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Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 102, Folder 6, General correspondence, memos & working papers, April-August 1987.

APR 6 1987

4/21

JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The City University of New York
444 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
212 489-3500

Office of the President

April 1, 1987

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum: *Marc*

I want to extend to you a warm invitation to join the Advisory Board of John Jay College of Criminal Justice. The Advisory Board serves the College by providing advice and comments on major initiatives, programs and projects.

Membership on the Advisory Board is extended to those who understand the unique role and mission of John Jay College as an institution of higher learning and research, as related to key law enforcement, public safety and public service agencies.

As a community religious leader, along with your active participation in ecumenical affairs, you would bring a perspective to the Advisory Board that would be of great value to the College. In its twenty-third year, the College takes pride in noting some of its recent developments that have enhanced its reputation as a national resource for the advancement of criminal justice:

* On August 21st, 1986 a quarter of a billion dollar building project was approved by the Governor and the State Legislature. This will result in an important educational facility for the College which will be located between 58th and 59th Streets on Tenth Avenue. The new building complex, the former Haaran High School, and a new building behind it, will house the library,

-continued-

an auditorium, conference rooms, fully equipped physical fitness facilities, classrooms and administrative offices. It stands diagonally opposite North Hall, which will remain in use until Phase II of the building program is completed.

* The Master's degree program in Criminal Justice was recently named number one in the nation out of 71 colleges and universities granting the degree as a result of a study conducted by the Commission on Standards in Criminal Justice and Criminology.

* The City Council approved the naming of John Jay Square to designate the crossroads of 59th Street and Tenth Avenue.

* John Jay has experienced an enrollment increase over the past five years of 13.6% making it an exception to the national trend of decreasing college enrollment. The student body now stands at 6,767.

The Advisory Board meets three times a year, at a breakfast or luncheon session. Its next meeting is scheduled as a breakfast meeting on Tuesday, April 21, 1987 at 8:30am in the President's Conference Room.

I hope that you will accept this invitation to join the John Jay College Advisory Board. The College will be honored to have your association with it. I look forward to hearing from you and will contact your office regarding your participation on the Advisory Board as well as your ability to attend the next meeting.

Sincerely,


Gerald W. Lynch
President

APR 7 1987



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1987

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
The American-Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022-2746

Dear Rabbi ^{Marc} Tanenbaum:

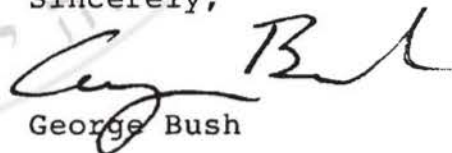
Thank you for your letter of March 21 recommending Dr. Lee Brown to be the new Director of the FBI.

Although I'm not directly involved in the selection process, I have passed your high regard for Dr. Brown to Attorney General Meese and Bob Tuttle, Director of Presidential Personnel. I know he will receive every consideration before a final selection is made.

Many thanks again for taking time to advise me of your support for Dr. Brown.

with best regards,

Sincerely,


George Bush

APR 7 1987



The American Jewish Committee

European Office
4, rue de la Bienfaisance
75008 Paris
Tel. 45.22.92.43 43.87.38.39
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European Representative

Theodore Ellenoff
President

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Executive Vice-President

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John Slawson

Bertram H. Gold

April 2, 1987

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

Dear Marc:

This is barely one hour after our telephone conversation today, and because I just received today's Le Monde with a very long article concerning signs past and present of thaw in Israel-Soviet relations, various views about direct flights to Israel for Soviet Jews and, more to the point, comments on the Bronfman-Abram Moscow trip.

On the last, the article reports (no alleged, supposed, etc.) that the assurances given the two gentlemen were by Soviet Foreign Minister Chevardnadze. According to the journalist, he promised to authorize during 1987 the departure of some 11,000 refuzniks, with direct flights to Israel except for a change of planes stopover in Bucharest.

"Recompense for this gesture in favor of refuzniks" says the article, "is expected from Washington. For, if one is to believe Messrs. Bronfman and Abram, the scenario they outlined in Moscow has three parts: first, in exchange of the departure of 11-12,000 refuzniks, the Americans would annul the Jackson-Vanik amendment which deprives the USSR of the Most Favored Nation clause; second, as counterpart of a normalization of emigration procedures for Jews, Washington will repeal the Stevenson amendment which forbids financial credits to Moscow; finally, American companies will be encouraged to invest in the USSR. The process to last several years."

Of much interest, too, a few bits from another article, this one mostly about Mrs. Thatcher's visit to Moscow. Mentioning the fact that Ms. Thatcher evoked the question of Jewish emigration with Mr. Gorbachev, the reporter says that "The General Secretary gave the classic answer, it is a matter of internal Soviet policy." (The media has spoken before about Mrs. Thatcher raising the Jewish emigration and human rights issues with Gorbachev; but this is the first time one reads about the old, standard reply.)

The same article adds: "A certain malaise is coming to light on this subject in the Jewish community. Many refuzniks believe that those who try to help them in the West, including representatives of international Jewish organizations, do not always understand the priorities of Soviet Jews."

/...

In fact, for many among them, there is only one: to leave. Defense of Jewish culture in the USSR comes, according to them, in second place. The recent visit in Moscow of Mr. Edgar Bronfman, has accentuated this malaise. Many refuzniks regret that this eminent emissary did not consult them more. The still hypothetical prospect of re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel obviously is of less interest for the refuzniks than the concrete possibilities for them to emigrate."

I understand there was a statement released to Jewish organizations upon the return of the two voyagers. Perhaps you have received it during your meeting of April 1. The one which reached Paris is being mailed to me and I shall forward it, so you can compare. Grosso modo it regrets the publicity given to the negotiation by persons not even involved in ~~the~~ Jewish community organizations (could they mean Schneier? it is the only comment I saw or have heard of); and outlines in fairly detailed manner the other provisions and gains acquired at the Moscow talks.

Our friend Claude Kelmann in Paris remains a bit skeptical about the entire matter, and cautiously reserves judgement. Others tend to believe that something good indeed is, and even better will be, happening, especially because they have great respect for the intellect and negotiating abilities of Morris Abram. One question of considerable importance remains: On what authority did Bronfman and Abram trade refuzniks and other advantages against abrogation of Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson amendments? Was there a firm promise on this from US authorities before their departure for Moscow? Or even agreement that all Jewish organizations will go to bat for this?

With very best regards,

Cordially,



Nives Fox

cc: David Harris

APR 17 1987

FRANCISCUS CARDINALIS MACHARSKI
ARCHIEPISCOPUS METROPOLITA
CRACOVIENSIS

Kraków, April 4, 1987

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

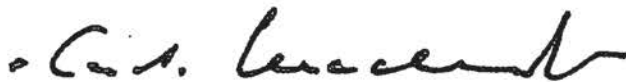
I wish to express my sincere thanks for your letter of February 23. I appreciate your evaluation of the Second Geneva Meeting - your religious evaluation because that meeting was held truly in the religious dimensions, though it does not mean that its effects do not influence the other aspects of life. It was God who made that Auschwitz-Birkenau, the symbol of Shoa of the Jewish Nation, and symbol of martyrdom of the Polish Nation /mostly Christians/ will not be a place of the dispersion but a place where will meet Jews and Christians, Jews and Poles, all people of good will.

The symposium suggested by you on the theme that is so vastly significant is very dear to my heart. I expect much from it for the cause of the Jewish/Christian relations and those of the Jewish/Polish. I am very particular about it and it is my desire that it would be carefully prepared. For this reason I would suggest to postpone the arrival of the American Jewish Committee Delegation by some months. At the time many questions are piled up here /among others - the visit of the Holy Father/ and I fear we would not have enough time for a quiet discussion of the whole matter. Also we would like to prepare ourselves for the meeting with your Delegation but the present circumstances do not give us such chance. I think that for us the autumn of this year would be the best time for the preparing of the symposium.

I shall be gratefull for your response in regard to the proposed date.

With prayerful best wishes for the Passover Celebration,
I am

Sincerely yours,



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022-2746
USA

APR 7 1987

4/16

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 6, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Mort Yarmon
subject

As background for the lunch meeting here Thursday, April 16, from 12 to 2, on the perceptions of AJC's being "soft on Israel" -- meaning, I presume, that our support is believed to be soft -- you will find this recent article by Stuart Eizenstat in Washington Jewish Week of much interest.



OPINION

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE: A DYNAMIC ORGANIZATION

BY STUART E. EIZENSTAT

The understandable desire of Jonathan Cohen to defend his friend M. J. Rosenberg, a person whose talents I likewise admire, in the wake of his unfortunate departure as the Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), has led Cohen to write an unjustified, intemperate, and grossly inaccurate letter to the *Washington Jewish Week* (February 12, 1987).

By falsely condemning the AJC as "a dying organization" and a "living dinosaur," which because of its "anti-Zionist" past, could not tolerate a strong pro-Israel agenda "at odds with its 'human relations' agenda," Cohen demonstrates that it is he who is living in the past, with no recognition of the Committee's important work and little appreciation of how Jewish interests, both here and abroad are best served.

There are many fine American Jewish organizations. All play an important part in the mosaic of American life and no invidious comparisons are necessary. But, as I observed both as chief domestic policy adviser to President Jimmy Carter from 1977 to 1981 and, since then, as a participant in some of the Committee's activities, the AJC's contributions are as significant to American Jewry as those of any of our other excellent American Jewish groups.

While regrettably the AJC did not support the creation of a Jewish state in its early years before World War II, no American Jewish organization has done more to support Israel since its historic rebirth as a state after the war.

When it comes to support of Israel, history is clear on the long and honorable role the American Jewish Committee has played. Abba

Stuart Eizenstat, a Washington lawyer and adjunct lecturer at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, is active in a variety of local and national Jewish organizations.

Eban, when he was Israel's ambassador to the U.S., characterized the early work of the AJC in these words:

"No one will ever forget how you [AJC] stood in vigilant brotherhood at the cradle of our emergent statehood; and how you helped us lay the foundations of our international status and our crucial friendship with the government and people of the American Republic. Faithful to your own American principles and to your sentiments of Jewish brotherhood, you were able to play an indispensable role."

“No American Jewish organization has done more to support Israel since its historic rebirth.”

In the years since, AJC became the first American Jewish organization to open a permanent office in Israel, and shortly after the Six-Day War moved its office from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, where its many activities are well known to Israelis.

One of my first encounters with the AJC in the White House occurred as it took the lead in calling on the Carter Administration to support legislation to outlaw the Arab boycott of American companies wishing to do business with Israel. As far back as 1961, the AJC made this a major priority and deserves significant credit for the successful anti-boycott bill of 1977 passed by Congress (which I helped negotiate between Jewish organizations like the AJC, the business community, and Congress), which has helped break the back of the Arab boycott of Israel.

Moreover, the AJC was a major part of the coalition of Jewish

4/10

Marc-

I would like to move this quickly. Please offer any suggestions, bearing in mind that the focus is Israel and Poland. I have not addressed Catholic-Jewish relations, the Committee Convent, etc. as they are separate issues.

Jared

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POLAND AND ISRAEL: 1967-1967

by

David A. Harris

Deputy Director, International Relations
American Jewish Committee

Twenty years ago, following the Kremlin's lead, Poland severed diplomatic ties with Israel in connection with the Six-Day War. Joined by the other Warsaw Pact nations, with the exception of iconoclastic Romania, Poland maintained no diplomatic links with the Jewish State until last year when it became the first Soviet bloc country to restore low-level relations. Today, fledgling political and economic ties are emerging, while cultural and tourist connections develop. Although progress is slow, the significance of these bilateral steps should not be minimized.

Poland, like the Soviet Union, supported the establishment of Israel and maintained diplomatic ties until Israel's lightning victory against numerically superior Arab forces in June 1967. The few remaining

non-diplomatic ties -- commercial and cultural -- that survived the break

ended the following year when the ~~Polish Government~~, ^{Gomulka regime,} faced with ^{pressing economic problems and} domestic

unrest, ~~and student riots aimed at liberalization and fearful of the~~

~~contagion effect of Dubcek's Prague Spring in neighboring Czechoslovakia,~~

sought a convenient scapegoat -- the country's remaining ²30,000 Jews --

and embarked on a vicious anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic campaign. Polish

leaders charged "Zionist centers in the West with anti-Polish conspiracy"

and accused Israel of "using Nazi methods against the Arabs." Jews were

purged from key positions in the political, economic, cultural and academic spheres and encouraged to emigrate. Many did. ~~Thousands~~ ^{Not nearly} ~~left~~ ^{Some 12,000} ~~in~~ ^{Especially Denmark and Sweden.} between 1968 and 1969, resettling primarily in Western Europe, North America and Israel.

With no political or commercial ties left, the only real links that remained between the two countries were via Yad Vashem which continued its research ^{on the Holocaust} and naming of Righteous Gentiles (as of December 1986, the Israel-based institution had honored 2,074 Polish citizens, the second highest national group after the Dutch); the international Janusz Korczak Society, named after the Warsaw Jewish doctor who saved numerous children during the Holocaust and who has been honored both by Poland and Israel; other Holocaust-related activities, including the anniversary ceremonies of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising; and the Polska Kasa Opieki (PKO) Bank in Tel Aviv.

Founded in Poland in 1929, the PKO opened a branch in Tel Aviv in 1933, one of only three overseas branches -- the others being in Paris and Buenos Aires -- to attract business from the growing number of Polish immigrants in Palestine, later Israel. A Polish-owned bank, it remained open even after the diplomatic break in 1967, offering the full range of banking services and facilitating the transfer of money to Poles who hid Jews during World War II.

Hope of possible diplomatic progress was briefly aroused in 1974 when, during a state visit to the U.S., Polish Communist Party leader Edward Gierek stated a willingness to resume diplomatic relations with Israel, but only if Israel withdrew ^{REFORMS IN Poland's support of Israel's right to exist & and} ~~to the pre-1967 borders~~ ^{FROM THE ADMINISTERED LANDS}. The Polish step reflected an East bloc view that the Middle East peace process ^{THIN IN PLACE} ~~at the time~~ would result in Israeli territorial concessions.

Other than an hour-long meeting between the Israeli and Polish foreign ministers in New York in 1961, no significant diplomatic contact occurred until the fall of 1985. Against a backdrop of new Kremlin leadership, Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's foreign minister met separately in New York with the Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian foreign ministers. To bolster the view ^{IN THE Warsaw Pact} that something potentially important ^{EFFORT} was afoot, Poland, for the first time, distanced itself from the USSR and was recorded as absent from the annual Arab/Soviet ~~forum~~ ^{forum} at the UN General Assembly to deny Israel its credentials. Similarly, Hungary was listed as absent and Bulgaria, often referred to as the 16th Soviet republic because of its particularly close ties with the USSR, joined Hungary and Poland in 1986.

Following the New York meeting, Israeli and Polish officials continued to meet and reached agreement to restore limited diplomatic ties and renew cultural, tourism and other links. By the fall of 1986, Mordechai Bar-Zur,

who had served as Israel's ambassador to Santo Domingo, was named to head Israel's interest section which was opened in the old Israel Embassy building vacated 19 years earlier. The Polish team moved into the PKO Bank on Allenby Street in Tel Aviv. *Technically, the top representatives were accorded "second secretary" diplomatic status.*

At the same time, a surge in cultural exchanges was taking place. In 1965 and 1966, Israeli and Polish ballet, opera and theater companies exchanged visits and were greeted by enthusiastic audiences. With a resurgence of interest in Jewish topics in Poland, and the legacy of a once-flourishing pre-war Jewish community that numbered three million, there has been growing interest in contact with Israel and world Jewry. In Israel, the presence of a sizeable population in Israel that traces its roots to Poland (including Foreign Minister Peres and former Prime Ministers Ben-Gurion and Begin) has stirred interest in both cultural and tourism opportunities.

Still, for Polish-born Israelis memories of their former homeland are *understandably* ~~not~~ *complex, filled with* ~~dominated by~~ *bitterness.* The almost complete devastation of Polish Jewry during the Nazi period, ~~understandably remains the overwhelming memory.~~

in Polish political attitudes
Why the sudden change ⁱⁿ 1985 and 1986? Clearly, the accession to power ~~of a dynamic new Kremlin leadership~~ *Gorbachev in Moscow,* and the creation of a new foreign ~~policy team~~ greatly influenced events. Cognizant of the Kremlin's mistake in 1967 in severing ties with Israel and thereby relinquishing primacy in the Middle East to the U.S., the only superpower able to speak to

all sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the ~~Gorbachev~~ ^{New Soviet} team moved quickly to test the waters for a more activist diplomacy in the area. What better way to send a signal than by use of a proxy, Poland, that clearly stood to benefit from the move?

After all, Poland suffered from severe economic ^{difficulties} ~~problems~~; a serious image problem in the West arising from ^{The imposition of martial law in December 1981 was brutal} its suppression of the Solidarity movement and ^{widespread} imprisonment of political and religious activists; and the imposition of U.S. economic sanctions, ^{Catholic Church} imposed in December 1981 and October 1982, that denied Poland most-favored nation trade status and

access to official U.S. credits and credit guarantees ^(These sanctions were lifted by President Reagan in February 1982 in response to Polish efforts at political reform last September or other liberalizing steps.) in an effort to improve its international position, especially in Washington, the warming ^{with Israel} of ties could help generate support. And it was a low-cost move. With only a few thousand aging Jews left in the country, Poland, unlike the USSR, had little to fear from a nationalist revival inspired by the flying of the Israeli flag in the capital. Yet the interest of Israel and Diaspora Jewry in searching out roots, restoring ^{dilapidated} ~~unused~~ synagogues and neglected cemeteries, and preserving the memory of the Holocaust could provide an influx of tourists and the possibility for joint projects. ~~Concurrently,~~ Moscow's support for such a move would be easily understood and suggest the possibility of further progress.

~~From Israel's viewpoint, the Polish step was welcome (and has always~~

ISRAEL

~~desired universal diplomatic recognition.~~ has made no secret of its desire since 1967 to restore ties with the East bloc countries and saw Warsaw's move as a possible harbinger of similar steps by other Warsaw pact countries, including, ultimately, the USSR. Too, it could encourage Third World countries that broke ties in the early 1970's to follow the Polish example. Finally, in 1985, Israel believed that Poland might become the long-sought East European transit point for Soviet Jews that would permit their transfer directly to Israel, avoiding Vienna and the prospect of migration to countries other than Israel. Indeed, in the fall of 1985,

~~there was a flurry of press reports, which later proved untrue, that Polish~~
~~there was a flurry of press reports, which later proved untrue, that Polish~~

leader General Jaruzelski, after meeting with French President Mitterand in Paris and World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman in Warsaw, had agreed, with Soviet backing, to permit the Polish capital to serve as a transit point for the emigration of thousands of Soviet Jews. Recent reports indicate that the Kremlin ^{now} has agreed to send Soviet Jews to Israel

AS PART OF ITS CURRENT HINDSIGHT WITH ISRAEL

via Romania, a country that maintains full diplomatic ties with Israel and has existing air links.

advances

The prospect is for continued ~~progress~~ ^{advances} between Israel and Poland in the area of human contacts, the establishment of limited economic ties and a low-key political relationship until such time as the Kremlin might decide to gamble for higher stakes in the Middle East. But considering where the relationship was just after June 1967, the progress is indisputable and

welcome.

April 1987



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Lee F. Gruzen

April 9, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
45 East 89 Street, apt. 18F
New York, New York 10028

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

I know it's incredibly bad timing to ask for help during this busy series of weeks, but if there's any possibility of your taking a look at my book and offering a comment I'd be deeply appreciative.

As Georgette may have told you, Raising Your Jewish/Christian Child will be published this season by Dodd, Mead & Company. For such a long time I've looked forward to meeting with you to talk about many of the issues in this book and understand your own feelings about them. Unfortunately, before I've had the chance to sit down with you, my publishers called and asked urgently if I could gather endorsements for the back jacket of the book.

It would be wonderful if you could find time to look at it (in its clear but miniaturized form) and provide me with a quote about its value for interfaith families. Joan Ganz Cooney, founder of Sesame Street, and Egon Mayer, whom you know, have given me warm endorsements already, and I hope to add others that reflect the book's balanced spirit and information. Dean Morton from the Cathedral of St. John the Divine received it today. As you're well aware, your support would help get the book into the hands of a lot of people who could benefit from it.

As an added aggravation, the publisher has asked for my endorsements within two weeks. I'm sorry to impose on you, but I hope you can work it into your schedule. Please call me if you have any questions. I look forward to our dinner together (and I thank Georgette for being my emissary!).

Sincerely yours,

Lee Gruzen
Lee Gruzen

APR 16 1987

THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 10, 1987

FOR YOUR INFORMATION
Marc H. Tanenbaum

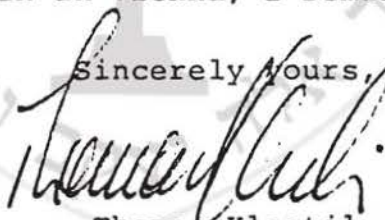
Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Thank you very much for your cordial letter of March 26, 1987. I regret very much that the tight schedule before my departure from Washington did not allow me to accept your kind offer to host a reception in my honor. Permit me to express to you my sincere gratitude for your efforts to further mutual understanding between Austria and the Jewish community in the United States. Your contribution is especially valuable in a time when emotions and misinformation tend to prevail over reason and a desire for reconciliation.

Please let me assure you that in my new capacity as Secretary General for Foreign Affairs I will continue to devote special attention to the ongoing dialogue between the American Jewish Committee and Austria.

Hoping that I will have the opportunity to seeing you soon again in Vienna, I remain

Sincerely yours,



Thomas Klestil
Ambassador

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
The American Jewish
Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022-2746

NANCY A. RISSER
39 JANE STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10014

April 10, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
AJC
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY

Dear Marc:

Enclosed are the materials I mentioned to you the other day. Kay Shelemay's book, Music, Ritual, and Falasha History, is the one I described as having new and potentially controversial information. I hope ways can be found to enrich rather than divide people as a result of the findings. Kay is Associate Professor of Musicology at NYU.

The transcript of an interview with Bob Darnton can give some of the flavor of his research. He is much broader than this indicates but the responses may indicate whether you wish to pursue him in relation to the conference on the anniversary of the French Revolution (I think I'm remembering that right?!). Bob Darnton is Professor of History at Princeton, was a MacArthur Fellow, and is absolutely first rate—and a delightful person to boot. His address is Department of History, Princeton University 302 Dickinson Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544. Tel: Office—609-452-4159; Home—609-924-6905.

The third item is a catalogue for you and Georgette from a recent exhibition at the Jewish Museum. Kay Shelemay was guest curator and I personally found it to be a fascinating exhibit—thought you would enjoy it too.

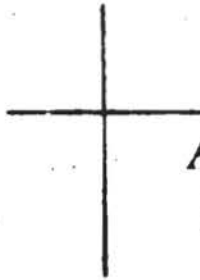
Best regards,

Nancy

APR 17 1987

5/10

*Ecumenical and Interreligious
Commission*



Archdiocese of New York

1011 First Avenue • New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 371-1000, ext. 3055

April 15, 1987

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

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

Jan Cardinal Willebrands will be the keynote speaker at the 1987 National Workshop on Christian Unity to be held in Atlanta, Georgia during the first week of May.

While in the United States, His Eminence will travel to several cities before returning to Rome. He will be in New York to receive the Paul Wattson Christian Unity Award from the Friars of the Atonement on Monday, May 11th. The Cardinal will arrive on Saturday, May 9th and leave on May 11th.

I would like to invite you to an informal meeting with Cardinal Willebrands on Sunday, May 10th from 4:00 till 5:30 P.M. This meeting will include about a dozen Jewish leaders who are involved in the National and International Catholic-Jewish Relations. There is no agenda being proposed, just an opportunity to greet the Cardinal and have an informal discussion.

This meeting will take place at Cardinal O'Connor's residence, which is located at 452 Madison Avenue and 50th Street.

I would appreciate it if you would call my office to let me know if you will be able to meet Cardinal Willebrands on May 10th.

With warm personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

William J. Martyn, S.A.
Brother William J. Martyn, S.A.
Executive Secretary

APR 22 1987



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000

Office of the President

Theodore Ellenoff
President

David M. Gordis
Executive Vice-President

Leo Nevas
Chair, Board of Governors

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Martin Gang

Ruth R. Goddard

Andrew Goodman

Raymond F. Kravis

James Marshall

William Rosenwald

Shirley M. Szabad

Max M. Fisher

Honorary Chair,
National Executive Council

Executive Vice-Presidents Emeriti

John Slawson

Bertram H. Gold

April 20, 1987

Mr. Morris B. Abram
1285 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10022

Dear Morris:

I am enclosing a copy of Marc Tanenbaum's commentary on WINS. I think the remarks are fair and balanced and do not deserve to be characterized as "highly critical". Its appeal is to unity.

Marc makes note of the dramatic announcement of your trip and optimistic report, and the subsequent denial of a Soviet spokesman which would appear to be confirmed, in part, by Dick Schifter in a New York Times report of April 18, 1987. Thus, it would appear that the heartless emigration policies of the Kremlin and the continuing suffocation of Jewish religious and cultural life have only been marginally effected by the visit of Secretary George B. Shultz and other leaders, like yourself, of the Jewish community. Perhaps, the heartbreaking process is one of dropping water on a stone. We hope that in time the skill and perseverance which you, and the others, exhibited, will produce results.

Since we must operate on the belief that there will be another round, we want to draw some lessons from the most recent exercise. High on the list would be the lack of discipline in publicity and the failure of prior consultation. The fear that many of us have, and I surmise it to be one that you share, is that premature discussions in the media seriously jeopardize significant progress. Restraint from "going public" is a required discipline.

Further, I would urge that a genuine effort be made to consult with the key leadership of the principal constituent members of the Presidents' Conference and the NCSJ prior to the departure of any mission. If such steps had been taken prior to the most recent mission, a consensus might very well have developed and constituted a serious mandate for deliberations with the Soviets. In the absence of consultations, we wind up with intense controversy at our own sessions which is mirrored unfavorably in the press. This can only give the Soviets the impression that the Jews here are in disarray.

Page Two

April 20, 1987

Mr. Morris B. Abram

This undoubtedly sounds like Monday-morning quarterbacking except this is not the first time that potentially consequential steps effecting the fate and destiny of Soviet Jewry have been taken without, what many of us believe to be, adequate discussions among the concerned agencies.

As I indicated in a previous letter to you, the democratic nature of the consultative process of both the Presidents' Conference and the NCSJ is deeply troubling. This is offered in the spirit of shared concern for the fate of our people in the U.S.S.R. and Israel and out of a desire to maximize the resources available for the advocacy movement in this country.

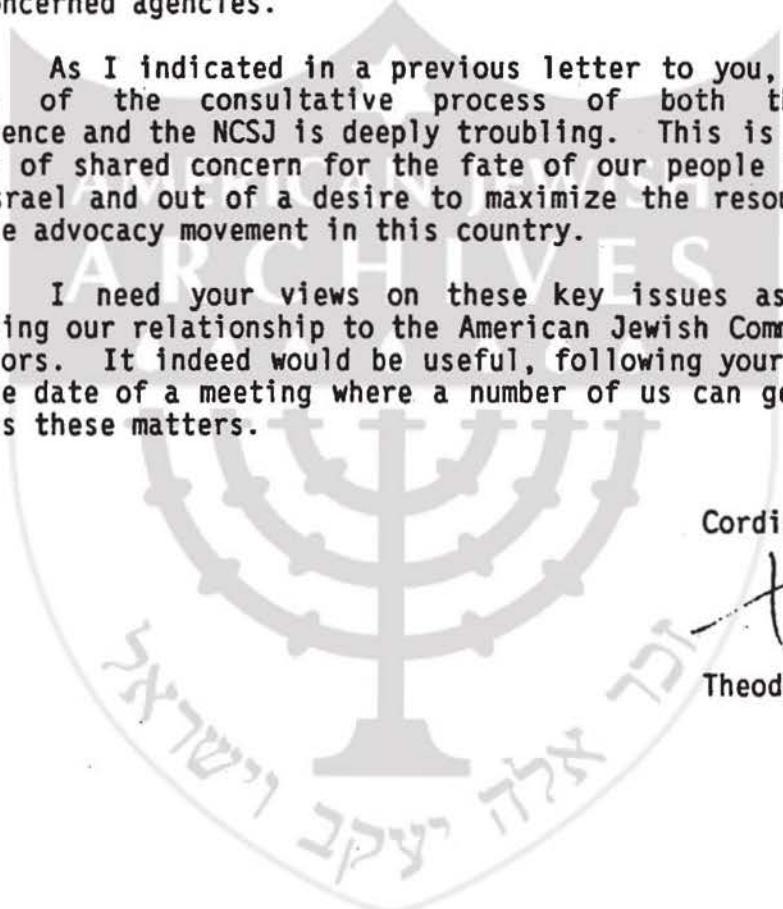
I need your views on these key issues as the basis of reporting our relationship to the American Jewish Committee Board of Governors. It indeed would be useful, following your suggestion, to set the date of a meeting where a number of us can get together and discuss these matters.

Cordially,



Theodore Ellenoff'

TE:sf
Encl.



Dear Marc,

I am the woman who spoke to you after the Feigenbaum lecture and asked the question on forgiveness. I wanted to say some more to you, and I hope you don't mind that I am bold enough to write.

April 28, 1987

I thank you not only for your talk, but also for being out there doing the important and good work that you do. You are obviously an intelligent, insightful, and very caring person. I hope you can smile inside when I say that I only try to do theological battle with those I like, even admire. So brace yourself, but also know that I do not come from a position of moral righteousness, but as a fellow truth-seeker.

Partly, you seemed to be feeling challenged, and perhaps on the defensive, by someone outside Judaism, but inside your life. I don't believe anyone has the right to question how an individual, or a people, works out its grief and its pain. The great tragedy that I was struck with last night ~~was~~ that the entire world does not have a day to remember its blackest hour. I felt ashamed to be among those who too easily brush aside the Holocaust and all the other continuing tragedies that you spoke of.

