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IMPACT

International Press Coverage of Activities of the
American Jewish Committee's International Relations
Department



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WHY IMPACT?

AJC's International Relations Department is engaged in an extensive and far-reaching program interpreting central Jewish and human rights issues in many parts of the world -- the United States, Israel, Western and Eastern Europe, Central and South America, and to a lesser extent, in Africa and Asia.

In the daily turmoil of events, it is difficult to obtain an overview of that widespread program of diplomatic activity, education and information. IMPACT is an effort to bring together periodically a representative sampling of newspaper coverage, domestic and foreign, which suggests the nature of this vital AJC activity in advancing the causes of Israel, Soviet Jewry, diaspora Jewish communities -- particularly endangered Jewish societies -- combatting anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, and strengthening international human rights.

While some of these achievements are reflected in a general way in other AJC publications, the texture of this foreign relations work has grown so rich and complex in recent years, that we felt it required this specialized document to do justice to its full variety.

This issue of IMPACT was prepared by Harry Milkman, Middle East specialist of AJC's International Relations Department. We hope you are as gratified by this record of accomplishment as we are.

Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
International Relations
Department

Miles Jaffe, Chairman
International Relations
Commission

NEW YORK POST

Saturday, March 14, 1987

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OPINION

Israel gets the message at last on the Pollard affair

BY THEODORE ELLENOFF

WILL our children be able to talk to one another?" is often a wistful agenda item at conferences involving American Jews and Israeli Jews. In recent months, however, the Pollard affair has raised questions about the ability of American and Israeli Jews to communicate effectively even now — in this generation.

From the standpoint of American Jewish leaders in particular, it was as though we simply weren't getting through. For weeks, we sought to persuade Jerusalem that the use of an American citizen as a spy represented an unacceptable breach of faith — a violation of the trust that is essential to the alliance between the U.S. and Israel.

We urged the Israelis to launch a probe into how this unfortunate episode came to pass — and then to make public their findings.

But the government of Israel simply refused to acknowledge any role in running Pollard as a spy, insisting that the whole business was a "rogue" operation and doubtless persuading itself that the matter would soon blow over.

American Jews protested

the seeming cynicism demonstrated by the Israelis in giving prestigious posts to the very individuals reported to have been responsible for this "rogue" undertaking. We tried to draw a parallel by asking how it would look if — right now — Col. North and Adm. Poindecker were suddenly granted important promotions.

The whole dialogue began to take an ugly turn — some Israelis accused American Jewish leaders of being frightened by possible dual loyalty charges, rather than simply outraged about Israel practicing espionage in the U.S.

Fortunately, the Israelis finally got the message — though only, it appears, after Pollard was sentenced. Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban initiated an inquiry by the Intelligence Subcommittee of the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. The cabinet agreed a couple of days later to set up an investigatory commission of its own.

The lessons learned from these inquiries should result in recommendations for

better oversight procedures to prevent any recurrence of such regrettable errors. The government of Israel has promised to cooperate fully with the two investigations and underscored the hope that this would do much to restore mutual confidence to the Israeli-U.S. relationship.

Interestingly, only a couple of weeks earlier, during Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's visit to the U.S., President Reagan officially designated Israel a "major non-NATO ally" of the U.S.

This declaration came despite revelations concerning Israel's role in the Iran affair, despite the impending sentence of Pollard and despite the State Dept.'s report-in-progress on Israeli arms sales to South Africa.

In this seemingly ominous climate, wasn't it virtually incongruous to upgrade formally U.S.-Israel relations?

No. Notwithstanding the justifiable anger over the Pollard affair, the Reagan administration, Congress and the American people recognize the vitality and necessity of Israel's special relationship with the U.S.

Israel is the Middle East's only democracy and she remains America's most reliable ally in that region. American arms have been prepositioned in Israel for use by the U.S. military in the event of any threat to the Arab oil-producing states in the Persian Gulf.

Thus, Israel plays a key part in defending America's energy supply and in deterring potential Soviet expansionism in the Middle East.

Maj. Gen. George Keagan, former chief of U.S. Air Force intelligence, has noted that "for every dollar of support this country has given Israel, we have gotten a thousand dollars of benefit in return." According to Peter McPherson, head of the State Dept.'s Agency for International Development, every billion dollars of U.S. assistance to Israel creates 60,000 American jobs.

Thus, the American-Israeli alliance is a friendship grounded not just in common values, but also in shared interests. Despite the unfortunate, occasional Jonathan Pollards, it will endure and prosper.

Attorney Theodore Ellenoff is president of the American Jewish Committee.

January 16, 1987

U.S. Jewish Leaders Frustrated By Response They Get in Israel

BY STEVE RODAN
New York City Tribune Correspondent

JERUSALEM, Jan. 15 — When Theodore Ellenhoff arrives in Israel, his schedule resembles that of any visiting foreign leader.

Ellenhoff meets with the Israeli prime minister, foreign minister, several leading parliamentarians, even dignitaries from the West Bank and Gaza.

But Ellenhoff is not a leader of a foreign country — he is president of the New York-based American Jewish Committee. And that, he says, makes a big difference.

"I meet with them," Ellenhoff said, describing his talks with Israeli leaders. "Our conversations are guarded. They listen with polite diffidence."

Ellenhoff says he isn't complaining. But he hints at a frustration that is privately expressed among some U.S. Jewish leaders. These American Jews have tremendous access to the Israeli leadership — but many of them feel that their views are being ignored.

Aides to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres are quick to dismiss this. "These meetings," Foreign Ministry spokesman Ehud Gol said, "of course they're important."

But many parliamentarians say that the importance of the American Jewish community has diminished since the early days of the state — when Israel desperately needed U.S. Jewish lead-

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ers to plead Israel's case to the White House. Nowadays, Israel receives nearly \$4 billion in aid, and enjoys an unprecedented strategic alliance with the United States.

Still, the schedules of Israeli leaders are packed full of meetings with leaders of U.S. Jewish groups. This past week, Shamir and Peres met with leaders of the American Jewish Committee, a delegation sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League, the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee and a host of other Jewish dignitaries.

The protocol for these meetings does not vary much. The visiting American Jews greet the Israeli leader, state their purpose for being in Israel and after a few pleasantries the minister briefs his visitors on defense and foreign affairs. Occasionally, the guests ask a question.

Israeli leaders find this method convenient. It does not distinguish between the competing Jewish groups, while allowing all of the visiting guests to feel they have been honored with a briefing by the highest Israeli authority.

For some U.S. Jewish leaders, the frustration begins when they feel compelled to express themselves on Israeli developments that affect American Jews. At that point, they say, they are looking for more than just a polite nod from Israeli leaders.

One example is the Jonathan Pollard spy affair.

Ellenhoff, who insists he does not offer advice to Israeli leaders, stressed to them the concern of American Jews over the sustained public attention paid in the United States to the case of an American Jew who was convicted of spying on the U.S. government for Israel.

The reaction by the Israeli leaders, Ellenhoff says, has been indifference.

Despite the appeals by U.S. Jewish leaders, Pollard's Israeli contact, Rafi Eitan, was promoted to head one of Israel's largest government-owned companies.

"The insensitivity of Israeli officialdom to the Pollard affair is perhaps best noted by the promotion," Ellenhoff said.

"Pollard raises questions in the American scene which, while not large yet, have in them the seeds of dual loyalty and other kinds of anxieties that feature all minority life in the U.S., particularly Jewish-American."

Officials of other major U.S. Jewish organizations largely agree with Ellenhoff, but preferred not to go public.

"The insensitivity irked a lot of our people," said a leader of a solidly pro-Israel national Jewish group who did not want to be identified. "There's an old-boy network here [in Israel] and it transcends the most critical issues in the relationship between Israel and the United States."

Harry Hurwitz, an adviser to Prime Ministers Menachem Begin and now Shamir on Diaspora affairs, is familiar with this complaint. He says that the "chief reason" for the meetings between Israeli leaders and prominent American Jews is not to brief them on developments or solicit their views. Instead, he says, the meetings are to maintain what he terms the solidarity of Israel with Diaspora Jewry.

Hurwitz remembers earlier times — especially during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which made many American Jews uncomfortable — when these were not the ground rules for the meetings with Israeli prime ministers.

"At one time, elements in the American Jewish community were aggressive to the point of being unacceptable," he said. "Now, they are better organized."

Despite the frustration, there are Jewish leaders regarded as having major influence with Israeli leaders. One example is Israel Singer, director of the World Jewish Congress, who worked closely with the government on the issue of Soviet Jewry during the two years of the premiership of Peres.

Early last year, the WJC produced documents on former U.N. secretary-general Kurt Waldheim which alleged that he was involved in Nazi atrocities. The campaign began soon after Waldheim announced his candidacy for the Austrian presidency. After his election, Israel refused to send a new ambassador to Austria.

Israeli diplomats who objected to their government's response to Wald-

heim said that the WJC had dragged Israel into worsening its relations with Austria — partly as a result of the close ties Singer had with Peres and other Israeli leaders.

But the high profile used by the WJC in its dealings with Israel is avoided by most major Jewish groups which, unlike the World Jewish Congress, are members of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

The conference was formed in the 1950s to serve as American Jewry's organized representative in dealings with the White House and later, to a lesser extent, to Israel as well.

Harry Wall, the head of the Anti-Defamation League in Israel, says that without fanfare U.S. Jewish leaders continue to be valuable to Israel, particularly in providing grass roots and congressional feedback to issues of Israeli concern.

One example he gives is the Israeli economy. Wall says that both the White House as well as American Jewish leaders have urged Israel to encourage free enterprise, deregulate the capital markets and lower taxes. Israel, which 2 years ago began a campaign to attract Western, particularly Jewish, investments to Israel, has taken heed of the American Jews.

Wall says that the meetings by American Jewish leaders with the Israeli prime minister will remain important, regardless of how strong the ties are between the U.S. and Israel governments. The reason: Israel wants U.S. Jewish leaders to understand its position, so the Jewish community "can act intelligibly" and continue to support the Jewish state.

But as for expecting that to result in formal consultations, "I'm more realistic," Wall said. "I don't see my job as offering advice, and I don't expect Israel to solicit it."

Brothers with Blood in Their Eyes

In Jerusalem, U.S. Jewish leaders wade into the Pollard fray

We've been on the battlefield for Israel too long for anyone to throw that crap at us." That was the reaction of **Hyman Bookbinder**, 71, a longtime leader of the **American Jewish Committee**, to Israeli criticism of U.S. Jewish leaders in the wake of the painful case of Jonathan Jay Pollard, 32, the American intelligence analyst was sentenced to life imprisonment earlier this month as an Israeli spy. Few could remember a previous dispute that had produced such tension between Israel and its closest friends in the U.S. But then, as **Morris Abram**, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said on Israeli television, "We never expected that an American citizen would be spying for the state we love."

In spite of the unprecedented flak he was getting from the 65 U.S. Jewish leaders who visited Israel last week, Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** still insisted that the Pollard affair had been a "rogue" operation undertaken without the government's knowledge. Two weeks ago, the Israeli Cabinet reluctantly appointed a two-member committee to investigate the case, but failed to give it the power to subpoena witnesses. Last week the committee appeared to be near collapse after an attorney for three Israelis implicated in the case advised his clients not to testify. In the meantime, a second official inquiry, conducted by the Knesset's intelligence subcommittee, was reportedly making progress in secret session.

The Pollard affair has led to renewed criticism of **Shamir** and his Labor partners in the national unity government. Foreign Minister **Shimon Peres** and Defense Minister **Yitzhak Rabin**. One newspaper, *Yediot Aharonot*, published photos depicting the trio under the caption "Everyone covering

up for everyone." In *Ha'aretz*, Commentator **B. Michael** wrote that the spy case, along with the Israeli role in *Iran-scam*, was part of a pattern in which Israeli leaders have taken the position that "We did not know, did not hear, did not see, did not report, and we are not responsible."

Other Israelis lashed out bitterly at U.S. Jews for failing to stand up for the Pollards. One broadside, published in the *Jerusalem Post*, came from Political Science Professor **Shlomo Avineri**, a former director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. Addressing U.S. Jews, Avineri declared, "When the going gets tough, your leaders react like trembling Israelites in the shtetl, not like the proud and mighty citizens of a free democratic society . . . America, it now appears, may not be your promised land." Days later the *Post* reported that U.S. Senator **David Durenberger** had said privately that the Pollard affair may have had its roots in a 1982 decision by CIA Director **William Casey** to recruit an Israeli to spy on Israel thus setting a precedent for espionage between the two countries. Israeli officials denied the story, and **Durenberger** later



The Prime Minister with **Morris Abram**
A dispute with "the state we love."

characterized his remarks as "speculation." The CIA refused to comment.

Attacks like **Avineri's** enraged many U.S. Jewish leaders. They felt that Israel should never have exploited an ardent young American Zionist and should now show far more awareness of U.S. feelings. Said **Bookbinder**, bluntly: "Pollard is a criminal found guilty in our system of justice, it's as simple as that. If it was perceived in America that we had come to the defense of Pollard because he's a Jew, our credibility as a Jewish community would be down to zero overnight, and Israel would be the loser." In Washington, the staunchly pro-Israel *New Republic* called the Jerusalem government's behavior in the Pollard affair "morally unworthy and politically stupid," adding, "If the smart-asses in the corridors of Israeli power think, as one commentator recently put it, that Israel is a 'Teflon nation,' they may be in for a shock."

At the very least, the U.S. expects the **Shamir** government to fire the two Israelis who are believed to have played important roles in the Pollard affair. One is **Colonel Aviam Sella**, 41, an air force hero who was Pollard's "handler"; last month **Sella** was named commander of one of Israel's most important air bases. Similarly, **Rafi Eitan**, who masterminded the Pollard spy operation, was named chairman of **Israel Chemicals**, the country's largest government-owned company. Washington also wants Israel to return the 360 cu. ft. of American intelligence documents that Pollard stole from the Naval Investigative Service in **Suitland, Md.**, where he worked. The papers covered a wide range of highly sensitive subjects, from Arab nuclear facilities to Soviet surface-to-air missile capabilities.

So far, the Israeli government has resisted U.S. pressure. Moreover, many Israelis are concerned about the fate of **Pollard** and his wife **Anne Henderson-Pollard**, 26, who this month was given a five-year prison sentence. An Israeli organization called **Citizens for Pollard** managed to collect \$10,000 for the couple's defense fund. In addition, there were unconfirmed reports, subsequently denied by the Pollards' lawyers, that Israel had quietly paid about \$75,000 of the Pollards' legal fees of about \$400,000.

