scholars, physicians, civic leaders, and educators. Micronesian

program coordinators in Micronesia and in the US create and carry out programs, with the aid of program committees. The Institute was granted tax-exempt, 501-c-3 status in 1984, and has no political, religious, or financial interests in Micronesia.

PROGRAMS

Programs in Micronesia are designed in close consultation with Micronesian advisors, in response to general or specific suggested areas of assistance. Some embrace all, such as the Micronesian Endowment for Historic Preservation and the Symposium on Resources for Private Sector Development. Others are directed to an area, such as the Truk Fairo Institute; and some for one village or atoll, such as the Bikini Music Library.

Programs in the United States include receptions to honor visiting Micronesians, their cultures and

their music; meetings to interest other organizations in including Micronesians in their programs; identification of professionals to help in creating support networks in their fields, such as physicians and business persons.

The Institute assists in reviewing program proposals, suggests improvements, and acts where appropriate as fiscal agent, with arrangements for on-site review and schedule and budget oversight on behalf of major grantors.

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SOVIET JEWRY RESEARCH BUREAU

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR

STATISTICS

1965 - June 1967	4,498	1976	14,261
Oct. 1968 - 1970	4,235	1977	16,736
1971	13,022	1978	28,864
1972	31,681	1979	51,320
1973	34,733	1980	21,471
1974	20,628	1981	9,447
1975	13,221		

	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
January	290	81	88	61
February	283	125	90	88
March	289	101	51	97
April	288	114	74	166
May	205	116	109	
June	182	102	72	
July	186	167	85	
August	238	130	83	
September	246	135	69	
October	168	90	29	
November	137	56	55	
December	<u>176</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>91</u>	
	2,688	1,314	896	

From October 1968 - March 1985, 264,763 persons left the Soviet Union with Israeli visas. Approximately 163,296 of them went to Israel.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

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