Certainly, for evil to be rooted out, it

must first be recognized, and next be ⁽²⁾ held accountable. You spoke of justice, not vengeance, for the war criminals. I know that God can separate the ~~two~~ two, but I really do not believe that, at least in this case, humanity can. I am not sure what the right ^{and responsible} action is. Does holding a person accountable for his or her crime, which is the greater part of justice, necessarily mean punishment? Isn't mercy linked with justice as well? I don't have a clear answer in my mind, I have to confess. I have worked with prisoners ~~a~~ a great deal and I know that caging human beings is an abomination and a tragedy, and hurts not only the caged, but the one who does the caging. As much as I would seek alternatives, I'm still not sure I'm ready to give up prisons, though, ~~at least~~ ^{at least} ~~maybe~~ not entirely. And of course, I cannot judge, for I have not been wronged in a cruel and vicious way, nor has my family. I would hope that I could forgive (as I feel the Pope really did forgive his assailant). And as I am sure, some prisoners in the death

camps of Nazi Germany really did
forgive their tormentors. (3)

You spoke of the preciousness of human life. It's a theme I've drummed out a few times myself in my graduate work in ethics. Sacredness of human life. But I never had to ask myself before, do I even consider mass murderers and torturers, even Hitler himself, as precious, as sacred in some way, in the eyes of God? Well, I had to admit that I have excluded whole groups of people from what I have mouthed as our one great ^{inheritance} heritage, that of being all in some way of and from God. I have to pray for a change of heart in myself. There is a spark in everyone, no matter how low they have fallen, that connects them with everyone and with God. I really believe that.

Forgiveness has many layers. I have known the forgiveness of God and the purity of heart that comes from such an experience. I feel called to forgive others, not only from the tradition that Jesus taught forgiveness, but from the personal knowledge that it is hard, maybe even impossible, to turn to God for forgiveness without first feeling

some measure of release from ^(A)
my neighbor. I don't know if it's
possible on a non-interpersonal
level, but I think that it is. We
seem able to love the unknown
refuge to some extent, without the
need for personal contact. You
seemed to say that the power of personal
forgiveness is in its ability to make
a change of heart in the wrongdoer, or
perhaps, ~~instead~~ that the forgiveness
comes only after the change of
heart, or perhaps there is some
circular effect. Or maybe I have
misunderstood you completely. That's
where I disagree, though. Only the
forgiveness of God can assure the
change of heart or can be dependent
upon it, or however that strange and
wonderful relationship works. I
think human forgiveness is part and
parcel of the leap of faith that we
make in our covenant with God.
We forgive, we show mercy, regardless
of the outcome, because we acknowledge
that the person is precious before God
and therefore before us, and therefore needs

our forgiveness in order to break down not only the wrongdoers, borders and walls, and barriers with God, but also our own. We stand before God naked, yet in communion. Part of the nakedness is the acknowledgment that we sin in ways that are as despicable for who we are, as anyone else's sin is before God. And part of the communion is the great sense of glory that we all do belong to God. I forget which Rabbi spoke to the possibility that we all have for greatness and for ~~the~~ ^{the} dreadfulness, but I appreciated ~~the~~ ^{the} universalization of the ~~statement~~ ^{statement}.

You spoke of borders, of great human tragedies and wars that are caused by religion, race, and ethnic problems. The ways we are most united and given our precious identities are also the ways we are driven furthest apart, divided one from another. And why? It's easy from the outside to ~~be~~ ^{be} waving our hands and say, "Oh those Irish Catholics, oh those Sikhs, oh those

Islamic warriors. We don't look in ^⑥
our own backyards and we don't see
where our religious borders and ~~our~~
other borders ~~wreak~~ the holy war
on others. I am not one who singles
out Israel - I have great sympathies for
it - ~~I~~ but you do yourself and the
Jewish people you are such a leader
among a dis-service when you
leave it out of the nations who
kill, who fight the religious war, that is,
if you are going to mention all the
other ^{nations}. The passing remark that not
every Israeli leader is pure in this
regard gives the false impression that
one or 2 with a "monkey on their backs"
have been subdued ~~I~~ by the rest to
reasonable policy. Nicaragua can
be the example, ^{interest} since it is a very
Catholic nation. Yes, the people suffered,
and yes the Sandanistas ~~were~~
recognizing the oppression of Somozas
as something not to be condoned,
and yes, the United States is guilty
of trying to hold back the rights of
a people who want to govern themselves
and yes we may have invaded them

if they had not armed themselves ⑦
but they met the evil with evil.
The guns took food out of the mouths
of children. The militarization is a
crime they commit against themselves.
They did terribly by their native Indians
and others and others.

I think we can say that evil must
be recognized and not condoned, and
openly exposed. I also believe that we
should be willing to go to any extreme,
even death, in the struggle against
evil. But that is not the same thing
as saying that we should kill in the fight
against evil. "Ahimsa" may be the only
way to purely struggle against evil.
Gandhi set a powerful example.
I'm not sure I could be a total
pacifist, but I am sure that
any other way is tainted. Doesn't
it bother you that Israel now
shares at least 2 characteristics
with the country whose torture and
suffering gave Israel its birth? I can't
think of another modern country that is
closer to the nationalism experienced

in Nazi Germany certainly; ^{both countries} they are ^{as peace loving} ~~both~~ ^{Israel and} heavily militaristic, ^{for their size and} resources. Strong words, I know. No country ever had a better excuse than Israel, but before God, ~~is~~ ^{is} there ever an excuse for killing? ^(I don't know.)

When we don't forgive, when we don't lay aside the hatred, then we are caught up in the hatred, then we take into ourselves ~~at least~~ at least some part of the evil that the other has given us. Do not condoning evil, we must not embrace it. And yet, we all do it. We all suppose we can fight evil with evil. I received your lecture and what it did to me as a strong reminder that I must pray to be able to forgive ~~of~~ those I consider the "unforgiveables", to forgive evil in turning to God and not to evil, to pray that others can forgive ~~with~~. The experience of considering these things was so powerful for me that I felt I must share it with you. I know you may disagree, but I trust you have your own answers and measure of the truth in your experience of God. May my thoughts unlock

other truths in you as your thoughts⁹
released much energy ^{truths} for me.

I thank you again for your talk
and your leadership. I have said much,
and I hope it has not offended you.
I struggle with issues of forgiveness
and nonviolence myself, but I try
to put them before God in prayer.

Peace to you. Shalom,

Lathyn Duhon



APR 30 1987

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Dir. of International Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi:

I wish to applaud the various groups in Israel concerning the lucid manner in which they unveiled the underlying causes concerning the controversy over Cardinal O'Connor's recent visit to Israel.

What confuses me, however, is why the leaders of the Jewish Community (both religious and secular) are continually demanding an apology from an institution and its leadership that have shown no desire to have a genuine reconciliation with the people whom they regard as an anathema according to their theology.

Wouldn't it be more demonstrative of a change of attitude if the Jewish leadership, in unison, were to request of the Church that, instead of an apology, they should return to the Jewish People and Nation, the Golden Menorah and other golden vessels including the vestments of the High Priests which they removed from King Solomon's Temple before they leveled it in 70 A.D. and brought these holy items back to Rome with them as depicted 'til this day on the Arch of Titus in Rome? And you may rest assured that these holy items are well preserved and kept on display in the secret underground treasure vaults of the Vatican as symbolic proof that the Church is the "True Israel" of today (which accounts for the blind fanaticism of their followers).

Consequently, as you can readily see, for the combined leadership of World Jewry to make such a request of Rome today carries a far greater weight of sincerity and honesty with the Jewish People than a million apologies strung together could ever accomplish should Rome comply with this request.

According to Roman Catholic theology, the Church calls itself the "True Israel" of today. That is why they sought in their latest series of conflicts with the Jewish People to annihilate them completely, as per the "Final Solution" they conceived of and passed along to their adherents to carry out, having given up hope, after many frustrating centuries, of trying to forcibly convert the Jews to become Christians. Had they been successful in the execution of their "Final Solution" scheme, this would have left no one alive to challenge their claim to being the rightful inheritors of the "Holy Land."

And should they have been successful in regaining possession of the "Holy Land," (which is their aim 'til this very day -- remember the Crusades?) their very first act would have been to rebuild King Solomon's Temple themselves on the very site where it once stood. Having accomplished that, they would then proceed -- for all the world to see via Satellite TV -- to hold a triumphant

procession showing them returning the Golden Menorah and other vessels and priestly vestments to the Temple -- thereby proving to all the world that they -- really -- are the "True Israel" of today.

As a matter of record, the Church does have a Cardinal stationed in Israel whose title is "Custodian of the Holy Land" -- meaning, it's his duty to look after the safety and security of the Church's ill-gotten property in Israel and the pagan temples of worship built upon that property -- until the "Holy Land" itself is once again restored to the possession of the Church.

And as for those fools who are continually pleading with the Roman Pagan Church to grant Israel diplomatic recognition, they should know better than anyone else that the Church will never recognize another nation or people of being that which they themselves claim to be, lest the Church has lost its senses and desires to undermine its own existence by admitting that their oft pronounced "truths" are actually "falsehoods" -- the Church, incidentally, being an extension and continuation of the "Rulership by Divine Right" as established under the Roman Emperors, but this time adorned in religious and mystical trappings in order to give validity to its self-proclaimed divinity.

Consequently, as you can readily see, the Church still has high hopes of one day achieving their nefarious goal of once again repossessing the "Holy Land," even if it means bringing the nations of the earth into war again as it has done so many times in the past in trying to usher in its well-indoctrinated "Millennium," as evidenced by the activities of the Vatican Observer at the UN whose support of the PLO and its terrorist activities speaks for itself.

In closing, I should like to add a final, brief summation that offers irrefutable evidence as to the correctness of my remarks regarding the Church's ambition being as alive today as it was during the so-called "Holy Crusades" of the Dark Ages.

Whenever I used to discuss this subject with Israelis of high rank when I visited Israel and lived there for several years, their response was a mocking: "How many warplanes does the Pope have? And how many tanks? And how many soldiers?"

To which my response was: "Can you recall what was the most popular and prevalent emblem that the Nazis used on their warplanes and tanks? It was not the Swastika. It was the Roman Cross. And can you recall what was the emblem of the Nazis highest medal awarded to their soldiers of valor? Again, it was not the Swastika. It was the Iron Cross. And can you recall what was the ultimate goal of Hitler's North Afrika Corps? Why, "Palestina," of course, and not the Suez Canal, which was of far greater strategic value in linking up with the Japanese forces in Southeast Asia. And last, but not least, can you recall what was Hitler's most sought after ambition? Ushering in his "thousand-year 'Millennial' Reich," indubitably. Can all this be the reason why the Roman Catholic Church in Spain holds a mass for Hitler on the anniversary of his birth? And even heavily documented films on the Normandy Invasion in World War II depict high-ranking Nazi officers who, upon realizing their inevitable defeat, began wondering aloud: 'I wonder whose side God is on?' " Need I say more? Sincerely yours, A Supporter of Zion.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Supporters of Zion
U. S. A.



INCLUDE YOUR
APT. FOR
BETTER SERVICE

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Dir. of International Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
New York, N.Y. 10022



Nathan Perlmutter
National Director
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, N. Y. 10017
(212) 490-2525

May 1, 1987

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Marc,

What a lovely note. It means much to me.

Hopeful one day soon we can see each other. I'd love to be updated on the high drama going on at Third and East 56th.

With warm appreciation for your thoughtfulness.

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Nate", is written below the typed name.

NP:cep

MAY 7 1987

MHT PERSONAL

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

May 6, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc:

Thanks so much to you and Georgette for
your part in the services yesterday.

Regards.

Larry



NEWS FROM THE Committee



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022
212 751-4000
Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations

The AJC protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and promotes human rights for all people; defends pluralism and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people; and contributes to the formulation of American public policy from a combined Jewish and American perspective. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

81ST ANNIVERSARY ANNUAL MEETING
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FOR RELEASE AFTER 6 P.M.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1987

NEW YORK, May 13 . . . A former U.S. Ambassador to Italy today sharply criticized the United States for failing to be the world leader in human rights that "it should be."

Addressing an audience of distinguished American and foreign dignitaries at the United Nations, gathered to mark 15 years of effort by the American Jewish Committee's Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, Richard N. Gardner, currently professor of law and international organizations at College Law School, said:

"To our shame, we have still not ratified the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Covenant on Economic and Social Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, nor have we adopted legislation to implement the recently ratified Genocide Convention."

At the 15-year commemoration, the chairman of the Blaustein Institute paid tribute to the man for whom it was named. Richard Maass, chairman of the Institute's Administration Council, and Honorary President of the AJC, said:

"As we mark this anniversary we also honor the memory of a man who fervently believed in the sacredness of human life and the importance of human dignity."

Mr. Maass spoke as the Institute was presenting its Sakharov Fellowship Award to Yuri Orlov, the human-rights activist, on the eve of the American Jewish Committee's 81st Anniversary meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Grand Hyatt Hotel. The Award was presented by Jerome J. Shestack, President of the International League for Human Rights, who served as the United States Representative on the United States Commission on Human Rights.

In 1976, soon after adoption of the Helsinki Final Act, Yuri Orlov, joined by ten other Soviet citizens, announced in Moscow the formation of the historic

/more/

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees.

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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

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CSAE 1707

Moscow and Helsinki Watch Group. With him as chairman, the group compiled many studies documenting Soviet government violations of religious liberty, freedom of movement, free exchange of information, and the rights of national minorities. The Moscow Group set the pattern for the founding of similar groups in the other Soviet republics -- the Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia and Armenia.

Mr. Orlov was arrested in February 1978 and spent the next nine years in prison, labor camp and internal exile. His arrest was protested vigorously by leading scientists and other personalities inside and outside the Soviet Union. Subsequently, he was released from exile and allowed to emigrate.

In delivering the keynote address at the commemoration, Ambassador Gardner stated:

"It is nearly one quarter of a century since Jacob Blaustein made his historic address at Columbia University calling upon the United Nations and the United States to take leadership in the international promotion of human rights." Ambassador Gardner then asked: "To what extent do the realities of 1987 reflect his vision of 1963?"

Answering his own question, he said: "On the positive side, human rights have become an irreversible and bipartisan element in United States foreign policy. And yet, The United States is not the world leader that it should be in human rights."

Ambassador Gardner added: "The practical effect of our failure to ratify the first of these conventions is that we cannot sit at the table and participate in the interpretation and application of the norms on civil and political rights when cases come before the Human Rights Committee. Our absence is an embarrassment to our friends, and a gift to our adversaries."

Among others who spoke at the Blaustein commemoration were Bertrand Ramcharan, Special Assistant to the Director, United Nations Center for Human Rights; Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; and Morton K. Blaustein, prominent Baltimore industrialist and communal leader, member of the American Jewish Committee's Board of Governors and a former Chairman of its Baltimore Chapter.

The Institute, Mr. Maass said, "has consistently attracted -- and been associated with -- an impressive array of organizations and institutions and the most eminent scholars and human rights activists, who together provide a potent force for the promotion of human rights throughout the world."

He added, after paying tribute to Sidney Liskofsky, Director of the Institute, as "a man of singular purpose, brilliance and dedication":

"As part of the Blaustein Institute's educational outreach we have encouraged efforts to disseminate, as widely as possible, information on human rights developments world-wide in the governmental, inter-governmental and academic spheres. A large and growing number of nongovernmental organizations, national and international, with diverse backgrounds, orientations, and methodologies, actively champion the cause of human rights."

Emphasizing the Institute's concern for human rights for all people, Mr.

Maass stressed that its commitment to universal human rights extended to Jewish security and Jewish values.

"In our efforts to nurture and strengthen human rights organizations," he said, "we have devoted particular attention to Israel, where we have supported such organizations as the Association for Civil Rights in Israel and Interns for Peace."

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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**PROBING PUBLIC SENTIMENT
ON ISRAEL AND AMERICAN JEWS**

The February 1987 Roper Poll



**David Singer
Renaë Cohen**



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

David Singer, Ph.D., is Director of Information and Research Services for the American Jewish Committee and editor of the American Jewish Year Book.

Renaë Cohen, Ph.D., is a Research Analyst in the AJC's Information and Research Services Department.

INTRODUCTION

As part of its ongoing research activities, the American Jewish Committee has been conducting regular probes of the attitudes of the American public toward Israel and American Jews. Since 1984 this work has been carried out in conjunction with the Roper Organization, which has fielded the same four AJC "proprietary" questions once each year (January 1984; April/May 1985; June 1986; February 1987).^{*} The four questions deal with the following issues: sympathies in the Middle East conflict; the reliability of Israel as an ally of the United States; perceptions of the loyalty of American Jews; and perceptions of Jewish power in the United States.

The findings reported here are from a Roper poll conducted between February 14 and February 28, 1987. The AJC sought to use the poll as a vehicle for gauging the responses of the American public to a number of events, including the Iran-Contra affair, the Ivan Boesky insider trading scandal, and the Jonathan Pollard spy case. Toward that end, the Roper Organization fielded the AJC's four standard questions -- questions deemed adequate to assess the impact of the Pollard affair, plus three additional proprietary questions dealing with blame for the Iran-Contra affair, awareness of the insider trading scandal, and blame for the insider trading scandal. It is important to note that the Roper poll was completed a few days prior to the sentencing of Jonathan Pollard.

In conducting the February 1987 poll, the Roper Organization interviewed 1,996 respondents in their homes. Those interviewed constituted a representative national sample of men and women, 18 years of age and older.

^{*} "Proprietary" questions are specially commissioned by clients. They are incorporated into the regular battery of questions that the Roper Organization poses 10 times a year as part of its syndicated subscription service, Roper Reports.

FINDINGS

Judging by the results of the Roper poll, the events described above appear to have had little impact in altering the attitudes of the American public toward Israel and American Jews. The results of the poll are reported in detail in a series of tables in the Appendix. Among the salient findings are the following:

*Very nearly a majority (48%) of respondents continue to sympathize with Israel in the Middle East conflict. This is the second highest figure for Israel (53% in 1986) that Roper has reported on this question. Sympathy with the Arab side stands at 8%, unchanged from 1986 (Table 1).

*A virtual majority (49%) of respondents continue to view Israel as a reliable ally of the United States. In contrast, pluralities see Egypt (41%) and Jordan (44%) as not reliable, while a majority (61%) see Syria as such (Table 2).

*Only 5% of respondents see Israel as "most to blame" for the Iran-Contra affair, a far smaller percentage than those blaming President Reagan's advisors (47%), President Reagan (43%), and Lt. Col. Oliver North (21%) (Table 3).

*More than twice as many respondents disagree (49%) with the statement "Most American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States" than agree (24%) with it. In 1986 the comparable figures were 46% and 24% (Table 4).

*Only 7% of respondents believe Jews have too much power in the United States, the lowest figure for Jews that Roper has reported on this question. All of the following were cited ahead of Jews as having too much power in the United States: business corporations (42%); news media (38%); labor unions (33%); Arab interests (20%); Orientals (12%); Blacks (11%); and the Catholic Church (9%) (Table 5).

*A majority of respondents (63%) have read and heard either a lot or a little about the Ivan Boesky insider trading scandal (Table 6). When provided with a description of the scandal and asked which factor is most to blame for it, only 1% of respondents cite a "Jewish background." The most frequently cited factors are "personal greed and avarice" (55%), "lack of ethics in business" (43%), "insufficient governmental regulation and enforcement" (28%), and "the moral decline of society" (21%) (Table 7).

While the primary aim of the Roper poll is to probe the attitudes of the American public at large, some noteworthy subgroup differences do emerge for a number of the questions (Tables 8-14):

*People who are better educated are more likely to be favorable toward Israel and American Jews than those who are less well educated.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date May 5, 1987
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from George E. Gruen
subject Israeli Public Opinion

In view of the growing speculation that Shimon Peres will use the issue of an international peace conference as a reason for breaking up the National Unity Government and calling for new elections, I thought you would find of interest the results of the latest PORI poll, published in Ha'aretz on Sunday, May 3.

Support for the Labor alignment and smaller parties leaning to Labor has gone up to 47.1%, which is an increase of 4.9% over what they achieved in the last Knesset elections. In contrast, support for the Likud and parties leaning to it has dropped to 32.1%, a net loss of some 5% since the elections.

The author of the poll concludes that neither party will be able to establish a new government on its own and that the religious parties which would now receive 14.6% of the votes (a gain of 3.2% since the Knesset elections) will hold the balance of power in any new coalition government.

We can assume that the Orthodox will use their position to demand additional concessions on matters of their concern such as amending the Law of Return to specify conversion according to Halacha.

During our meeting with Shimon Peres at the Annual Meeting, we should reiterate our strong opposition to such a change in the Law of Return as well as to other measures that would strengthen the Orthodox monopoly not only in Israel but with effect on decisions made in the Diaspora. It would be helpful if we could get Peres to make a public statement affirming his recognition of and support for the pluralistic character of Jewish religious life.

GEG:mr

P.S. The poll covered a national sample of 1,200 persons in the Jewish community, aged 18 and older and was completed on April 23, 1987. 11.6% of the voters for Labor and 15.3% of

... more

May 5, 1987

the voters for the Likud in the last Knesset elections declare themselves today to be undecided. In terms of voters switching their party affiliation, 11.5% of the voters for Likud say they would now vote for Labor as against only 2.2% of the voters for Labor who declare that they would now vote for Likud.

cc
Ted Ellenoff
Gary Rubin
Shula Bahat
Leo Nevas
Miles Jaffe
Hyman Bookbinder
Shimon Samuels

Dictated But Not Read



Survey shows 'erosion' in young adults' attachment to Israel

Most U.S. Jews: OK to criticize Israel publicly

By WALTER RUBY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK. - A substantial majority of American Jews consider public criticism of the Israeli government to be acceptable, and 40 per cent say they are sometimes troubled by Israeli government policies, according to a nationwide survey released last Friday by the American Jewish Committee.

The survey, of 1,133 American Jews, also showed that: American Jews under the age of 40 seem to be slightly less attached to Israel than their elders; Orthodox Jews are far more involved with Israel than Conservative and Reform Jews; and the percentage of Jews worried that the U.S. may turn against Israel has fallen in the last four years.

The poll was conducted late last year by Steven M. Cohen, professor of sociology at Queens College, and thus offers no inkling as to how the life sentence imposed on Jonathan Pollard, convicted of spying for Israel, may have affected American-Jewish attitudes.

Sixty-three per cent of the sample rejected the view that "American Jews should not publicly criticize the policies of the government of Israel."

An overwhelming 72 per cent agreed that "Jews who are severely critical of Israel should nevertheless be allowed to speak in synagogues and Jewish community centres." At the same time, 38 per cent agreed that "most American Jewish organizations have been too willing to automatically support the policies of whatever Israeli party happens to be in power;" but 27 per cent disagreed.

Cohen stressed that the 40 per cent of the sample who said they were sometimes troubled by Israeli government policies were most frequently found among the minority of American Jews who had visited Israel; among those who expressed the highest level of attachment to the state; and among the more religiously traditional.

The survey found that about 60 per cent of American Jews could be seen as "at least moderately attached to the Jewish state." Sixty

per cent said they knew an Israeli personally; 61 per cent said they would regard Israel's destruction "as the greatest personal tragedy of my life," and 63 per cent viewed "caring about Israel" as "a very important part of being a Jew."

According to Cohen, Jews under 40 scored somewhat lower on attachment to Israel than did older age groups. He observed: "These findings constitute some evidence - although still weak at this point - of a slight erosion in the intensity of young adults' attachment to Israel as compared with their elders."

Fifty-seven per cent of Orthodox Jews had been to Israel, with 34 per cent of them at least twice. By comparison, only 41 per cent of the Conservative Jews had visited Israel and only 13 per cent of them more than once. Twenty-four per cent of Reform Jews had visited Israel, only seven per cent of them more than once. The Orthodox also outperformed the other two groups on other questions measuring involvement with Israel.

Cohen found that in contrast to the Orthodox and Conservative, Reform Jews appeared less involved with Israel today than four years ago, a finding that Cohen believes indicates discontent with Israel because of perceived control of the country by Orthodoxy.

Cohen found that the number of Jews who were worried that "the U.S. may stop being a firm ally of Israel" had dropped from 55 per cent in 1983 to 40 per cent in the fall of 1986. But large majorities express concern about anti-Semitism in the U.S., with 74 per cent disagreeing with a statement that "anti-Semitism in America is currently not a serious problem for American Jews." While Orthodox Jews were fairly evenly divided between those who had "favourable" and "unfavourable" impressions of the extreme right-wing Kach leader Meir Kahane, those polled were opposed to him by 7-to-1.

The respondents' favourite Israeli politician, by 10-to-1, was Shimon Peres.

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APRIL 29, 1987
P. 4

*People with higher household incomes are more likely to be favorable toward Israel and American Jews than those with lower household incomes.

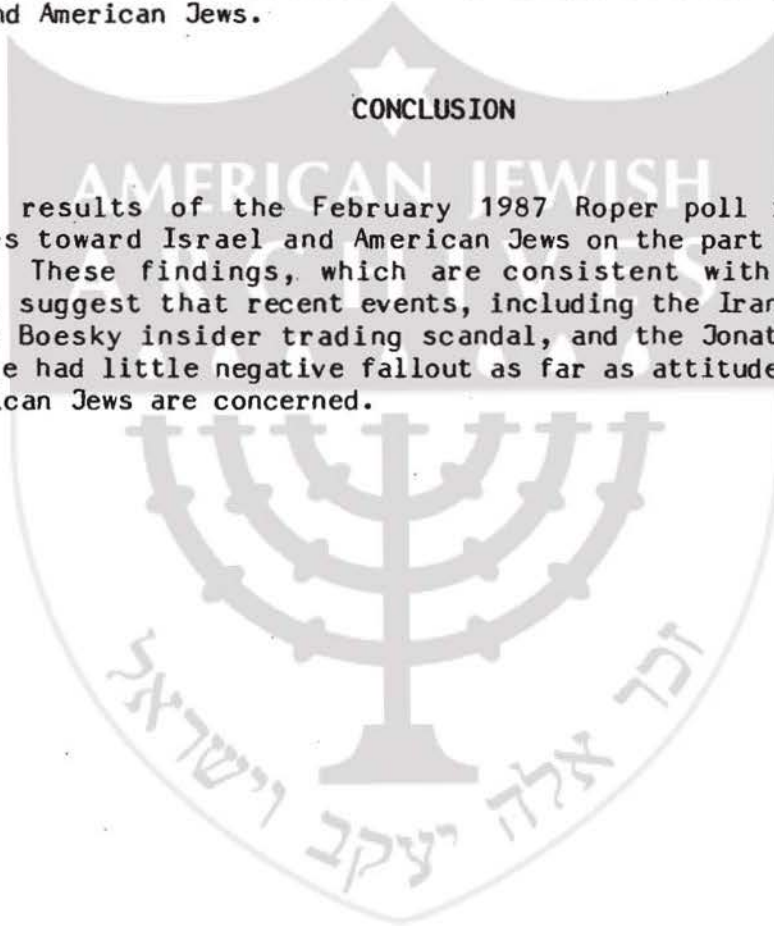
*Whites are more likely to be favorable toward Israel and American Jews than Blacks.

*Republicans are somewhat more likely to be favorable toward Israel and American Jews than Democrats or independents.

*Protestants and Catholics differ little in their attitudes toward Israel and American Jews.

CONCLUSION

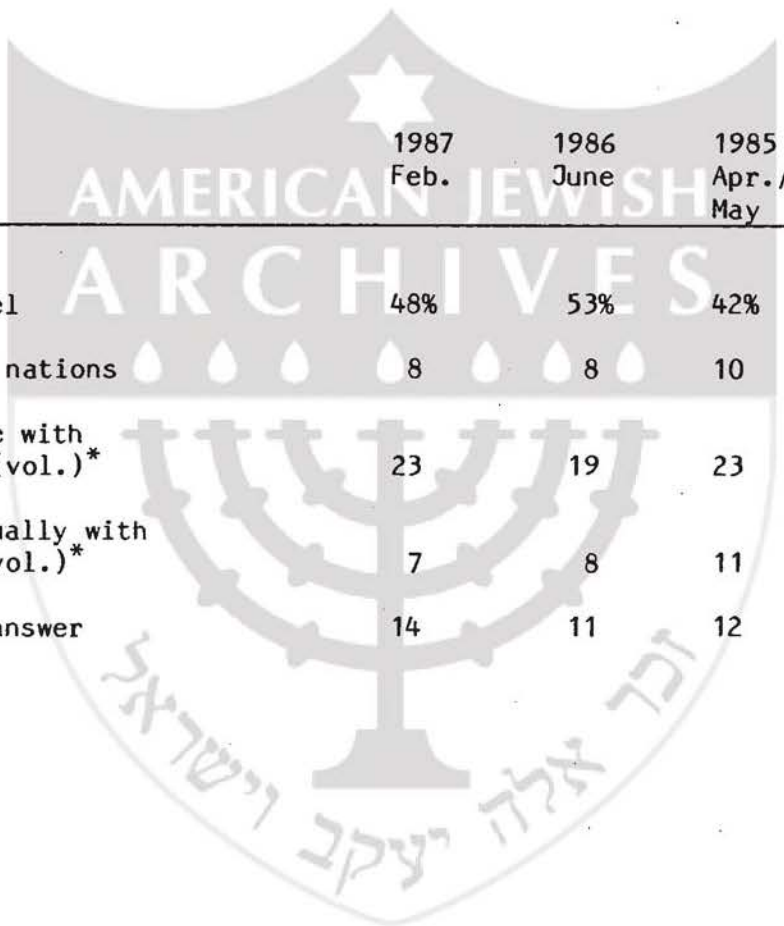
The results of the February 1987 Roper poll reveal positive attitudes toward Israel and American Jews on the part of the American public. These findings, which are consistent with previous Roper results, suggest that recent events, including the Iran-Contra affair, the Ivan Boesky insider trading scandal, and the Jonathan Pollard spy case have had little negative fallout as far as attitudes toward Israel and American Jews are concerned.



APPENDIX

Table 1

Turning for a minute to the situation in the Middle East, at the present time do you find yourself more in sympathy with Israel, or more in sympathy with the Arab nations?



	1987 Feb.	1986 June	1985 Apr./ May	1984 Jan.
More with Israel	48%	53%	42%	44%
More with Arab nations	8	8	10	8
Not sympathetic with either side (vol.)*	23	19	23	21
Sympathetic equally with both sides (vol.)*	7	8	11	12
Don't know/No answer	14	11	12	13

Note: All figures represent percent of total sample.