Throughout the week, both Jerusalem and Washington took tentative steps toward repairing the damage. The Reagan Administration allowed Army Secretary **John O. Marsh** to make a previously scheduled trip to Israel. The **Shamir** government, reacting to pressure from Congress, announced that it would not sign new military sales contracts with South Africa, although existing commitments would be unaffected. But the impasse over the Pollard affair was far from over. Declared a Western diplomat in **Tel Aviv**: "The Israelis have to understand that Washington wants blood." —*By William E. Smith, Reported by Roland Flamini and Robert Slatoff/Jerusalem*

3-21-87

Soviet Emigration, Pollard Case Prompt Rare Open Debate

U.S. Jews and Israelis: A Question of Identity

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

JERUSALEM

In the last few weeks there has been an unusually high level of tension between some American Jews and some Israeli Jews. Underlying their debate is the fact that as much as they have in common, they often interpret the meaning of Jewish history and the significance of the state of Israel in very different terms.

The tension started when Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, told American Jews that they should oppose Soviet Jews' being granted refugee status in the United States, so that these Jews would be compelled to come to Israel first. Matters were aggravated when an American Jew, Jonathan J. Pollard, the former naval intelligence analyst, was sentenced to life imprisonment for spying for Israel, and the Israeli Government refused to punish the officials who ran the operation.

Several top American Jewish leaders recently sat down with Mr. Shamir and told him firmly that Israel's actions had deeply offended many Jews in the United States. This prompted an angry reaction from some Israelis and provoked one widely discussed article in the Jerusalem Post by Shlomo Avineri, the political theorist, who accused United States Jews of being insecure in their American identities because of the way that they rushed to disassociate themselves from the Pollard operation. The underlying theme of the Avineri article was that American Jews are not as at home in the United States as they imagine and so they all might as well emigrate to Israel.

For two Jewish communities that normally never

wash their dirty laundry in public, it was suddenly all out there on the clothes line. "We discussed our feelings frankly and we got some things off our chests," said Hyman Bookbinder of the American Jewish Committee.

The roots of the current tension go back before the creation of the state of Israel. Israel's founding fathers came out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe, and this was their model for the world. They assumed that once a Jewish state was established all Jews in the diaspora would either move to Israel or else gradually disappear — either through physical persecution or cultural extinction.

What Israel's founders could not imagine were two things: First, that the United States could be open, pluralistic and tolerant enough to let Jews feel totally at home there and live a safe and vibrant Jewish existence, with the full range of human occupations available to them. And second, that Israel would capture the imagination of Jews in the diaspora who, nevertheless, would not actually want to come live in Israel.

In fact, both things happened: the United States grew into a second Jewish homeland, and a major competitor with Israel for Jewish immigrants. Today, roughly 6 million Jews live in the United States and only 3.5 million in Israel. At the same time, "Israel became central to Jews in America, not as a political or geographical option, but as the carrier of Jewish history," said an Israeli philosopher, David Hartman. "Jews all over the world came to look on Israel as the energy center that would represent the continuity of Jewish history in the future, as well as their link to Amos, Isaiah and the drama of Jewish history in the past."

But while Israel found itself playing this spiritual identity role for Jews, both at home and abroad, it was at



The New York Times/Miche Ber-Am

Recent arrival in Israel from Soviet Union.

the same time a modern nation state, with its own interests, politics, criminals and national security problems.

This helps to explain a great deal about the current tensions. When the Pollard affair broke, many American Jews were appalled at the idea that Israel could have acted in a way that called into question their sense of belonging in the United States. Some Israelis countered by saying, in effect, that the security of their state required the gathering intelligence by any means available. For

Israelis, Mr. Pollard was acting out of allegiance to Israel's survival as a nation state. For many American Jews, Mr. Pollard was violating their ability to reconcile their commitments to Israel, as the source of their Jewish spiritual feelings and identities, with their commitment to the United States as their political home.

The same mutual misunderstanding was present on the issue of Soviet Jews. Because many American Jews see Israel as the carrier of the best values of Jewish history, they assume it would always act in a way to save Jews, no matter where they are. Some American Jews were shocked to hear an Israeli minister say that Soviet Jews who get out of the Soviet Union on Israeli visas "can rot" in Europe if they don't want to come to Israel. Last week, there were signs that the Soviet Union may be ready to let out as many as 10,000 Jews this year. (U.S., U.S.S.R. to discuss emigration, page 3.) Since many Jews in the United States believe that they can be loyal Americans and fulfilled Jews, while at the same time identifying spiritually, culturally and emotionally with the state of Israel, they believe Soviet Jews are entitled to the same opportunity. Israeli officials counter that Israel needs Jewish bodies if it is to survive as a nation state at war with its neighbors. More important, some Israelis find it difficult to concede that the United States is a viable option for Jewish existence, because this admission challenges Israel's very reason for being.

That is why some Israelis were elated when Professor Avineri argued that the reaction of American Jews to the Pollard affair only proved that they felt as insecure as Iranian or Soviet Jews. Others, though, joined Mr. Hartman in arguing that if Israel does not act in a way that always places the well-being of the Jewish people at its center, it relinquishes its right to claim the allegiance of all Jews. "What is at stake is the soul of a nation," said Mr. Hartman. "The question is: Is Israel an instrument serving the Jewish people, or are the Jewish people instruments for serving the political state of Israel?"

Israel Is Placing the Wrong Bet

By Alfred H. Moses

WASHINGTON — Israel's policy of shipping arms to Iran while treating Iraq as an intractable foe raises serious questions about the judgments being made in Jerusalem.

The Israeli explanation is twofold. Iraq, it argues, is a radical Arab state that espouses pan-Arabism, an ideology unyieldingly hostile to Israel. Iran, on the other hand, is Persian, and can be expected in time to revert to its old way of keeping the Arabs at bay while dealing with Israel on matters of common interest. Israel has not forgotten that the Shah kept Iranian oil flowing to Israel's port of Eilat during the Yom Kippur war. To Israel, a Persian Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini is preferable to an Arab Saddam Hussein.

Israel's policy seems mired in geopolitical thinking of the past. For some time, Iraq has been moving away from Arab radicals toward the Arab status quo powers — Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia. It is too early to tell whether Iraq will follow Egypt's path but the potential for a parallel course is worth noting.

Both countries are legitimate nation-states with ancient roots. Neither has a long-term strategic interest in the struggle with Israel. Iraq is threatened by militant Islam to the east and Syrian secular radicalism to the west. Israel poses no such threat. Saddam Hussein has not acknowledged, as did Egypt's Anwar el-Sadat in 1977, that his country has done enough for the Arab cause and that it's time to look out for Iraq. But this could come when the war with Iran ends and Iraq no longer depends on Arab support.

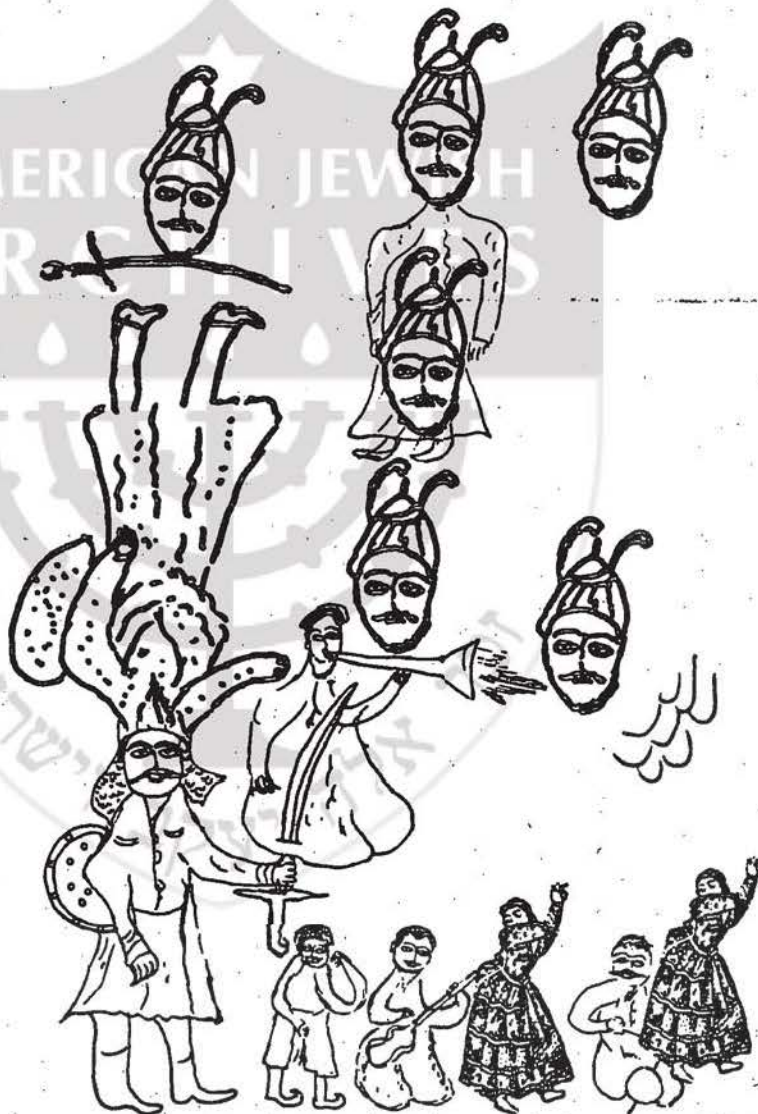
It would be carrying parallelism too far to expect Saddam Hussein to become another Sadat. As the manager of the late heavyweight champion Sonny Liston said of his fighter: "He has lots of good qualities. It's his bad qualities that ain't so good." But it's worth noting that even before Iraq's troops crossed into Iran in 1980, Saddam Hussein had recognized the importance of Western economic assistance to his goal of creating a modern economic state, had reduced his dependence on Soviet military assistance, had resumed diplomatic relations with America and privately supported the May 1983 Israeli-Lebanon agreement so vehemently attacked by Syria and other Arab radicals. He has distanced himself from the more notorious Palestinians including the world's No. 1 terrorist, Abu Nidal, who has moved, under duress, from Baghdad to Damascus.

Meanwhile, Iranian religious radicalism has replaced pan-Arab secularism as the main destabilizing force in the Middle East. The daily atrocities committed in Lebanon by the Iranian-sponsored Hezbollah and

the Islamic Jihad suggest that Israel could well awaken one morning to see an Iranian flag on its northern border. As The Wall Street Journal's Gerald F. Seib wrote after his release from detention in Teheran, "There isn't any reason to doubt the passion of Iranian soldiers who shout that, after toppling the Iraqi Government, they intend to 'liberate' Jerusalem from Israeli control." Iranian soldiers carry into battle a map with an arrow extending across Iraq, its head stuck squarely in Jerusalem. From every indication, Ayatollah Khomeini's forces are in firm control in Iran and his policies will more than likely survive him.

As Israel prepares to celebrate 40 years of independence, its search for permanent peace depends on its ability to build alliances among existing status quo Arab countries and potential status quo countries (such as Iraq) as a bulwark against the twin threats of radical pan-Arabism and pan-Islam. Of these, the chief threat to Israel and to regional stability is pan-Islam, led by a revolutionary Iran. Pan-Arabism has never really recovered from the breakup of the United Arab Republic and the death of its leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser. More serious are the dangers from Iran; the day when Israel could look to it for support is long past.

The "outer ring" strategy developed by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first Prime Minister, is similarly outdated. This strategy rested on friendships with Iran, Ethiopia and Turkey at a time when the "inner ring" of Arab states was uniformly hostile to Israel. Mr. Ben-Gurion's policy, right then, is inappropriate now. Iran and Ethiopia have moved into the radical camp and Turkey has reduced its contacts with Israel out of fear and weakness. In the meantime, the chain in the inner ring has been broken by the peace with Egypt. The advantage to Israel offered by the possibility that Iraq too will move in this direction is too great for Jerusalem to ignore. □



Alfred H. Moses, a lawyer and vice president of the American Jewish Committee, was special counsel to President Jimmy Carter.

When Blacks and Jews Pull Together

By Alan G. Hevesi

In the most dramatic moment of a dramatic evening, Barry Friedman, a Queens College student, stood at the microphone in the aisle of the college's Colden auditorium in the midst of 1,700 blacks and Jews. Mr. Friedman, president of the Jewish Activities Club, said: "Reverend Jackson, we can't seem to get a dialogue going with the black students on campus. Can you help us?"

The Rev. Jesse Jackson directed his attention to a young man at the other side of the audience who had asked a question earlier. "Brother Reese," said Mr. Jackson, "are you still in the house? Do me a favor and walk over to that gentleman." He pointed to Mr. Friedman.

Responding, Michael Reese, president of the Black Student Union, joined Mr. Friedman. Mr. Jackson asked them to shake hands, then said: "Do both of you agree that tuition is too high? Do you both agree that President Reagan is not doing enough to help college students pay

Alan G. Hevesi, assistant majority leader of the New York State Assembly, is a founding member of the Queens Black/Jewish People to People Project.

for school? Do you both agree that we should fight world hunger?"

The students nodded in agreement. "O.K.," Mr. Jackson said. "Now you know that you agree on the major items. The rest should be easy to work out." The two shook hands and the large audience cheered and applauded.

What Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee and Reverend Jackson were trying to convey at the recent meeting was a sense that the two communities, with their incredible histories as victims, had much more in common than they understood. In effect, the two men declared that friction between blacks and Jews in New York and elsewhere was not only sad but foolish, that regardless of differences on some issues they had a duty to stand together for mutual protection.

The program was sponsored by the Queens Black/Jewish People to People Project. It was a great success, but it was not without controversy. One important Jewish organization withdrew its support for the project because of the invitation to Mr. Jackson. The audience had to pass through metal detectors. Still, we left with a clear sense of the stupidity of bigotry, its threat to us all and the need for us to refocus on what binds us.

Let us all remember that the civil rights movement in the South in the

After agreement on major concerns, the rest is easy.

late 50's and early 60's consisted of an alliance between blacks and many whites and that a substantial number of the whites were Jewish. We have to remember that three Queens College students — named Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner — one black, two Jews, were murdered together in the South because of their commitment to human rights and willingness to fight against oppressive laws.

To fight bigotry is hard work. It requires a caring for people of other religious, racial and ethnic backgrounds. That is what the Queens Black/Jewish People to People Project is all about — to mix people in a variety of settings so that they will come to see each other as humans, not as objects or stereotypes.

Our purpose is to have people realize that they really agree on the important things — on the need for a better life for their children and for security in their old age; on the need for eliminating poverty, discrimination and crime, and on true equality and fairness. When people know that they agree on the basics, it will be easier to work out any differences.