* Answer volunteered by respondents.

Table 2

I'm going to mention the names of some foreign countries. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether or not you think that country is or is not a reliable ally of the United States. First, (NAME COUNTRY) (ASK ABOUT EACH ONE)

	<u>1987 February</u>			<u>1986 June</u>			<u>1985 Apr./May</u>			<u>1984 January</u>		
	Is a reli- able ally	Is not a reli- able ally	Don't know/No answer	Is a reli- able ally	Is not a reli- able ally	Don't know/No answer	Is a reli- able ally	Is not a reli- able ally	Don't know/No answer	Is a reli- able ally	Is not a reli- able ally	Don't know/No answer
Canada	88%	3%	8%	90%	4%	7%	90%	3%	7%	91%	4%	6%
West Germany	61	18	21	61	22	17	63	18	19	65	16	19
France	54	27	20	54	31	15	60	23	18	61	20	18
Israel	49	29	21	52	32	17	53	25	22	54	24	23
Egypt	29	41	31	31	43	26	35	33	32	37	31	33
Jordan	17	44	38	18	47	36	19	39	43	17	39	44
Syria	6	61	33	4	72	25	8	52	40	7	61	32

Note: All figures represent percent of total sample.

Table 3

As you probably know, in November of 1986 it was disclosed that the U.S. Government had sold weapons to Iran. Part of the profit from these sales was used to help fund the Contra Forces in Nicaragua. This situation has caused a great deal of concern both in the U.S. and abroad.

Here is a list of individuals and groups said to be involved in the situation. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you please read down the list and call off who you think is most to blame for the situation?




	1987 February
President Reagan's advisors	47%
President Reagan	43
Lt. Col. Oliver North	21
Individual arms dealers	15
Terrorists	14
Iran	14
Nicaragua	8
Israel	5
Saudi Arabia	4
None of the above (vol.)*	2
Don't know/No answer	12

Note: All figures represent percent of total sample. Multiple responses were accepted.

* Answers volunteered by respondents.

Table 4

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States.



	1987 Feb.	1986 June	1985 Apr./ May	1984* Jan.
Agree	24%	24%	27%	25%
Disagree	49	46	47	50
Don't know/No answer	26	31	26	25

Note: Figures represent percent of total sample, unless otherwise indicated.

* Asked of and based on one-half of the sample.

Table 5

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Which, if any, of the groups listed on this card do you believe have too much power in the United States? Just call off the letter in front of the groups.

	1987 Feb.	1986 June	1985 Apr./ May	1984 Jan.
Business corporations	42%	44%	49%	51%
Labor unions	33	44	45	50
News media	38	40	42	50
Arab interests	20	28	30	30
Orientals	12	12	11	*
Blacks	11	11	13	13
The Catholic Church	9	10	11	10
Jews	7	8	8	8
Hispanics	5	6	*	4
None	9	7	7	6
Don't know/No answer	8	7	6	6

Note: All figures represent percent of total sample. Multiple responses were accepted.

* Not asked.

Table 6

Here is a list of some things that have been in the news in recent months. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you read down the list, and for each one tell me whether it is something you have read and heard a lot about, or a little about, or practically nothing about? First, (READ ITEM). (ASK ABOUT EACH ITEM)

1987
February

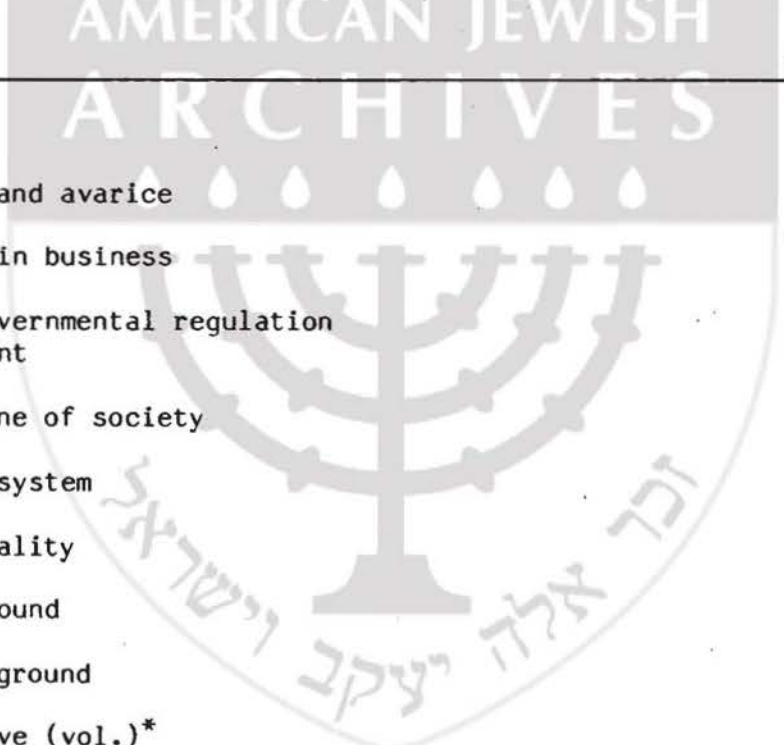
	A lot	A little	Practically nothing	Don't know/ No answer
The proposed trillion dollar federal budget President Reagan submitted to Congress	38%	42%	17%	3%
The U.S. sales of arms to Iran with the profits going to the Contras in Nicaragua	67	23	8	2
The Ivan Boesky insider trading scandal on Wall Street	29	34	33	4

Note: All figures represent percent of total sample.

Table 7

Ivan Boesky, a leading Wall Street investment banker, has been charged with "insider trading." This means he used confidential information, not available to the general public, to buy up shares of stock in companies about to be acquired by others. This illegal activity allowed him to sell back the shares at a much higher price, once the confidential information became public.

There has been a great deal of discussion about the factors that lead to this type of scandal. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Would you please read down the list and call off which, if any, of the factors you think is most to blame for this type of scandal?



1987
February

Personal greed and avarice	55%
Lack of ethics in business	43
Insufficient governmental regulation and enforcement	28
The moral decline of society	21
The capitalist system	10
The Yuppie mentality	3
A Jewish background	1
A Catholic background	1
None of the above (vol.)*	1
Don't know/No answer	15

Note: All figures represent percent of total sample. Multiple responses were accepted.

*Answer volunteered by respondents.

Table 8

Reported sympathy with Israel and with the Arab nations, by subgroup, in percent.

February 1987

Subgroup	Israel	Arab nations	Not with either side (vol.)*	Equally with both sides (vol.)*	Don't know/No answer
Total	48%	8%	23%	7%	14%
Sex					
Males	50	10	22	6	11
Females	46	7	23	8	16
Age					
18-29	49	10	23	5	13
30-44	48	8	23	7	13
45-59	45	6	26	9	14
60+	49	8	19	8	15
Race					
Whites	51	8	22	7	12
Blacks	24	11	32	9	24
Household Income					
<\$15,000	43	8	23	7	19
\$15-24,999	51	8	23	6	12
\$25-34,999	49	11	21	8	11
\$35,000+	54	9	21	7	8
Education					
College	51	10	22	9	8
High School Graduates	50	8	22	5	15
Non-High School Graduates	39	6	25	9	21
Occupation					
Executives/Professionals	55	11	22	7	6
White Collar Workers	47	10	21	9	12
Blue Collar Workers	44	6	27	5	17
Homemakers	49	8	19	10	14
Political Affiliation					
Democrats	47	9	25	7	13
Republicans	55	9	17	6	13
Independents	43	7	26	10	14
Political Philosophy					
Conservatives	51	8	22	6	13
Moderates	45	8	24	9	15
Liberals	48	11	22	8	10
Religion					
Protestants	48	7	23	7	15
Catholics	44	11	22	9	14

*Answer volunteered by respondents

Table 9

Reported reliability of Israel as an ally, by subgroup, in percent.

February 1987

Subgroup	Is a reliable ally	Is not a reliable ally	Don't know/ No answer
Total	49%	29%	21%
Sex			
Males	57	27	16
Females	42	32	26
Age			
18-29	46	35	18
30-44	51	29	20
45-59	52	26	23
60+	49	26	25
Race			
Whites	51	29	21
Blacks	40	36	24
Household Income			
<\$15,000	39	30	31
\$15-24,999	50	29	21
\$25-34,999	49	33	17
\$35,000+	59	27	14
Education			
College	61	24	15
High School Graduates	42	36	22
Non-High School Graduates	40	28	33
Occupation			
Executives/Professionals	59	25	16
White Collar Workers	48	36	16
Blue Collar Workers	43	31	26
Homemakers	47	29	24
Political Affiliation			
Democrats	48	30	22
Republicans	56	27	16
Independents	44	32	24
Political Philosophy			
Conservatives	49	31	20
Moderates	48	29	23
Liberals	56	28	16
Religion			
Protestants	47	30	23
Catholics	49	33	18

Table 10

Percentage of respondents reporting that Israel is most to blame for the Iran-Contra situation, by subgroup.

February 1987

Subgroup	Israel is most to blame
Total	5%
Sex	
Males	6
Females	4
Age	
18-29	4
30-44	4
45-59	5
60+	7
Race	
Whites	5
Blacks	4
Household Income	
<\$15,000	7
\$15-24,999	5
\$25-34,999	4
\$35,000+	4
Education	
College	5
High School Graduates	4
Non-High School Graduates	5
Occupation	
Executives/Professionals	4
White Collar Workers	4
Blue Collar Workers	5
Homemakers	3
Political Affiliation	
Democrats	4
Republicans	6
Independents	4
Political Philosophy	
Conservatives	6
Moderates	4
Liberals	4
Religion	
Protestants	4
Catholics	6

Table 11

Percentage of respondents who agree or disagree with the statement, "Most Americans Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States," by subgroup.

February 1987

Subgroup	Agree	Disagree	Don't know/ No answer
Total	24%	49%	26%
Sex			
Males	27	49	25
Females	22	50	28
Age			
18-29	23	52	25
30-44	25	52	23
45-59	22	47	31
60+	27	45	28
Race			
Whites	24	52	25
Blacks	29	34	38
Household Income			
<\$15,000	23	43	34
\$15-24,999	26	46	28
\$25-34,999	25	53	22
\$35,000+	23	59	18
Education			
College	19	59	22
High School Graduates	26	48	26
Non-High School Graduates	30	35	36
Occupation			
Executives/Professionals	22	60	18
White Collar Workers	21	56	22
Blue Collar Workers	27	40	34
Homemakers	26	50	23
Political Affiliation			
Democrats	25	49	26
Republicans	24	54	22
Independents	23	45	33
Political Philosophy			
Conservatives	26	48	26
Moderates	24	49	27
Liberals	20	57	22
Religion			
Protestants	26	45	29
Catholics	23	52	25

Table 12

Percentage of respondents reporting that they believe Jews have too much power in the United States, by subgroup.

February 1987

Subgroup	Jews have too much power
Total	7%
Sex	
Males	10
Females	5
Age	
18-29	5
30-44	8
45-59	8
60+	8
Race	
Whites	7
Blacks	11
Household Income	
<\$15,000	6
\$15-24,999	8
\$25-34,999	6
\$35,000+	8
Education	
College	8
High School Graduates	6
Non-High School Graduates	8
Occupation	
Executives/Professionals	8
White Collar Workers	4
Blue Collar Workers	10
Homemakers	4
Political Affiliation	
Democrats	7
Republicans	8
Independents	8
Political Philosophy	
Conservatives	8
Moderates	7
Liberals	6
Religion	
Protestants	7
Catholics	8

Table 13

Reported amount of reading and hearing about the Boesky insider trading scandal, by subgroup, in percent.

February 1987

Subgroup	A lot	A little	Practically nothing	Don't know/ No answer
Total	29%	34%	33%	4%
Sex				
Males	34	32	29	4
Females	24	36	36	4
Age				
18-29	20	35	42	4
30-44	27	38	31	4
45-59	32	36	27	4
60+	39	26	29	5
Race				
Whites	31	35	32	3
Blacks	19	31	38	12
Household Income				
<\$15,000	21	29	42	7
\$15-24,999	26	37	33	4
\$25-34,999	32	36	28	4
\$35,000+	38	36	25	2
Education				
College	38	40	20	2
High School Graduates	26	30	39	4
Non-High School Graduates	16	31	44	9
Occupation				
Executives/Professionals	38	38	22	2
White Collar Workers	28	40	29	3
Blue Collar Workers	21	32	41	7
Homemakers	23	34	41	2
Political Affiliation				
Democrats	28	35	32	5
Republicans	31	37	29	3
Independents	28	32	36	4
Political Philosophy				
Conservatives	30	34	31	4
Moderates	28	36	32	4
Liberals	30	34	32	4
Religion				
Protestants	27	36	33	4
Catholics	28	32	35	5

Table 14

Percentage of respondents reporting that a Jewish background is most to blame for a Boesky-type scandal, by subgroup.

February 1987

Subgroup	A Jewish Background
Total	1%
Sex	
Males	1
Females	2
Age	
18-29	1
30-44	1
45-59	2
60+	1
Race	
Whites	1
Blacks	2
Household Income	
<\$15,000	2
\$15-24,999	*
\$25-34,999	1
\$35+	2
Education	
College	1
High School Graduates	2
Non-High School Graduates	2
Occupation	
Executives/Professionals	1
White Collar Workers	2
Blue Collar Workers	2
Homemakers	1
Political Affiliation	
Democrats	2
Republicans	1
Independents	1
Political Philosophy	
Conservatives	2
Moderates	*
Liberals	1
Religion	
Protestants	2
Catholics	1

* Less than 0.5 percent.



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

JUN 15 1987

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, INC.

521 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10175 Tel (212) 599-7600

June 11, 1987

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Thank you again for your good words regarding EVERY DAY REMEMBRANCE DAY, by Simon Wiesenthal. They are going to be tremendously helpful in our launch of the book. And thank you, too, for your notes on the introduction. We're eager to make the book as precise as possible, and I deeply appreciate your taking the time to give us these corrections.

I would be very happy to read your own writings, as well. And I will be sure to send you a copy of EVERY DAY REMEMBRANCE DAY as soon as finished books are available.

With best wishes,



Tracy Bernstein
Editor

TB/ts





P R E N T I C E H A L L

TRADE DIVISION

Paul D. Aron
Editor

June 18, 1987

Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director of International Relations
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Thank you very much for your comment on Claire Safran's book. We will use it on the back jacket of the book and I'm confident it will be a great help in assuring the book of the attention it deserves.

I will very much look forward to reading your articles whenever you're ready to send them.

Sincerely,

Paul Aron

17765 S.W. Independence Way
Beaverton, Oregon 97006
June 22, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

This morning I had occasion to view NBC's "Today" program while Malachi Martin and yourself were being interviewed regarding the upcoming visit of Austria's President, Kurt Waldheim, with Pope John Paul II.

It is very regretable that the Vatican is using such poor judgment regarding receiving President Waldheim as a head of state, thus sanctioning him as a world leader in good standing with the international community. Perhaps if the Pope were to receive Mr. Waldheim as a private individual with the purpose of bringing him to a place of acknowledging his role in the murdering of thousands of innocent men, women, and children, this would be a commendable objective. But to receive Mr. Waldheim as Austria's head of state is unquestionably a black mark against a religious community which historically has demonstrated both covert and overt Anti-Semitism.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, I am an Evangelical Christian by profession and conviction. Consequently, the papacy has no authority and little, if any, relevance for me personally. However, I was extremely embarrassed by Malachi Martin's statements which implied that Judaism teaches vengeance and intolerance whereas Christianity teaches forgiveness and reconciliation.

Unfortunately, Mr. Martin was not very accurate in his perception. It is through the wonderful teachings of the Hebrew Scriptures that we Christians have learned about the living God who is long-suffering, compassionate, and very willing to extend forgiveness to anyone who acknowledges sin and makes a 180° turn from evil. Certainly it is from the Law and the Prophets that we learn that true repentance is not a casual, "I'm sorry," but rather an acknowledgement of wrong and a change of behavior!

If it wasn't for the inspired Jewish writers of Scripture, we Gentiles would never have heard of the One, true God. And if we did not have the teachings of the Jewish Scriptures, how would the words and claims of Jesus have any meaning? It is through Jewish writers that we have learned that G-d requires "a broken and contrite heart." Israel's great King David is a primary example of this truth.

Again, I regret very much that a man of Malachi Martin's background and theological education would make the implications that he did in the interview today. I wish to go on record, as one who bears the name, "Christian," that I am eternally grateful that G-d revealed Himself to the world through the Jewish people. Otherwise I would still be steeped in the pagan beliefs of my ancient Gentile ancestors instead of enjoying the privilege of knowing a G-d who is personally acquainted with me, and His Messiah whom I call Lord.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Page 2
June 22, 1987

G-d bless you, Rabbi Tanenbaum, as you continue to serve in the leadership of the American Jewish Committee. If it would be appropriate, I would appreciate being added to any mailing list that would enable me to keep abreast of current issues facing worldwide Jewry. I am concerned about being alert to Anti-Semitism and the many ways that it creeps into our society. Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

Sandy Wingate

Sandy Wingate



David Neiman
65 Cotton Street
Newton, MA 02158

(617) 332-7981

June 22, 1987

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

Dear Marc:

We are all deeply affected and distressed by the incredible development in the case of Waldheim and his forthcoming Papal audience. I saw you on the "Today" program this morning and was quite annoyed at Malachi Martin's accusation that the Jews and the State of Israel are trying to dictate to the Holy See.

I was especially affected by your distress at the shock and surprise of the announcement and your dismay that even Cardinal Willebrands and our other friends at the Vatican were completely in the dark about this event.

There are two points I would like to call to your attention. The first is the fact that after the public display of the audience that the Holy Father granted to Yassir Arafat, Msgr. Jorge Mejia, then in charge of relations with the Jews, appeared before a select audience of Boston's Jewish Community and, in strict confidence (which I know I am not violating, since you are undoubtedly aware of it) confessed that the Holy See realized that the Arafat audience was a mistake; and, he said at that time, "Rest assured, there will be no repetition of anything like this in the future." This last statement he made in Latin and, pointing to me, said, "He will translate it for you." I, feeling rather comic at the moment, rendered it as "This production number will have no encore."

Evidently this pledge was forgotten. It is obvious --and I feel you could make this point in your appearances and presentations of the Jewish position-- that Waldheim, with his Nazi past now being exposed, and being publicly humiliated by being barred from official visits by the world's leading governments, has been trying desperately to gain a little respectability. This led him to petition for a Papal audience. In cruder terms, I would say that he conned the Pope into meeting with him to help him regain a shred of his former reputation. Thus, he could claim, if the President of the United States will not meet him, the Holy Father will; and who is greater ?

It is unfortunate that the Pope still listens to advisers whose advice had better be left unheeded. In the long term historical perspective, this event is neither shocking nor unexpected. But in view of the advances that have been made during the past three decades, it is tragic.

I am leaving for Israel next week and will be stopping in Rome on the 24th of July for a few days.

Best wishes in all your struggles.

ודעם, יצ"ח זכ"ק!

Cordially,



David Neiman





1011 FIRST AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10022

June 24, 1987

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

Thank you for your note of June 22nd and for the materials you enclosed. It was kind of you to forward them. If any meetings should take place, these materials will be most helpful.

With every good wish, I am,

Faithfully,


Archbishop of New York

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022-2746

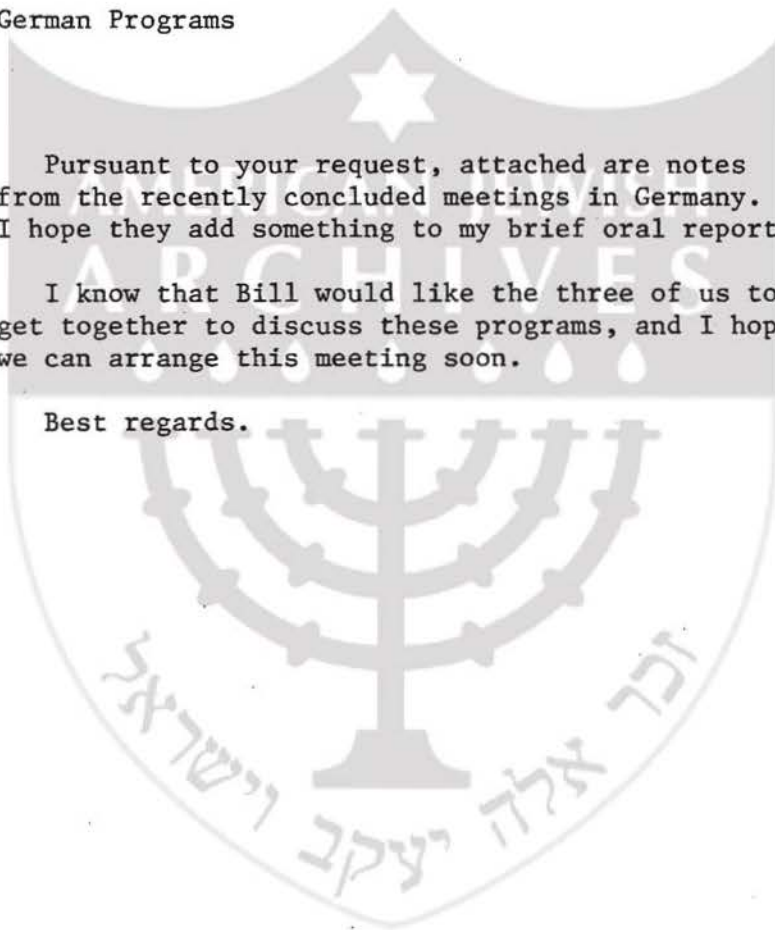
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 1, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan *Alec.*
subject German Programs

Pursuant to your request, attached are notes from the recently concluded meetings in Germany. I hope they add something to my brief oral report.

I know that Bill would like the three of us to get together to discuss these programs, and I hope we can arrange this meeting soon.

Best regards.



Notes on Meetings with Atlantik Bruecke
June 14-16, 1987

Re Proposed Conference

"AMERICAN JEWS AND THE FRG: PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES"
Conference Date and Place: Bonn, November 21-23 (Saturday
evening to Monday Afternoon)

Format: American and German presenters at each session;
alternating chairmen. Final session: Presentation and
adoption of Closing Statement; "Wrap Up" by Conference
participants.

DINNER - German Speaker Nov. 21

I. Self-Perception and Mutual Perception Nov. 22 AM

How each side thinks of itself and of the other; identity and
consciousness; images and stereotypes; relations 1945-85; the
Israel factor (relation of each to Israel).

II. Events and Symbols Nov. 22 PM

Situations in which perception have caused and are causing tension:
Bitburg, Waldheim; "Burial of the Past" (claim that a "cover-up"
of Nazis occurred after WW II.)

DINNER - Ted Ellenoff speech

III. The Media: Influence and Impact

Nov. 23 AM

The stereotype as a marketing tool; Journalism and Broadcast
Media: Accentuating the Negative.

IV. Recommendations Wrap Up:

Nov. 23 PM

Proposal for improving relations between American Jews and FRG.



6650 - IRD-10

6/25/87:og

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 30, 1987
to The file
from Allan Kagedan
subject Meeting with Otto Luchterhand, Cologne, June 17

During a meeting with Otto Luchterhand, we discussed the following points regarding the joint AJC-Institute fuer Ostreich Publication of papers drawn from the March 1986 Soviet minority conference in Bonn.

The projected deadline for materials for the volume is July 15, 1987. Missing still is Sidney Liskofsky's contribution and Ed Elson's preface.

As previously agreed, the co-sponsors will split the publication cost of approximately \$3,000 each. This will not entitle us to anymore than a few copies of the volume which would have to be purchased separately. In light of this, Bill Trosten has discussed the idea of a pre-publication pledge to purchase by the Bundespress Amt.

Otto felt it would be advisable to obtain a clarification from the Bundespress Amt regarding how many copies they will purchase because this may reduce the cost of each volume. Ideally, we would obtain a letter of intent regarding the number of copies that the Bundespress Amt will purchase.

Once notified of this number, the co-sponsors will provide distribution lists.

It is a common practice in Germany to host a reception marking a book's appearance. We could do this in Bonn for our volume and consider hosting a similar reception in New York.

AK:OG

6642 (IRD-10)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 6, 1987
to Bertram H. Gold
from Phyllis Sherman
subject AJC Research Program

Unfortunately, I am unable to attend today's meeting. However, I wanted you to know my views about the subject, since I feel strongly about it.

Purpose of meeting

Selma's remark about reconsideration of David Singer's "mandate" seemed to suggest that staff should conduct this review. If this is in fact what she meant, I do not think that such a staff review is appropriate. The "mandate" given a member of staff is a decision to be made by the Executive Vice President. It is in a way a job description which is not appropriate for peer review. We don't have to like it. If the authority given to a staff person is deemed by the Executive Vice President to be in the interest of the proper functioning of the agency, the V.P. acts by fiat. Therefore, in my view, the purpose of the meeting should be to determine how we can, in light of resources, etc., get the best possible research program for the agency. (It may be a question of semantics but to handle it otherwise would, I believe, set a very bad precedent.) Does the present procedure need any "fine tuning" to make it work better? Should there be changes in the topics planned for Project 2000? Is the Research Task Force functioning properly? Etc.

Does central oversight of the agency's research programs help to achieve quality research which meets the agency's needs?

In my view, judging by the empirical evidence of the research itself, there is no question that the oversight procedure has improved the overall quality of the agency's research.

We should question the methodology of the research as well as its subject matter, organization, etc. Sure, the researchers will be unhappy when they have to rethink or rewrite. So what! This is what they have to do if they get money from any major foundation. When we commission work we have a right to demand quality.

This is not to say that the system is perfect. Both Sonya and David acknowledged at the SAC meeting that there are still instances where the products may not be of the highest standard, but for good reasons (perhaps political) they have been issued anyway.

continued --

Paralysis of departmental research programs

I don't believe we are in danger of paralyzing our departmental research programs. If there are instances of real dispute between the department head and the research and publications heads over a specific research program, the matter should be handled, as should all interdepartmental squabbles, by the Executive Vice President.

Accountability

Resistance to accountability may, I believe, underlie some of the criticism with respect to central control over research and other aspects of the agency. It's the old story -- we all want to hold the other person accountable but not ourselves.

The agency has made some gains in this area. It would, I believe, be a mistake to undo them.

Topics for Project 2000

I do not believe that David listed all of the topics planned for Project 2000. As I recall, there are some that dealt with intergroup relations issues, etc. It is my recollection that there was considerable staff input into the topics chosen, but this does not mean that they are written in stone. The topics should be subject to review during the entire process which is over a very long time frame.

I am sorry that I will not be able to participate in the give and take of the meeting, but I did want you to have my thinking on some aspects of the discussion. I have not dealt with coordination because I don't believe that it is a major problem.

PS:mb
(dictated but not read)

cc: Staff attending meeting on research

Research (\$400,000 annually)

1) Academic / Policy Research
Budget

2) Centralization - AJC (quality) / connection
peer review w. AJC program

- mandate for research?

- process - facilitate?

(Burt Mindick - study JCAD - \$50,000)

= Contribute to understanding of phenomena in area

Metron Rosenthal

Jury Crane

Admiral Shapiro

Europe

Vatican - Attitudes toward Jews
Catholics

Germany
initial

} Anti-S.

DIFFERENTIAL STANDARDS

\$3,000 -

Gary / then Best GORD

Peer Review



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 9, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan *AK*
subject South Africa Article

Attached is an article about South Africa which Murray Polner asked me to write for the AJC Journal. Please review.

Murray is on a tight schedule, so could you please get back to me on this by Tuesday, July 14. If I don't hear from you by then, I will assume the article is ok in its current version.

Very best regards.

AK;ss



1
2
3 South Africa, America, and American Jews
by Allan Kagedan

4 L.

5 Troubled South Africa has emerged
6 as an increasingly significant American
7 and American Jewish foreign policy
8 concern. Beautiful physically, rich in
9 minerals, advanced economically, South
10 Africa, a potential powerhouse of
11 African energies, seems bent on self-
12 destruction. Its privileged white
13 minority, which staunchly refuses to
14 grant legal and political equality to a
15 nonwhite majority, retains power through
16 apartheid, the wholesale political
17 disenfranchisement of the country's
18 Black majority and the suspension of
19 fundamental civil liberties. At the same
20 time, a sagging economy plunges non-
21 whites into poverty and malnutrition.

22 Unfortunately, the crisis gripping
23 South Africa shows few signs of abating.
24 Hopeful observers cite the Dutch Reform
25 Church Synod's rejection of apartheid
26 protests against Botha's policies at
27 Stellenbosch University, the center of
28 Afrikaaner intellectual life and

-2-

1
2
3 defections of prominent politicians from
4 the National Party as presaging an
5 "unbending" of the white community. But
6 optimism waned after ~~the~~ ^{last} Mays' elec-
7 tions, in which the ruling National
8 Party tightened its grip on Parliament
9 and the extreme right Conservative Party
10 replaced the liberal Progressive Federal
11 Party as the official opposition.

12 The world focus on South Africa
13 began in 1984 when a vocal antiapartheid
14 protest movement ⁱⁿ ~~stirred~~ ^{Botha regime} the Government
15 to issue emergency decrees that thrust
16 the problem into the headlines. By 1986,
17 South Africa topped the U.S. Congress'
18 foreign policy agenda. Reagan Admini-
19 stration officials, ^{ional representatives} ~~Congress~~ and
20 outside experts realized that the
21 political impasse in South Africa
22 endangered Western security, for chaos
23 ~~could~~ ^{could provide} ~~enable~~ the Soviet Union ^{with} ~~to acquire~~
24 a near monopoly on strategically vital
25 materials. Balancing moral imperative
26 with strategic necessity, last fall,
27 Congress adopted the Comprehensive
28 Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, imposing
limited economic sanctions on Pretoria

style?

style?

1 -3-

2
3 and commissioning a series of reports on
4 the future of U.S. policy and Western
5 relations with South Africa.

6 As America probed its relations
7 with South Africa, American Jews
8 participated in the national debate over
9 policy. For years, American Jewish
10 organizations had adopted statements
11 condemning apartheid. Their moral
12 outrage now demanded more specific
13 political judgment.

14 Three issues have dominated
15 American Jewish organizations' South
16 African agenda: sanctions and divest-
17 ment, Israel's relations with Pretoria
18 and the condition of South African Jews.

19 Though a multiplicity of shadings of
20 opinion were discernable among various
21 Jewish groups over these issues, only on
22 the question of divestment and sanctions
23 ~~has the Jewish community been unable to~~
24 ~~reach a consensus.~~

25 In addition to independent ana-
26 lysis, Jewish ties with prodivestment
27 Church and Black groups influenced
28 discussions and attitudes on the merits
of divestment. American church groups

1
2
3 insisted that all religious groups were
4 morally bound to support divestment.
5 American Blacks saw the plight of
6 South African blacks as comparable to
7 the predicament of Soviet Jews and Jews
8 under the Nazis, and ~~we~~ strongly
9 endorsed divestment.

10 ~~On the other hand, some American~~
11 ~~Jewish groups were in a member of the~~
12 ~~contact with liberal South African oppo-~~
13 ~~nents of apartheid, such as Helen Suzman~~
14 ~~Progressive Federal Party in Parliament,~~
15 ~~Helen Suzman, and South African Jewish~~
16 ~~leaders, who saw divestment as counter-~~
17 ~~productive. It was unlikely, they felt,~~
18 ~~that economic devastation could produce~~
19 ~~democracy in South Africa. Conflicting~~
20 ~~opinions resulted in a split decision.~~
21 The AJC and the Anti-Defamation League
22 have not taken a position in support of
23 divestment while the National Council of
24 Jewish Women, Union of American Hebrew
25 Congregations, National Jewish Community
26 Relations Advisory Committee and the
27 American Jewish Congress have \odot

28 Jewish groups were more in agree-
ment on the proposition that the U.S.

the US investors in South Africa,
in response to calls for withdrawal,
adopted a set of fair-employment
rules devised by Rev Leon Sullivan.
Though rejected by Sullivan as ^{no longer} effective.
in mid-1987, US companies
pledged to retain them.

of the

close
up

- Allan: briefly -
- 1- Sullivan principle
 - 2- Reagan's "Constructive Engagement" (or non-creative process)

The Reagan Administration, ~~with~~ lost the battle for public opinion with its policy of "constructive engagement", which was as ineffective as the "only attack" offered, however, were even more strange. ~~to~~ ~~sanctions~~, which ~~could~~ ~~not~~ guarantee ~~any~~ better results

1 -5-

2
3 should impose limited economic sanctions
4 on the South African Government. Though
5 sanctions would have some impact on the
6 South African economy generally, they
7 were seen as a specific response to the
8 Botha government's intransigence. The
9 sanctions issue came to a head in early
10 1986, when Congress introduced sanctions
11 legislation ~~was introduced~~ targeted at
12 South African Government-owned institu-
13 tions, including South African Airways,
14 the Krugerrand gold-coin industry, the
15 military and the police. The AJC, the
16 American Jewish Congress, NJCRAC, UAHC
17 and others urged the U.S. Congress to
18 over^oride a Presidential veto of the
19 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of
20 1986, while the ADL declined to do so.

21 American Jewry was less divided
22 about Israel's relations with Pretoria.
23 For years, Israel had been pilloried in
24 the UN and in the Soviet bloc press for
25 its alleged "alliance" with South
26 Africa. This has prompted investigation
27 by the American media ^{and others} of the true nature
28 of the relationship. Commentators
^{charged} ~~alleged~~ that Israel, along with some

*ditto -
only the media?*

1 -6-

2
3 Western European countries, had been
4 circumventing the 1977 UN embargo on
5 military sales to South Africa. The 1986
6 Anti-Apartheid Act provided for a State
7 Department study that could lead to a
8 cutoff of U.S. military assistance to
9 countries that defied the UN ban and
10 sold military equipment to South Africa.
11 The cutoff, however, would exclude NATO
12 members, among others, but include
13 Israel.

14 The American Jewish community
15 insisted that a full and fair accounting
16 be made of all countries that engage in
17 military trade with South Africa and
18 that Israel not be singled out for
19 censure and penalty. American Jews also
20 conveyed to Israeli leaders the negative
21 political fallout resulting from a
22 finding that Israel was perceived to be
23 violating the 1977 UN ban. Two weeks
24 before the State Department report's
25 release, on March 18, ^{1987,} Israel pledged to
26 phase out military trade with Pretoria
27 and curtail cultural, official and
28 tourist relations. The April 2 State
Department report named Israel, Italy

1 -7-

2
3 and France as Pretoria's primary
4 military suppliers. While the report
5 suggested that the Israeli Government
6 was more closely involved in this trade
7 than the other Governments named, it
8 noted the March 16 Israeli announcement
9 and conceded that its information was
10 partial and speculative.

11 The South African Jewish community
12 has posed another dilemma for American
13 Jews. It seemed "caught in the middle"
14 of the South African crisis, an
15 historically familiar and troubling
16 position for a Jewish community.

17 Some American Jews believed that
18 South African Jews should emigrate; but
19 most realized that for reasons of age,
20 family and business, a significant
21 number of the 110,000 member Jewish
22 community would remain. Indeed, what
23 worried South African Jews most was the
24 general political situation, not
25 anti-Semitism. Still, neofascist groups
26 did have a following, and Black percep-
27 tions of the close links between Israel
28 and South Africa have led to anger
against the Jewish community. South

1 -8-

2
3 African Jews, seeking an even course in
4 a political tornado, have gone beyond
5 statements condemning apartheid and some
6 have begun to criticize Pretoria's
7 suspension of civil liberties and are
8 thus reaching out to the country's
9 emerging Black leaders.

10 American Jews have tried to be
11 assist in this effort. In January 1986,
12 a newspaper story began circulating in
13 Israel, the U.S. and South Africa
14 attributing harshly anti-Jewish
15 comments to Anglican Archbishop Desmond
16 Tutu. Denied by both Tutu and South
17 African Jewish leaders, this story
18 threatened to undermine a developing
19 dialogue between Tutu and the Jewish
20 community of South Africa. The AJC
21 issued a statement flatly rejecting the
22 charges against the Archbishop. Simi-
23 larly, AJC publicized a resolution by
24 the South African Board of Jewish
25 Deputies that criticized Pretoria's
26 detention of children. In mid-April,
27 Archbishop Tutu addressed a "Freedom
28 Seder," held in Johannesburg, attended
by over 1,000 Jews, including many

1 -9-

2
3 Jewish community leaders.

4 No end is yet in sight for the
5 South African crisis. The May 6
6 election indicates ^{white} political attitudes
7 are hardening ~~on the part of whites~~
8 while the hoped-for emergence of a
9 moderate Afrikaaner group has not
10 materialized. The moral and political
11 dimensions of the South African tragedy
12 ensures it a prominent place on the
13 American and American Jewish agenda
14 through the 1990^s.

15 * * *

16
17 Allan ^{L.} Kagedan is ~~ATC~~ a
18 policy analyst in AJC's International
19 Relations Department.
20

21 6813 (IRD-3)/smm
22 7/7/87
23
24
25
26
27
28



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Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000

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July 13, 1987

Editor
Cleveland Jewish News
13910 Cedar Road
Cleveland, Ohio 44118

Dear Editor,

The distinguishing feature of Rabbi Melvin Granatstein's column on the meeting between Pope John Paul II and Kurt Waldheim (July 3, "Pope's Welcoming of Waldheim Hardly a Surprise") is its anger. It is an anger that is clearly justified.

What I resent is his suggestion that he somehow has a monopoly in expressing Jewish distress, while so-called "community relations specialists" such as myself -- "even rabbis" -- are incapable of representing authentically Jewish convictions about this appalling meeting to the Vatican and to others.

The plain fact of the matter is that while Rabbi Granatstein was grandstanding in the comfortable security of the Anglo-Jewish press, and probably from the immunities of his pulpit, my colleagues and I were confronting Vatican authorities and American and European Catholic bishops directly, face to face, with the "moral and political incomprehensibility" of this audience.

In fact, last Thursday morning, a delegation of four rabbis, including this writer, associated with the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC), met in New York with the Vatican's Secretary of State, Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, and insisted that the Vatican created these problems and it is up to the Pope and the Vatican to take the necessary steps to clear the air between the Holy See and the world Jewish community. We believe we had considerable impact on Cardinal Casaroli and the other bishops present, and only time will tell what will result from that meeting.

In our pluralist America and in our democratic Jewish community, we all have the right -- "even rabbis" -- to differ with one another. But it is absolutely unacceptable from the perspectives of Jewish ethical traditions and the American democratic ethos to impugn the motives of those with whom we may have honest differences. Rabbi Granatstein has not only done that, but has engaged in the execrable moral sins of slander and defamation.

On what evidence does he base his assertion, "The Pope and his representatives are religious men who take the doctrines of their faith very seriously. Our representatives on the other hand, are community relations specialists who are largely ignorant of Jewish religious sources. Their religious beliefs do not usually run very deep... Even the rabbis among them are not noted for their profound rootedness in Jewish religious sources."

I cannot speak for others, but I am personally and deeply offended by this unmitigated display of arrogance. Having been raised since childhood in an observant Orthodox Jewish home, having studied through high school in the Yeshivat Chofetz Chaim (Talmudic Academy) in Baltimore and then graduated from Yeshiva University and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, having published seven books and hundreds of articles and monographs on Jewish traditions, history, and culture, I will match my knowledge of "Jewish religious sources" with Rabbi Granatstein anytime, anywhere.

As for his insulting slur that I lack "Jewish self-respect" and am guilty of "obsequiousness" I find that more a statement of Rabbi Granatstein's underlying insecurities than it is a relevant comment on my 25 years of service in Jewish-Christian relations, in which I take considerable pride.

Ironically, your columnist writes positively of the need to pursue "decent relations with local Catholic groups." I submit that none of these "decent relations" with Catholic and other Christian officials would be possible today had it not been for the pioneering work that we ignorant, unreligious community relations professionals accomplished in Rome at Vatican Council II and since then in every state in America during the past 20 years.

This Cleveland rabbi attributes to me a comment on the MacNeil-Lehrer Show that I did not make. He said that I characterized the Pope as the "conscience of mankind." What I said in fact was that Kurt Waldheim described the Pope as "the conscience of mankind," and he used that characterization as the basis for inferring that this Papal "conscience of mankind" had given him instant absolution of his sins, without Waldheim's having acknowledged any of his evil deeds."

How is that an "obsequious" statement, lacking in "Jewish self-respect?"

Since Rabbi Granatstein narcissistically regards himself as the avatar of Jewish "chochmah," it might be good for his judgmental spirit for him to contemplate the wisdom of the Chazal who warned that the Baïš Hamikdosh, the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, was destroyed because of Sinat Chinom, "causeless hatred," and will only be rebuilt by "causeless love" and respect.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:RPR

cc: Martin Plax



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000

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July 15, 1987

Mr. Raffaello Fellah
Association of Jews from Libya
P.O. Box 7169
00162 Rome, Italy

Dear Raffaello,

First of all, let me congratulate you on the tremendous success of the First International Convention of Jews from Libya. We were greatly honored to cooperate with you as a partner in this endeavor.

As you know, our commitment to Libyan Jewry is long-standing and is not confined to this single event. The American Jewish Committee has sought to be of assistance to Libyan Jews for over four decades. In accordance with the resolutions adopted at the convention, the AJC has offered to serve as a center for the processing of the property claims of Libyan Jews. The compilation of this documentation is essential for the furtherance of Libyan Jews' legal, cultural and moral agendas.

Members of both our professional staff and lay leadership have indicated their willingness to assist in this regard. Harry Milkman of our AJC International Relations Department, will continue to act as your primary professional liaison with the AJC, and Attorney James Greilsheimer, an AJC lay leader, has offered to provide pro bono legal assistance.

In addition, we look forward to participating in the future cultural and educational programs of the Association. We are proud to be a part of the renaissance of the Libyan Jewish community, as it reasserts itself as a unique but integral member of Klal Yisrael.

Sincerely,

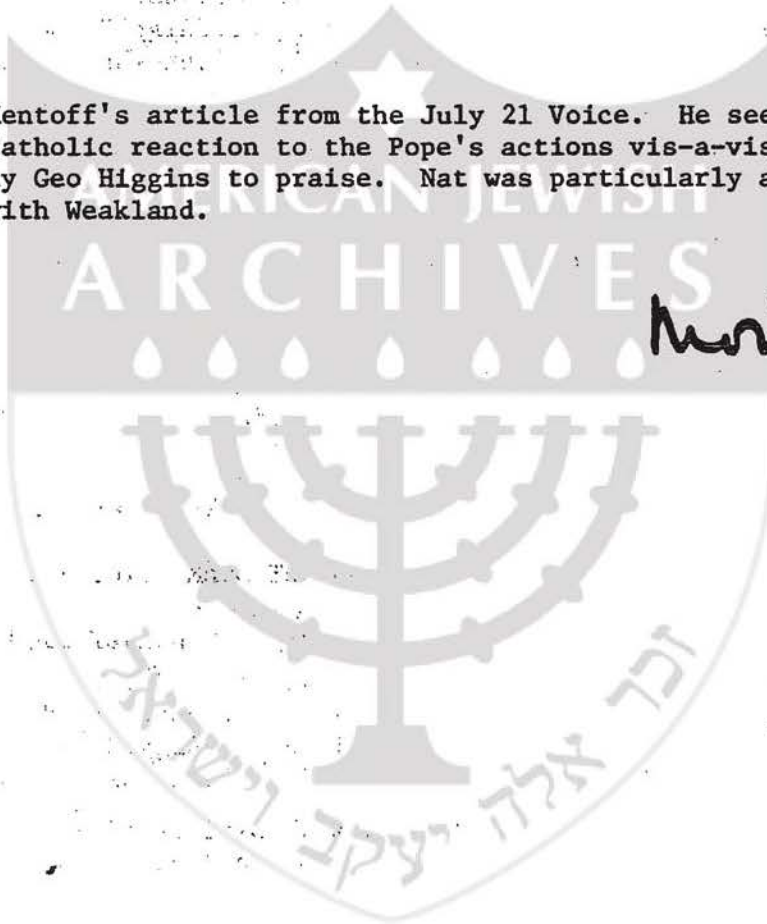
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:RPR

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 24, 1987
to Bert Gold, Marc Tanenbaum, Jim Rudin
from Mort Yarmon
subject

Here is Nat Hentoff's article from the July 21 Voice. He seems to be looking for Catholic reaction to the Pope's actions vis-a-vis Waldheim, and finds only Geo Higgins to praise. Nat was particularly angry, when we chatted, with Weakland.



Mort.

MY:ir

SUSAN N. FAULKNER
137-47 45TH AVE.
FLUSHING, NEW YORK 11355

Ph.D.

June 25, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
New York, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

Let me say first that I attended the Black/Jewish Forum at Queens College, at which you debated Rev. Jesse Jackson. I appreciated the opportunity to hear the views of both, and I admired your manner of showing sensitivity to Black feelings, yet not appearing to be too deferential or to "cater" to Black people unduly.

I write today to urge your organization to do what you can to cease herewith all efforts to further "court" the Vatican and to seemingly plead for the Vatican's "recognition" of Israel, or of the Jews' rights not to be seen as "guilty" for imagined crimes, if any, of millennia ago. In view of the Pope's audience with Waldheim, and even worse, of his praise of Waldheim as a man always concerned "with keeping the peace," it is clear that for this Pope, as indeed has been history of all popes except John XXIII, Jews count for nought, their sensibilities for nothing, their pride for nil. I think that those Jews, such as Dr. Israel Singer, who have been counseling that path for some time were right, and those Jewish organizations who persisted in almost begging for the Vatican's good graces -- in keeping with ancient models of Jews pleading for crumbs from the tables of the mighty -- may have been well-intentioned but ill-advised!

It is sad that the current efforts to protest the audience in advance were, for reasons I am not familiar with, limited to Jewish groups, thus giving Waldheim additional grist for his (anti-Semitic) mill that this was a "Jewish" endeavor. But if other, non-Jewish groups could not be organized in time, at least Jews were not silent when it counted. There could be no doubt in my mind that the planned meeting between the Pope and the Jewish organizations in September must not take place under any circumstances, regardless of attempts on either side to cloak such a meeting in decorum. ^{otherwise} The Pope will in fact place Jewish groups in a position of being put on a level of moral equivalency with such "other" presumably controversial people as Arafat, Agka, and now Waldheim -- a totally untenable parallel. We are not to be placed in the same moral universe as these would-be "statesmen" ^{would-be assassins} and/or "men of peace." It behooves all Jewish organizations to stand absolutely fast on this point, and to abandon any further efforts of "improving," if that's what it was, Jewish-Catholic relations.

Jews no longer need to beg for favors from the mighty -- thank goodness. Let's for once show the world that we draw a line at sacrificing principle for expediency.

Sincerely,

Susan N. Faulkner Ph.D.

ROBERT A. RIESMAN

806 HOSPITAL TRUST BUILDING
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02903-2471
(401) 421-2094

6/26/87

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
AJCommittee

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

Having watched and listened to you for over twenty years, I am very comfortable when you speak for our community (which is more than I can say about all but a few of our spokesmen).

Last night on McNeill-Lehrer you were no less than superb. My boy, you're a credit to the regiment! My only complaint is that we don't have more like you.

Yashe koach

Respectfully,



AUG 1 1987

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : July 29th, 1987

to : George E. Gruen
from : Sergio Nudelstejer

subject

Received your confidential memo dated July 6th on the present situation of the Jews in Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and Iran, which I read very carefully and with special interest.

I used your memo and translated into Spanish the most important parts of it and we have sent it out to Jewish organizations and communities in Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela in the certainty that the contents of this memo will be of utmost importance to them.

Would appreciate it if you keep me informed on the development of this important matter.


Receive as always, my most cordial regards.

copies: Marc H. Tanenbaum
Bertram H. Gold

AUG 14 1987
AUG 1 1987

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : July 29th, 1987
to : Marc H. Tanenbaum
from : Sergio Nudelstejer 
subject : Religious Services for the Jewish Community in Guatemala

As you will see from the letter enclosed, we have been able to arrange that for the next High Holiday season, Irving B. Levine will conduct the Services in the Conservative Synagogue of Guatemala City.

Irving has been kind enough to accept this invitation which does not include any fee, the Community will only pay for his plane tickets and his expenses while in Guatemala. Even so, I think it has been a very nice gesture on his part.

I am very glad that our AJC office in Mexico was the contact and through us the Conservative Congregation in Guatemala City, which is a large one, will have somebody to conduct the Services for Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur.

With best cordial regards.

copy: Bertram H. Gold

Sergio Nudelstejer B.
Ave. Ejercito Nacional 533-302 y 303
Polanco, Mexico 11520, Mexico D.F.

Mexico City, July 29th, 1987

Mr. Irving B. Levine
1731 Beacon Street, Apt. 1502
Brookline, Ma. 02146
W. S. A.

Dear Irving:

I got your letter dated July 1st, and I am glad that you have received an invitation from the Conservative Synagogue in Guatemala to conduct High Holiday Services there, this fall.

As you may remember, I spoke with Mr. Robert Stein, president of the Jewish Community of Guatemala when he joined us in New York for the Annual Meeting and I introduced you to him.

Your services during the High Holidays in Guatemala will be a mitzvah because they have no permanente Rabbi nor jazan. I wish you succes and, ahead of ~~time~~ I wish you Hag Sameaj and a happy New Year 5748.

Sincerely yours.

copies: Marc H. Tenbaum
Bert H. Gold

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JAPAN AND THE JEWS: AN ASSESSMENT

by

David A. Harris, Washington Representative

The American Jewish Committee

As if from nowhere, a *New York Times* story last March, datelined Tokyo, focused on the popularity of two books in Japanese that conjured up striking similarities to the infamous, Teerist-fabricated *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

These mass-circulation paperbacks by a self-described Christian fundamentalist, Masami Uno, claim that a Jewish network has established hegemony in the U.S. through its domination of American politics, the media, key professions -- law, medicine and accounting, and the economy, including control of such major corporations as IBM, General Motors, Standard Oil and Exxon. The next target? Japan. The rising yen, overseas manufacturing by Japanese multi-nationals, growing competitive strength of South Korea and outflow of Japanese capital to the U.S. are all part of the Jewish intrigue. Even the Lockheed scandal, which fingered Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka, and Watergate were, according to this bizarre theory, the work of the Jews, specifically the "Jew" Nelson Rockefeller.

With only the most marginal of contact with world Jewry -- and this only

in the last 100 years -- and no more than a few hundred Jews resident in the entire country, what can possibly explain such a preoccupation in Japan with alleged Jewish-inspired plots? Why now? How serious is the problem? And what, if anything, ought to be done about it?

"The problems in Japan cannot be judged by the standards of classical anti-Semitism," observed Isi Leibler, a prominent Australian businessman and president of the Asia-Pacific branch of the World Jewish Congress. "The more general problem in Asia is that, with the exception of a remnant Jewish population of a few thousand in India, there is virtually no Jewish presence anywhere. In the West and Middle East, we share common roots and have intermingled -- sometimes for better, sometimes for worse -- with Christians and Moslems. But in Asia, including Japan, we have no common cultural or historical experience."

It is precisely this lack of direct contact, coupled with Japan's island-nation mentality and its highly homogenous people and relative cultural insularity, that has contributed to the creation of false images and stereotypes -- not all of them negative, by the way -- of Jews and Judaism among a significant element in the population of 121 million, 99% of whom have probably never even met a Jew. As Bernard Krisher, an American resident in Japan for the past 25 years and the former Tokyo correspondent for *Newsweek* and *Fortune*, commented: "To the Japanese,

Jews are like dragons and fairies."

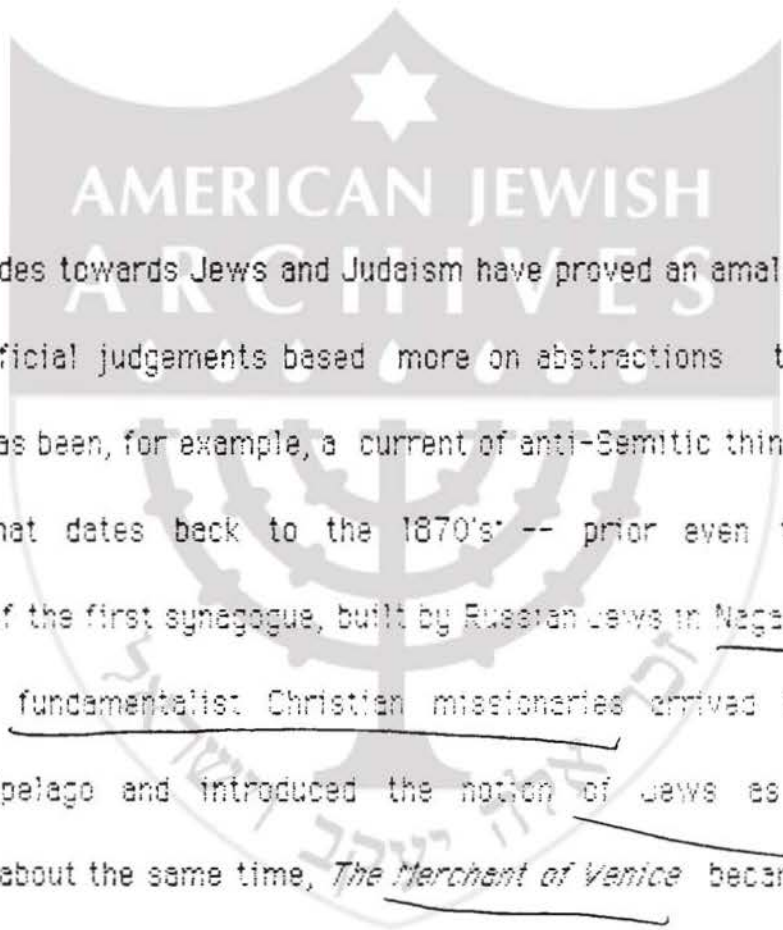
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A number of experts predict that the current wave of anti-Semitic literature is likely to prove a short-lived fad -- as much a derivative of currently strained Japanese-American ties as of any particular feelings about Jews *per se* and stress that its authors are without any serious reputation. Indeed, Nobuo Matsunaga, Japan's ambassador to the U.S., stated categorically in response to a March letter from Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) and Representative Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) protesting recent manifestations of Japanese anti-Semitism, that "anti-Semitism has no roots in Japan's cultural history," adding that the views of such authors as Uno can "in no way be interpreted as representative of the views of the Japanese people, much less the view of the Government of Japan."

Despite these welcome words, there remains a lingering fear among some observers of Japan that left unchecked anti-Semitic literature could grow in popularity, particularly if Japanese-American relations continue to deteriorate.

"The current build-up of anti-Semitism may be more the exception than the rule," noted Asher Neim, currently Minister of Information at the Israeli Embassy in Washington and among the first Israeli diplomats to serve in Tokyo in the 1950's. "Let's not forget, however, that exceptions

can become the rule. Scapegoating of a mythically omnipotent world Jewry could become possible if political and economic conditions warrant. America is seen by some Japanese as too powerful, too amorphous an adversary, so there might be greater receptivity to pointing the finger at a visible, distinct and vulnerable target, even though no basis in reality exists."



Japanese attitudes towards Jews and Judaism have proved an amalgam of generally superficial judgements based more on abstractions than on reality. There has been, for example, a current of anti-Semitic thinking in the country that dates back to the 1870's -- prior even to the establishment of the first synagogue, built by Russian Jews in Nagasaki in 1894 -- when fundamentalist Christian missionaries arrived in the Japanese archipelago and introduced the notion of Jews as the anti-Christ. At about the same time, *The Merchant of Venice* became one of the first works of European literature to be translated into Japanese. It enjoyed immediate popularity and eventually became incorporated into the school curriculum where it remains today.

"The impact of the introduction of the play was indeed very significant," concluded Afikumi Ikeda of Tokyo's Institute of Developing Economies in a

recent lecture at the Hebrew University. "Before then, nobody cared about differences among the Westerners. They were all alike; they were all gaijin (aliens, outsiders), and the only distinction between them was the language they spoke...For the first time, Japanese began to realize that Westerners had their own social outcast group...and without a Jewish community at hand, it is impossible to verify such imported images."

Among the non-Jewish refugees fleeing eastward from the 1917 Russian Revolution were those carrying the false notion that Jews were behind the overthrow of the last tsar and the ill-fated Kerensky regime, an unsettling notion in anti-Bolshevik Japan. They bore copies of the Protocols which were first translated into Japanese in 1924 by Colonel Norihito Yasue, one of a number of military officers who embraced the view that Russia had been subverted by Jewish revolutionaries. According to Dr. Herbert Passin, emeritus professor of sociology at Columbia University, and one of this country's leading specialists on Japanese society and culture, there are about 40 different translations of the Protocols available in Japanese, and it is more easily accessible in Japan today than in any other country in the world.

The Axis alliance with Nazi Germany prompted the emergence of anti-Semitic organizations in Japan and the distribution of hate literature. But despite widespread acceptance of the notion that Jews

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controlled the world, many Japanese arrived at the opposite conclusion of the Nazis. Rather than seek to destroy the Jews, why not befriend them? After all, the cultivation of such a powerful group could benefit Japan. For example, the Japanese had neither the capital nor the other resources to develop occupied Manchuria. Why not, then, try to attract Jewish refugees fleeing strife-torn Europe, the so-called Fugu Plan? They would bring talent, attract capital from the presumed worldwide Jewish network, and even affect the policies of the Roosevelt Administration that was believed to be under the heavy influence of Jewish circles.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

In recent years, the strain in Japanese-American relations has introduced a new element. All-embracing theories like those of Uno, the author of *If You Understand Judea, You Understand the World* and *If You Understand Judea, You Understand Japan*, (and in June a third book, *The Day the Dollar Turned Into Paper: The Jewish Conspiracy*, appeared), become easily understood and digestible explanations for many. Published in 1985, the books have sold literally hundreds of thousands of copies each. While it is difficult to assess their impact on opinion-making circles in Japan, it was disturbing to Dr. Passin, the Columbia professor, to read last January in *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the country's largest-circulation newspaper, that the works have been cited by some Bank of Japan officials, one of whom was quoted after reading the Uno books as saying: "I suddenly realized why everything is happening," referring to the purported Jewish manipulation

of the value of the yen and the dollar.

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The Uno books are not alone. Many leading Japanese bookstores have "Jewish corners" where such titles as *The Secret of Jewish Power to Control the World*, *The Jewish Plan for Conquest of the World*, *How to Read the Hidden Meaning of the Jewish Protocols* and the *Miracles of the Torah Which Control the World*, are displayed. Elsewhere in the same stores, shoppers will find such works as Amos Oz's *In the Land of Israel*, Elie Wiesel's *Night*, Norman Cohn's *Warrant for Genocide*, all in Japanese translation, and serious works on Jewish topics by Japanese scholars. Regrettably, none of these latter authors can begin to match the success of Uno and his colleagues, though *The Diary of Anne Frank* has reportedly sold more copies in Japan - four million - than in any other country. Also, a 1970 book, *The Japanese and the Jews*, by Isaiah Ben-Dasen, which, though largely focusing on the unending Japanese quest for understanding of their own national character, addressed comparisons between two ancient and rich civilizations, and proved a tremendous success.