That is why present and past elected officials — Republicans and Democrats — and many others are visiting churches, synagogues and community centers, teamed in pairs, one black and one Jew. That is why Assemblymen Al Vann and Daniel Feldman addressed an Orthodox Jewish congregation in Brooklyn. Why Mr. Vann, an outspoken black leader, confronted a community that harbors a great deal of suspicion about his goals and motives and responded to very difficult questions. He did so not expecting that his audience would agree with everything he said, but appreciating that it would be able to hear his perspective on issues and maybe understand him and his community a little better.

There is so much that is good and decent in New York City. To allow bigots to dirty our collective reputation, to affect our behavior and to influence our policies is to soil us all. Each of us can help. We owe it to ourselves to do so. □

Rift over Farrakhan abides

Black, Jewish leaders urge closer ties

By ANDREW MUCHIN

NEW YORK (JTA) — American Blacks and Jews must restore their mutual trust and cooperation — based on similar heritages of oppression and more agreement than they realize on the domestic political agenda — a leading Black activist and a noted rabbi declared here.



Rev. Jackson

But implicit in restoration are obstacles. This was acknowledged by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, chairman of the National Rainbow Coalition and a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 and perhaps 1988, and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of International relations for the American Jewish Committee and a fellow civil rights leader.

The obstacles were addressed also by members of the interracial audience of about 2,000 at Queens College, attending "The Religious Leader as Political Activist," the first of three public forums scheduled by the 18-month-old Queens (NY) Black-Jewish People to People Project.

Following the speakers' presentations on the need to find common ground, questioners brought up Black-Jewish disputes over quotas as a vehicle for affirmative action, the infamous "Hymietown" remark during Jackson's Presidential campaign and his support of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.

The speakers handled the quota issue swiftly. "Blacks and Jews have very different reactions to the word 'quotas,'" Jackson said in his prepared remarks. "For Blacks, a quota can be a door to opportunity. For Jews, the quota system has meant a ceiling on success." He noted that both groups support increased job opportunity.

The Farrakhan issue was not resolved, as Rabbi Tanenbaum called on Jackson to distance himself from the man who has criticized Judaism as a "gutter religion" and has close ties with Libya. Jackson called the issue peripheral.

Saying Jackson can contribute significantly to American social and economic justice, the rabbi nevertheless declared: "I think you're fooling yourself if you think the issue of Louis Farrakhan is marginal... In the 25-26 million Square Garden, 25,000 people give him a standing ovation when he utters the most vile anti-Semitic bigotry... We are not dealing with a minor phenomenon."

The rabbi proclaimed that support of Farrakhan is an "ideological problem of a very profound nature. We have got to deal with that as almost a pathology. If the Vatican and the Catholic Church after 1,900 years preaching that kind of stuff... has the courage to face it and say it is wrong... we have the right to ask that in an appropriate way, that it be rejected with no ands, ifs or buts."

If Blacks and Jews "really want to turn the corner," he said Jackson should feel free to discuss what Rabbi Tanenbaum called the racism of Member of Knesset Meir Kahane, and Jews should feel free to bring up Farrakhan. Kahane calls for the expulsion of Arabs from Israel if they don't accept secondary status.

Jackson said the conflicts over Farrakhan and the "Hymietown" remark — for which he said he has apologized — should not be the "litmus test" for the Black-Jewish relationship.



Rabbi Tanenbaum

Pressed on the issue by Rabbi Tanenbaum's statement and another questioner, Jackson said that "anti-Semitism and racism should be rejected, no ifs, and or buts."

But he said he won't raise the issue of Rabbi Kahane, even though he claimed that his family's safety was threatened by Kahane at the outset of the 1984 campaign. "Kahane doesn't scare me if he doesn't scare you," Jackson said to Rabbi Tanenbaum.

Jackson said that the mainstream Black community, like mainstream US Jewry, does not share the views of the extremists. "Just as you say to trust you, you must trust me," he said. "Almost nobody Black believes in (Farrak-

han's racism)," he stated.

He said Blacks have complaints, too, against whites and Jews — about racial advertisements, about Israel's sale of arms to South Africa and "some rather outstanding Jewish names that in the media who represents (sic) real, serious threats to life and limb and resources, but we refuse to make that a center-

piece of our relationship, and I hope we never will." There was no elaboration on the comment about the media.

Jackson said the task of the Black and Jewish communities was "to take the bits of pieces of broken relationship which will never be whole by definition and to... coalesce around a common agenda.

That's our choice, and it may be our only chance."

Jackson said that even during the height of the Black-Jewish coalition in the 1960s there was disagreements, "but we simply chose on a scale of 10, that we agreed on seven out of 10, and let's move on... You maximize the pluses, minimize the minuses and move on."



Jewish role stressed in discovery of America

NEW YORK (JTA) —

A high-ranking Spanish government official said here recently that his government plans to stress the contribution of Spanish Jews to the discovery of America in the course of the quincentennial celebrations of the event in 1992.

Luis Yanez, Spain's secretary of state for international cooperation, said at a special briefing with Israeli reporters and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that he visited New York specifically to meet with Jewish organizational leaders. He said that he discussed with leaders of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress and other organizations his government's plans to reinvoke the role of the Jews in the discovery of America by holding seminars, discussions and congresses and by publishing information on the issue.

"The response of the Jewish organizations was very positive," Yanez said in reply to a question. He said that he discussed with the American Jewish Committee the possibility of

jointly sponsoring a major seminar, at a major university — probably Columbia in New York City — to commemorate the quincentennial celebrations.

The Spanish minister, who is the president of the Spanish National Commission for the Quincentennial Celebrations of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492, said his government is interested in publicizing the role of Jews in general in the formation of modern Spain and its culture.

Historic occasion

"For many years we experienced disinformation regarding the role of Jews in modern Spain," he asserted. He said, in reply to a question, that during the decades of Gen. Francisco Franco's rule in Spain "Jews were considered enemies of Spain," and

their contribution to the country was ignored.

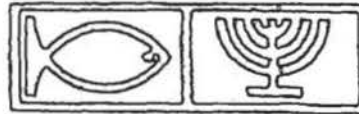
Two years ago Spain established diplomatic relations with Israel. Israeli Education Minister Yitzhak Navon visited Madrid last February and met with, among other Spanish officials, Yanez. Navon, Yanez said, agreed to serve as the president of the Israeli commission for the quincentennial celebrations.

"Navon invited me to visit Israel and I accepted. I will go to Israel later this year," Yanez said. He said that "this historic occasion" of the quincentennial celebrations, is an opportunity to restore Israel's image in Spanish and Latin America, an image that was distorted because of lack of diplomatic relations, and to put into proper perspective the meaningful contribution of Jews to Spain.

The Spanish official denied, in reply to a question, that his government seeks closer ties with American Jews to advance its interests in Washington. "No, this is not our purpose," he said.

CIRCULAR

CENTRO
DE ESTUDIOS
JUDEO-CRISTIANOS



Nº 75 (febrero 1987)

Madrid, Spain

5

NOTICIAS

AMERICAN JEWISH

ARMONIA JUDEO-CATOLICA: GRAN PROYECTO DEL SIGLO XXI. "La armonía entre católicos y judíos constituye de hecho el gran proyecto y tema del siglo XXI", según concordaron un prominente obispo católico y un dirigente judío.

Participando en deliberaciones sobre las relaciones judeo-católicas en el simposio ecuménico que se celebraba en la sinagoga Emanu-El de Charleston, el Rabino Marc H. Tanenbaum, director de relaciones internacionales del CJA, se sumó al Obispo Ernst L. Unterkoefer, director de la diócesis de Charleston, para reexaminar las diferencias teológicas fundamentales así como las afinidades céntricas entre los dos credos.

Ambos dirigentes religiosos expresaron confianza en que judíos y católicos puedan presentar un frente unido en contra del racismo, la persecución e injusticia social, abogando asimismo para que católicos y judíos examinen los credos mutuos y lleguen a conocerse mucho mejor al nivel social, el uno al otro.

(Noticias e Informaciones del C.J.A.)

קטעי עתונות

דבר

21 דצ 1986

DAVAR, Dec. 21, 1986

**לביקור רשמי בשנה הבאה
של החוץ של יוון יבוא**

באת פנסי, דבר

של החוץ היווני קארולוס פאפוליאס מקווה לקיים ביקור רשמי בישראל בשנה הבאה, בתקווה לשפר את היחסים בין שתי המדינות - על כך מסר השר היווני למשלוח רמת מעלה של הוועד היהודי האמריקאי בניו-יורק.
סגן נשיא הוועד היהודי האמריקאי העיד בהודמנות זו, ששיפור היחסים בתחום התרבות, המדע והתיירות בין יוון לבין ישראל אינו תהליך לבעיה הגדולה ביותר של כינון יחסים דיפלומטיים מלאים וחילופי שגרירות בין שתי המדינות. כידוע, יוון היא המדינה היחידה בקהיליה האירופית שעדיין אינה מקיימת יחסים דיפלומטיים מלאים עם ישראל.
קודם לכן הועלתה האפשרות, ששרת התרבות היוונית מלינה מרסודי תבקר גם היא בארץ בשנה הבאה.

"Greek Foreign Minister coming to visit officially next year"

"...he tells top officials of the American Jewish Committee in New York."



A Grécia cogita ter relações diplomáticas com o Estado Judeu

NOVA IORQUE — “Por que motivo a Grécia se singulariza como a única democracia ocidental que ainda não estabeleceu relações diplomáticas com Israel?” Esta pergunta foi feita ao ministro de Assuntos Exteriores da Grécia, dr. Karolos Papoulias, em reunião que ele realizava com dirigentes do Comitê Judaico Americano, nesta cidade.

O dr. Papoulias, de visita oficial aos Estados Unidos, respondeu de forma indireta a questão, declarando que “entre Israel e a Grécia existem relações legítimas”, acrescentando que “se manifestou uma melhoria assombrosa nas relações positivas com Israel, em todos os níveis”. O ministro de Assuntos Exteriores aludiu ao fato de que fora firmado um convênio turístico conjunto com Israel, em que foi intensificada a cooperação com a esfera agrícola e microelétrica, etc. etc.

Embora aceitássemos com satisfação essas medidas, assinalamos que as relações positivas greco-israelenses não se concretizariam até estabelecer-se plenas relações diplomáticas entre a Grécia e Israel. O ministro Papoulias respondeu declarando que, em 1987, projetava realizar uma visita oficial a Israel, informando-nos que ele e seus colegas, com toda a franqueza, “necessitavam encontrar um equilíbrio entre as relações extensas que mantém com as nações árabes e Israel”.

De nossa parte, enfatizamos que Espanha e

Itália, entre outras nações da Comunidade Econômica Européia, também têm sérios compromissos com os Estados árabes, porém em seu favor fala o fato de que se negam a permitir que as ameaças árabes dirijam sua política exterior. Portanto, chegou a hora da Grécia demonstrar não menos autonomia com respeito à sua política exterior em relação ao Estado Judeu.

RABINO MARC H. TANENBAUM
Especial para RJ

Nota da Redação: do encontro realizado entre dirigentes do Comitê Judaico Americano e o ministro de Assuntos Exteriores da Grécia também participaram outros diplomatas gregos, como o embaixador Constantine Georgiou, secretário geral do Ministério grego de Assuntos Exteriores; o embaixador Dimitris Mukris, diretor político de relações greco-americanas e o cônsul geral George Asimakopoulos. Na ocasião, além de ser levantada a questão das relações diplomáticas entre Grécia e Israel, falou-se do tema “Direitos Humanos” (a Grécia se mantém omissa face à situação dos judeus soviéticos) e das resoluções na ONU (a Grécia tem votado, sistematicamente, contra Israel).

Para o dr. Karolos Papoulias, esses posicionamentos estão em processo de reavaliação, devendo sofrer, no decorrer deste ano, profundas modificações.

ARABES LIMITAN SOBERANIA GRIEGA

**GRECIA CONSTITUYE
UNICA DEMOCRACIA
OCCIDENTAL QUE
AUN NO TIENE
RELACIONES OFICIALES
CON ISRAEL**

**(Rabino Marc H. Tanenbaum
Del Comité Judío Americano)**

"¿Por qué motivo se singulariza Grecia como la única democracia occidental que no haya establecido plenas relaciones diplomáticas con Israel?" Fue la pregunta que se planteara al Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores de Grecia Dr. Karolos Papoullas, en conferencia que se realizara con dirigentes del Comité Judío Americano en Nueva York.

El Dr. Papoullas, de visita oficial en EE.UU. respondió en forma indirecta a nuestras preguntas declarando que "entre Israel y Grecia existen relaciones legítimas", agregando que "se ha manifestado una mejoría asombrosa en las relaciones positivas con Israel a todo nivel". El Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores aludió

al hecho de que se había firmado un convenio turístico conjunto con Israel, que se ha intensificado la cooperación en la esfera agrícola y microelectrónica, etc., etc.

Si bien acogimos con beneplácito estas medidas, señalamos que las positivas relaciones greco-israelíes no se concretarán hasta establecerse plenas relaciones diplomáticas entre Grecia e Israel. El Ministro Papoullas respondió declarando que en 1987 proyectaba realizar una visita oficial estatal a Israel, informándonos él y sus colegas con toda franqueza que era menester encontrar un equilibrio en las relaciones extensivas que se mantienen con las naciones árabes e Israel. Por nuestra parte, señalamos que España e Italia entre otras naciones de la CEE también tienen serios compromisos con los estados árabes, pero en su favor había el hecho de que se niegan a permitir que las amenazas árabes rijan su política exterior. Por lo tanto, ha llegado la hora en que Grecia demuestre no menos autonomía respecto de su política exterior hacia Israel.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



ALEMANES DEBEN EXAMINAR SU PASADO

NUEVA YORK, El Embajador de Alemania occidental a Estados Unidos declaró al Comité Judío Americano que "los seis millones de judíos norteamericanos constituyen factor clave en mejorar las relaciones germano-judías".

Dirigiéndose a una reunión que el A.J.C. copatrocinara en Detroit, el embajador Gunther Van Well transmitió el agradecimiento de su país al Comité Judío Americano por proporcionar el liderazgo pionero en la promoción del entendimiento entre Alemania y el pueblo judío.

El Comité, notó, había colaborado en la iniciación de los primeros diálogos intensivos en Alemania occidental relacionados con la masacre nazi de los judíos, y asimismo recordó que en 1979 los dirigentes del A.J.C. se reunieron con el ex canciller de Alemania occidental Helmut Schmidt y miembros de los principales partidos políticos en el Bundestag con la mira de fomentar el entendimiento germano-judío.