One cannot simply speak of Japan's attitudes towards Jews in negative terms. Indeed, the reality is far more complex. For instance, some Christians, who form a tiny but intellectually significant segment of the Japanese population, embraced the notion that Jews were God's chosen people, the People of the Book. And today we continue to witness the

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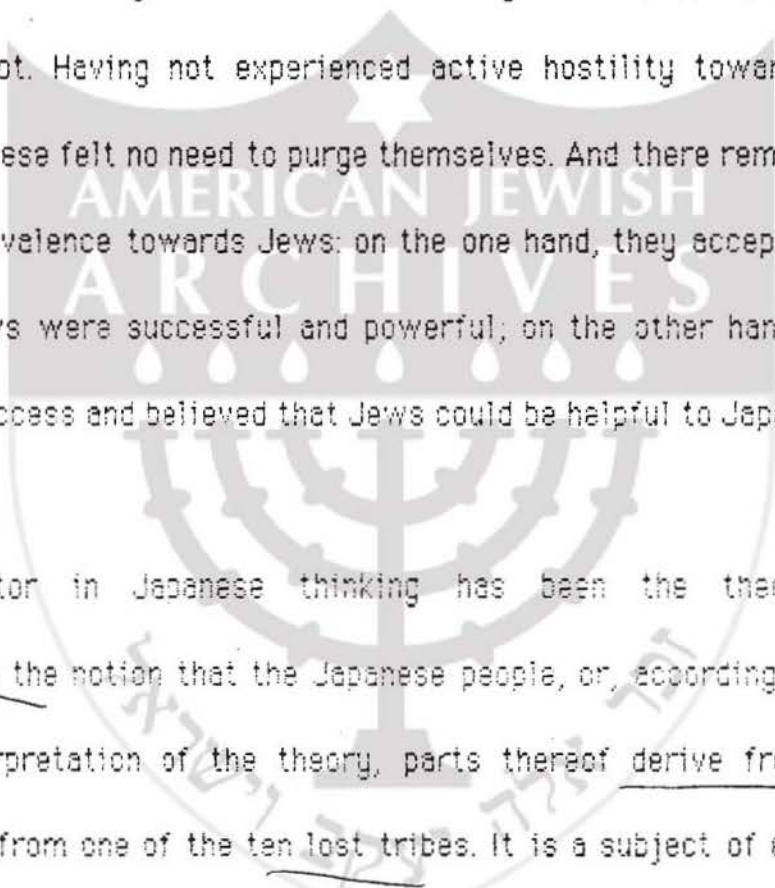
extraordinary sight of the (Christien) Mekuya movement, founded in 1948 as the Japanese New Zionist Movement, whose several thousand members learn Habrew, make regular pilgrimages to Israel, conduct demonstrations in behalf of Israel in Japan, and raise money for philanthropic purposes in the Jewish State.

Other Japanese continue to recall with gratitude, even awe, the vital financial assistance extended by Jacob Schiff, an American Jew, during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, at a time when other international financiers proved unresponsive.

Further, it is important to note the widely different attitudes of the Japanese and the Germans to Jews during the Second World War. In Israel there is a forest named in honor of Sugihara Sempo, the Japanese consul in Kovno, Lithuania, who risked his career to issue visas to literally thousands of Jews who succeeded in escaping to Japan or Japanese-occupied Manchuria. Indeed, through his effort, the entire Mir Yeshiva in Kovno -- 300 students and faculty -- was able to leave for Asia.

In all, as many as 18,000 German, Austrian and Polish Jews were able to find a safe haven in Manchuria, according to David Kranzler, a historian at Queensborough Community College. In part, the Japanese Government's generally benign attitude may have been prompted by a desire to assert

independence of its Nazi allies. Certainly the desire to utilize Jewish talent and capital, especially in Manchuria, was a major factor. And while a ghetto was established for some, though not all, Jews in Shanghai in 1943 due to Nazi pressure, and the Jews faced serious restrictions, the circumstances can in no way be compared to conditions in Europe. Thus, as Dr. Passin of Columbia University noted: "When the war ended, the Germans had to face the enormity of their war crimes against the Jews, but the Japanese did not. Having not experienced active hostility towards the Jews, the Japanese felt no need to purge themselves. And there remained a continuing ambivalence towards Jews: on the one hand, they accepted the notion that Jews were successful and powerful; on the other hand, they admired this success and believed that Jews could be helpful to Japan."



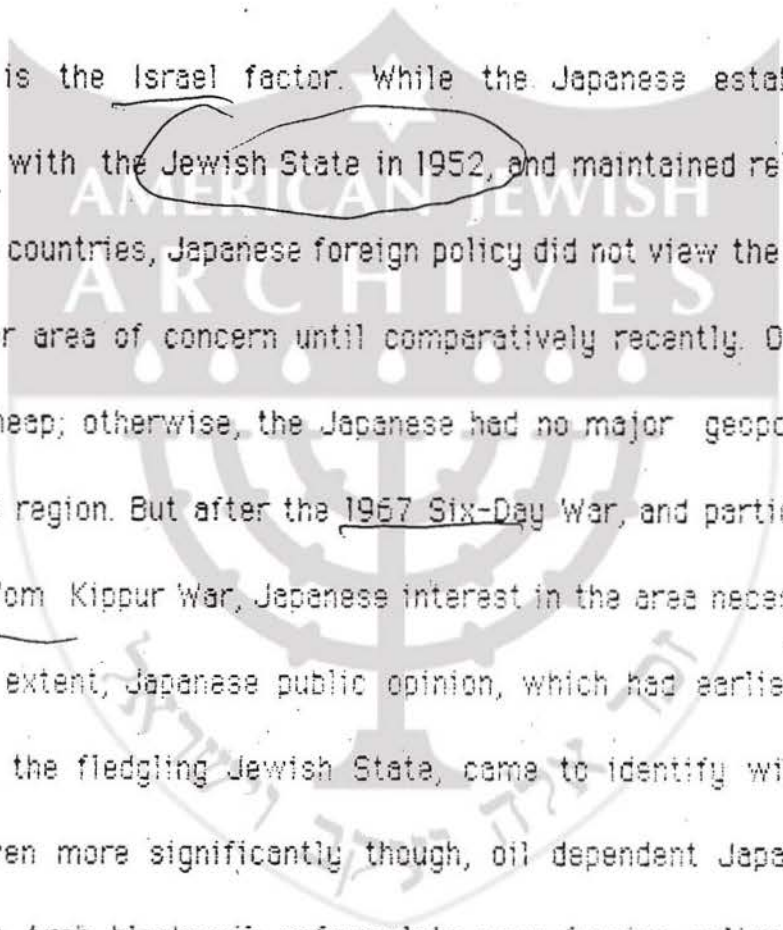
Another factor in Japanese thinking has been the theory of Nichi-Yu-Setsu, the notion that the Japanese people, or, according to the particular interpretation of the theory, parts thereof derive from the Jews, possibly from one of the ten lost tribes. It is a subject of endless fascination for the Japanese, though as Dr. Passin noted: "It is rather akin to American debates over Atlantis."

One offshoot of this discussion is the admiration some Japanese hold for Jews, believing as well that the two peoples have points in common -- a drive for success, respect for education and hard work, a desire to

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preserve long cultural and historical traditions. Unfortunately, these feelings can get carried away in books that may be intended as flattery but more readily contribute to dangerous stereotyping. Japanese bookstores carry such titles as *Make Money with Stocks Targeted by the Jews*, *How Jews Negotiate*, *How Jews Make Money* and *Jewish Methods of Negotiating in Law*.

Finally, there is the Israel factor. While the Japanese established diplomatic ties with the Jewish State in 1952, and maintained relations with many Arab countries, Japanese foreign policy did not view the Middle East as a major area of concern until comparatively recently. Oil was plentiful and cheap; otherwise, the Japanese had no major geopolitical interests in the region. But after the 1967 Six-Day War, and particularly after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Japanese interest in the area necessarily grew. To some extent, Japanese public opinion, which had earlier been sympathetic to the fledgling Jewish State, came to identify with the Palestinians. Even more significantly though, oil dependent Japan was threatened with Arab blackmail: reformulate your foreign policy to be supportive of the Arab side, Tokyo was told in no uncertain terms, or lose vital Persian Gulf oil. For Japan, more dependent on imported energy resources than any other major industrialized country, including 99.7% of its primary energy staple, petroleum, the choice was obvious.



Japan hurriedly sought to realign its foreign policy to curry favor with the Arab states and maintain the vital oil flow. Diplomatic ties with Jerusalem continued, it must be noted, despite Arab pressure to sever them, but were best characterized as cautious and low-profile. Japanese officials began to speak out in favor of the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinians and an Israeli withdrawal to the pre-Six-Day War borders. Overall, the facts of Japanese-Israeli relations speak rather startlingly for themselves:

* No Japanese cabinet-level figure has ever officially visited Israel.

High-level Israeli visits have perforce been infrequent: Foreign Minister Abba Eban in 1967, Minister of Transport and Communications Shimon Peres in 1973, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir in 1985.

* In 1974, Japan voted to give the PLO observer status at the UN. Three years later, a PLO office was established in Tokyo in 1977. And in 1981, Arafat visited Japan under a convoluted diplomatic arrangement to attempt to mask the official nature of the trip. At the time, Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki became the first head of a major non-communist country to receive the PLO leader.

* No Japanese economic delegation has ever visited Israel.

* No Japanese company has ever invested in Israel.

* The Japanese External Trade Organization which maintains offices in dozens of major cities around the world refuses to establish a presence in Israel.

* El Al, Israel's national airline, has been repeatedly refused landing rights in Tokyo. Japan Air Lines has consistently declined to add Tel Aviv to its air routes.

* Though Israeli ships do make calls on Japanese ports, no Japanese ships reciprocate in Israel.

* Bilateral trade is far lower -- only around \$400 million annually -- than its potential because of Japanese companies' reluctance to jeopardize ties with the Arab world where Japan may now be the top international trader. And this has included widespread adherence by major Japanese corporations to the Arab economic boycott of Israel. Such major corporations as Toyota, Nissan, Mitsubishi and Hitachi have refused to sign deals with Israeli counterparts. Despite repeated denials of any governmental role, the involvement of such ministries as the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry in assisting

companies' compliance with the boycott has been amply demonstrated, according to experts in the U.S. and Israel.

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Israel's foreign policy goals, according to Asher Naim, the Israeli diplomat, are: (1) to elevate diplomatic relations to those enjoyed with other friendly countries, (2) to encourage emulation of the American, Dutch and French examples of national legislation prohibiting compliance by companies with boycotts, and (3) to expand contacts -- commercial, scientific, cultural, people-to-people. He believes that *both* sides stand to gain from a strengthening of ties.

While the Japanese, by receiving Shamir in 1985, may have signalled a willingness to warm relations, they are still deeply fearful of offending Arab governments and jeopardizing their markets. How shameful, Israeli observers note, that the world's second economic superpower allows itself to be held hostage to such unseemly, and unsound, considerations! With the oil supply plentiful and relatively cheap, Japan's economic powerhouse the envy of the rest of the world, other leading democratic countries enjoying close political and commercial ties with Jerusalem without sacrificing other interests in the region, and Tokyo's repeated insistence that it favors the principles of free trade, why does Japan continue its hesitant policy vis a vis Israel?

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It is also undoubtedly true that these Japanese attitudes towards Israel have served to affect views towards Jews generally. Insofar as this larger picture of Jews and Japan is concerned, what can be done to promote greater mutual understanding?

Despite Japan's growing worldwide importance and leading position in a region that Isi Leibler, the Australian, described as "a burgeoning economic power that may shift the world's balance of power in 30-40 years," too little effort has hitherto been made by Jewish organizations to consider long-term programming -- sensitively tailored to take into account the specific characteristics of Japanese society -- that seeks to shed stereotypes and build positive images. Indeed, the only major conference in Japan on relations between the Japanese and the Jews to which was reference was made in the Anglo-Jewish press was held in 1976. It was sponsored by the Lutheran World Federation, the Seibunsha (Lutheran) Publishing House and the Japan Lutheran Theological College.

According to one of the participants, Dr. Arne Sovik of the Lutheran World Federation's Department of Studies, the delegates agreed that "efforts must be made to correct prejudicial treatment of Jews in Japan in three areas: (a) the mass media, which since 1967 has been increasingly anti-Jewish; (b) textbooks, which deal with Jewish history in an

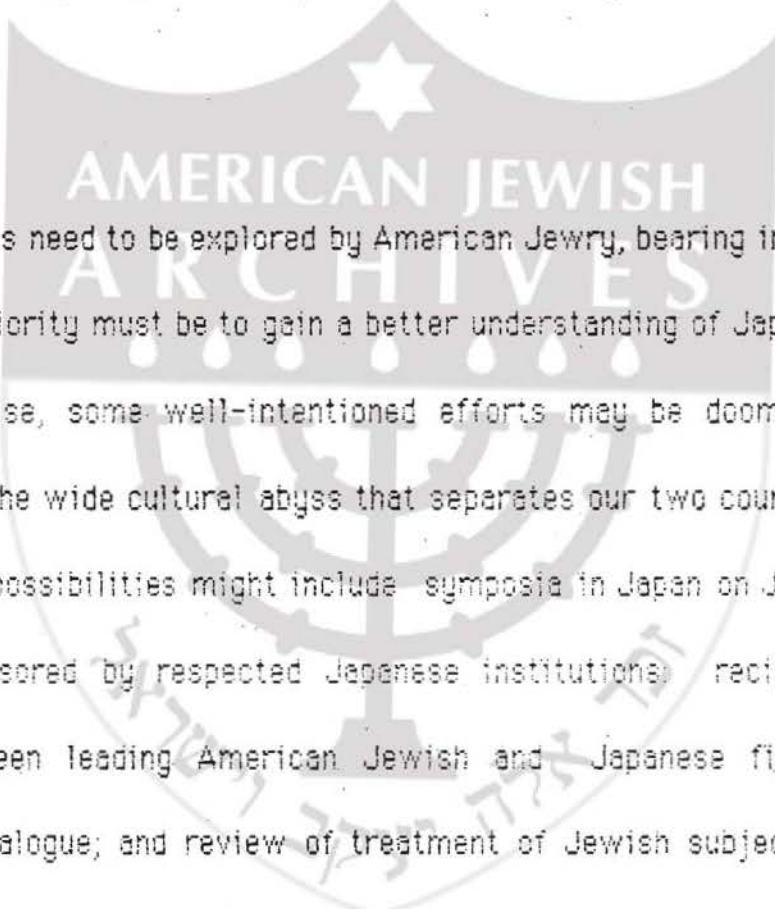
oversimplified way; (c) Christian teaching, which has sometimes encouraged negative attitudes through poorly researched sermons and study materials on the New Testament record." (Source: "Japanese Prejudices," Patterns of Prejudice, Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, No. 9-10, 1975-76, p. 37)

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Dr. David Goodman, an associate professor of Japanese and comparative literature at the University of Illinois, has been concerned with promoting Japanese-Jewish understanding over the past 13 years, and has written two books in Japanese that deal with both Jewish and Israeli themes.

"A great deal more has to be done to promote an accurate appreciation about Jews and Judaism among the Japanese," he said in a recent telephone interview. "At the moment, there is no organization, no group of people, either in Japan or elsewhere, prepared to actively and systematically work towards the promotion of mutual Japanese-Jewish understanding. The small Jewish community in Japan is simply unable to undertake such a major project. It is time that major Jewish organizations, which are not currently equipped to deal with the complexity of Japanese society, begin to do so. It's important not only because of the recent spate of anti-Semitic books, but because it is part of a larger recrudescence of anti-Semitism in Asia. (Note: Uno's first two books were recently translated into Korean, according to Columbia's Dr. Passin)... The

• anti-Semitism expressed in the books of Uno and others like him has greater currency in the Japanese intellectual milieu than anywhere else in the democratic world. Regrettably few Japanese intellectuals of stature have stood up to openly condemn these dangerous trends. In the end, the only pressure that will truly work in Japan is not outside pressure, though there is a need for outsiders respected in Japan to speak up, but the pressure of leading Japanese figures who publicly denounce this anti-Semitism."



A number of areas need to be explored by American Jewry, bearing in mind that the first priority must be to gain a better understanding of Japanese society. Otherwise, some well-intentioned efforts may be doomed to failure, lost in the wide cultural abyss that separates our two countries. Future program possibilities might include symposia in Japan on Jewish themes cosponsored by respected Japanese institutions; reciprocal exchanges between leading American Jewish and Japanese figures; interreligious dialogue; and review of treatment of Jewish subjects -- Jewish history, Holocaust, Judaism, Israel -- in the Japanese educational system and the media.

Adds Bernard Krisher, the American living in Japan: "What is needed is some educational program about Jews and Judaism in Japan. Not public relations but something more substantial. There are American, British,

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French, Italian and German cultural centers. Why not a Jewish or Hebraic Cultural Center -- attached to the Jewish Community Center in Tokyo and funded by American Jewish organizations, as neither the Jews here nor the Israel Embassy has the funds. Another suggestion would be to fund a chair in Jewish Studies at one of the major Japanese universities. This would be a small but significant beginning. A third possibility would be to facilitate translation and publication in Japanese of some important books on Judaism and Jews."

Dr. Goodman agrees with Mr. Krisher's first two suggestions but notes that there is no shortage of responsible scholarly and popular works in Japanese on Jewish themes. But the disturbing fact is that, with few exceptions, they are not being widely read. Instead, it is the works of those like Uno that are being bought.

Given the press of other compelling issues in Jewish life and limited resources, the current difficulties (and opportunities) in Japan may not be seen as a top priority, but such a conclusion belies the rapidly growing significance of Japan and, indeed, of all Asia on the world scene, not to speak of the potential dangers posed by the recent anti-Semitic manifestations. This situation poses a major challenge to world Jewry. It would be a mistake if we did not rise to meet it.

Washington, DC
7/87

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John Paul II and the Jews: A Paradoxical Relationship

Pope John Paul II is a paradox for the world Jewish community. More than any of his predecessors, he has taken seriously, the words of the Second Vatican Council's, Nostra Aetate: "Since the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews is thus so great, this sacred Synod wishes to foster and recommend that mutual understanding and respect which is the fruit above all of biblical and theological studies, and of brotherly dialogues." He has been a practitioner of the "brotherly dialogue," having met with Jewish representatives on over 20 occasions. He has addressed the Jews as "beloved brothers" and "dear friends." In virtually every country this globe-trotting pope has visited, wherever there exists a Jewish community, he has invited them to meet with him.

Yet, he has also met with controversial ~~world~~ figures such as Yasir Arafat (1982) and Kurt Waldheim (1987). These meetings have outraged Jewish sensibilities, contributing to a sense of ambivalence about him. Is John Paul for us or against us, Jews ask. "Why does he make remarkably positive statements about us, our religion, our history and then act in ways that deeply offend us?"

The ostensible contradiction between positive utterances and perceived, negative actions is one dimension of the paradox. Another level has to do with this pope's doctrinal conservatism. Advancing a positive theology of Catholic-Jewish relations, reversing the "teaching of contempt" for Jews and Judaism, exploring basic scriptures and convictions in the light of an affirmative orientation toward Judaism are all progressive, even radical initiatives. One would have expected that in a pontificate marked by an emphasis on tradition and discipline, Catholic-Jewish relations would simply receive the same criticism as feminism and other liberalizing trends. But that has not occurred, at least not publicly. The Catholic-Jewish relationship proceeds, from breakthrough to dramatic breakthrough, punctuated just as regularly by destabilizing crises.

In order to evaluate John Paul's record in Catholic-Jewish relations, it is important to note that he has been subject to criticism in this area from the very beginning. While some of his actions, the meeting with Arafat, e.g., have been unambiguously negative from a Jewish point of view, other actions, hailed by some Jews, have been criticized by others. These mixed reactions have to do not merely with the broad range of Jewish opinion, but with real ambiguity about what the pope means.

As early as 1979, the pope returned to his native land and journeyed to Auschwitz. He spoke of all of those who died there, reading the names of the languages they spoke off of a memorial plaque. Then he added: "In particular I pause with you, dear participants in this encounter, before the inscription in Hebrew. This inscription awakens the memory

of the people whose sons and daughters were intended for total extermination. This people draws its origin from Abraham, our father in faith (cf. Rom 4:12), as was expressed by Paul of Tarsus. The very people who received from God the commandment "thou shalt not kill" itself experienced in a special measure what is meant by killing. It is not permissible for anyone to pass by this inscription with indifference." Immediately, the question arose, why he did not use the word "Jews" instead of the circumlocution, "the people [that] ... draws its origin from Abraham." Was this deliberate? Would the word "Jews" have upset his listeners? Furthermore, the pope specifically singled out Edith Stein (since beatified) as a Catholic martyr. Stein, born a Jew and converted to Catholicism, was, of course, killed for her Jewishness, not her Christianity. The praise of one who, in Jewish eyes, was perforce an apostate was unacceptable for many Jews. Nonetheless, the fact remains that the pope did underscore the uniqueness of Jewish suffering under the Nazis and reminded his countrymen that they may not consider that tragedy with indifference. The event remains ambiguous.

A constant source of Catholic-Jewish tension is the lack of formal diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the State of Israel. In John Paul's own writings, one detects an evolution from imbalance toward balance in the consideration of Jewish and Arab rights and claims. He used to speak of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians," the "special statute" which would subject Jerusalem to some international governance and "Palestine." In his apostolic letter of April 20, 1984, however the pope achieved greater evenhandedness than either he or the Vatican had earlier attempted. After enumerating the religious and political concerns of Christians and Muslims for Jerusalem and the region as a whole, he also made a very frank and positive statement about Jews: "For the Jewish people who live in the State of Israel and who preserve in that land such precious testimonies to their history and their faith, we must ask for the desired security and the due tranquility that is the prerogative of every nation and condition of life and of progress for every society." After decades of evasive terminology ("the Holy Land," e.g.) the pontiff referred forthrightly to "the State of Israel." At the same time that he verbally recognized Israel, however, he continued to suggest vague ideas about an international statute that would end Israeli control of Jerusalem.

*Redemptio
Iovnis
Anno*

April
Thus, a pattern of ambiguity if not to say, ambivalence, pervades most of the major encounters between John Paul and the Jews. The great breakthrough of his 1986 visit to Rome's Grand Synagogue was preceded by a negative incident which the visit was designed to correct. In a Lenten homily in February, 1986, the pope referred to the Jews in a way out of keeping with post-Vatican II norms.

"Because of their many transgressions of the Covenant, God promises the chosen people a new Covenant, which will be sanctified with the blood of His own son Jesus on the cross. The church, expression of the New Covenant, represents the continuity of Israel, which wandered in search of salvation. This is the new Israel, which includes and surmounts the former, insofar as it has the necessary strength to live in correspon-

dence with the demands of the divine alliance, not through obedience to the demands of the ancient law, which purveyed knowledge of but not salvation by God, but rather through the faith in Christ..."

The pope, in another passage, refers to "the sin committed by the Israelites in rejecting Jesus." These views radically undercut the entire development of the new Catholic theology of Judaism. They subordinate Jewish self-understanding to classical Christian definitions of what Judaism is (namely, a failed religion) and so transgress a principle often enunciated by the pope himself, that Christians should learn by what "essential traits the Jews define themselves."

Was this pre-Vatican II construction a lapse of memory or a clear statement of what the pope really believes about Jews and Judaism? Two months later, John Paul came to Rome's Grand Synagogue and delivered a quite different oration on the respect in which Christians must hold Jews. "You are our dearly beloved brothers," he said "and, in a certain way, it could be said you are our elder brothers." The address clearly laid out, in a tone of deference and understanding, the great differences between the two religions, the progress achieved in Christian-Jewish relations and the difficulties which remain. The synagogue address enunciated a theology 180° distant from the Lenten homily. Clearly, the Vatican was providing a course correction for the pope's navigation error.

Seen in this light, the pope's meeting with Kurt Waldheim was another swing toward the negative pole of a dipolar, ambiguous relationship. It was not out of character. Nor will any future gestures which will aim at getting Catholic-Jewish relations back "on track" be out of character. Both of these trends have been present from the beginning of his pontificate.

It may well be then that there is no paradox regarding Pope John Paul II and the Jews. The relationship simply has been one of mixed feelings, mixed reviews, positive moves, negative moves and ambiguous moves from the start. The tension may be explained by reference to our earlier observation: creating a new mode of Catholic-Jewish relations is a progressive endeavor that is now occurring within a conservatively oriented church. The goals and the context for action may simply be incommensurable. It may also be true that this incompatibility is alive within John Paul himself. He might both desire a deepened, renewed relationship with the Jewish people and yet hold to a religious world-view that makes no space for that new relationship. Catholic-Jewish relations is a mirror in which the tensions and paradoxes of the modern church and its pope appear.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS
BISHOPS' COMMITTEE FOR ECUMENICAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • 202/659-6855

August 6, 1987

Dear Friend:

As you know, His Holiness Pope John Paul II will be making his second pastoral trip to the United States this September. His first stop will be in Miami, Florida, September 10-11. It is my privilege to invite you, on behalf of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, to participate in the meeting scheduled between the Holy Father and American Jewish leaders which will be held Friday morning, September 11 at the Center for Fine Arts (101 W. Flagler St.).

I sincerely hope you will be able to participate in this important step in furthering and strengthening Catholic-Jewish relations in the United States.

All participants are being asked to complete the attached application credentials form, required by the U.S. Secret Service. Please return it in the self-addressed envelope attached for your convenience, no later than August 17.

After the application is processed at the end of August, you will receive an official invitation, along with appropriate tickets and other pertinent information.

Plans are still underway, but tentative plans include the following activities:

Thursday, September 10

- A reception is being planned at the OMNI Hotel (1601 Biscayne Boulevard). The guest of honor will be Jans Cardinal Willebrands, President, The Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. (Approx. time: 6-8 pm).
- A dinner will follow the above reception at which Johannes Cardinal Willebrands will present remarks on Catholic-Jewish relations. This event is being organized by the Miami Jewish leadership and you will be receiving an invitation shortly.

Friday, September 11

- A continental breakfast at the OMNI will be provided by the national Jewish agencies. (approx. time 5:30-6:30 am).
- Buses will depart from OMNI for Center for Fine Arts at 6:30 am.
- Meeting with the Holy Father (8:30 am-9:15 am).
- Tour of Vatican-Judaica Exhibition ~~which is being~~ sponsored by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (9:15 am-11:00 am).
- Buses return to Hotel at 11:00 am.

Please call → A block of 120 rooms has been reserved at the OMNI Hotel at a special rate of \$70 per night. A hotel card is enclosed for your convenience. You only need to stay one night to get the special rate. However, if you wish to come in a day earlier or leave a day later you may do so at the same rate. Your early response will assure you of a good room rate. Given the strictures of time, it would be best to call the hotel immediately in order to ensure a reservation (305-374-0000). They will accept credit card numbers to guarantee your rooms. The hotel deadline is August 17.

The Miami committee recommends all out of town participants to arrive on Wednesday, Sept. 9 due to expected heavy traffic congestion and street closings on the 10th.

I hope the above information gives you some idea about current plans in order for you to make appropriate arrangements.

→ Again, more detailed information will be sent to you when your application form has been processed. If additional information is required before this time, please call the Papal Visit Office in Miami (305-757-6241; Ext. 244 or 245).

Sincerely yours,



The Most Rev. William H. Keeler
Chairman, Bishops Committee for
Ecumenical & Interreligious Affairs

Encs. (2)

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MEMORANDUM

FO/SFB

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 6, 1987

to James Rudin

from Ernest H. Weiner

subject Papal visit to San Francisco and related episodes (7th report)
Letter to the editor, San Francisco Examiner, August 4, 1987

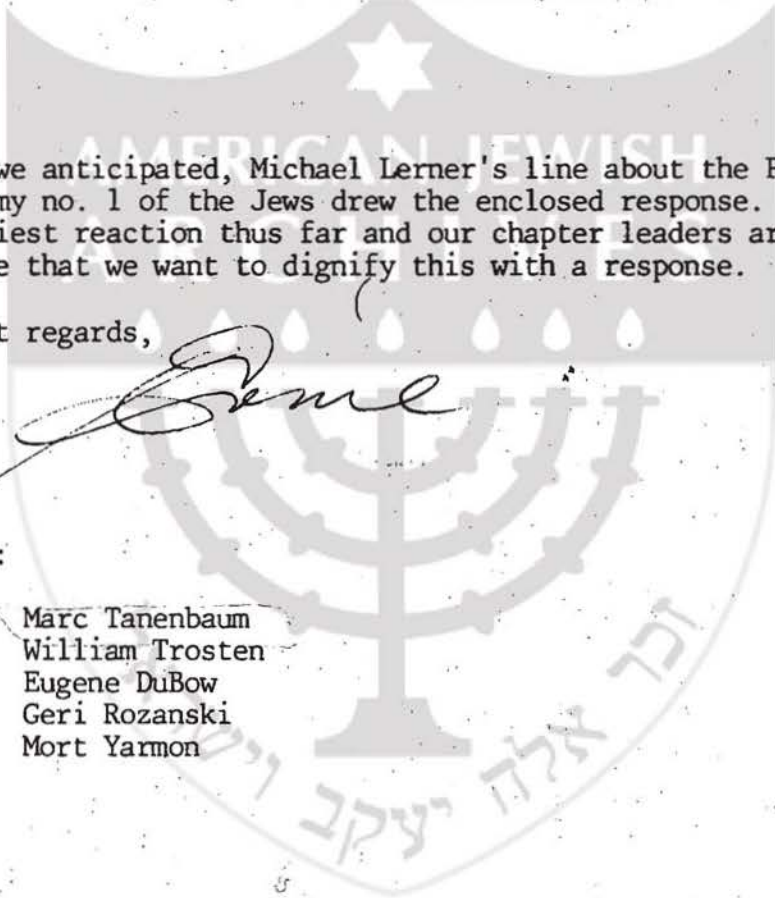
As we anticipated, Michael Lerner's line about the Pope being enemy no. 1 of the Jews drew the enclosed response. This is the ugliest reaction thus far and our chapter leaders are not at all sure that we want to dignify this with a response.

Best regards,



enc:

cc: Marc Tanenbaum
William Trosten
Eugene DuBow
Geri Rozanski
Mort Yarmon



San Francisco Examiner

Tuesday, August 4, 1987

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Other enemies

ON JULY 24, The Examiner reported "Mayor's fund-raiser for pope draws protest." The Examiner quoted Michael Lerner, editor of the Jewish magazine Tikkon, as saying, "The pope has become enemy No. 1 of the Jewish people in the world today."

The pope and the entire Christian world should take heed. We recall that Jesus Christ once was "enemy No. 1 of the Jewish people" and look what happened to him.

We remember that Christ got to be "enemy No. 1" by preaching peace and forgiveness, by loving your enemy and by hanging around with social and religious (by Jewish terms) undesirables. To this extent, the pope should hold his head high, and Catholics should recognize these attributes.

But be leery; there is no fury like that that comes from hatred.

Name Withheld



Marc Janekbaum



איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

bcc: Tanenbaum ✓
Rudin

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

August 7, 1987

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman
Chairman, LJCIC
327 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Mortie,

I am writing to remind you of Section VI of the LJCIC Operating Bylaws, as attached.

In view of Section VI, I feel that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations must be part of the delegation to meet with the Pope in Rome at the end of this month. You know, of course, that the UAHC continues to conduct inter-religious programs and that Annette Daum directs these activities as a full-time and permanent staff person. It is in that capacity that she serves as our representative to LJCIC. We are especially involved, not only because of our sponsorship of the Miami exhibit, but also because we are the only Jewish religious institution which has a Department of Interreligious Affairs and which is particularly committed to Catholic-Jewish relations as resolved, once again, by the UAHC Board of Trustees in 1985.

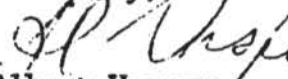
Precisely because of that commitment, we expect that either Rabbi Alexander Schindler or myself will be the UAHC delegate to the meeting in Rome. Annette Daum will represent us on the committee which is preparing for the consultation.

Frankly, this is a letter that I should not have had to write. The UAHC should have been invited to the initial meeting with Casaroli in the first place.

I hope this clarifies our position.

Warmest personal regards.

Cordially,


Albert Vorspan
Sr. Vice President

AV:rl

enclosure

cc: Rabbi H. Michelman
Rabbi G. Klaperman

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Charles J. Rothschild, Jr.
President
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
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Vice Presidents
Rabbi Daniel B. Syme
Albert Vorspan
Treasurer
Howard M. Wilkoff
Associate Treasurer
Joseph Kleiman

V. Communications

Communications from IJCIC are to be sent on the letterhead of IJCIC and not on that of any constituent agency. Wherever possible communications should bear the signature of the IJCIC chairperson.

VI. International Consultations and Conferences

a) Attendance at conferences and consultations with central international religious bodies will be shared by the constituent organizations with each naming one or more representatives.

b) So long as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations conducts inter-religious programs with full time and permanent staff it shall name a delegate to conferences and consultations referred to above and shall be identified as UAHC part of the Synagogue Council delegation, in all public references made by IJCIC to such meetings.

c) The designation of attendees to international conferences and consultations other than organizational designees shall be made by the Governing Board.

VII. Budget

a) The annual budget will be prepared by the Secretariat and approved by the Executive Board.

b) Each constituent agency of IJCIC shall bear whatever expenses it incurs in connection with the normal administration of IJCIC and shall be responsible for the expenses of their own representatives to all meetings of IJCIC.

c) Constituent agencies shall share equally in all common expenses, such as travel costs and honorariums for speakers and specialists, translations and clerical services at international conferences.

d) The expenses of the chairperson of IJCIC will be assumed by the agency who designates that person.

VIII. Meeting Times

a) The Governing Board shall meet regularly but no less than four times per year.

b) From time to time, as determined by the Governing Board, special meetings shall be called for the purpose of assessing achievements and progress in the area of international relations with other religious bodies as well as to consider directions for the near future.

IX. Official Statements and Actions

a) Official statements on the part of IJCIC outlining positions on specific issues should be made only by the chairperson on behalf of the entire membership. The chairperson's statement should be first discussed and agreed upon by the

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CHAIRMAN, TASK FORCE ON INTERNATIONAL
NARCOTICS CONTROL

EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY

CRIME

MONOPOLIES AND COMMERCIAL LAW

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Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

August 7, 1987

His Excellency Yasuhiro Nakasone
Prime Minister of Japan
2-3-1
Nagata-Cho
Chiyoda-KU
Tokyo, Japan
100

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As Members of Congress of the United States concerned with the existence of racism throughout the world, we are writing you to express our deep concern over the existence, and recent upsurge, of anti-Jewish sentiment in Japan.

The anti-Semitism that has begun to appear in your country subscribes to the oldest and most heinous stereotypes of the Jew in society: the stereotype of a Jewish conspiracy to control and dominate the world economic system. It is implausible that in this day and age, in your modern industrial nation, that the insidious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" could be published. Yet, the "Protocols" were published in Japan last year. One need look back only as far as the early 1930's in Nazi Germany to see the potentially devastating consequences of scapegoating the Jews for domestic economic woes.

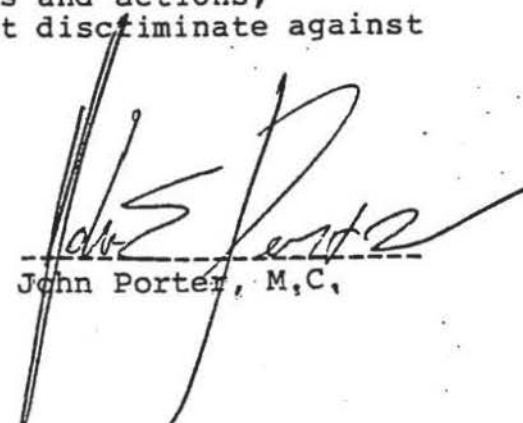
Although we understand that anti-Semitism is not an official policy of the Government of Japan, certain policies employed by the Japanese Government--such as participation in the Arab boycott of Israel and the failure to include the city of Jerusalem in a planned World Conference of Cities hosted in Japan--indirectly condone domestic anti-Semitism. We believe that the Japanese Government has the talent to craft a foreign policy that provides for its dependency on Middle East oil while retaining the integrity and values of the Western alliance and does not deny the existence of a valuable ally in the fight for democracy and against communism.

We urge your government to adopt policies and actions, domestically and internationally, which do not discriminate against the Jewish people.

Respectfully,



Lawrence J. Smith, M.C.



John Porter, M.C.

cc: Foreign Minister Kuranari
Ambassador Matsunaga

Claudine Schneider
Claudine Schneider, M.C.

Jim Moody
Jim Moody, M.C.

Gary Ackerman
Gary Ackerman, M.C.

Albert Bustamante
Albert Bustamante, M.C.

Bill Green
Bill Green, M.C.

George Hochbueckner
George Hochbueckner, M.C.

Barney Frank
Barney Frank, M.C.

William Lipinski
William Lipinski, M.C.

Walter Fauntroy
Walter Fauntroy, M.C.

Les AuCoin
Les AuCoin, M.C.

Dale Kildee
Dale Kildee, M.C.

Cardiss Collins
Cardiss Collins, M.C.

Martin Frost
Martin Frost, M.C.

Dan Mica
Dan Mica, M.C.

Mario Biaggi
Mario Biaggi, M.C.

Robert J. Matsui
Robert Matsui, M.C.

Norman L. Lent
Norman Lent, M.C.

Benjamin L. Cardin
Benjamin Cardin, M.C.

Robert Torricelli
Robert Torricelli, M.C.

Joseph DiGuardi
Joseph DiGuardi, M.C.

Thomas Manton
Thomas Manton, M.C.

Bob McEwen
Bob McEwen, M.C.

Robert K. Dornan
Robert Dornan, M.C.

Barbara Boxer
Barbara Boxer, M.C.

Mike Espy
Mike Espy, M.C.

Raymond J. McGrath
Raymond McGrath, M.C.

James McClure Clarke
James McClure Clarke, M.C.

Joseph Moakley
Joseph Moakley, M.C.

Charles E. Schumer
Charles Schumer, M.C.

Mel Levine
Mel Levine, M.C.

Matthew Martinez
Matthew Martinez, M.C.

Gus Savage
Gus Savage, M.C.

Lynn Martin
Lynn Martin, M.C.

Vin Weber
Vin Weber, M.C.

Steve Neal
Steven Neal, M.C.

Major Owens
Major Owens, M.C.





RECEIVED

NOV 1 1987

EMBASSY OF JAPAN
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 10, 1987

LAWRENCE J. SMITH, M.P.

Dear Congressman Smith:

I have received an instruction from my home government to write to you in response to your letter dated 17 October addressed to our former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. Before I go into the subject matter of your letter, I am instructed to point out to you that your letter of 7th August, which you refer to in your recent letter, has not yet reached the Prime Minister or any member of the Government of Japan.

With regard to the issue of anti-Semitism, I would like to stress first of all that the Government of Japan and the Japanese people strongly oppose anti-Semitism and any other form of racial or religious discrimination or prejudice.

Regarding the various so-called "anti-Semitic" publications, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that freedom of thought and expression is constitutionally guaranteed in Japan as in the United States. Hence, works which contain descriptions contrary to reality are occasionally published. The Government of Japan, however, considers it undesirable that books, such as those to which you refer, that are based on extremely biased points of view are circulated. The Government also considers the so-called world-wide Jewish conspiracy to be totally groundless and regards advocates of this view to be irresponsible. The Government of Japan has stated its view on this issue clearly in the Diet (Parliament) deliberations. (I have enclosed herewith a copy of the text of the statement by the Foreign Minister).

There are also a large number of articles and columns criticizing these books, and I am confident that the Japanese People are not going to be misled by these irresponsible publications.

In your letter, you refer to the fact that Israel was not invited to the World Conference on Historical Cities, and regard this as evidence, though an indirect one, that the Government of Japan practices anti-Semitism. I would like to point out to you that the selection of the participating cities was solely the decision of the City of Kyoto, and that the City of Kyoto decided

not to invite any cities involved in political controversies because of the non-political nature of the Conference. The City of Jerusalem was not selected because it is involved in political controversies at the United Nations. It is clear that no element of discrimination or prejudice is involved in Kyoto's decision.

Regarding the economic relations with Israel, the Government of Japan has been endeavoring to promote it; and has never discouraged it. The growth of trade between Japan and Israel has been remarkable. In 1986 it grew by 50% over the previous year, and the first six months of this year also shows a growth of 50% over the same period last year.

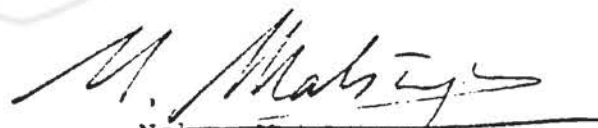
An Israeli economic mission from the private sector has recently visited Japan. They called on the then Foreign Minister Kuranari, and held intensive exchanges of view with Japanese counterparts to expand the scope of cooperation in the trade and economic field.

Japanese businessmen including leaders of the Keidanren (the most influential private business organization) are scheduling a visit to Israel early November, and I hope that this will provide an impetus to further promoting economic exchanges between Israel and Japan.

I would also like to state that the dialogue between the Governments of Japan and Israel has been increasing in recent years. In September, for instance, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries held consultations and had useful exchanges of views on bilateral issues and on the Middle East Peace Process. Also, in early October our Parliamentary Vice Minister visited Israel.

Please be assured that the Government of Japan has the desire to make steady progress in the Japan-Israeli relations, and I will continue to work toward that end.

Sincerely yours,



Nobuo Matsunaga
Ambassador of Japan

The Honorable
Lawrence J. Smith
U.S. House of Representatives
Cannon House Office Building, 113
Washington, D.C. 20515-0916

AUG 14 1987

LAW OFFICES OF
LEONARD HORWIN
121 SOUTH BEVERLY DRIVE
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90212
(213) 272-7807 OR (213) 275-5132

August 10, 1987

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

Theodore Ellenoff, President
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Friends:

In your statement on the Vatican-Jewish issues which you intend to discuss with the Pope in the USA in your forthcoming meeting, "one on one", and with "no pre-conditions", as currently announced to the media, you listed issues, but without mention of the issue of the Vatican denial of diplomatic recognition to the State of Israel.

I believe this omission to be a serious error for Jewry, as well as for the American Jewish Committee.

After the 2,000 year record of the Vatican, including most recently the Vatican's 1933 Concordat with Adolf Hitler, the Vatican's notorious role in finding safehaven for Holocaust criminals at and after World War II, the recent embracing of terrorist Yassir Arafat at the Vatican, and even more recent Vatican diplomatic audience applauding prima facie war criminal Kurt Waldheim as a promoter of "peace" -- an audience of the Pope with you which concludes without Vatican agreement on recognition of Israel, and without your stressing that as an unsatisfactory result if denied by the Vatican, would mean that your meeting would result in a whitewash for the Vatican and in a failure of representation of Jewry's position.

For after the Vatican record, no act on its part could possibly begin to balance prior wrongs without the Vatican's according diplomatic recognition to the modern State of Israel, which in fact arose out of the ashes of the Holocaust.

Theodore Ellenoff, President
Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum
August 10, 1987
Page Two

You should have in mind that failing Vatican recognition of the State of Israel, the Vatican will have succeeded, in part through your meeting, in what appears to be its present calculated effort to avoid the issue of recognition, while professing Papal "love" for Jews as well as for the killers of Jews.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Horwin

Leonard Horwin
Member American Jewish Committee
Former US Diplomat
Former Mayor of Beverly Hills

LH/gg

cc: Henry Siegman
National Executive Director
American Jewish Congress



AUG 14 1987

2.2

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 10, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from David Harris
subject PLO OFFICE CLOSING

You will be interested in the enclosed letter from Secretary of State George Shultz to Senator Charles Grassley concerning the Administration's viewpoint on the proposed closing of the PLO offices in New York and Washington. Note the last line of the first paragraph on the second page. I will see whether we can get a better reading on the degree to which the language is, indeed, encouraging.

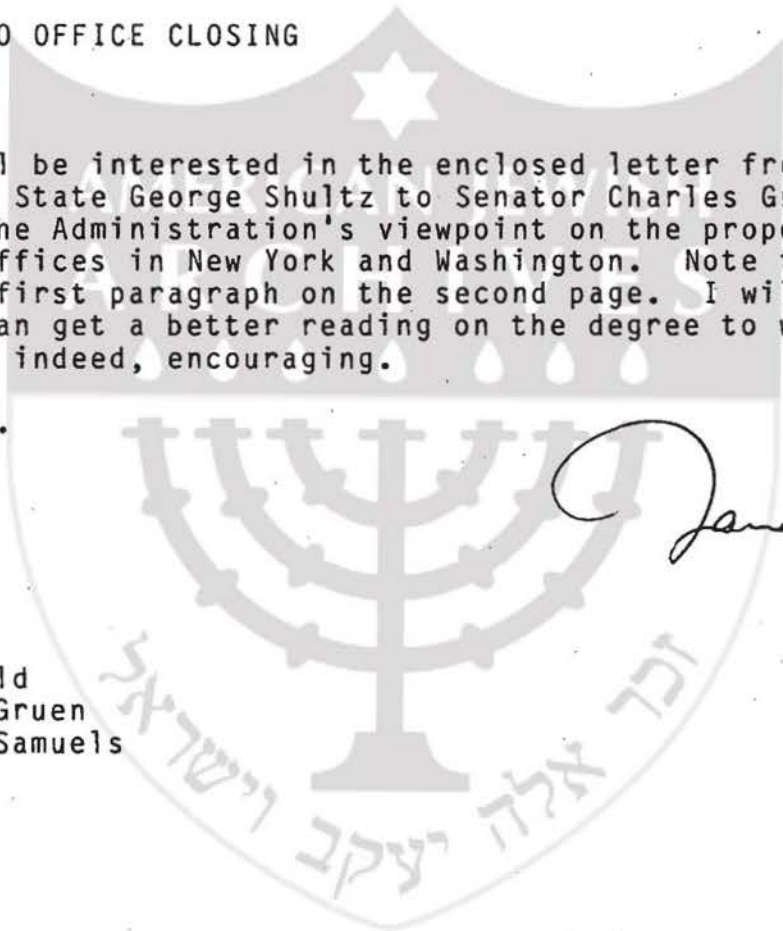
Regards.



DAH:dw

cc: Bert Gold
George Gruen
Shimon Samuels

encls.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 31, 1987

Dear Senator Grassley,

I am writing in order to share with you the Administration's position on legislation pending in the Senate, the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 (S-1203). The pending legislation raises many complex issues, requiring a careful review of our position.

First and foremost, I want to emphasize that this Administration shares the concerns evident in the legislation. We condemn, unequivocally, terrorist acts by all groups, including acts associated with the PLO. We also deplore the failure of the PLO to accept UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and to recognize Israel's right to exist. We have consistently made clear our view, that the PLO's negative role has been one of the serious obstacles in the Middle East peace process. The issue facing us now is how best to respond to the PLO's negative actions.

Our detailed review and consultations with the Department of Justice, however, lead us to conclude that S 1203 does not serve our shared aim of reducing the political influence of the PLO. First, as far as closure of the PLO Observer Mission is concerned, this would be seen as a violation of a U.S. treaty obligation under the U.N. Headquarters Agreement, and would be vigorously opposed by most UN members. The issue might be referred by the UN to the World Court, where we would probably lose, and the PLO would reap a propaganda gain.

As far, however, as the Palestine Information Office (PIO) is concerned, the Justice Department has advised us that the First Amendment would not bar the U.S. Government from closing the office, since it is operating as a foreign mission, but that we could not Constitutionally prohibit members of the office from organizing as a private U.S. entity in support of the PLO and performing many of the same functions. If PLO

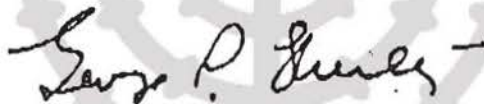
The Honorable
Charles E. Grassley,
United States Senate.

funding is proscribed, we believe a reconstituted office would obtain funds from American sources. In any event, we could expect litigation, which the PLO would attempt to exploit. On the other hand, closure of the PIO as a "foreign entity", allowed up to now to operate as such by the U.S. government, would of course represent a symbolic shift in the U.S. government's relationship to the office, underscoring our disapproval of the PLO's retention of Abu Abas on the Executive Committee, and undermine the PIO/PLO position and image in the U.S. and elsewhere. Such a gain may be sufficient to warrant Executive Branch action in this regard at an appropriate time.

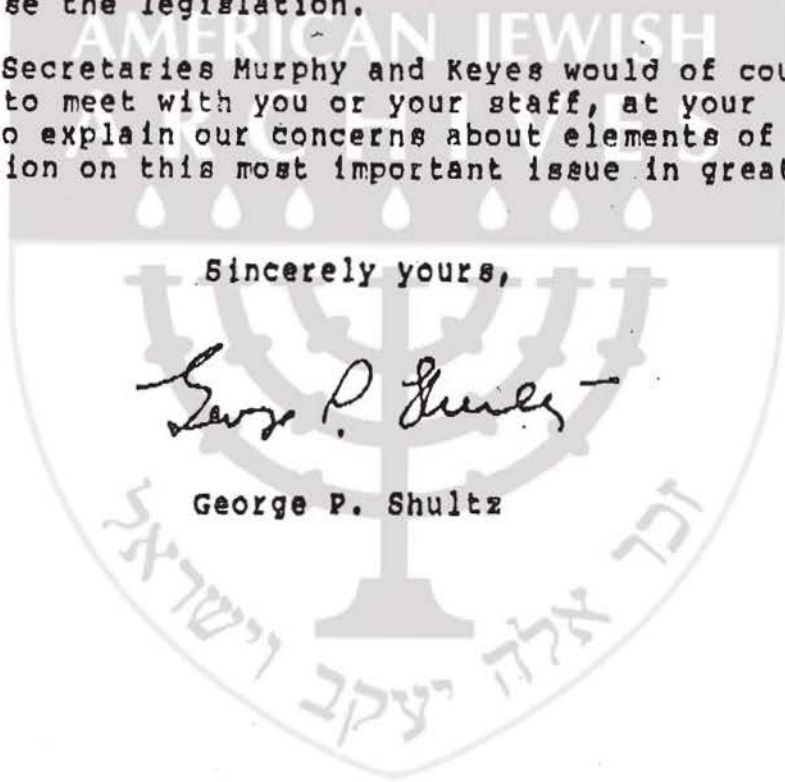
In conclusion, however, we believe that determining our attitude toward foreign missions is uniquely within the President's Constitutional prerogatives, and that legislation directing closure of any foreign mission would violate our Constitutional separation of powers. Thus, given all the consideration noted above, including the legal, Constitutional, and foreign policy implications of the bill, we do not believe S-1203 is an effective vehicle for expressing our mutual concerns regarding either terrorism and the PLO, and we therefore oppose the legislation.

Assistant Secretaries Murphy and Keyes would of course be fully willing to meet with you or your staff, at your convenience, to explain our concerns about elements of the draft legislation on this most important issue in greater detail.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz



U.S. Considers Closing PLO Office Here

Legislation to Shut U.N. Site Opposed

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

After months of internal debate, the Reagan administration for the first time has said it is considering closing down the Palestine Liberation Organization's office in Washington.

State Department officials said yesterday that recent PLO actions, such as keeping Muhammad Abul Abbas, mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijacking in 1985, on its executive board, contributed to the decision on the politically sensitive issue.

The PLO's Washington office and its office at the United Nations are the target of legislation by members of Congress who argue that they are symbols of terrorism and therefore should be closed. Other members counter that shutting the office would violate U.S. precepts of freedom of speech and harm U.S. efforts to arrange peace talks between Israel and a Jordan-Palestinian delegation.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz wrote sponsors of the legislation last week that the administration opposes the bill because it would violate the president's powers in foreign policy.

But he added that the administration is considering closing the PLO's Washington office, the Palestine Information Office, on its own.

"Closure of the PIO as a 'foreign entity,' allowed up to now to operate by the U.S. government, would of course represent a symbolic shift in the U.S. government's relationship to the office, underscoring our disapproval of the PLO's retention of Abu Abbas on the Executive Committee, and undermine the PIO/PLO position and image in the U.S. and elsewhere," Shultz wrote in a July 31 letter to Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa) and Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.), sponsors of the bills.

"Such a gain may be sufficient to warrant Executive Branch action in this regard at the appropriate time," Shultz added. His pronouncement followed months of internal discussions by State and Justice Department lawyers on the legal authority for such a move.

One knowledgeable State Department official said U.S. authorities were "shocked" at the PLO's decision at a recent conference in Algiers to put Abu Abbas back on its executive board. The United States has sought his extradition on hijacking and murder charges since the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship in October 1985, during which an American was killed.

The Shultz letter noted that closing the PLO's U.N. observer mission would violate a U.S. treaty obligation and would lead to a probable defeat at the World Court and "a propaganda gain" for the PLO.

Shultz added that the Justice Department advised State that closing the PLO's Washington office wouldn't be barred by the First Amendment. But Shultz said Justice warned that members of the office could start a private U.S. entity and perform many of the same functions.

One State Department participant in the process said the Shultz letter was an effort "to make the bill go away."

Washington Post
8-8-87

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Rabbi Marc Tenenbaum
American Jewish Committee

PJP II - Jews
RABBI DR. MURRAY J. KOHN
1055 E. PARK AVE.
VINELAND, N. J. 08360

Dear Rabbi Tenenbaum,

I greatly respect your many years of efforts, to create a vehicle of mutual understanding, through meaningful dialogue with our Christian neighbors. Christian myopic self-perception, coated with altruism and other theological confections, need much ventilation and rudimentary "scrubbing" off the barnacles of their theological anachronisms.

I'm sure, you are not assuming, that what has been done "on the top" is so effective that it percolated down to the roots of the American prairie. The local fellow Rabbis have been doing "quite a job" to bring an authentic Jewish message without compromising the slightest principle of Judaism, and Jewish dignity, let alone the didactic lesson of recent Jewish history and its catastrophic results.

I, for one, have accomplished a relationship in which we respect each other amicably, while the historic truth is laid open on the table for them to look at, and struggle with it. Perhaps my tattooed number on my left arm has something to do with it, because I am both the prosecuting attorney and the victim - plaintiff.....

Thus, this is by way of introducing my following complaint:

I strongly take exception for you to deal with Vatican authorities, on the issue of the Holocaust and its obvious Revisionistic approach. It would serve us much better, to decline any further meetings with the Pope, until he and his policy makers come to grips with the fact that "we survivors" will not negotiate a favorable statement from the very sources,

whose concern to save Nazis from prosecution, was much greater after the Holocaust years, than to expiate their sins of silence and/or cooperation with the Nazis, and do penance for their moral downfall.

Why pursue this "MA-YAFIS" merry-go-round fiesta?

Remember Pirkei Avot? "Who is wise; who can foresee the future?" The Pope's ^{plan for a} visit to the States, preceded long before the Waldheim Show was on the road. They, in the Vatican, should have foreseen it and comprehended ~~that~~ this will create an unsettling furor. Why do you have to help them get off the hook? Why shouldn't the Pope get his medicine? This is a time in our history when we can "afford," yes afford, to demonstrate our wrath of displeasure, to put it euphemistically. Let them writhe under the weight of their subtle anti-Semitism. Neither the survivors (in spite of Elie Wiesel's surprising silence) nor the victims, have given any official imprimatur to plead for or sue for recognition that we have been uniquely selected and elected to be totally annihilated as Jews.

So please, "Chachamim Hizaharu B'divreichem"... "Chochmah Bishtikah"..... Even if we should ever propose a set of conditions, including the recognition of the State of Israel, and it be fully realized by the Vatican, it would still be a case of reheated "cholent." Better to follow the rule for once: "Shev V'al Taaseh." You may be surprised how effective and beneficial it may turn out to be.

Sincerely,



August 12. 87.

Sov U 1987

CONFIDENTIAL

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 21, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan
subject Meeting with Soviet UN official

At his suggestion, I met on August 20 with Alexander Yatzin, a Soviet national who serves as a public information officer with the UN, and with whom I have been in touch a number of times before. Yatzin made the following points, to be taken, as usual, with a grain of salt.

Soviet Jews

The emigration level for Soviet Jews would continue at the current high level, and indeed increase, if US-Soviet relations continued to improve. The Soviet Union was looking for "gestures" from the American Jewish community acknowledging this positive trend, but Yatzin offered no specific suggestions. Yatzin did not commit himself, one way or the other, on the prospects for truly large-scale emigration (30,000 plus). He seemed to suggest that the upcoming US-Soviet summit meeting could have an import effect on emigration.

The Soviet media is paying increased recognition to the role of Jews in Soviet life (Pasternak, for example), but would go slowly for fear of antagonizing other nationalities. Yatzin spoke vaguely of a new Jewish "institute" being established, and additional training facilities for Soviet rabbis.

Soviet-Israeli relations

Gorbachev was determined to progress toward the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. The pace would be measured so as to "soften the blow" to the Arabs and internal critics of such ties. The next step in Israeli-Soviet relations may be the establishment of a permanent Soviet consular presence in Israel. The talks between Nimrod Novick and Soviet officials in Bonn in mid-August were "exhaustive," covering all areas of current concerns. During his visit to Romania, Foreign Minister Shamir will hear new proposals from Ceausescu, suggesting new ways of organizing an international peace conference on the Middle-East. Western European leaders were beginning to express a favorable view of the conference.

Soviet internal affairs

Gorbachev is continuing to consolidate his position. A series of

legislative acts covering a broad range of Soviet life will be initiated this fall. Gorbachev will use the upcoming Party Congress to replace still more of the old guard since, officially, Central Committee members can be removed only at such meetings. Gorbachev, using the media, is going over the heads of bureaucrats to push his policies forward. This year's good harvest enhanced Gorbachev's position internally.

Pamyat, the Russian nationalist group that had recently received much attention in the West, is small and comprised of psuedo-patriots. The group has one or two charismatic leaders, but it is rejected by the intellegentsia. Articles critical of it have appeared in the press. Though its members are careful to refrain from attacking Gorbachev directly, they do so indirectly by attacking his advisors (such as Georgi Arbatov).

In cultural life, glasnost' is continuing to score gains. For the first time, regrets are being expressed in the media over Stalin's elimination of cultural figures and military figures before the War.

American Affairs

Yatzin expressed the hope that the Jewish community would continue to seek out Nazi War criminals; he expressed surprise (and regret) that John Demjanjuk's trial was "dragging on" in Israel.

Yatzin expressed disappointment that the Democrats had not capitalized on the Iran-Contra hearing to offer an alternative to the Reagan Central American policy. It was based on an assessment that Reagan had "survived" the hearings that the USSR decided to proceed with summit plans now, plans which were "90%" complete. The summit is expected to produce an agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe.

The Soviet view is that, since they may well find themselves dealing with a Republican administration in the future, it makes sense to deal with Reagan now. The Democrats seem incapable of mounting a serious challenge to George Bush or Bob Dole. Dole, on the one hand, had ties to "conservative circles" early in his career, but, on the other hand, has strong ties to business leaders who favor more East-West trade.

* * *

Distribution

Theodore Ellenoff
Leo Nevas
Miles Jaffee

David Harris
George Gruen
David Geller

AK/SM
6483-(IRD-1)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 11, 1987
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan *AK*
subject Meeting with Soviet official accredited to the UN

As per our discussion, I met for lunch today with a Soviet official accredited to the UN, with whom I have met several times before. The meeting was at his invitation. During our conversation, he made the following points:

- (1) A policy decision has been taken to raise the level of Jewish emigration. Five hundred approvals for exit had been granted already this year, and the list of 11,000 persons presented at Reykjavik would be acted upon. While 50,000 emigrants a year was too high a figure, a lower figure of 20,000 was possible. The key to increased emigration is improved American-Soviet relations.
- (2) Regarding the issue of "noshrim," the official said that, while some Soviet officials might see these people as dishonest, the number of "noshrim" would not adversely affect emigration levels. It had not affect levels in the 1970s. Since emigration was primarily a function of Soviet-American relations, Soviet policy-makers paid more attention to the views of American Jews on this than to Israel's. As for "direct flights" from the USSR, or indirect flights through a third, Soviet bloc country, the official said that this was not possible because of Arab protests that this would amount to Soviet "populating" of the West Bank.
- (3) The official asked for "signals" and "gestures" from American Jews that recognized improvements in the Soviet handling of emigration. I indicated that if real changes were observed, they would be in all likelihood be recognized and commented on.
- (4) With reference to the release of Hebrew teacher, Iosif Begun, the official indicated that, under the new "private enterprise" rules, it would be easier to teach languages on a private basis. He also said that there might be more cultural opportunities for Soviet Jews than before. As far as a general socio-economic status went, Gorbachev was interested in involving Jews, particularly those with scientific backgrounds, in his reform program.