El A.J.C. ha desempeñado un papel activo en los últimos 18 años en patrocinar seminarios en Alemania occidental y en organizar el intercambio con dirigentes alemanes en la esfera política y cultural, realizándose gran parte de los programas en colaboración con las fundaciones Adenauer, Ebert, Naumann y Eckardt de la República Federal de Alemania. En marzo de 1985 el departamento de relaciones in-

ternacionales del A.J.C. copatrocinó una conferencia significativa so-



Los alemanes no deben olvidar su pasado, declara el Embajador de Bonn en los Estados Unidos, con cuyos conceptos coincidimos, a lo cual agregamos que los austriacos, que por mayoría eligieron presidente a Kurt Waldheim (en la foto como oficial nazi) debían haber pensado lo mismo.

bre los derechos humanos en la Unión Soviética conjuntamente con el Instituto Este-Oeste de la Universidad de Colonia y el Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de la República Federal de Alemania.

"Toda oportunidad de encuentro e intercambio de opiniones significa un paso importante en el acercamiento de relaciones", señaló el embajador Van Well. "Como alemanes no debemos olvidar ni olvidaremos el pasado. Los judíos que viven en Alemania tienen que encarar este pasado en forma muy particular. Nosotros tenemos que vivir con este pasado. Y examinarlo. Nos empeñamos en com-

prender cómo ha podido producirse el espantoso fenómeno del régimen nazi".

Comentando la polémica que provocara la visita del primer mandatario Reagan al cementerio militar alemán de Bitburg, el embajador declaró que "nos abrió los ojos a la necesidad de bastante más intercambio, en particular entre las organizaciones judías norteamericanas y la República Federal de Alemania", agregando que "una consecuencia importante de este proceso de autoexploración es la creciente y firme consagración a la reconciliación cristiano-judía en la República Federal de Alemania, al acercamiento de relaciones con el Estado de Israel y al mayor entendimiento con otras agrupaciones judías, en particular acá, en Estados Unidos".

El abogado David B. Jaffe, quien preside la sección del A.J.C. en Detroit declaró el embajador que su discurso "constituía una oportunidad particular para demostrar y celebrar el progreso que conjuntamente han registrado alemanes y judíos, que se han comprometido a proseguir en los meses y años venideros".

Alrededor de 53.000 judíos viven hoy día en Alemania occidental, donde cuentan con un número creciente de sinagogas, escuelas, museos y teatros judíos, y en los libros de texto que se utilizan en las escuelas públicas ha comenzado a aparecer la historia del Holocausto.

JAN-14-87

Nation in brief

Some Praise For The Austrians

NEW YORK — Theodore Ellenoff, president of the American Jewish Committee, has conveyed the Committee's "heartfelt commendation" to Dr. Franz Vranitzky, Federal Chancellor of Austria, for the latter's recent statement that his country "must squarely face the past, accept our measure of guilt and responsibility, and deduce the standards for our actions in the future."

The Chancellor's remarks were made during his address to the second World Meeting of War Veterans, Resistants, War Victims and Victims of Fascism in Vienna in December.

The Austrian leader continued: "Our emotional attitude, our feeling of horror, the moral challenge, and the urge to evade this moral challenge, all this stems from the terrifying insight into the implications of what happened: an ideology totally contemptuous of human beings took advantage of modern technology and modern organization to pursue its aims."

Mr. Ellenoff told Chancellor Vranitzky that his statement confronting the profound moral issues raised by the Nazi holocaust was an act of statesmanship that undoubtedly helped improve the atmosphere affecting relationships between Austria and the United States, and particularly Austria and the Jewish people.

In a letter to the Chancellor, Ellenoff also welcomed a declaration of the Austrian People's Party, which, he said, forcefully condemned anti-Semitism and provided "a salutary context for implementing a program of Austrian-Jewish cooperation" that AJC officials had recently discussed with Austrian political, educational, and religious leaders.

The People's Party statement repudiated any appeals to defamation based on religious or ethnic prejudice or hatred, and rejected "anti-Semitism against our fellow Jewish citizens by anyone, in any form, and under any circumstances."

Recalling recent "constructive discussions between Austrian government and political leaders and two separate AJC missions," Ellenoff stated that he looks forward to exploring these opportunities for building constructive bridges between our two peoples after Jan. 1, 1987." During the first weeks of 1987, the Austria government is expected to establish a coalition government.

Austrian anti-Semitism seen up after Waldheim win

By ELENORE LESTER

"The floodgates have been opened," said Maximilian Gottschlich, a non-Jewish professor at the University of Vienna.

This was his reply when asked about a recent Gallup survey that points to a rise in anti-Semitism in Austria since the exposure of former United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's alleged Nazi activities in the Balkans.

"A climate of opinion has been created in which it is now possible to speak openly against the Jews again," he said.

Gottschlich, deputy head of the university's department of journalism and communication research, told correspondent David Lewis of the British news agency Reuters that anti-Semitic statements of some politicians and sometimes "massively anti-Semitic newspaper reports had fallen on fertile ground in the campaign leading to Waldheim's election as president last June."

The analyst blamed Austria's mass-circulation newspaper Krone for much of the rise in anti-Semitism. Gottschlich reported that his department's analysis of public opinion surveys taken before and after the Waldheim election showed a reverse in a previous trend of falling anti-Semitism.

According to the survey, the proportion of Austrians who believe Jews have an aversion to hard work rose to 39 percent after Waldheim's election from 32 percent in 1980. During the same period, the percentage of those who believe Jews possessed too much economic power rose from 32 percent to 39 percent. In 1980, 33 percent believed Jews had too much economic and political influence, but in 1986 the figure rose to 48 percent.

Sixteen percent of those polled in July 1986 believed it would be better for Austria to have no Jews in the country. (There are 8,000-9,000 Jews in a country of about 7 million). Thirty-eight percent believed Jews themselves were partly responsible for their frequent persecutions in the past.

One expert on Jewish-Austrian affairs minimized the importance of statistics indicating a new upsurge of anti-Semitism.

"Their [the Austrians'] record is appalling," said Elon Steinberg, executive director of the World Jewish Congress.

"And I don't see signs of real change. They have never confronted the truth about their own role in World War II. They have tried to hide behind the veneer that they were victims of Nazism, whereas they were all-too-willing accomplices.

"I am not pointing to everyone in Austria, of course. There are Austrians who are not anti-Semites, but as a nation they have a moral responsibility to face up to their own guilt. And they must realize that public relations can't compensate for public conduct."

Steinberg explained that he was referring to the fact that mainstream politicians did not speak out against the anti-Semitism that emerged in the wake of the Waldheim affair. The World Jewish Congress' exposure of Waldheim's wartime activities brought accusations that Jews were interfer-

'A climate has been created in which it is now possible to speak openly against the Jews.'

ing in matters that did not concern them and were trying to make capital out of events from the past.

"Now they would like to whitewash themselves," he said. "Well, reconciliation is desirable, but it cannot be built on lies."

On the other hand, Marc Tanenbaum, director of the American Jewish Committee's international affairs department, noted that no representative of any of the parties in power had uttered anti-Jewish sentiments during the campaign. He also was encouraged by the fact that they refused to form a "grand coalition" with Waldheim's People's Party.

Tanenbaum said he and a delegation from the AJCommittee had recently returned from a trip to Vienna and had received assurances from Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and leading figures in all political parties that efforts would be made to reach out to the public with the message that anti-Semitism must be made anathema to all Austrians.

"I haven't yet seen that full Gallup report," said Tanenbaum. "I'd like to know more about what audience was

reached in that poll. More information is needed to interpret it. However, there does seem to be a convergence of findings from a number of different surveys that indicate a rise of about 10 to 15 percent in the expression of anti-Semitic views."

Tanenbaum said he was particularly disturbed about the "extremely provocative, flamboyant Nazi-type cartoons that appeared in the Krone."

"It was the kind of stuff that hasn't been seen there in 40 years," he said. "We said we found this absolutely intolerable, and we have no intention of providing a quick fix unless they do something about it."

Tanenbaum agreed that Austria, unlike West Germany, has tried to evade its responsibility for the Holocaust, but he said the young generation of educated Austrians wants to repair some of the damage of the past.

"Don't forget, two-thirds of the Austrian population was born during or after the war," he said. "We met with young Austrians who are planning educational projects to bring out the truth about Austrian history and to show how much Austria has lost through its deep-seated anti-Semitism, which has existed for a very long time. After all, it is where Hitler learned his anti-Semitism."

Tanenbaum said he and other AJCommittee representatives planned followup visits to see how the educational plans are being implemented.

It is evident that the Austrian government is concerned about its world image. Waldheim has been ostracized at home and abroad. Many visiting politicians avoid meeting him, and he has received only one foreign invitation so far — from King Hussein of Jordan.

The Associated Press recently reported that Belgium is believed to have snubbed a bid by Waldheim to attend a festival of Austrian art, scheduled to open in Brussels in September. Waldheim has denied that he sought an invitation.

A searing article on Austria's complex involvement with Nazism appeared last fall in the influential London Times Literary Supplement. It charged that since 1947 "Austrian governments were consistently readier to compensate Nazis for losses incurred as a result of denazification than to pro-

(Continued on page 45)

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Erklärung gegen den Antisemitismus

WIEN (Volksblatt) — ÖVP-Generalsekretär Dr. Michael Graff führte kürzlich ein Gespräch mit Vertretern des American Jewish Committee, einer bedeutenden jüdischen Organisation in den Vereinigten Staaten. Im Zusammenhang damit gab Graff folgende Erklärung ab:

„Aus Anlaß der bevorstehenden Nationalratswahl erneuert die Österreichische Volkspartei öffentlich ihre unerschütterliche Verpflichtung gegenüber den demokratischen Prinzipien, auf denen die Zweite Republik beruht. Diese Prinzipien sind die Grundlage unseres nationalen Konsens, der alle unsere Bürger verpflichtet, die staatsbürgerlichen, politischen und religiösen Überzeugungen jedes Österreicherers zu respektieren.

Deshalb verlangt die ÖVP im Wahlkampf eine faire demokratische Debatte und stellt eindeutig fest, daß sie jede persönliche Difamierung, die auf religiösen oder ethnischen Vorurteilen oder Haß beruht, schärfstens zurückweist. Wir haben aufmerksam die Erklä-

rung des scheidenden israelischen Botschafters Michael Ellzur registriert, daß Antisemitismus die öffentliche Politik in Österreich weder beeinflussen noch bestimmen wird. Wir hoffen, daß Israel so bald wie möglich einen neuen Botschafter nach Österreich entsenden wird, und würden es sehr bedauern, wenn die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Israel und Österreich ohne unsere Veranlassung herabgestuft werden müßten.

Die ÖVP ist 1945 von Männern und Frauen gegründet worden, die aus den Gefängnissen und Konzentrationslagern der Nationalsozialisten kamen. Sie ist stolz auf große Österreicher wie Leopold Figl und — unter anderen — Alfons Gorbach, die nach der Befreiung unseres Landes von der Gewaltherrschaft der Nazis wirksam für gegenseitige Versöhnung gearbeitet haben. Wir müssen uns bemühen, aus der Vergangenheit zu lernen, und werden daher nicht undemokratische oder unmenschliche politische Äußerungen in unserem Land dulden.“

Marc Tannenbaum, Chef des einflußreichen American Jewish Committee, stellt sich im Gespräch mit Lucian O. Meysels gegen den Jüdischen Weltkongreß.

„Wir lehnen Kollektivschuld ab“

WOCHENPRESSE: Österreich kämpft seit der Wahl von Kurt Waldheim in den USA und anderen westlichen Ländern mit immensen Image-Problemen. Wie kann es diese Probleme bewältigen?

TANNENBAUM: Zweifellos gibt es dieses Problem. Und es ist ernst. Es geht uns alle an: Amerikaner, Juden und Österreicher. Zweifellos wurden intensive Emotionen durch die Waldheim-Affäre ausgelöst. Das American Jewish Committee ist überzeugt, daß die Probleme der Vergangenheit bewältigt werden müssen. Nicht nur um der Vergangenheit willen. Es geht darum, daß wir - Amerikaner, Juden und Österreicher - die Lehren der Vergangenheit für eine bessere Zukunft nutzen.

Man kann nicht Anklage erheben und dann nach Beweisen suchen

WP: Wie kann das konkret geschehen?

TANNENBAUM: Wir haben bereits mit den Österreichern konkrete Ideen besprochen: Eines der Probleme besteht darin, daß hier in den USA die Meinung vorherrscht, Österreich hätte sich nicht genügend mit seiner Verwicklung während der nationalsozialistischen Ära befaßt. Es geht nicht darum, ob dieser Eindruck stimmt oder nicht. Es handelt sich um eine Realität. Wir sind aber bereit, bei der Bewältigung der Vergangenheit mitzuhelfen. Zum Beispiel gehören wir zu den Sponsoren einer großen Dialog-Konferenz, bei der Persönlichkeiten des politischen, kulturellen und akademischen Lebens in Österreich mit Ihren jüdischen Gegenübern zusammentreffen werden. Wir setzen große Hoffnungen auf diesen Dialog.

WP: Österreich hat jetzt eine neue Regierung. Hilft das bei Ihren Bemühungen?

TANNENBAUM: Als Amerikaner sind wir Außenstehende. Nur Beobachter. Aber ich begrüße die bereits geäußerte Bereitschaft der großen Koalition, sich mit dem Problem zu befassen.

WP: Sie waren selbst vor kurzem in Österreich. Was war Ihr Eindruck? Sind Sie auf Antisemitismus gestoßen?

TANNENBAUM: Ich war in der letzten Zeit sogar zweimal in Österreich. Und ich war von den ehrlichen Bestrebungen der verantwortlichen Stellen - angefangen bei Bundeskanzler Franz Vranitzky - zutiefst beeindruckt.

WP: Wenn Sie so etwas sagen, müssen Sie mit Attacken von seiten einiger jüdischer Vertreter in den USA rechnen ...

TANNENBAUM: Das American Jewish Committee ist sich durchaus bewußt, daß es mit seiner Einstellung ein Risiko eingeht, daß es seine Reputation aufs Spiel setzt. Aber wir tun es, weil wir glauben, daß

ich sagen, und das betrifft Waldheims Amtszeit als UN-Generalsekretär: Ich war erschüttert, daß er damals seine Vergangenheit in der deutschen Wehrmacht verschwiegen hat. Und viele seiner Kollegen - Nichtjuden und Juden -, die damals eng mit ihm zusammengearbeitet haben, teilen noch heute diese Bestürzung.

WP: Mit dem, was Sie bisher über Österreich gesagt haben, stellen Sie sich in direktem Gegensatz zum Jüdischen Weltkongreß - oder zumindest zum Standpunkt einiger seiner Funktionäre ...

TANNENBAUM: Ich möchte diesen Disput nicht weiterführen. Es wurden sehr häßliche und persönliche Beschuldigungen gegen uns erhoben. Aber eines muß ich sagen: Es war schon immer eine Praxis des American Jewish Committee, ein Problem zuerst einmal genau zu untersuchen und Beweise zu suchen, die vor einem moralischen Tribunal und einem zivilen Gericht standhalten würden. Wir tun dies immer, bevor wir an die Öffentlichkeit gehen. Es ist also nicht unser Stil, zuerst einmal Anklagen zu erheben und erst dann nach Beweisen zu suchen. Und dieser Haltung werden wir auch in Zukunft treu bleiben.

WP: Das ist mehr oder weniger der Standpunkt, den auch Simon Wiesenthal eingenommen hat ...

TANNENBAUM: Unsere Standpunkte sind einander sehr nahe. Wiesenthal ist



Anti-Waldheim-Demo: „Das ist nicht unser Stil“

unsere österreichischen Gesprächspartner unsere Gefühle teilen. Wir sind die erste große jüdische Organisation, die dieses Risiko auf sich genommen hat, doch wir tun es aus innerer Überzeugung.

WP: Und was halten Sie von Kurt Waldheim? Konnte er den Vorwurf entkräften, er sei direkt in Kriegsverbrechen verwickelt gewesen?

TANNENBAUM: Ich möchte den Fall Waldheim nicht wieder aufrollen. Es handelt sich, meiner Meinung nach, um ein moralisches Problem. Aber eines möchte

heute eine lebende Legende, die auf seinen ernsthaften und genauen Recherchen beruht.

WP: Sie glauben also nicht an eine Kollektivschuld der Österreicher, was die NS-Vergangenheit betrifft?

TANNENBAUM: Wir lehnen die Idee einer Kollektivschuld kategorisch ab. Und wir tun dies auf Grund einer jahrhundertelangen Erfahrung. Gerade die Juden hatten unter der Geißel der Kollektivschuld - als Gottesmörder - schrecklich zu leiden. Ganze Ströme von Blut sind auf Grund

dieser unseligen Beschuldigung geflossen. Daher lehnen wir die Idee einer Kollektivschuld ab, ob sie nun gegen Juden oder Nichtjuden gerichtet ist. Übrigens lehnt auch schon die Bibel die Kollektivschuld

WP: Konkret, was ist Ihr Ziel?

TANNENBAUM: Wir wollen eine Brücke der Verständigung bauen zwischen Österreich und den amerikanischen Juden. Aber eines muß ich wiederholen: Diese Brücke kann nicht allein mit kosmetischen Maßnahmen gebaut werden. Etwa durch Ausstellungen und Publikationen, welche den Beitrag jüdischer Bürger zur österreichischen Kultur und Wissenschaft unterstreichen. Da müssen sich doch die Leute hier fragen: „Wenn die Juden soviel für

Österreich braucht ein Gesetz gegen neonazistische Umtriebe

Österreich geleistet haben, warum gibt es dort Antisemitismus?“ Derartige Bemühungen sind sicher gut gemeint, aber sie könnten sich als konterproduktiv erweisen, weil sie realitätsfremd sind.

WP: Und was wäre eine wirklichkeitsnahe Maßnahme?

TANNENBAUM: Österreich braucht ein neues Gesetz gegen neonazistische Umtriebe. Ich meine nicht eine Verschärfung des Verbotsgesetzes aus der unmittelbaren



Brackige Wasserstelle:
Überleben ist Luxus

Pakistan/Afghanistan

NEUER LIBANON

Der Krieg in Afghanistan könnte bald auch auf Pakistan übergreifen. Die Flüchtlinge kommen dann endgültig unter die Räder.

Von Carl Albrecht Waldstein

Die Illusion von Frieden verflieg sehr rasch. Als der Leiter der Waffenstillstands-Kommission des Kabul-Regimes selbst bei einem Gefecht mit den Widerstandskämpfern sein Leben lassen mußte, gab Staatschef Mohammed Najibullah auch offiziell bekannt, daß die Regierungarmee wieder zur „aktiven Selbstverteidigung“ gegen die Freiheitskämpfer übergehen werde.

Im siebenten Kriegsjahr tobt der Kampf in Afghanistan mit der gleichen Verbissenheit weiter wie bisher. Dem Leidensweg des afghanischen Volkes dürfte dabei in absehbarer Zeit kein Ende beschieden sein.

Der Grund, warum es den Sowjets trotz hoher technischer Überlegenheit nicht und nicht gelingen will, den afghanischen Widerstand zu zerschlagen, liegt in der Struktur dieses Widerstandes. Er besteht aus buchstäblich tausenden unabhängig von einander kämpfenden Einheiten, die nur zur Sicherstellung des Waffennachschubes bereit sind, sich pro forma als Teil der einen oder anderen der Widerstandsorganisationen bezeichnen zu lassen. In Wahrheit beschränken sich die Mudschaheddin, die ständig zwischen Afghanistan und Pakistan hin und her pendeln, auf die unmittelbare Verteidigung ihrer Dörfer und Täler und denken gar nicht daran, sich dabei einem überregionalen Oberkommando unterzuordnen.



Rabbiner Tannenbaum:
„Begrüße die große Koalition“

ganzer Völker ab. Was aber die Naziverbrechen betrifft: Wir wollen kein Bekenntnis der kollektiven Schuld, aber sehr wohl das Bewußtsein einer kollektiven Verantwortung bei der Bewältigung der Vergangenheit.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Das „American Jewish Committee“ ist die älteste und bei weitem einflußreichste aller bestehenden jüdischen Organisationen in den USA – sieht man von den rein konfessionell ausgerichteten Religionsgemeinschaften ab. Das Komitee wurde 1906 als Nachfolgeorganisation des 1859 etablierten „Board of Delegates of American Israelites“ – also des ersten Verbandes amerikanischer Kultusgemeinden – gegründet. Seit dieser Zeit vertritt es das jüdische „Establishment“ in den USA und wird auch von der US-Regierung als Vertretung der Hauptströmung, „the mainstream“, der amerikanischen Juden, angesehen und konsultiert. Es ist wesentlich mitgliedstärker und einflußreicher als der „American Jewish Congress“, die lokale Vertretung des World Jewish Congress, der in den USA lediglich seine Zentrale unterhält. Zu den Präsidenten des American Jewish Committee zählten bedeutende Persönlichkeiten wie die Financiers Felix Warburg und Cyrus Adler. Rabbiner Marc Tannenbaum, der derzeitige Direktor, nahm auch als einziger Rabbiner am Vaticanum II teil und gehört zum Verbindungsausschuß des Vatikanischen Sekretariats für Katholisch-Jüdische Beziehungen.

WP: Glauben Sie, daß Sie mit diesen Thesen auf dem richtigen Weg sind? Sind Sie optimistisch, was das zukünftige Verhältnis zwischen Österreich und den Juden, zumindest amerikanischen, die sie vertreten, betrifft?

TANNENBAUM: Wir sind vorsichtig optimistisch. Menschen auf beiden Seiten sind bereit, den Problemen ins Auge zu sehen. In der Vergangenheit wurde zuviel geschwiegen. Wir sind entschlossen, dieses Schweigen zu brechen.

Nachkriegszeit, sondern ein Gesetz, das sich auf die gegenwärtige Lage bezieht. Gegen die Verbreitung neonazistischer Propaganda oder die sogenannte „Auschwitz-Lüge“. Delikte, die in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland längst strafbar sind.

WP: Glauben Sie, daß in nächster Zeit in dieser Hinsicht in Österreich etwas geschehen wird?

TANNENBAUM: Ich hoffe ja. Derartige Maßnahmen hätten eine immense Signalwirkung. Das wollen wir doch alle.

November 28, 1986

Plans scrapped for Carmelite convent at Auschwitz camp site

Thanks to the joint intervention of Cardinal John Krol of Philadelphia and Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, the Catholic church in Poland has agreed to cancel the construction of a Carmelite convent that had been scheduled to be built on the site of the Auschwitz camp in Poland.

At the urging of both men, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski of Krakow also agreed to jointly sponsor a conference in Poland on "the meaning of Auschwitz to the Jewish people, the Polish people and to humankind."

Tannenbaum earlier stressed that the problem was not created by the Carmelites, but by a small group of Belgian Catholics who referred to the proposed convent as "a witness to the victorious power of the cross of Jesus and a spiritual fortress and guarantee of the conversion of our strayed

brothers." In a recent letter to Tannenbaum, Macharski deplored the "inconceivable lack of communication in regard to Catholic-Jewish religious dialogue" during the past 40 years.

— Dick Ryan

NEW YORK POST, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1986

CHURCH DROPS BID FOR AUSCHWITZ CONVENT

By DICK RYAN
THE CATHOLIC Church in Poland has dropped plans to build a convent on the site of the Auschwitz concentration camp. The Post has learned.

Cardinal Franciszek Macharski of Cracow disclosed the decision in a letter to John Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia and Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee.

Macharski also revealed that he has agreed to jointly sponsor

on "the meaning of Auschwitz to the Jewish people, the Polish people and mankind."

A group of 10 Belgian Carmelite nuns have actually been living in an abandoned building just outside Auschwitz since 1884.

But existence of the convent was not known until last year when a group, Aid to the Church in Distress, began a European fundraising campaign to renovate the building.

Tannenbaum and other Jew-

fundraising literature that they said "ignored the 3 million Jews murdered by the Nazis at Auschwitz."

The literature referred to the Auschwitz convent as "a witness to the victorious power of the cross of Jesus as a spiritual fortress and guarantee of the conversion of our strayed brothers."

Tannenbaum, who stressed that the nuns themselves were not responsible for the literature, labeled the fundraising appeal "a

victims' dignity as Jews."

The appeal also said the convent would "erase outrages so often done to the Vicar of Christ" — an apparent reference to charges that Pope Pius XII did not speak out against the Holocaust.

Some 1.25 million non-Jews — mostly Polish Catholics — also died at Auschwitz.

Rev. Wilfred van Straaten, the group's founder, defended the convent saying a similar con-

without Jewish complaints.

He said that at the Auschwitz convent, "the sisters are praying for all who died there and doing penance for the act of genocide."

But Macharski told Tannenbaum he deplored "the inconceivable lack of communication in regard to Polish-Jewish religious dialog across the 40 years."

He said the upcoming conference would greatly contribute to a deeper understanding of the role Auschwitz plays in

Cardenal Macharski de Acuerdo con Conferencia sobre Significado de Auschwitz para Judíos y Polacos

(WINS-Comentarios Religiosos)

Rabino Marc H. Tanenbaum del Comité
Judio Americano

NUEVA YORK... La decisión del Arzobispo de Cracovia Cardenal Macharski de anular la proyectada erección de un convento carmelita en la sede del campo de exterminio de Auschwitz representa un triunfo del criterio y de la conciencia, como asimismo un logro del entendimiento mutuo, fruto del maduro diálogo católico-judío.

La declaración en mayo de 1985 en el sentido de que un grupo de monjas carmelitas proyectaban erigir un convento en Auschwitz encolerizó a miles de sobrevivientes judíos de aquella operación asesina, particularmente en Bélgica y Francia. Quedó patente que los sobrevivientes de Auschwitz no se oponían al rezo de las monjas católicas —ni una sola protesta se levantó en el caso de la capilla católica que con gran dedicadeza fue establecida en Dachau.

La ira de los judíos europeos —de hecho en todo el mundo— resultó del material informativo que editara una agrupación de católicos belgas para recaudar fondos. El folleto sobre

Auschwitz no aludió ni una sola vez a la bestial masacre de tres millones de judíos en aquel campo de exterminio, y otro agravio más fue la sugerencia que el convento carmelita se proponía la conversión de "nuestros hermanos extraviados".

En julio pasado, El Cardenal Macharski se reunió en Ginebra con dirigentes judíos, y católicos europeos, y a raíz de largo y arduo diálogo, el Cardenal consintió aplazar toda labor relacionada con el convento. Respondiendo a las cartas que le dirigimos el Cardenal Krol de Filadelfia y el suscrito, el Cardenal polaco acordó anular la proyectada erección del convento, informándome asimismo que conjuntamente con nosotros organizaría una conferencia de mayor alcance el año que viene en Polonia sobre "El significado de Auschwitz para el pueblo judío, el pueblo polaco y la humanidad".

De este trágico acaloramiento saldrá aún, quizás, un ansiado rayo de luz.

'this is not a major setback'

Chi Sun-Times 1/15/87
Writing from Jerusalem

At crucial moments the Vatican establishment goes into periods of prudent silence."

So said Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, one of the American-Jewish community's outstanding experts in the ecclesiastical and secular politics of the Roman Catholic Church.

The rabbi thinks the Holy See may be about to modify its attitude toward Israel and Israel's control of Jerusalem.

It was the Vatican's refusal to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and to drop its support for the internationalization of Jerusalem that set the stage for the latest contretemps between the Holy See and the Israeli government.

Tannenbaum was talking about the aftermath of John Cardinal O'Connor's recent visit to Israel, one of the most counterproductive events ever to occur in this country. It was meant to generate good will between Jews and Roman Catholics and, above all, to promote peace in the Middle East.

Instead, the cardinal's inability to go through with his original intention to meet Israel's political leaders in their respective offices and the comments he made while in Jordan about the Palestinians' plight irritated his Israeli hosts and upset their many friends in the United States.

Tannenbaum pinned the blame on the Vatican secretariat of state and the apostolic delegate in the Holy Land.

His conciliatory yet accusatory remarks were made in the kind of setting I always appreciate: an intimate luncheon to which only a few of my colleagues were invited.

Tannenbaum said O'Connor went to Israel "in good faith" and cited his record as an exponent of free emigration for Soviet Jewry, his homage to the 6 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust and his respect for the

symbols of Judaism shown by his pilgrimage to the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem.

Just before the cardinal embarked for Lebanon last June, Tannenbaum personally urged him to include Israel on his itinerary "and he considered it seriously," the rabbi went on, "but others persuaded him to go to Lebanon only."

It was then that Cardinal O'Connor made a controversial statement about a Palestinian homeland that "caused concern" to the American Jewish Committee and other elements of American Jewry, the rabbi went on.

That incident prompted the rabbi and other American-Jewish leaders to advise the cardinal that it had become all the more important for him to go to Israel, "and get Israel's position."

By the time O'Connor crossed the River Jordan to the Israeli-held West Bank from King Hussein's Hashemite kingdom, his good intentions had become entangled in the intricacies of the Vatican's effort to co-exist with Israel and the Arab states.

"He had the rug pulled out from under him," Tannenbaum said, especially by the apostolic delegate, who canceled the cardinal's meetings with Israel's top three political leaders.