- (5) On general foreign policy issues, the official expressed hope for an arms control agreement, though he was concerned that President Reagan, for all his desire to go down in history, will be wary of his right-wing and cautious on arms control. He expressed hope for an international conference on the Middle East, but questioned whether the Reagan Administration would wish to venture into the uncertain world of Middle-East politics. He also expressed displeasure at the apparent confusion in the Israeli government over the international Conference issue, reflected in the Peres/Shamir split. The PLO, whose reputation was enhanced somewhat by the Kuwait Summit, was still internally divided and significantly weaker than in the 1970s.

cc: David Geller
David Gordis
George Gruen
David Harris
William Trosten

7217 - IRD-2
3/11/87:ar



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 28, 1986
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Allan Kagedan
subject Meeting with Soviet national employed by the UN

Yesterday, George Gruen and I met with the Soviet national employed by the UN with whom we have been meeting occasionally over the past two years. During our conversation, he made the following points:

1. Regarding Soviet Jewish emigration, the official repeated the point made in an earlier meeting that nothing dramatic would happen soon. He was keenly interested in what the reaction of the Jewish community would be to the Communist Party Congress. He expressed anxiety over the potential impact of a visit to the West by Anatoly Shcharansky, fearing it would provoke heightened "anti-Soviet" feeling. The point was made to him that while it would be natural for the American media to focus on Scharansky as a dramatic symbol and heroic personality, and while it was equally natural for the Jewish community to use any visit here by him as an opportunity to express its concern for Soviet Jews, this did not presage an abrupt shift in general or Jewish on attitudes toward the Soviet Union.
2. On the Middle East, the official expressed great interest in the prospect of an international peace conference on the Middle East, which would include the Soviet Union. He said, however, that the hopes had dimmed for the resumption of diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union, which some consider to be a necessary precondition for the inclusion of the USSR in a peace conference. He said, furthermore, that the Soviet Union supports a united PLO, under Arafat's leadership, despite the fact that both Jordan and Syria have expressed misgivings about him. Furthermore, Soviet specialists expected Syria and Jordan to draw more closely together; whether this would have a positive or negative affect on the prospects for peace was unclear. The official mentioned that there might soon be a new European initiative on the Middle East, and he referred to the 1982 Franco-Egyptian initiative as a precedent.
3. In response to a question, the official said that Mr. Isakov was the number two man in the Soviet embassy in Washington; he shared this deputy ambassadorial rank with one other official. The official said that Ambassador Dobrynin may be leaving at the end of

this year, as part of the general trend toward more frequent rotation of diplomatic assignments. As for other personnel changes, Soviet UN ambassador Troyanovskiy will be leaving and will be replaced by Dubinin, the former Soviet ambassador to Spain. Finally, Mr. Primakov, a leading Soviet Middle East specialist (who was mentioned to us as a possible contact) has been promoted to head the Institute on World Economy.

4. More generally, the official pointed out that General Secretary Gorbachev had strongly criticized the letter on arms control sent to him recently by President Reagan. He also expressed interest in and concern about the new magazine called The Catalyst, which brought together Evangelical Christians and Jews. The repeated concern expressed about the Evangelicals verifies that our contact with them can enhance our leverage.
5. In response to a question regarding the degree to which such trade restrictions as the denial of MFN to the Soviet Union was seen as a serious barrier to Soviet trade aspirations, the official responded that this indeed was taken very seriously, despite the fact that currently, most Soviet goods which the US imports are raw materials or semi-finished goods with low tariff requirements. He specifically asked whether there would be any "good news" on the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, to which it was replied that the Jewish community had indicated that it was prepared to be flexible on Jackson-Vanik in response to increased emigration levels.
6. On the issue of German relations with the Soviet Union, the official said that relations were good, that Moscow sees Germans as pragmatic, and that fewer trade barriers exist between the two countries than between the US and the USSR. He predicted increased trade in the near future.

International Jewish Committee
ON
Interreligious Consultations

August 24, 1987

MEMORANDUM

from Leon A. Feldman, Consultant

This communication is based on a letter received from Dr. Manfred R. Lehman, a distinguished Jewish scholar.

The reference is to the letter of Pope John Paul II of August 8, 1987 addressed to Archbishop John L. May (transmitted on August 19, 1987).

1) Reference to "our elder brother in the faith of Abraham," -- this reference to the faith of Abraham is an oldline attack on Judaism. The Jewish faith is identified with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, etc.

Christians claim that God spoke to Abraham before the first commandment (=mitzvah), i.e., circumcision (Brith/Covenant), which means that no "works" - as the N.T. calls "mitzvoth", are needed for "grace."

By not challenging this claim, we Jews are actually undermining the foundation of Judaism.

2) Reference to the Book of Zechariah is based on the Christian belief that the entire prophecy therein is of a christological nature, in which every verse alludes to the coming of Jesus.

3) Reference to the verse (ibid, 14:9): "The Lord shall become king over the whole world, on that day the Lord shall be One, and His name One," of course, does not allude, in the Christian doctrine, to the God of Israel (=haShem), but to Jesus.

AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:
Synagogue Council of America
327 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
Tel.: (212) 686-8670

EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT:
World Jewish Congress
1 Rue de Varembe
1211 Geneve 20, Switzerland
Tel.: (022) 34 13 25

CONSTITUTENT AGENCIES:
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

The Israel Interfaith
Association
P.O.B. 7739
Jerusalem 91.077, Israel

Synagogue Council of America
327 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

World Jewish Congress
1 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

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88-27-87

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

To: Bert Gold/Marc Tanenbaum

From: Shimon Samuels

August 27, 1987

As an addition to the article that I sent you on 'Anti-Semitism under Gorbachev', Avraham Ben-Yaacov sends the following post script:

In an article of July 15, the Secretary General Gorbachev publically protested against the phenomenon of 'Pamyat', saying that this is anti-Soviet expression. This shows the official attitude of the Party and government towards the Pamyat.

Best regards,

SEP 8 1987

AJC

DIPLOMATIC FORUM

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date August 28, 1987
to ~~Marc Tanenbaum~~
from David Harris
subject Proposal for a Diplomatic Forum, Washington, D. C.

As you and I have often discussed, we both recognize the possibilities for expanded AJC programming with respect to the diplomatic community based in the U.S. Further, you will recall our discussions concerning Washington in particular and the potential for utilizing both the Office of the Washington Representative and the Washington Chapter in this regard.

After discussions with Bookie, Lolly Bram and Andy Baker (and an exploratory conversation that Andy Baker, in turn, had with the president and vice president of the Washington Chapter), we are in full agreement that a program could effectively be launched in Washington, to be conducted in full cooperation with the International Relations Department, that would further the overseas agenda of AJC, provide an exciting program opportunity, and establish a unique program among Jewish agencies here.

Specifically, we would like to establish a monthly ambassador's lunch, beginning in October 1987 and continuing until the spring, to be repeated, and, if warranted, expanded, in future years.

Those ambassadors to be invited would be chosen after consultation with IRD, depending on AJC's current agenda and other appropriate considerations. The top officers and relevant New York staff would, of course, be invited to each luncheon.

Off the bat, one might think of inviting the Israeli, Egyptian, Italian, West German and Spanish ambassadors. Jacob Kovadloff might have some ideas with respect to Latin American envoys. Tommy Koh of Singapore might be another possibility. At some point, the Hungarian or new Romanian ambassador could be approached. In short, as you know, the possibilities are virtually limitless.

We envision a few key lay people in Washington playing a central role. Al Moses, Betty Sachs, Marjorie Sonnenfeldt and Chapter President Jay Freedman are names that come immediately to mind as persons with interest in this area and personal contacts as well.

While the format could be flexible, we would propose that the meetings be off-the-record and that attendance be limited to approximately 25, drawn from selected AJC personalities in Washington, AJC officers and staff, and a few others around town who would have an interest and who we are seeking to "cultivate." There may be occasions, based on the first meeting, when we would agree with a particular ambassador to host a larger, public event, similar, perhaps, to that held in New York for the Spanish Consul-General some time ago.

The benefits of such a program to AJC are, I believe, obvious:

- (a) It builds on a very successful diplomatic outreach program.
- (b) It provides another means for maintaining contact with those ambassadors with whom we have met before (i.e. Petrigani of Italy).
- (c) It provides a useful information-gathering and information-exchange opportunity.
- (d) It further positions AJC as the only Jewish organization actively and seriously engaged in this endeavor, which can further strengthen our contacts with the embassies.
- (e) It represents an exciting program opportunity for AJC lay members.

We would like to speak with you at the earliest opportunity to get this program off the ground, work out the framework and details, and identify the first ambassadors to approach.

Best regards.

DAH:dw



cc: Shula Bahat
Andrew Baker
Hyman Bookbinder
Lolly Bram
Eugene DuBow
Bert Gold
Bill Ressler
Geri Rozanski
Gary Rubin

[start]

Original documents
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REPORT ON VISIT
TO CHINA



ISI J. LEIBLER, C.B.E.

President
Asia Pacific Region
World Jewish Congress

Chairman
Asia Pacific Jewish Association

AUGUST 1967

I N D E X

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Comprehensive report

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S U M M A R Y

As a result of our meetings in Beijing, 20th-23rd July, the following agreements and understandings were reached with the key Chinese officials at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the China International Travel Service:

- A conference of Chinese scholars in Jewish studies - the first such gathering - will be organised with our assistance in 1988, probably in Shanghai. An internationally recognised Jewish scholar will be invited. As many as 20 Chinese scholars may attend.
- Sets of Encyclopaedia Judaica and additional basic texts in Judaism and Jewish History will be presented to the six leading research and academic libraries in China.
- Appropriate video and audio tapes on Jewish topics will be made available for the widest distribution.
- The Third Asian Jewish Colloquium, to be held in 1989, will be able to invite Chinese scholars to attend if Beijing is not the venue. Chinese scholars may be invited to attend other international Jewish conferences, possibly in Israel. Jewish scholars, possibly from Israel, will be invited to China.
- After the October Communist Party Congress we will review the possibility of holding an international Jewish meeting of scholars in China. The present reaction has been negative.
- The Chinese authorities say they will extend the numbers of Israeli tourists able to obtain visas - but under certain conditions outlined in this report.
- Further inquiries are underway to examine feasibility of a kosher restaurant/food facility in a Beijing hotel.
- Professor Sidney Shapiro (Sha Sola) will visit Australia in 1988.

INTRODUCTION

After two previous visits to China (1981 and 1985) a visit to Australia under our sponsorship by Dr. Li Shenzhi, Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, in March 1987, and the second Asian Jewish Colloquium in Hong Kong attended by Chinese scholar, Sidney Shapiro (Sha Bolin), this third visit took place against a background of contacts and correspondence developed over the years.

The general objective of this third visit was to extend these contacts between the Chinese and the Jewish world and find new areas for "joint ventures" in academic and cultural exchange. Our objective was to explore the possibility of holding a meeting of the international steering committee of the Asian Jewish Colloquium on which Jewish scholars, some from Israel, are represented. (See APPENDIX A.)

Regrettably, the Chinese rejected any idea of holding such a conference in Beijing at this stage. We had raised the question with Shapiro in Hong Kong and he, in turn, had discussed it with Professor Isaac Fusan, another Vice President of CASO, on his return to China. At first we were led to believe by correspondence from Li Shenzhi and Shapiro that they were reasonably receptive to a low-profile, small-scale meeting in Beijing which would include Israeli participation. But pressures from Arab quarters on Beijing's Foreign Office, which followed the flurry over international media reports of impending diplomatic relations, clearly contributed to a negative reaction. This, as well as the uncertainty surrounding the impending party Congress in October, meant that our contacts were unable to proceed with any useful discussion on this particular point. Indeed Fusan had approached Chinese Foreign Ministry officials before we arrived, knowing that we would put the question to him, and had been told it was not on. But, as this account reports, we were able to take our dialogue much further and there are a

number of projects, which we believe have considerable potential, to which the Chinese did agree.

Any assessment of the contacts with the Chinese must, of course, be considered in the wider context of the Chinese political climate in general and current attitudes towards Israel and the Middle East in particular.

It is clear that there is an atmosphere of suspended animation in Beijing as everybody waits for the outcome of the forthcoming 13th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. It is the first Congress since 1982 and comes after the student demonstrations of last December and the campaign against "bourgeois liberalisation" which followed. It was apparent from the demotion of Hu Yaobang, and the statements which were made through subsequent months, a power struggle developed over the succession to Deng Xiaoping in which ideological battles between the "old guard" and the "reformers" played a significant role.

Based on key articles in the Chinese press by Deng and Acting General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, on the assessments of the Australian Ambassador, Dr. Ross Garnaut, and on the views of the Chinese academics we met, the "reformers" have retained the upper hand and will have their way at the Congress. But this was finalised only in late May - early June and according to some China-watchers, ASIA WEEK magazine, for example, the "old guard" has not given up yet and cannot be counted out.

The weight of the evidence, however, is on the side of Zhao Ziyang emerging as the new power centre with Deng Xiaoping's full blessing. Just days before we arrived in Beijing, Deng told visiting West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, that the Congress will discuss and reaffirm the policy of economic reform and that at the same time the reform of China's political structure will also be on the agenda. The Chinese press made much of this statement as they did of a 1980 speech by Deng on party and state

Leadership reform and a speech in May by Zhao Ziyang. The two were linked as in the commentary which appeared in the leading article of the CHINA DAILY while we were in Beijing: "People are reassured when China's leaders, including Deng, reiterate that reform and the open policy will not be reversed. On the contrary, they will be upheld and their implementation accelerated".

While this confirms the trend we found a certain air of hesitancy about the future amongst the intellectuals. This may have been partly due to the mid-summer torpor which descends over Beijing with the leadership away at their dachas in Beidaihe, on the coast east of the capital. But mostly it is a reflection of waiting for the October deadline. If the Congress establishes a clear direction it may be worthwhile renewing our approaches towards the end of the year.

As for the impact of Israel/Middle East affairs on attitudes to our proposals it is difficult to know how much this plays a role, but we believe it may have been ultimately decisive, precisely because so much attention has been focussed on the "improvement" in relations between China and Israel. When soundings were first taken by Sidney Shapiro on the question of a steering committee meeting in Beijing his impression was that there could be a chance. Eli Shesoni implied much the same. By the time we arrived in Beijing, after the high profile taken by media attention to the China-Israel issue, the Foreign Ministry had backed off.

There is no doubt that any matter which needs to be directly referred to the Foreign Ministry is already in trouble given the naturally conservative bent of the ministry. Any international Jewish conference which involves scholars from Israel coming to Beijing falls into this category. At this stage, we were warned that any approach to the Foreign Ministry would receive a negative answer in line with the reaffirmation of the two main

principles currently governing official statements on Israel: China favours an international peace conference on the Middle East with all parties, including the PLO, participating, and China has no plan to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. These principles were reiterated by a Foreign Ministry spokesman in Beijing just days before our arrival on 16th July.

Indeed, as Li did before him, Zhao emphasised the importance of turning our attention to those activities which did not require approval from the Foreign Ministry. He went on to make some further points which we believe are worth the closest study.

1. The general attitude towards Israel within the Chinese leadership is positive and there is a feeling that progress is being made despite the formally negative attitude taken in statements by the Foreign Ministry. While we were in Beijing the Foreign Ministry refused to accept the American photographic exhibition which included pictures of General Douglas MacArthur and Golda Meir. The Ministry was also apparently touchy about the raising of diplomatic recognition of Israel by Chancellor Kohl in his talks in Beijing.
2. There is bemusement at what is seen as an obsession by Israelis on the question of recognition which the Chinese see as relatively intangible compared to the tangible progress being made at the unofficial levels such as trade and commerce. They cannot grasp why Israel seems to put so much emphasis on "symbols" while they are interested in "realities".
3. They do not regard as helpful the constant leaking to the Israeli press whenever there is a minor diplomatic contact somewhere between Israeli and Chinese officials. Certainly, they have themselves chosen on one particular occasion to refer publicly to a meeting at the United Nations. But the

flood of speculation which has so occupied the Israeli media and has spilled over into the western press generally, is not welcomed and inevitably leads to Arab pressures on the Foreign Ministry, already conservatively inclined in favour of not changing the status quo.

4. The media exposure to the issue and the exaggerated expectations which have been raised in Israel have led to a cooling down by the Foreign Ministry in its statements. We were assured by Inac Fusan that this should not be taken as a sign of deterioration in the relationship itself but as an inevitable response to the embarrassing publicity. The message to Israel was: Cool it.

PREPARATIONS

As on previous visits I contacted John Bowen, Foreign Affairs advisor to the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke. Bowen informed the Australian Embassy in Beijing of our coming and letters of welcome from the Ambassador were waiting on our arrival. I had also written to Li Shenshi and Shapiro who had replied that we would meet Inac Fusan.

Also as on previous visits I had contacted H.F. Kong, Managing Director of Lotus Tours, Hong Kong with whom I have had a long business association. Kong has excellent connections in Beijing and on previous visits has arranged meetings with many senior officials, journalists and academics. On this occasion, apparently through some misunderstanding, he knew that he would be accompanying us but assumed that we would be making all our arrangements and did not require him to set up meetings for us as on previous trips. The result was that we did not have as many meetings as we had hoped. But the extended discussions we had with Inac Fusan were as comprehensive as we could have hoped for.

In addition to Sam Lipshi, Vice President of the Asian Pacific Jewish Association and who accompanied me on the 1985 trip. I was joined by my wife Naomi.

On arrival in Hong Kong from Australia, on the evening of 19th July, we were briefed by Israel's Consul-General, Reuven Merhav, who raised a number of issues, including the question of an apparent slow-down to a trickle of the issuance of visas to Israeli passport holders. (Details of my discussion on this issue appear later in this report). We were also advised about a Professor Edelman, a visiting lecturer from the State University of New York, who was on a three month stay at the University of Beijing, lecturing on Israeli politics. In fact, as we found on checking in Beijing, Edelman had left China some weeks earlier.

ARRIVAL AT BEIJING

We were met at Beijing airport by senior officials of China International Travel Service (CITS) after arrival on a CHAC flight on Monday afternoon, 20th July. We stayed at the Sheraton Great Wall Hotel where the management has expressed an interest in a proposal for a small Kosher celi-restaurant - more of which later.

DINNER - MONDAY 20TH JULY

Our first engagement was a dinner hosted by H.P. Rong's business connections at the travel agency which is part of the Madam Sun Yat Sen Foundation. We invited Sidney Snajinc and his Chinese wife, Phoenix, to join us. The evening was a social occasion with discussion, mostly pleasantries, about the intricacies of learning to write Mandarin characters and the problems of trying to translate the Chinese ideographic alphabet. It took a least of

the imagination to see in Mrs. Shapiro, today a pleasant old grandmother in her seventies, the revolutionary editor of the Shanghai underground network 40 years ago.

In private discussions after dinner Sidney Shapiro explained the negative reaction which had come from the Foreign Office to the proposal for holding either the Colloquium or the Steering Committee meeting in Beijing. He did however raise the question of how we would regard holding a meeting of Jewish, but non-Israeli, scholars in Beijing. The question was exploratory. But I immediately ruled it out noting that we would not contemplate any meeting without Israeli participation. It would be better to wait. It became clear that he had not dealt with the Foreign Office directly but through Zhao Fusan at the Academy. He described Zhao to us as a significant figure in the Chinese academic world. At this stage we knew that we would meet him at some stage through Li Shenzhi but had no details as Li had been out of Beijing and had only returned that day.

TUESDAY - A.M.

We learned at 7 a.m. that Li Shenzhi would meet us at the Academy at 9 a.m. On arrival, together with H.F. Kong, we were ushered into a meeting room where Li and Zhao were already present. Very quickly Li handed over the discussions to Zhao and for the next two and a half hours took almost no part in them. Li gave us the impression that having introduced us to Zhao, not only a Vice President of CASS but the Head of the Institute of Religious Studies, he was "washing his hands of the Jews". He sat attending to correspondence and occasionally delegating tasks to an administrative assistant, Chang Yen, while we conducted an animated conversation with Zhao. Although he showed occasional interest he seemed relieved to have Zhao take over. While we have no doubt that Li will continue to be helpful to us in the

... to give the impression of

being tired and somewhat disillusioned by the new China. Zhao, by contrast, shows a more vigorous and animated attitude towards our concerns. It is therefore in our interests to deal directly with Zhao from now on. CASS, we should note, is the main think-tank and research centre for the Chinese leadership. It employs 5,500 people of whom 1,500 are scholars and the rest, support staff. The Institute of Religious Studies under Zhao employs 106 staff and is concerned mainly with Oriental religions, Islam and to a lesser extent, Christianity. It is within the focus on Christianity that any attention is paid to Judaism.

Zhao, in some ways, is a more impressive figure than Li - and that is saying a good deal. He is far more fluent in English having graduated from the English-language St. John's University in Shanghai. (See APPENDIX B). He also has a much broader worldview across a whole range of cultural and philosophical issues than Li who was restricted by being in internal exile for more than 20 years. Zhao talks knowledgeably about Western art, music, literature and philosophy. He also displayed considerable awareness of Judaism and Jewish philosophy. He remembers the Jewish community in Shanghai and had close Jewish friends as a student. He told us of one friend, an East European refugee who managed to get to Shanghai during the 40's, who had studied medicine at the same university. Zhao recalled the young Jew was so poor he could not afford to eat lunch - so he tried to forget his hunger by playing the piano through every lunch hour. This recollection of his "brilliant friend" moved him, Zhao said, to this day.

Zhao, as might be expected, has had a colorful past. We were told that he had infiltrated the Catholic church playing the role of priest for the Communist Party before, and possibly after, the revolution. H.F. Kong claims that he has read recent articles by Zhao in the Chinese press which have been reprinted in Hong Kong.

... this paper although Kong is. It

would appear Kong is right because Zhao is the Vice Chairman of the Chinese National Commission for UNESCO, and a member of the Steering Committee, Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee. Both positions indicate he is a high ranking "cultural commissar". According to Kong, Zhao has played an ideologue's role in recent debates in the Chinese press over "bourgeois liberalisation" having attacked it as a threat to real reform. Although clearly a moderate Zhao seems concerned that the demands of the students during the demonstrations strengthened the hands of the conservatives.

Whereas we were prepared for pleasantries about all sorts of matters before coming to our main requests, Zhao came straight to the point. Unfortunately, he told us at once, there could be no Colloquium or Steering Committee in Beijing. But he then proceeded to outline the picture as he saw it and how we might proceed towards improving contact on matters of Jewish scholarship in China.

Zhao began by telling us that in a recent discussion with Professor Fan Kuang, at the Institute of History in the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences they had counted some 30 scholars in China who, in one way or another, dealt with Jewish studies. Their biggest problem was a shortage of books on the relevant topics in Jewish history, religion and philosophy. CASIS had translated Martin Buber's "I and Thou" and Abba Eban's "My People" into Chinese. But there was a crying need for more books. He had a personal collection including the Encyclopaedia Judaica. But none of the libraries had it. (see below).

Most of the Jewish studies came as an extension of work on other religions, especially Christianity. The level was not high, Zhao noted, and he would like to see it upgraded and expanded. Hardly any Hebrew is being taught. But at Nanking Theological seminary Professor Hsu Ding Min teaches Old Testament Hebrew. Hsu, whom Zhao strongly recommended as someone we should invite to a future

Colloquium or other relevant international Jewish conference, learnt his Hebrew from the late Dr. J. F. Li, apparently a noted scholar of the pre-revolutionary era who graduated from the Hebrew University in the 'thirties. Zhao said Hsu was most suitable to attend international conferences in contrast to one or two Chinese scholars dealing with Jewish studies whose motives he could not vouch for. We did not pursue this cryptic reference.

Zhao said he was in favour of introducing modern Hebrew studies and may take it up with the Chancellor of Beijing University. Although we had heard that modern Hebrew was already being taught at Beijing University in some format Zhao said he was unable to confirm it.

He expressed considerable enthusiasm for the importance of Jewish studies as part of understanding Western civilisation. Jewish studies were important not only for scholars, however, but for Chinese businessmen, government officials and diplomats. It was part of receiving the broadest education. Very few Chinese understood this point, he acknowledged, and he regretted it. But he wanted to assure us that the amount of goodwill for the Jewish people in China was considerable despite the widespread ignorance and that he was sure that there were opportunities to develop their understanding.

In his own case he spoke of his admiration for the Jewish People and his respect for Jewish independence and nationhood. "How could we Chinese not understand this or the desire of any people for national self-determination?" He had become the author of the articles on Judaism and Jewish Philosophy in the 70 volume Encyclopaedia Sinica after learning from the editor that the volume on religions had initially made no reference at all to Judaism or the Jews. The particular volume is now in preparation. Zhao expounded at length on his view that the histories of philosophy published in the West, which he had seen, were

deficient in failing to acknowledge the critical contribution Jewish philosophy made to Western civilisation as a seminal force in the movements of thought which led to the Renaissance. He believed that Chinese scholars should make up for this failing of Western scholars and had instructed one of his doctoral students, now in West Germany, to pay attention to the Jewish contribution. In his thesis on medieval philosophy, Zhao was very interested in Maimonides as a result of his own scholarly work in medieval theology, particularly St. Thomas Aquinas.

The place to start in China-Jewish relations, according to Zhao, was from the beginning - with the most rudimentary stage of cultural and scholarly contacts. The Foreign Ministry was cautious and it was better to bypass them and try to develop Jewish studies in the academic realm "which could pave the way for wider international contacts". After lengthy discussion we agreed on the following broad program:

1. We would be able to invite Chinese scholars, in addition to Sidney Shapiro, to come to international Jewish conferences. At this stage such conferences probably could not be held in Israel because the spotlight would be on the visiting Chinese scholars. But he did not close the door completely and said it would have to be "explored" on a case-by-case basis. Those in the social sciences attending a Jewish conference were in a different category to those in the physical sciences who attended a professional international conference which merely happened to be held in Israel that year. In this context he mentioned Professor Go Wang Xhi who is a visiting scholar at Harvard University Divinity School and World Religions Centre and who, together with Zhao, have established some links with Rabbi Schneir of the Appeal to Conscience Foundation and have discussed Jewish studies.

2. A basic bibliography of Jewish books would be prepared by us which would include the Encyclopaedia Judaica. (Zhao mentioned specifically Maimonides' Guide For the Perplexed, Goitein's three volumes on the Geniza findings and Egyptian Jewry, books by Martin Buber, Franz Rosenzweig and Simone Weil (the French Mystic of the 1930's) and anything on Jewish folklore, medieval poetry or biblical archeology). Sets of the Judaica and other selected texts would be sent to Zhao for onward distribution to: The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Documentation Centre; The National Library, Beijing; Beijing University; Fudan University, Shanghai; The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences; and Nanjing Theological Seminary.

Zhao undertook to ensure that the books would be made freely available so that all scholars would have access to them. There was no problem with sending books into China. If there were video materials we thought appropriate we should arrange for them to be brought in personally by travellers as all videos through the post were subject to censorship - largely due to efforts to ban pornography, but which could entangle other items.

3. Subject to further discussion and confirmation that we are willing to provide the necessary funds Zhao, through Professor Fan at the Shanghai Academy will stage the first conference of Chinese Scholars in Jewish Studies. He estimates that this will take about 12 months to set up and that it will cost between US\$7,500-10,000. Since it is for Jewish studies inside China we can transmit the funds via Professor Ruan Xiang, General Secretary for the Centre of International Relations under the State Council. Ruan is a former ambassador to Britain and the EEC and has the authority to distribute funds which have been earmarked for special purposes by overseas organisations.

If we agree to fund this conference, which would probably be held in Shanghai because of Fan's role in co-ordinating such matters, there is every chance that we will be able to arrange for a distinguished Jewish scholar, possibly two or three, to attend as visiting speakers. It may be possible for a scholar who divides his time, say, between Jerusalem and the United States or Europe to attend. In any event playing a role which enables us to have some input into such a conference, indeed, just to know that it has been held and we can have a full report on it, would be a significant measure of progress. It may only draw between 15-20 scholars but it would be an important beginning.

4. Books which go beyond Jewish matters to cover Israel and the Middle East, and which can be considered 'scholarly', could be sent to the Institute of International Affairs, at the Academy of Social Science. In turn they service the Foreign Ministry. The books would be available for those doing research on the region for the Foreign Ministry.
5. Zhao suggested we should consider establishing a Kosher restaurant in Beijing as a visible presence of Jewish ethnic culture. At first we thought he may have been light-heartedly pulling our leg. But he came back to it on a number of occasions and it was clear he was serious. If there is a Maxims restaurant in Beijing, he said, why not a Kosher one? He related his own enjoyment of Kosher restaurants in New York and Paris. Our first reaction was to regard the whole idea as totally fanciful. But on reflection we decided: Why not? Indeed, we speculated that Zhao's proposal could be directly related to the agreement by the Soviets in the Bronfman-Gorak meetings to allow a Kosher restaurant in Moscow. Even if it is not, the idea has merit and can be exploited to our advantage. We will continue to explore it beyond the discussions already begun.

Just before noon our formal discussions ended and we travelled to West Beijing to pick up Sidney Shapiro. He lives in a modest two roomed half of a house which he shares with another family. By Western standards his accommodation is basic - but he and his wife have a courtyard and by Chinese standards far more space than most. With Li Shenzhi and Zhao, Sidney joined us for lunch at Beijing's main vegetarian restaurant where our discussions continued for another two and a half hours.

The talk was more wide-ranging with both Zhao and Li confirming that there had been no real change in the Sino-Soviet relationship. They were watching with great interest Gorbachev's efforts to introduce changes in the Soviet Union but they were sceptical about his chances of success. In relations between Beijing and Moscow the three stumbling blocks - Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Soviet troops on the Chinese border and the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia - were still there and although there were meetings of officials the status quo prevailed.

TUESDAY - AFTERNOON

At short notice we arranged to meet the Australian Ambassador at the Embassy. Garnaut, 40, is a former research economist who had worked in the Prime Minister's office before being handpicked by Hawke to serve in Beijing. He was joined by Second Secretary Anne Brown and the Counsellor for Cultural Affairs, Carillo Gantner. After outlining our activities and objectives in broad terms we discussed ways in which they could be helpful. They were very open to any ideas and offered to sound out their academic contacts on our behalf to see if there would be any interest in receiving Jewish scholars or establishing Hebrew language courses at such institutions as the Foreign Languages

University in Beijing. Ambassador Garnaut confirmed our impression of the two level policy towards Israel - unofficial growth, official coolness - which he likened to the policy towards South Korea where much went on so long as public attention was not drawn to it outside China in ways which could embarrass Beijing.

On the question of relations between Australia and China Garnaut informed us of the dramatic rise in the number of Chinese students coming to Australia, especially for short-term English language courses. Despite the high cost of such an exercise - equivalent to 20 years Chinese average salary - the Embassy has been swamped with visa applications. The students get the money from overseas Chinese relatives or from their relatives in China who scrape together their life savings. English is the key to advancement in China and Australia is now seen as cheaper and more accessible than the United States or Canada. If the present rate continues Australia will take 10,000 Chinese students over the next 12 months which would place its annual intake ahead even of the United States. As the signs are that this influx will continue the developing special relationship between Australia and China can be expected to grow.

Garnaut also confirmed the general thrust of the analysis outlined above of where the political debate in the Chinese leadership was headed. The question of succession would be very important at the October Congress - but it was generally accepted that Zhao Ziyang would become Secretary of the Party.

TUESDAY P.M. - CITS DINNER

We were the guests of Wang Er Kang, President of CITS. I had met Wang for the first time in 1965 when he hosted a luncheon at the Beijing Hotel. A veteran Foreign Ministry official who spent

seven years in Switzerland and West Germany on senior diplomatic postings, Wang outlined the policy on Israeli visas.

As far as he was concerned, there was no problem with Israeli passport holders subject to one provision: they should not constitute more than 30-40% of a total tour group.

To be more specific, he suggested that if Jetset in Hong Kong (or anywhere else) were to send groups to China, we could make the applications and CITS would give personal attention to ensuring that visas would be forthcoming in the normal formal manner so long as the Israelis represented a minority of the total group. The problem may be to integrate groups, as Jetset tours to China operate on an FIT or more individual modular basis than the traditional escorted tours. This is a technical problem and can be overcome.

Wang and all his senior executives who were present at the dinner had only weeks earlier been on an extensive visit to Australia where they surveyed China's travel interests in every capital city. They spent considerable time at Jetset Tours head office in Melbourne where they were hosted by my Deputy Managing Director, David Grant, in my absence overseas, and shown our whole operation. Wang told me that he was impressed by the sophistication of our systems and had not been aware of how extensive Jetset's activities were worldwide.

As a result of decentralisation taking place in the Chinese tourism industry CITS, once the monopoly government agency for overseas tourists, now finds itself competing with smaller tour operators, some of whom are the decentralised branch agencies of CITS who are outdoing Big Brother. Wang is not happy about this situation and would welcome any intervention which would strengthen CITS. He is also under pressure as a result of cumulative bad reporting about some of the breakdowns which have occurred at the Chinese end in dealing with Western tourists;

overbooking of hotels, cancelled flights, bad service, poor food, poorly trained guides - generally an infra-structure unable to cope with the travel boom to China. Wang says the Chinese are now over the worst of these problems, that while these were complaints that were justified 18 months ago they are no longer applicable. (There has in fact been some improvement but there are still major problems). He was most anxious that Jetset should include China travel packages from Australia and the USA as part of the 1988 program, something we have been reluctant to do both for the reasons mentioned above and because the prices have been totally uncompetitive. An Australian tourist can go to Singapore and Hong Kong for half, in some cases less than half, the price of China (other than in the Chinese low season winter when it is so cold that Australian tourists leaving the Australian summer would not be all that interested).

For my part, I am interested in the role that our experience with travel computerisation could play in the development of China's tourist traffic. Jetset has developed travel software on ground arrangements of a high order which is light years ahead of any international airline or travel organisation. As a result of our discussions, which continued on the Wednesday night when Naomi and I reciprocated by inviting Wang and his colleagues back to the hotel for a Szechuan vegetarian banquet at dinner, we have agreed that a Jetset team of executives, including one of our top computer experts, will come to Beijing for talks in August, September. CITS in turn will send their computer experts to visit us next month.

During the day on Wednesday we had hoped to pay a courtesy call on officials at the Bureau of Religious Affairs whom we had met on our 1985 visit as well as Zhang Wenjin, the Head of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. We had met one of the desk officials at the Association in 1985 but Sidney Shapiro, who knows Zhang, had been hopeful we might be able to arrange a meeting. A former Chinese

Ambassador to the United States Zhang would indeed have been a valuable contact. Unfortunately, despite efforts by the staff at the Academy and calls by Shapiro to Zhang's office, the meeting could not be held. Zhang was going overseas the next day and could not fit us in at short notice. The answer from the Bureau of Religious Affairs was also "too short notice". We accepted the excuses at face value and did not assume there were policy reasons for not seeing us. It is clear, in retrospect, we should have made greater efforts to advise these officials directly, perhaps through the Australian Embassy rather than assume that H.F. Kong's network of friends and our contacts at the Academy were sufficient. We were assured by Li Shennan and Zhao Fusan that given more time there would have been no problem in setting up appointments. They were amused we wanted to see the Religious Affairs group who they regarded as low level and of no consequence. In the event Sam Lipshitz and H.F. Kong returned to Hong Kong on an earlier flight on Thursday morning. Later that evening Reuver Merhav heard an initial report of our discussions from Sam Lipshitz at Hong Kong Airport.

EVALUATION: CHINA - GENERAL

Since our last visit in 1985 China's "second revolution" has continued. But the student demonstrations and the campaign against "bourgeois liberalisation" which followed have exposed to the world outside some of the tensions and struggles within the leadership and at different levels of Chinese society which the modernisation program has created. The experiment in "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics", Deng Xiaoping's euphemism for economic and political reform, certainly continues despite these tensions and struggles. But the pace and style of change may have to be modified. As noted earlier much will now depend on the October Party Congress for setting the agenda well into the 1990's.

But all the indications are that the majority of the Chinese leadership still believe that economic growth is a vital prerequisite for giving China political muscle in the international arena. The path to economic growth lies through maintaining the open door to Western technology and investment. At the same time Chinese leaders have been more sober in some of their recent assessments of how fast that growth can occur. Some recent analysis by two China-watchers, Mathews K. George and Francis Khoo is relevant. They point out that:

- * Deng Xiaoping's initial assessment that China would join the ranks of the industrial superpowers by the year 2000 has had to be revised.
- * Even if China were to quadruple its 1980 gross agricultural and industrial output by 2000 it would then be only in the middle ranks of the Third World.
- * The World Bank says China would have to achieve average and constant per capita growth rates of 5.5-6.5 per cent a year from now to 2050 to narrow the gap between itself and the economic superpowers.

Still, China is expected to maintain an average annual growth rate of 7 per cent until 2000 compared with 6.2 per cent for South Korea, 5.9 per cent for Brazil, and 5.6 per cent for Taiwan.

And yet, no matter how fast China grows economically, even if it exceeds the projections, and reaches parity with the superpowers 10 or 20 years earlier than 2050, the immensity of the task was brought home to us in two different ways while we were in Beijing.

The first example came in the form of an announcement by a spokesman for the State Planning Commission who told the People's

Daily that although China earned an extra US\$20 billion last year it was only enough to give each of its citizens an egg a day. The spokesman went on to note that although China was in the forefront of production in steel, coal, oil and food its population of one billion meant each citizen shared little in its growth. Every year there were more than 10 million births and four million people in towns and cities who joined the workforce. Even though some farmers earned more than ministers in the government there were still millions of people in remote areas living below the subsistence level.

The second example was more personal. The tour guide assigned to my wife Naomi was a girl in her twenties who had studied English at one of the language institutes. She met us at the airport wearing the latest style Western clothes which she buys in Canton or Shanghai where they are made up for Hong Kong outlets. Her hairstyles were copied from Vogue magazine which she picks up from the Western tourists she meets. But it was her breezy, chutzpandik manner and her interest in the world outside that were most striking. She explained that her base monthly income of US\$20 was boosted by overtime and travelling expenses to US\$50 a month. At this level she was earning more than either of her parents who had been doctors for 30 years and were on a fixed salary at a government clinic of US\$15 a month. The per capita income of China is US\$300. If they are to achieve the goal of \$800 by 2000 they will have to maintain a seven per cent growth rate for the next 13 years, an ambitious task.

In political terms these economic pressures mean that the leadership had to contain the fallout from the campaign against "bourgeois liberalisation" before it did excessive damage. The changes in leadership that accompanied the campaign had rattled Japanese, Hong Kong and Western investors. The line since May/June has therefore been unwavering. The reforms will be intensified and China will never close its doors again.

But quite aside from the political struggles the reforms have run into problems with investors because of the corruption, bureaucracy and inefficiency of the system as it tries to turn itself around. A recent article in Fortune magazine was highly critical of the difficulties faced by American firms trying to establish offices for joint ventures. It emphasized the high costs, corruption and rapaciousness of the government officials when they see an overseas investment prospect. Although the article seems to have been extreme in its pessimistic outlook for American companies, taken together with some other recent gloomy studies of investment potential which have been circulating in the Western financial press, it is clear that the honeymoon phase is over. Quite apart from the problems already outlined, difficulties with foreign exchange repatriation, high costs generally, and an uncertain legal framework have had their impact. Only those companies with long-term strategies for dealing with the Chinese and who can adopt a strategic regional outlook are likely to succeed.

If we look at the long-term trend, however, as the Chinese tend to do, the reforms of recent years have had a significant impact on the way Beijing looks out at the world. The Chinese have become profoundly aware of the growing interdependence of countries who are united by the demands of mixed economies and international trade. The result is an open door not only in the economic area but in other spheres, diplomatic, cultural and scientific, as well.

There are no significant changes in the Sino-American or Sino-Soviet relationships. The Gorbachev Vladivostok speech of July 1986, in which the Soviets asserted their role as an Asian/Pacific power, was taken seriously in Beijing. But aside from a stepped-up series of diplomatic contacts little has changed. The party to party dialogue still remains cool. It will be interesting to see how the Chinese decide to respond to Soviet

invitations to participate in the 50th anniversary celebrations in Moscow of the 1917 October revolution.

ISRAEL AND THE JEWS

There has undoubtedly been progress over the past 12-18 months in the range of contacts between Israelis and Chinese diplomats and other officials. There has also been a growth in such contacts with representatives of world Jewry. But the amount of speculation and attention accompanying these signs of progress as reflected in the Israeli press and in the statements of Israeli politicians and diplomats has been quite disproportionate. It has almost certainly also been counter-productive since the Chinese place considerable emphasis on the appearance of things.

To summarise our earlier assessments in this and previous reports: we heard nothing to indicate that diplomatic relations between Israel and China were imminent or even a serious option in the short or even medium term. Despite what some Chinese diplomats have been quoted as saying, the consensus, as we see it, is that there will be no serious move towards diplomatic relations before a Middle East international conference, if one looks like taking place, or before Moscow resumes diplomatic relations. Even then, they will test the waters and promptly exploit any Soviet moves in the Third World which underpin their foreign policy strategies on the Middle East.

At the same time, the goodwill towards Jews and Israel in Beijing remains and the unofficial contacts with Israel will continue to grow and expand, limited only by the degree to which Beijing is embarrassed by too much publicity. They seem far less sensitive to the publicising of any contacts with representatives of world Jewry, a matter we specifically raised with them. We conclude that an international Jewish conference at some level, before 1989, should definitely not be discounted. It will depend, of

course, on the total international picture which emerges in relation to the Middle East.

CONCLUSION

In meeting with Zhao Fusan we believe we have laid the foundation for an important point of contact critical to the whole area of Chinese-Jewish cultural exchange. From this contact we hope to develop as many frameworks as possible for future contacts.

Specifically, we now propose to pursue the following areas:-

1. Arranging for the calling, sometime in 1988, of the first conference of Chinese scholars in Jewish Studies - the conference to be held probably in Shanghai with the attendance of at least one international Jewish scholar of renown. We will be subsidising the conference through the appropriate Chinese foundation in Beijing.
2. The drafting of a basic bibliography of Judaica, including sets of the Encyclopaedia Judaica, and the despatch of the books to the Chinese libraries mentioned in this report.
3. Provision of suitable video and audio tapes to be brought in under appropriate auspices.
4. A review of the possibility of holding a conference in Beijing to be undertaken after the October party Congress.
5. Invitations to selected Chinese scholars to attend the next Asian Jewish Colloquium in March 1989 if Beijing is not the venue. Invitations to Chinese scholars to attend other, smaller conferences possibly in Israel.

6. Further negotiations on the question of Jewish and possibly Israeli scholars to come to China, especially after October 1987.
7. Extension of Israeli tours to China via the group arrangements outlined.
8. The feasibility of a Kosher restaurant/food facility in a Beijing international hotel.
9. An invitation has been extended to Sidney Shapiro to visit Australia in 1988.

As I have emphasized, probably ad nauseam, in all our previous reports, progress in dealing with the Chinese can be glacier-like and often frustrating for those of us used to the comparatively frenetic pace of the West, and the natural impatience of Jews in general and Israelis in particular. But, if even the most impatient of us can learn to persist, patiently, and with awareness of how the Chinese operate, we will continue to make headway.

I. J. LEIBLER
August 1987

THIRD ASIAN-JEWISH COLLOQUIUM

INTERNATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

COVENORS:

ISA J. LEIBLER, C.B.E.
President, Asia Pacific Region,
World Jewish Congress

PROFESSOR YORAM DINSTEIN
Pro-Rector, Tel-Aviv University

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

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THE RT. HON. MALCOLM FRASER, C.H.
Former Prime Minister of Australia
Co-Chairman of the Commonwealth
Committee of Eminent Persons on
South Africa

INDIA

RAM JETHMALANI
Advocate, Supreme Court of India

ISRAEL

PROFESSOR SWI WERELOWSKI
Martin Buber Professor of
Comparative Religion, Hebrew
University, Jerusalem

JAPAN

PROFESSOR TANUSHI MURAMATSU
Dean, College of Comparative
Culture, University of Tsukuba,
Japan

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PROFESSOR SIDNEY SHAPIRO (SHA BOLI)
Member, Chinese People's Political
Consultative Council
Member, Chinese Writers'
Association, Beijing

UNITED KINGDOM

SIR ZELMAN COWEN
Provost of Oriel College, Oxford
Former Governor-General of Australia

UNITED STATES

PROFESSOR DANIEL SIDORSKY
Professor of Philosophy, Columbia

THIRD ASIAN-JEWISH COLLOQUIUM

INTERNATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PH. DR. DESIDER GALSKY
Former President of the Council of
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Vice-Chancellor of the University of
Hong Kong

NEPAL

PROFESSOR YADU KHANAL
Professor Emeritus, Tri-Chandra
College, Nepal

PHILIPPINES

PROFESSOR PAULO CAMPOS
President of the National Academy of
Science and Technology of the
Philippines

SINGAPORE

PROFESSOR AUGUSTINE TAN
Associate Professor, Department of
Economics and Statistics, National
University of Singapore

SOUTH KOREA

PROFESSOR TAE-YEUNG YOU
Director, Saemaul Institute, Kon-Kuk
University, Seoul

THAILAND

DR. THIRINAT THOMAN
Former Foreign Minister and Deputy
Prime Minister
Chairman, John F. Kennedy
Foundation of Thailand

CURRICULUM VITAE

PROFESSOR ERAC FUSAN

SEX: Male

DATE OF BIRTH: 10th March, 1926

PLACE OF BIRTH: Shanghai, China

EDUCATION: 1946
B.A. St. John's University, Shanghai
in philosophy, theology and economics

PRESENT POSITION: Vice President, Chinese Academy of
Social Sciences

Professor, Graduate School, Chinese
Academy of Social Sciences

Vice Chairman, Chinese National
Commission for UNESCO

Member of the Standing Committee,
Chinese People's Political
Consultative Conference

WORK EXPERIENCE: 1946-47 National Committee, YMCA's of China,
visited China

1947-49 Head, Student Division, Beijing, YMCA

1949-53 Associate General Secretary, Beijing,
YMCA;

General Secretary, Beijing Christian
Council

1953-64 Dean of Studies, Yenching Union
Theological College, Beijing

1964-80 Research Fellow and Deputy Director,
Institute of World Religions,
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

1981-85 Deputy Secretary-General for Inter-
national Academic Exchange, Chinese
Academy of Social Sciences

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES:

- 1979 Visited the United States as guest of the American Committee for Scholarly Communication with PRG
- 1980 Visited the United Kingdom as guest of the British Academy
- 1980 Visited Nigeria as guest of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
- 1981 Guest lecturer at the 250th anniversary of James Logan Library, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
- 1981 Visited Japan as guest of the Japanese Institute for Peace
- 1982 Guest lecturer at the 20th anniversary of the Centre for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, U.S.A.
- 1982 Council member, Centre for World Religions, Harvard University, U.S.A.
- 1982 Guest lecturer at the 350th anniversary of Glendon University, PRG
- 1983 Visited France as guest of the International Institute of Geo-politics
- 1984 Visited India as guest of the Indian Council for Social Science Research
- 1984 Lecturer at St. John's College, Hong Kong University
- 1985 Visiting Professor, de la Salle University Manila, the Philippines
- Lecturer, Louvain University, Belgium

SOME PUBLICATIONS IN RECENT YEARS:

- Dictionary of World Religions (1980) as Associate Editor-in-Chief
- Intellectual Development of the mid-19th Century China (1980)
- Values in Chinese Eyes (1981)
- Reflections on Chinese Civilisation (1981)

On the Sinicisation of Social Sciences (1984)

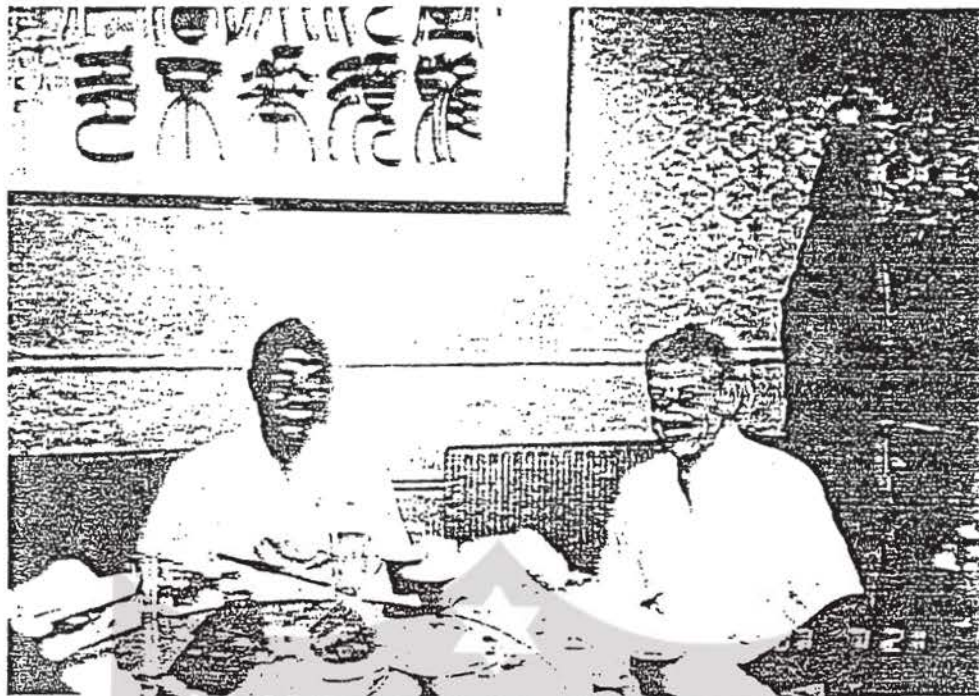
Social Science and China's Modernisation (published in the
"International Journal of Social Sciences" UNESCO No. 92, 1982)

Reflections on Present-day China's Development (1984)

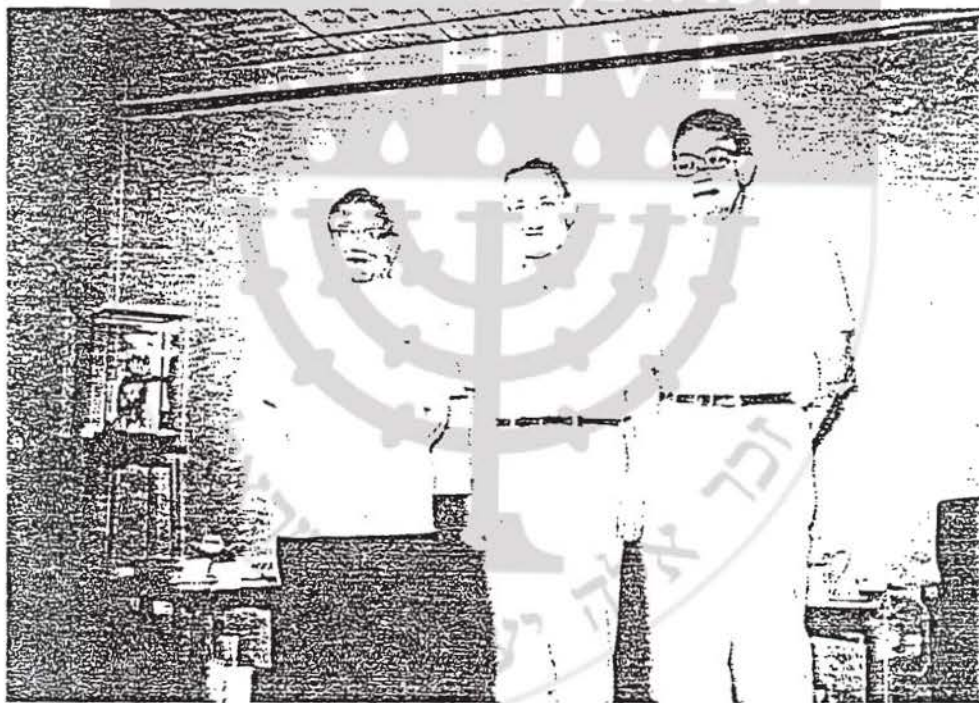
Some Observation on the Cultural Development of China in Recent
Years (1985)

Also Contributor to the volumes on Philosophy, Religion and World
History of the Encyclopaedia Sinica





AMERICAN JEWISH

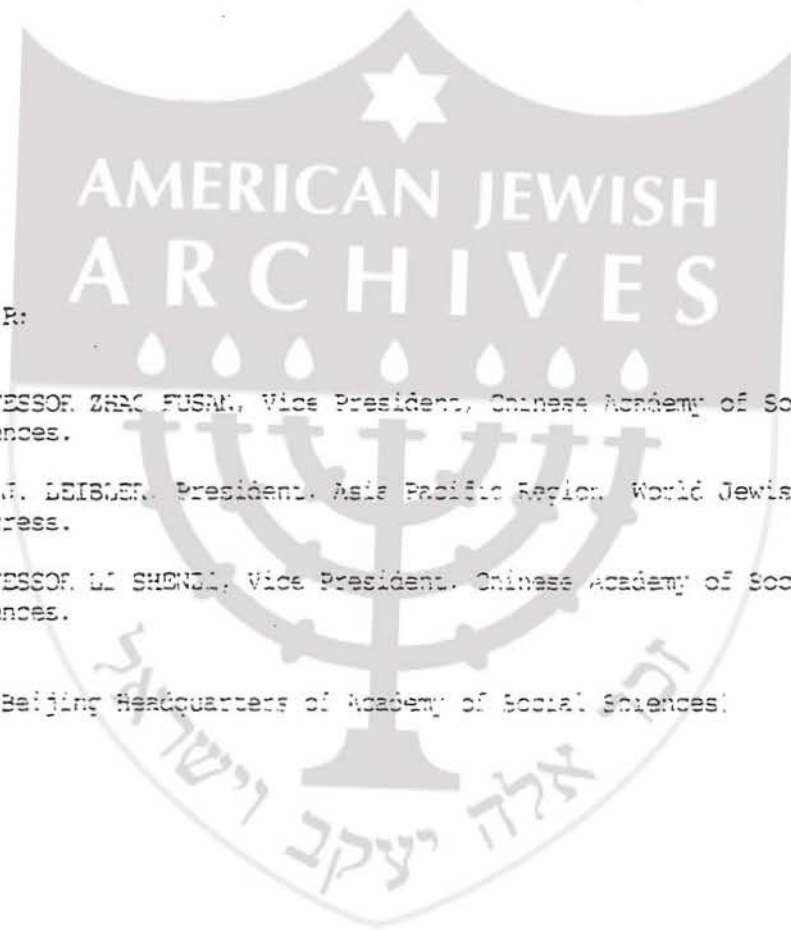


L - R:

PROFESSOR ZHAC FUSAN, Vice President, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

ISI J. LEIBLER, President, Asia Pacific Region, World Jewish Congress.

(In Beijing)



L - R:

PROFESSOR ZHAC FUSAN, Vice President, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

ISI J. LEIBLER, President, Asia Pacific Region, World Jewish Congress.

PROFESSOR LI SHENGLI, Vice President, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

(At Beijing Headquarters of Academy of Social Sciences)

L - R:

PROFESSOR SIDNEY SHAPIRO, NANCY LEIBLER, MRS. SHAPIRO, ISI J. LEIBLER.

(In Beijing)

PRESS STATEMENT

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ENCYCLOPAEDIA JUDAICA FOR CHINA

Prominent Chinese scholars have agreed, for the first time, to include the Encyclopaedia Judaica in the collections of six of China's leading libraries.

The Encyclopaedia sets, to be followed by the dispatch of a basic series of texts in Jewish history and philosophy, will be provided by the Asia-Pacific Jewish Association.

The agreement to open up China's leading research and university libraries to significant numbers of books on Jewish studies follows discussions in Beijing between Association leaders and senior scholars at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Taking part in the meetings in the Chinese capital were Professor Zhao Fusan, a Vice-President of the Chinese Academy and Director of its Institute of World Religions, and Dr. Li Shenshi, also a Vice-President of the Academy and Director of the Institute of American Studies.

Representing the Asia Pacific Jewish Association was Isi Leibler, the Association's Chairman and Chairman of the Asia Pacific Region, World Jewish Congress. He was accompanied by Sam Lipski, Vice-President of the Association.

Mr. Leibler said he was most encouraged by the readiness senior Chinese academic officials had displayed towards extending the range of cultural and scholarly contacts between their country and world Jewry. As long as such contacts avoided controversial political areas relating to the Middle East there was considerable scope for development, Mr. Leibler added.

One of the more intriguing possibilities to emerge from the discussions was a suggestion by the Chinese to establish a kosher restaurant or hotel dining facility which would cater for the growing number of international Jewish visitors. Preliminary talks with one of Beijing's leading international hotels had already been held to discuss the feasibility of such a project, Mr. Leibler said.

In addition to agreements on the supply of Jewish works for the libraries there was extensive discussion on plans to upgrade the very limited opportunities for Jewish studies in China. Professor Zhao, himself the author of articles on Judaism and Jewish philosophy in the recently published 70-volume Encyclopaedia Sinica, said he was hopeful that sometime in 1988 it would be possible to arrange the first conference of Chinese scholars working in the field of Jewish studies.

On behalf of the Association and the World Jewish Congress Mr. Leibler undertook to provide whatever assistance might be helpful in staging such a conference. Professor Zhao estimated that there were some 20 scholars teaching Jewish studies subjects in Chinese universities and theological seminaries.

The encyclopaedias and Jewish texts will be made available to the Chinese National Library, Beijing, the Documentation Centre at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and the libraries of Beijing University, Fudan University, Shanghai, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and the Nanking Theological Seminary.

The discussions at the Chinese Academy were part of an ongoing series of contacts with Chinese officials, academics and editors, which go back to Mr. Leibler's first visit to China in 1981. This was followed by a subsequent visit in 1985 and the Second Asian Jewish Colloquium in Hong Kong last March.

The Colloquium brought together leading Asian and Jewish scholars. For the first time the Chinese responded to an invitation from the Asia Pacific Jewish Association to send a Chinese scholar to participate in an international Jewish conference. Professor Sidney Shapiro, (Sha Boli) a former American Jew resident in China for 40 years, created international interest when he presented a paper to the Colloquium on the history of Kai-Feng Jewry in China.

"Following the success of that first exposure to the international Jewish scene it appears the Chinese are now ready to take further steps in expanding contact in cultural and academic areas", Mr. Leibler said.

"The Chinese we met at the Academy indicated to us that we could expect some of their scholars in such fields as Old Testament Studies and Jewish history to attend future Colloquia and other international Jewish conferences".

While in Beijing Mr. Leibler and Mr. Lipski met again with Professor Shapiro and planned a visit to Australia by the Chinese scholar, a leading translator of contemporary Chinese literature.

Mr. Leibler said he had been pleased to renew his friendship with Dr. Li whom he had met on a previous visit to China in 1985 and earlier this year when he visited Australia to lecture at university seminars on Chinese politics and culture.

"This, however, was my first opportunity to meet Professor Zhao", Mr. Leibler noted.

"We believe that Professor Zhao, a Vice-Chairman of the Chinese National Commission for UNESCO and a Member of the Standing Committee, Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, was ideally placed to express the developing interest in Jewish

studies and the need for greater understanding by the Chinese of the Jewish world".

A highly cultured man who was widely read in Jewish history and philosophy, Professor Zhao said that the Academy had translated Martin Buber's "I and Thou" and Abba Eban's "My People" into Chinese. But, Professor Zhao added, there was a need for the works of Maimonides and other foremost Jewish scholars to be made available.

Although it was not possible, at this stage, to arrange for an international Jewish meeting to be held in Beijing such an eventuality could be envisaged in the not too distant future, Mr. Leibler said.

The Chinese were still sensitive to the climate created by the exaggerated speculation which had flooded the Israeli media after some tentative contacts had occurred earlier this year between Israel and Chinese diplomats.

The contacts had been built up by over-eager Israeli politicians and the media to give the impression that Chinese recognition of Israel was a real and imminent possibility, Mr. Leibler said.

"We have found no evidence in our talks with informed Chinese that there is any short-term prospect of a change in the status-quo. Beijing favours an international conference on the Middle East in which the PLO would participate and has reiterated that there are no plans to recognise Israel".

"As far as we are concerned in the Asia Pacific Jewish Association we believe that the most useful contacts between the Jewish world and China for the foreseeable future will be in the fields of cultural, scholarly and academic exchange", Mr. Leibler added.

MELBOURNE: 14TH AUGUST, 1987.

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