But the rabbi is not worried about any fallout in the ecumenical sphere. "Catholic-Jewish relations are so strong in the United States, Europe and Latin America and elsewhere that this episode will not work any harm," he said. "We will sit down together and figure out what went wrong. This is not a major setback."

That goal may top the agenda of next month's meeting of leading Roman Catholic and Jewish theologians due to take place in Geneva, Switzerland.



Jay Bushinsky

Jay Bushinsky runs the Chicago Sun-Times' Middle East Bureau.

JAN- 2-87

LEGAL EXPERTS ADOPT DECLARATION ON THE RIGHT OF EMIGRATION AND RETURN

NEW YORK, Jan. 1 (JTA) -- A conference of legal experts at the International Institute of Human Rights in Strasbourg, France, has adopted a highly significant declaration on the international right to leave and return, it was reported by Sidney Liskofsky, director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee.

Co-sponsored by the Blaustein Institute and assisted by a grant from the Ford Foundation, the conference called for all nations to: adopt legislative or other measures ensuring full enjoyment of the right to leave one's country, temporarily or permanently, and to return; prohibit penalties or reprisals against those seeking to exercise that right; invoke restrictions based on "national security" only in situations where the exercise of the right poses a clear, imminent and serious danger to the state.

Also, to impose no taxes or fees, other than nominal ones related to travel documents; tolerate no lengthy or burdensome procedures in issuing documents or notification of decisions; allow appeals of decisions to higher administrative or judicial bodies; permit communication with international organizations or other bodies or persons with regard to the right.

Designed To Serve As A Model

The conference has forwarded its Strasbourg Declaration to the 35 participating states in the Helsinki Accords review conference taking place in Vienna, the Human Rights Commissions of the Council of Europe and the Organization of American States, and other inter-governmental as well as non-governmental organizations.

The conference was chaired by Alexander Kiss, Secretary-General of the Strasbourg Institute. The Blaustein Institute was represented by Liskofsky. The participants included experts from Europe, the U.S., Latin America and Africa as well as observers from the UN Secretariat and Council of Europe.

The declaration was designed to serve as a model for the expert member of the UN Subcommission on Discrimination and Minorities, Mbonga-Chipoya of Zambia, in carrying out his mandate from that body to prepare for the Commission on Human Rights a preliminary draft declaration on the subject. The Subcommission had recommended nearly a quarter-century ago that the UN adopt such a declaration.

Assessment Of New Soviet Decree

In elaborating their declaration, Liskofsky said, the experts drew upon several model drafts, in particular the historic Uppsala Declaration on the same subject adopted 14 years before at a conference co-sponsored by the Strasbourg and Blaustein Institutes, at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. He added:

"The issuance of the Strasbourg Declaration came on the heels of the Soviet government's publication of a recently promulgated decree to take effect January 1 adding 11 new provisions to others now made public contained in a 1970 statute of the Council of Ministers. Presented as an easing of the emigration and travel process, the new regulations fall short in fundamental ways of the standards in the Strasbourg Declaration.

"They do not recognize emigration as every person's inherent right -- as affirmed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the legally binding International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They also refuse permission to leave to applicants without relatives in other countries."

Moreover, Liskofsky noted, they narrow the family connection basis for emigration to applicants seeking to be reunited only with their closest kin -- spouses, parents, and children and siblings.

Also incompatible with the Strasbourg Declaration, Liskofsky stated, are the broad and unqualified grounds for denial of emigration, among them, "knowledge of state secrets," "reasons which affect state security," the "basic rights and legal interests of the USSR," and "preservation of the public order," as well as the failure to provide legal means of appeal to higher administrative or judicial bodies.

'Closed Door' Policy Continues

Some analysts, he said, find reason for optimism in the fact that the Soviet government for the first time officially recorded its emigration rules, which specified among other seeming liberalizations, that applicants refused permission to emigrate or travel would be told the reasons. However, the overwhelming tendency of the rules point to a continuing, mainly "closed door" policy.

The Strasbourg Institute, located at the site of the Council of Europe, was founded in 1969 by Rene Cassin, renowned French statesman and Nobel Laureate and co-author with Eleanor Roosevelt of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Blaustein Institute, established in 1971 to perpetuate the memory of Jacob Blaustein, encourages projects in human rights, inter-religious understanding and international affairs, areas with which he was closely identified. Its chairman is Richard Maass, honorary president of the American Jewish Committee.



NOTICIAS e INFORMACIONES del COMITE JUDIO AMERICANO

Por JACOBO KOVADLOFF

El Derecho a Salir y Regresar a su Propio País

NUEVA YORK — En conferencia de expertos legales que se celebró en la sede del Instituto Internacional de Derechos Humanos en Estrasburgo, Francia, se adoptó una declaración de suma importancia relativa al derecho internacional a salir y regresar de los ciudadanos de todo país, según anunció Sidney Liskofsky, director del Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights del Comité Judio Americano (American Jewish Committee).

La conferencia, copatrocinada por el Jacob Blaustein Institute y subvencionada por la Ford Foundation, se dirigió a todas las naciones para que:

*adopten medidas legislativas o de otra índole encaminadas a asegurar el pleno disfrute del derecho a salir del propio país, provisional o permanentemente, y a regresar;

*prohiban todo castigo o represalia contra aquéllos que traten de ejercer este derecho;

*invoquen restricciones basadas en "la seguridad nacional" sólo en casos en que el ejercicio del derecho represente un peligro claro, inminente y serio para el Estado;

*no impongan tasas o impuestos excepto los nominales relativos a documentos de viaje;

*no toleren procedimientos prolongados o dificultosos para expedir los documentos o notificación de decisiones;

*permitan el recurso a las autoridades administrativas o judiciales superiores para apelar las decisiones;

*permitan la comunicación con organizaciones internacionales u otras entidades o personas con respecto a este derecho.

La conferencia ha transmitido la citada declaración de Estrasburgo a los 35 Estados participantes en la conferencia que re-examinará los acuerdos de Helsinki y que se realizará en Viena, a las comisiones de Derechos Humanos del Consejo de Europa y la Organización de Estados Americanos, a otras entidades intergubernamentales así como no gubernamentales.

Presidió la conferencia Alexander Kiss, secretario general del Instituto de Estrasburgo, representando al Blaustein Institute su director Sidney Liskofsky. Entre los participantes figuraron expertos procedentes de Europa, los Estados Unidos, Latinoamérica y África así como observadores de la Secretaría de la ONU y del Consejo de Europa. La declaración habrá de servir de modelo al experto Chinova de Zambia

casi un cuarto de siglo desde que la subcomisión recomendará a la ONU que aprobara esa declaración.

El Sr. Liskofsky notó que al elaborar la declaración, los expertos se valieron de una serie de proyectos modelos, en particular la histórica Declaración de Upsala sobre el mismo tema, adoptada catorce años atrás en conferencia co-patrocinada por los Institutos de Estrasburgo y Blaustein que realizara en la Universidad de Upsala, Suecia, añadiendo que:

"La promulgación de la declaración de Estrasburgo se concretó escaso tiempo después de publicarse un reciente decreto soviético que

entró en vigor el 1o. de enero de 1987 y que añade 11 nuevas estipulaciones a otras anunciadas ahora e incluidas en un estatuto de 1970 del Consejo de Ministros. Los nuevos reglamentos presentados como para facilitar el proceso de emigración y viaje no satisfacen en esencia los criterios establecidos en la declaración de Estrasburgo.

"No reconocen la emigración como derecho intrínseco de toda persona — tal y como lo afirma la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos y el documento legal obligatorio, o sea el Pacto Internacional de Derechos Civiles y Políticos. Asi-

(PASA A LA PAG. 11)

Derecho

mismo niegan el permiso de salir a solicitantes que no tienen familiares en otros países".

Además, notó, restringen la vinculación familiar que sirve de base a la emigración de solicitantes deseosos de reunirse sólo con los parientes más próximos — cónyuges, padres e hijos y hermanos.

Igualmente incompatibles con la Declaración de Estrasburgo, siguió el Sr. Liskofsky, son los extensos e indeterminados motivos por negar la emigración, entre ellos "el conocimiento de secretos estatales", "razones que afecten la seguridad del Estado", "derechos fundamentales e intereses legales de la URSS", y la "preservación del orden público" así como la carencia de disponibili-

dad de medios jurídicos de recurso a una autoridad superior administrativa o judicial.

Algunos analistas, notó, consideran motivo de optimismo el hecho de que por primera vez el gobierno soviético haya asentado oficialmente los reglamentos de emigración que establecen entre otras liberalizaciones aparentes que al solicitante a quien se niegue permiso de emigrar o de viajar se le comunicarán las razones. Sin embargo, los reglamentos señalan en su mayor parte la tendencia de continuar una política a "puerta cerrada".

Fundado en 1969 por René Cassin, renombrado estadista francés y laureado Nobel, co-autor con Eleanor Roosevelt de la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos, el Instituto de Estrasburgo está ubicado en la sede del Consejo de Europa.

El Jacob Blaustein Institute creado en 1971 para perpetuar la memoria de Jacob Blaustein, promueve proyectos en la esfera de los derechos humanos, del entendimiento interreligioso y asuntos internacionales, esferas todas éstas con las que el difunto se identificaba estrechamente. Preside el Instituto Richard Maass, también presidente honorario del Comité Judio Americano.

Suplemento de
INFORMATIVO

DAIA

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Asociaciones
Israelitas Argentinas

(Buenos Aires)

Departamento de Prensa

Año 1987 - No. 4

Viernes, 23 de enero, 1987

SINTESIS

DECLARACION FINAL

DE LA

CONFERENCIA JURIDICA INTERNACIONAL SOBRE

EL ANTISEMITISMO, EL ANTISIONISMO Y LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

FACULTAD DE DERECHO DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE NUEVA YORK

Por iniciativa del Centro de Estudios Internacionales de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Nueva York y del Instituto Jacob Blaustein para la Defensa de los Derechos del Hombre, se celebró una Conferencia Internacional en Nueva York, del 13 al 15 de Abril de 1986, con el objeto de examinar la cuestión del antisionismo, el antisemitismo y las Naciones Unidas. La Conferencia, que reunió a 93 expertos en Derecho Internacional provenientes de diversos países, examinó los archivos de las Naciones Unidas y de sus organismos afiliados, encontrando en ellos declaraciones con imágenes antisemitas y un lenguaje manifiestamente hostil hacia el judaísmo, el pueblo judío y los judíos en calidad de tales.

La Conferencia llegó a la conclusión que esas expresiones y afirmaciones antisemitas formuladas por representantes de Estados-miembros, contravienen los principios generales del Derecho Internacional, tal como se reflejan en la Carta de la ONU, en la Declaración Universal de los Derechos del Hombre, en la Convención Internacional para la Eliminación de Todas las Formas de Discriminación Racial, y en la Declaración sobre Eliminación de Todas las Formas de Intolerancia y Discriminación basadas en la religión o el credo.

La Conferencia examinó también declaraciones formuladas en las Naciones Uni...

Sigue al dorso



DEC 15 1986

Office of Communications

REV. PETER G. FINN, DIRECTOR

PARA PUBLICACION INMEDIATA: 3 de diciembre de 1986

PARA MAS INFORMACION:

Padre Carlos Mullins
(914) 632-0211

VIAJE A ISRAEL-TIERRA SANTA

Auspiciado por el Comité Judío-Americano Oficina Sudamericana y para Medios en Español y por el Centro Católico de Pastoral para los Hispanos del Nordeste, se realizará el primer Viaje a Israel-Tierra Santa, con el fin de consolidar la unidad judeo-católica.

La salida será desde Nueva York el martes, 27 de enero de 1987 y el regreso se realizará desde la ciudad de Bruselas, Bélgica, el lunes, 9 de febrero de 1987.

El precio total del viaje será de \$1,170.00 e incluye pasaje aéreo en clase turística, hospedaje en hoteles de cinco estrellas, en habitación doble, y con desayuno incluido.

Este primer viaje se realiza inspirado en un lema que dice así: "hermanados en la fe de Abraham, construyamos la nueva civilización del amor, libre de prejuicios y de discriminación".

Para reservas llamar al Sr. Pedro Wlodawski, Morgan Tours, Inc., (212) 535-6260. Para mayor información comunicarse con el Sr. Jacobo Kovadloff, (212) 751-4000, Ext. 308, o con el Padre Carlos Mullins, (914) 632-0211.

XXX

"A DAY AT THE UNITED NATIONS"

(Nu...It Could Be Worse)

On December 3, 1986, the American Jewish Committee sponsored "A Day At the United Nations". The morning was as clear, cool and sunny as November 30, 1982 had been when the A.J.C. sponsored its earlier "Day At the U.N." Once again the event was oversubscribed and nearly two hundred participants eagerly milled at the Visitor's entrance on this Wednesday morning. The schedule included briefings by prominent United Nations staff members, a luncheon in the Delegates Dining Room and an address by Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations, Benjamin Netanyahu, as well as by America's Permanent Representative, (General) Vernon T. Walters.

After passing through metal detectors (and having pocketbooks and briefcases

to the country designation of their seat. This caused some chuckles when an A.J.C. member was labeled as an Arab or Third World "diplomat" while posing a pro-American, or Pro-Israel (or Jewish) question.

Following introductory remarks by Ingrid Lehmann (Chief, Non-Governmental Organizations Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations), we were addressed by Murrack Goulding, Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs. The Oxford-educated Goulding stipulated that he was told to avoid theory and talk facts and, true to his word, he used his allotted time to detail the history and function of the various United Nations "Blue Helmet/Beret" peace-keeping operations.

treaty which delineated international norms of human rights. The Human Rights Treaty deals with issues regarding genocide, the treatment of prisoners (and their medical care), torture, religious intolerance, etc. It finally went into effect in 1976.

At the core is the attempt to promote international norms of human rights. The United Nations both sets and implements international law and describes the mechanisms of a country's compliance to the United Nations' Human Rights Commission. As an example, Mr. Herndl cited the disappearance of the tens of thousands of political and other prisoners in Latin American countries. The United Nations now has *rapporteurs* of human rights in Iran, Afghanistan, Chile, Guatemala and Argentina. And when the new government came to power in Argentina, it availed itself of the Human Rights Commission's files on over 5,000 documented "disappeared ones." Many governments, particularly in the Third World, do not have any infrastructure to monitor human rights and the United Nations helps them set up a charter on human rights and aids in the training of judges and of the police.

Irrespective of one's sentiments about the United Nations, Mr. Herndl's presentation raised the spectre of "what if...." there were no Human Rights mechanism?

The third speaker to address us was James O.C. Jonah of Sierra Leone, Assistant Secretary General, Office for Field Operational and External Support Activities. From the outset, Mr. Jonah told the group that he would speak with candor on a most sensitive subject—the 1975 Zionism is Racism Resolution whose aftermath has been a downward spiral of the United Nations' prestige and fiscal stability. He assured us that steps have been taken to ameliorate the impact of the [infamous] resolution.

The historical scenario was that in 1973 there was a consensus decision to fight racism. In 1975 this resolution included Zionism as a form of racism. According to Mr. Jonah, many delegates did not understand that Zionism itself was a reaction to racism in Europe and they therefore "misunderstood" and assumed that "Zionism as Racism" addressed the mistreatment of Arabs in Israel. (My personal reaction was a *nechtiger tog*—literally "yesterday's day" but in precise English, a fairy tale.) Mr. Jonah was adamant in his belief that the United Nations did not become a forum for anti-Semitism inasmuch as many Western European members refused to get on the Zionism is Racism bandwagon. And, encouragingly, by 1983 there was no longer any reference to the Resolution. In response to questions from the audience, Mr. Jonah stated that the United Nations can't rescind the Resolution, but it will not confirm it. He was aware, he said, that many Jewish groups will have nothing to do with the United Nations until it is rescinded.

Mr. Jonah also confirmed (as was further elaborated in the course of the day) that due to the Zionism is Racism Reso-



manually inspected), we picked up our name badges at a desk that was wedged behind the glass lobby displays of Palestinian embroidery. Unlike the 1982 "Day At the U.N.," which coincided with "Palestine Week," there was no U.N. employee "job action," nor were the elevators tied up (as they had been by the then President of Bolivia). And our auditorium was immediately available with all the microphones (and hearing amplifiers) working. Still...there was a palpable hollowness around us.

Even if you were not familiar with the current fiscal plight of the United Nations, it was obvious that the organization was "oyf tsores" (in trouble). The place lacked that ebullient self-confident atmosphere, the bustling hubbub and almost elitist *cachet* that had been its hallmark in the 1960's, the 1970's and still echoed into the early 1980's. Also absent were past years' ubiquitous groups of tourists, visitors and schoolchildren.

With credentials validated, we were led into a large impressive conference room where the delegates' name-plated seats were arranged in an alphabetically-sequential semi-circle. Since Israel's seat was quickly occupied, my daughter Karen (who accompanied me) and I appropriated Japan's delegates' seats. ("A good choice," Karen observed, seeing logic in my having spent almost a year in Japan in 1941.) Amusingly, during our post-speaker question and answer periods, the United Nations staff members recognized A.J.C. questioners according

Though these are not mentioned in the United Nations Charter (which has no mechanism to stop aggression), the U.N. has established peace-keeping operations to maintain peace between hostile states as well as between hostile parties within a state. Member nations' military forces under United Nations command are used (with the consent of all parties). Starting with the 1956 peace-keeping operation during the Suez Canal Crisis, Goulding explained that the Security Council can establish a peace-keeping force only when all five Council powers agree to the operation. Troops are provided on a voluntary basis by member states and are under the command of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Mr. Goulding went into specifics vis a vis three of the peace-keeping operations: UNTSO (1948—Jerusalem); UNDOF (Golan Heights—1974); and UNIFIL (1978—Lebanon). In summation, the purpose and function of these and future peace-keeping operations is to reduce confrontation and killing. Though not a substitute for a negotiated peace, it is the best alternative available at the present time.

The next speaker was Austrian-born Kurt Herndl, Assistant Secretary General for Human Rights. Mr. Herndl elaborated on the role of the Human Rights Treaty and its application to the current world scene. Drafted in 1948 at the urging of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, it took eighteen years (until 1966) before the United Nations agreed on a binding



Masha Leon—"Japan's" delegate at A.J.C. Day at the United Nations.

lution, the United Nations' economic profile was something akin to a basket case.

My comment-cum-question to Mr. Jonah was that nowhere in his presentation was there a hint of the moral, rather than monetary, impact of the Resolution. Were money obtainable elsewhere (i.e. Arab sources or even Third World donations), there would be no imperative to either question nor rescind this despicable Resolution. Were the United Nations financially sound today, the Jewish pressure groups would, in effect, be speaking to "deaf ears."

Queries regarding the U.S.S.R.'s failure to fulfill its financial obligations met with a reply about the U.S.S.R. having a "selective" process of financial payment—sometimes they do, sometimes they don't.

Our final pre-luncheon speaker, Ambassador Herbert S. Okun, Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations, offered a welcome antidote to the prior speaker's doom and

"We do not take things lying down. Unfocused anger is childish and non-productive. But I do get angry—and then it is on purpose!"
U.S. Ambassador Herbert S. Okun

gloom impact. As a personality, Ambassador Okun was as impressive as his credentials. Having entered the foreign service in 1955, he has served in Moscow, Munich, Lisbon, Geneva, Naples, Brasilia and East Berlin. From 1980-1983 he was the United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany—the first Jewish Ambassador to serve in Germany since World War II.

An unapologetic realist, using a terse delivery, he told us, "You get the world as it is, not as we would like it to be." He also attempted to dispell the American illusion that, because the impressive United Nations buildings are in New York City, this is the U.N.'s headquarters. "The building is not the United Nations. It is the United States headquarters of the Security Council and the General Assembly," he stressed. More important aspects and independent agencies get

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short shrift here and he cited the World Bank, International Monetary Organization, the Drug Agency, International Atomic Agency, World Health Organization, Aviation Agency, and more.

Ambassador Okun continued his existential overview of reality at the United Nations. There are pluses in international cooperation and we cannot have a world in which the United States does not take a role. After all, eighty percent of the world's business is transacted in dollars and most of the world's tourists are Americans. And independent agencies can only operate successfully on an international basis. As an example, he cited such issues as acid rain, Chernobyl, and the international drug trade which involves producing, trafficking and consuming countries along with the problem of worldwide laundering of money. We live in a precarious, inter-dependent world. Next June, a conference will be held in Vienna on drug traffic and abuse.

However, "Good News" is on the horizon. There is a marked diminution of name-calling since the low point of Arafat's appearance. Every year another Arab state puts forth a resolution to deny Israel's credentials to the United Nations, but the vote "fever chart" indicates a lessening of support with fewer and fewer votes in favor. Also the gratuitous name-calling and labeling of the United States as chief criminal is on the decline. Israeli name-calling has been eliminated. "We do best in the General Assembly when we stand strongly with other Western democracies," said Ambassador Okun. "We have succeeded in reshaping the Human Rights Resolution and now even non-friends are involved."

Apropos the goal of greater international consensus, Ambassador Okun realistically observed that, "If it doesn't happen in our families and in our businesses, why expect it at the United Nations?"

His replies to A.J.C. questioners were to the point. "I do not mind doing battle here every day," he stated. "I represent the United States and no one can hurt the United States." As to his psychological reaction to the United Nations shenings (*meshugas*), he answered, "I am a professional diplomat. After sitting opposite the Russians—this is easy."

Like a surgeon who learns to keep his hands steady in the operating arena—you learn." As for getting angry, "We do not take things lying down. Unfocused anger is childish and non-productive. But I do get angry—and then it is no purpose!"

With that upbeat phrase reverberating, we were escorted to the Delegates Dining Room where a private area had been set aside for the A.J.C. group. A chilled artichoke and mushroom salad vinaigrette awaited us followed by a salmon steak, sauteed vegetables and a potato sculptured to look like a mushroom cap. Food was brought to the tables quickly and courteously by a cadre of waiters. Because of urgent meeting demands, Ambassador Vernon A. Walters addressed the group during the meal.

Big, confident, with an Apple-Pie American persona and a John Wayne

delivery, Ambassador Walters wasted no words. "Israel is validated. We are working to rescind the Zionism is Racism

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Ambassador Walters

Resolution. And there will be no payment to terrorists—"what is the last payment is always the first payment" (said before the unraveling current White House Crisis). "Reagan told us, 'Reform it—don't kill it.'" As for leaving the United Nations. No way! "If we get out, there will be a forum condemning us and no one to defend us. The United States Delegation is nobody's patsy!"

Ambassador Walters quoted General Charles de Gaulle. "Puritanism doesn't prevent them from sinning—just from enjoying their sins," in reply to a query about diplomatic technique. As for friends and enemies: "The Chinese may vote against Israel, but look at their gunslights at Peking's next parade—they are not made in the U.S.A." When someone cited Mr. Jonah's pessimistic prognosis regarding the rescinding of the Zionism as Racism Resolution, Ambassador Walters again reiterated, "Never say never to rescinding that Resolution." Ambassador Walters did not stay for dessert.

More satisfying than the luscious, diet-demolishing Black Forest chocolate cake was Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu's address to the A.J.C. group. He commented about the irony of world reaction: "When one million die in the Iran-Iraq war, nothing is said. But if someone burps in Israel, it is reason to convene the Security Council." However, the world is changing regarding Israel and it is a positive change. In addition, the Arab block is no longer unified, there are splinter groups and two PLO's.

Netanyahu also referred to the single greatest blow to the United Nations—loss of prestige and insolvency—as a result of the Zionism as Racism Resolution. But "even excess has its limits." He optimistically noted that the 1980's is

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"The American Decade" and many countries are "coming back to us." The lines are not drawn as sharply as they once were and situations have changed, interaction is not as hostile as it once was. Africans are no longer afraid of the Arabs and "many contact us in the corridors seeking our support. They think we have the key."

Netanyahu highlighted Israel's strong 28 billion GNP economy and noted that despite her improving financial situation, American-Jewish fund-raising is still necessary and valued. Though the

hundreds of millions raised by America's Jews are no longer as pivotal as they once were, the process of raising financial support for Israel results in the networking of America's Jews and the pro-Israel activism that springs from this undertaking.

In answer to a question about the PLO, Ambassador Netanyahu surprised some, and refreshed many memories, by recalling that the PLO was originally established in 1964 to topple Hussein. And that only at the United Nations over time, had it evolved into the "Holy Grail" Palestinian-anti-Israel entity. Today, no one is really sure what the PLO is.

After lunch there was the opportunity to sit in on a Plenary Session of the General Assembly and to visit the shopping arcade and bookstore. A number of us ventured into the mall and, perhaps it was my imagination, but the international *tchatchkes* on sale were not as appealing as they had been in past years. In addition to the visible absence of shoppers, there was a lack of high quality and better-priced jewelry from member

countries, a magnet for United Nations visitors in the past. In the bookstore I purchased two post-cards (to illustrate this article) and was taken aback by the presence of former Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's post cards on sale along with those of other United Nations personalities.

Though in 1982 we left the United Nations more depressed than when we had arrived (having heard Mr. Brian Urquhart, Under Secretary General of Special Political Affairs, Israel's Ambassador, Yehuda Z. Blum and United States Ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick), this time, despite wails about belt-tightening plus years of virulent anti-Semitic resolutions, we departed with a sense of renewed optimism for the future of the United Nations vis a vis Israel and the United States.

The program was organized by the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, Haskell L. Lazere, Director and was co-chaired by Mesdames Carolyn Tumarkin and Solita Nahon Herman.

Mmes. Tumarkin and Nahon-Herman are members of the International Relations Commission Steering Committee.

PRIMER VIAJE DE CONFRATERNIDAD JUDEO - CATOLICA A ISRAEL de hispanos residentes en los EEUU

LO HICIMOS, exclamó con explicable alegría Jacobo Kovadloff, el lunes 9 de febrero pasado, en el Aeropuerto Kennedy, al finalizar exitosamente el Primer Viaje a Israel - Tierra Santa de Hispanos Judíos y Cristianos residentes en USA.

El grupo de 20 personas, que había realizado la experiencia única de "transitar los senderos de la Biblia", estaba integrado por una norteamericana, un méxico-americano, un judío, una puertorriqueña, cinco dominicanos y los restantes argentinos.

Todos ellos convirtieron en realidad el sueño de consolidar la unidad judeo-católica y de fomentar el diálogo interreligioso mediante la realización de viajes a Israel-Tierra Santa, con la participación de judíos y cristianos de origen hispano.

Este primer viaje entra ya en la categoría de histórico y sus participantes son los pioneros, es decir, los que han dado los primeros pasos en este proyecto de ir descubriendo las riquezas históricas, religiosas y culturales de la tierra de Abraham y de la patria de Jesús a través de un contacto directo con la fuente de la Biblia.

Este primer viaje a Israel-Tierra Santa contó con el patrocinio de dos importantes instituciones, que coinciden en el propósito fundamental de promover los valores culturales y defender los derechos humanos de la comunidad hispana.

Una es la oficina Sudamericana para Medios en Español del Comité Judío-Americano y la otra es el Centro Católico de Pastoral para Hispanos del Nordeste de los EEUU.

Los participantes en este primer viaje a Israel-Tierra Santa son concientes ahora de la tarea que surge como corolario natural de esta nueva experiencia y es comenzar a "recorrer los caminos del diálogo", luego de haber "transitado los senderos de la Biblia".

El final del viaje es en realidad el comienzo de una nueva tarea de mutua comprensión, de amistad sincera y de diálogo fraterno entre judíos y cristianos, con el fin de ir construyendo "la nueva civilización del amor, libre de prejuicios y de discriminación".

Tanto judíos como católicos cargan sobre sus espaldas la pesada herencia de mutuos desacuerdos, que han mantenido alejados y enemistados a los integrantes de dos de las tres grandes religiones monoteístas, cuyos orígenes se remontan al capítulo 12 del Génesis, o sea el llamado Dios de Abraham.



JERUSALEN: la Tierra Santa, capital del Estado de Israel, punto de confluencia de las tres grandes religiones monoteístas en la historia de la humanidad. Por primera vez planean estas tierras los pies peregrinos de judíos y cristianos hispanos, acostumbrados a otras peregrinaciones y exilios desde sus países de orígenes.



JACOBO KOVADLOFF, Director para Medios en Español del Comité Judío-Americano, argentino residente en USA. La foto está tomada durante la Misa predicada en la Iglesia del Santo Sepulcro por el grupo peregrino en la Iglesia del Santo Sepulcro. Su presencia en la organización e iniciativa marca un hito demasiado importante para nosotros los cristianos. La nobleza de su presencia nos hace pensar que "cuando Dios cuenta, cuenta mas que nosotros".

Cuando el Papa Juan Pablo II visitó en abril la Sinagoga Central de Roma, llamó a los judíos "nuestros hermanos mayores", dando a entender el vínculo con que el pueblo del Nuevo Testamento está espiritualmente unido con la raza de Abraham, según palabras de la Declaración "Nostra Aetate", publicada el 28 de octubre de 1965 y que significó un paso trascendental en el mejoramiento de las relaciones entre católicos y judíos.

ISRAEL - TIERRA SANTA sigue representando el intento de poder convivir como hermanos en torno al mismo Dios, formando el mismo pueblo.

(New York)

Por los caminos del diálogo

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Cuando el Papa Juan Pablo II visitó en abril de 1986 la Sinagoga Central de Roma, llamó a los judíos “nuestros hermanos mayores”, dando a entender “el vínculo con que el pueblo del Nuevo Testamento está espiritualmente unido con la raza de Abraham”, según palabras de la Declaración Nostra Aetate, publicada el 28 de octubre de 1965, que significó un paso trascendental en

el mejoramiento de las relaciones entre católicos y judíos.

La ciudad de Jerusalén, que fue fundada hace casi tres mil años por el rey David y que es considerada hoy como la “capital eterna” del nuevo Estado de Israel, conserva tres monumentos, considerados sagrados por judíos, cristianos y árabes.

Uno es el Muro Occidental, más conocido como el Muro de los Lamentos, frente al cual oran diariamente miles de judíos “lamentando” la destrucción del gran templo de Herodes por el general Tito en el año 70 de la Era Común.

El otro es la Iglesia del Santo Sepulcro o Iglesia de la Resurrección, edificada originalmente por el emperador Constantino y por su madre Santa Elena en el año 335, donde se conservan el lugar de la crucifixión y la tumba donde fue depositado el cuerpo de Jesús.

Finalmente, en lo que fue la explanada del gran templo de Jresusalén, se halla la magnífica Mezquita de Omar, el Domo de la Roca, con su peculiar cúpula dorada, construida en el año 691, que conserva la piedra desde la cual, según la tradición árabe, el profeta Mahoma realizó su milagroso viaje nocturno al cielo.

La circunstancia de que en la misma ciudad de Jerusalén se encuentren estos tres monumentos, que simbolizan la fe y la devoción de judíos, cristianos y árabes, hacen de la ciudad santa un sitio único y privilegiado.

Por eso, no es necesario ser judío para amar la ciudad de Jerusalén y para visitar la Tierra Santa, que más que las divergencias nos ayuda a descubrir las coincidencias entre el judaísmo, el cristianismo y el islamismo.

Carlos Mullins es un sacerdote argentino.

Caution urged on dealing with plight of Iranian Jews

By EDWIN BLACK

JERUSALEM — Although some recent news reports of dramatically increased persecution of Iranian Jews are inaccurate, according to informed sources here, they are by no means "exaggerated and distorted," as Israelis officials have been claiming.

Indeed, says Menasche Amir, Kol Israel radio's leading expert on day-to-day events in Iran, the picture "is very dark."

"Jews have it bad," agrees Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, international director of the American Jewish Committee, who is visiting Israel. "But the better part of wisdom among Jewish leadership believes that it is better not to make any wild or sweeping charges that could provoke retaliation. We are dealing with a very impetuous regime, and if we aren't careful, we could have an entire Jewish community being held hostage."

"Those who are responsible believe there is a greater value than creating publicity, and that is saving lives," adds Harry Wall, of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith's Jerusalem office.

Other sources add that this precept is understood even in the non-Jewish media. "They have facts that they are responsibly not including in their coverage," says an American Jewish organizational official. "We're talking life and death."

The main concern of Israeli leaders and Jewish communal officials in the United States, according to sources here, is not so much the potential publicity but what overseas organizations might do with the information that could make the Iranian Jewish situation even more difficult.

"There are narcissistic Jewish leaders who jump at the opportunity to exploit such situations," says Tanenbaum. "History will be very harsh with those kinds of people. And their behavior will ultimately become accountable."

"So far," says one Jewish organizational official here, "the fund-raisers haven't got hold of anything, so there has been no public campaign. And, believe me, we wouldn't need one. There are plenty of wealthy Iranian Jews in Beverly Hills to do that. But we do worry about the fund-raisers."

That informed people are willing to talk at all is due to erroneous reports in the New York Times and elsewhere. In

setting the record straight, they say, they hope to remove the matter from the public eye.

When the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini seized power in 1979, he quickly declared that his Islamic Revolution would preserve the rights of all religious minorities—except Bahais, whom the Shi'ites consider heretical. Several well-known Iranians were executed for being "Zionists," the sources here explain, but Jews on the whole were permitted to maintain their identity and property, as long as they also kept a low profile.

Approximately half of Iran's 60,000 Jews were allowed to emigrate to Western Europe and North America, and many even ended in Israel. The latest reports approximate 18,000 Jews remaining in Teheran, 7,000 in Shiraz and 5,000 elsewhere throughout Iran.

According to the New York Times, a turning point came in 1983 when "2,000 Jews, strolling in Teheran after Sabbath services, were rounded up by Revolutionary Guards,

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blindfolded and taken in buses at gunpoint to Evin Prison," where they were terrorized until released the next day.

The sources here, however, insist the incident actually involved 200 to 300 Jewish teenagers rounded up in Teheran's Argentina Square, said to be a well-known meeting place for Jewish youth. They were released the next day, but only after the intervention of a longtime Jewish member of the Majlis, Iran's parliament, who still holds his position.

The 1983 round-up was hardly a turning point, the sources here say, but since then other events have sent the Jewish situation downhill.

The diminishing Jewish presence in Iran, together with heightened repression of all minorities, has created a "picture which is very dark," says Amir. "The number of Jewish schools is decreasing, [Jewish students] are mixed with non-Jewish students and must attend class on Shabbat and Jew-

ish holidays. Before entering their classrooms, they must shout 'Death to Israel!' and other anti-Zionist slogans, and, of course, they must participate in anti-Israel demonstrations."

Amir adds that when Jewish youngsters attend non-Jewish schools, "they must participate in Moslem religious classes, and they must learn to pray in Islam, and many young people now go home and do actually pray in Islam."

Other sources report that Jews are being slowly pauperized by forbidding their commercial activities and by exacting periodic extortions. One Jerusalem woman told of her family's store being burned to the ground.

As conditions have worsened in Iran, travel also has become difficult.

"Normally, any Iranian can go abroad for medical treatment, business or to visit family," explains Amir. "But if he is Jewish, he must deposit a big sum and give special guarantees that he will return, plus he must give the passports of his other family members to the frontier police. If he does not come back at the specified time, his family has big troubles. Big troubles."

The recent "deterioration" may have something to do with the escalating power struggle to succeed Khomeini. A few days ago, for example, Khomeini's designated heir, the Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri, declared on Teheran radio that "Jews and Christians are unclean and Moslems should not associate with them," says Amir, who monitors Iranian radio. In any power struggle, Amir notes, Jews could be expected to be an early casualty.

In any case, "the Khomeini regime does not tolerate any minority," explains Tanenbaum.

In other words, although the New York Times and others erred in the facts, the essence of their reports was essentially correct.

Clearly, Israeli leaders and Jewish communal officials elsewhere are uncomfortable with the need to downplay their concern for Iran's remaining Jews out of fear of shutting the door of assistance.

"I know it is going to look like Israel and Jewish leadership is abandoning the Jews of Iran or trying to minimize their plight," said one such individual, "but that is not true."

"For the foreseeable future," asserts Tanenbaum, "we will have to walk on eggshells in this matter."

Terrorists Renew Threats Against Lebanese Jews

by GOERGE E. GRUEN, Ph.D.

Director, Middle East Affairs, International Relations Dept., The American Jewish Committee

The radical Shi'ite Muslim group that has claimed responsibility for kidnapping and killing seven Lebanese Jews in the past 21 months has now stepped up its campaign of terror by again threatening to kill all remaining hostages unless its demands are met.

What makes this particularly ominous is that the renewed threat by the self-styled "Organization of the Oppressed (*Must adhafin*) in the World" was delivered to the Beirut paper *an-Nahar* on January 6, only a week after the terrorist group had announced the execution of three Lebanese Jewish hostages.

The Shi'ite terrorist group contended that the men had been executed because they were "spies for the Israeli Mossad" who had supplied Israel with information of the Islamic Resistance, a coalition of Lebanese anti-Israeli groups. The timing of the latest executions, it said, was "in retaliation for Israel's attacks against the south and western Beka's (Valley) and the terrorist attacks against our people in occupied Palestine." (A spokesman for the Israeli Foreign Ministry responded that "the gratuitous murder of three innocents reveals the true nature of terrorist movements in Leba-

unless its demands against Israel were met. That threatening statement was issued at the time of the murder of the first two hostages: Haim Cohen, 38, a department store accountant, on December 24, 1985; and Professor Isaac Tarrab, 70, a retired professor of mathematics, whose body was found at the end of the month.

Neither Mr. Cohen nor Professor Tarrab was involved in partisan Lebanese politics or in the Arab-Israeli conflict in any way. Indeed it was precisely because they felt themselves deeply rooted in Lebanon that they and the other Jews who have become victims of Shi'ite terrorism remained behind when the vast majority of Lebanese Jews emigrated either to Israel or to join relatives in other countries during the decade of turmoil that has engulfed Lebanon. (Today fewer than 10 Jews remain in West Beirut, and about 70 in East Beirut.) Dr. Rosemary Cohen, the sister-in-law of Haim Cohen, has declared that he "was given the opportunity to go to Israel. But he did not want to go so as not to have to face the possibility of killing his Arab friends." A neighbor and former student of Profes-

sioner was kidnapped earlier in February. It is tragically ironic that when Joseph had been abducted the previous May, the father at first did not report the disappearance to the police, because he believed that his friends and customers of his shop within the surrounding Shi'ite and Palestinian communities would discreetly intervene on behalf of his son and secure his release.

*"The victims
have only two
things in common:
to be Jews and
they had the bad
fortune of living
in West Beirut."*

The fourth victim was Dr. Elie Hallak, 58, Vice President of the Lebanese Jewish community. Dr. Hallak was one of the four Jews kidnapped over the last weekend in March, 1985. Reportedly armed men in uniform had dragged him from his home on Friday

pediatrician, was known as "the doctor of the poor," because he would not collect fees from those who could not pay. "whatever their religion." His patients included, any Shi'ites in Beirut and in the villages of the south. His neighbors, she writes, all "could bear witness that he was totally apolitical for the simple reason his profession had shaped his entire life." (In fact, one of his patients was the son of a prominent PLO leader.)

The Organization of the Oppressed has stated that it is still holding the following persons: Isaac Sasson, 66, the President of the Lebanese Jewish community, who was kidnapped on March 31, 1985 on his way from the airport in West Beirut on his return from a business trip for the pharmaceutical firm he directed, and Yehuda Benesti, whose two sons were among those murdered by the group. It is generally believed that the group may also be holding Salim Jammous, 56, the secretary general of the Lebanese Jewish community, who was abducted near the synagogue in West Beirut on August 15, 1984. Nothing is known of the whereabouts of Clement Dana, an elderly man who

Libyan Jews Seek Promised Compensation

By YITZHAK RABI

NEW YORK (JTA) — The first international convention of Jews from Libya will be held in Manhattan June 6-7, it was announced here.

Raffaello Fella, founder and president of the Association of Jews from Libya, said in a press conference at the American Jewish Committee (AJC) that the convention is timed to coincide with the 20th anniversary of the forced departure of the Libyan Jewish community in the wake of the 1967 Six-Day War. Almost the entire Libyan Jewish community of 4,500 was forced to leave, including Fella, a businessman who now resides in Italy.

During the conference, to be held at the Shearith Israel (Spanish-Portuguese) Synagogue on Central Park West, legal experts will seek ways to address Libyan Jewish personal and communal property claims against Libya.

Fella explained that in 1970, Col. Muammar Qaddafi's revolutionary regime nationalized the property of Jews who had left Libya indefinitely, promising indemnification in 15 years. In 1985, when payment because due, the Libyan leaders failed to fulfill his

promise, Fella charged.

Noting that since the establishment of Israel in 1948 and following pogroms with the outbreak of any new Mideast war, about 40,000 Libyan Jews left, most of them to Israel. Fella estimated that the total claims of Libyan Jews against the Libyan government are "some billions of dollars."

Other events at the up-coming conference, Fella said, include the premiere of a documentary film on the Jews of Libya, an exhibition of photographs of Libyan Jewry and religious objects from the Beth El Synagogue in Tripoli and a history symposium relating to the Jews of Libya.

According to Fella, whose father was murdered in a 1945 pogrom in Tripoli, only "five-and-a-half Jews" are presently living in Libya. The half, he explained, is a result of a mixed marriage between an Arab and a Jew.

The convention, scheduled to be attended by hundreds of Libyan Jews from Israel, Italy and the United States, is jointly sponsored by the Association of Jews from Libya, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

ONCE UPON A TIME IN LIBYA

*... where 25,000
Jews lived very well
indeed.*

**DAVID A.
HARRIS**

MOMENT

May, 1987

The year 1987 marks the twentieth anniversary of two distinct but intimately related events, one that has been the focus of considerable attention, the other virtually ignored. As the world followed the June 1967 war raging between Israel and her Arab neighbors, an ancient Jewish community was on the verge of disappearing. It was then that Libya's remaining 4,000 Jews—who had survived colonial occupiers from the Phoenicians and the Greeks to the Italians and the British, as well as 16 years of Libyan national independence—were forced to leave their country in the wake of a vicious pogrom, the third since 1945.

"American Jews often ask me the same questions when they hear where I am from," said Guilia. (She, like the other Libyan Jews interviewed, asked that her real name not be used.) In 1967, at the age of 16, she fled her native Libya. "Do you mean Lebanon? Oh, Libya! Was there really a Jewish community in Libya? Do you speak Yiddish? And how was it to live under Qaddafi?" In other words, most American Jews have absolutely no idea that we ever existed, much less that we were once a thriving Jewish community. . . . We were expelled from Libya before Qaddafi seized power in 1969. Yes, there was a pre-Qaddafi Libya! it was a sometimes wonderful and beautiful country that, notwithstanding the complexities of being Jews in an Arab country, my family and I considered home. And it was a special place where we enjoyed the influence of Italian, British, French, American, and local cultures, together with an unshakable identity as Jews. But we were forced to leave, and the experience has scarred us for life."

According to the first-century Jewish historian Josephus, Jews were first settled in Cyrene and other parts of present-day eastern Libya by the

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Egyptian ruler Ptolemy Lagos (323–282 B.C.E.). With their numbers likely bolstered by Berbers who had converted to Judaism, later supplemented by Jews fleeing the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions and, from the seventeenth century, by Jews from Leghorn and other Italian cities, Jews lived continuously in Libya for well over two millennia, predating the Muslim conquest in 642 C.E. by centuries.

In 1911, 350 years of Ottoman rule ended and the Italian colonial period began. At the time, Libya's Jewish population numbered 20,000. The next quarter century was to prove a golden age for Libya's Jews. They enjoyed equal rights with the country's other residents and benefited from increased employment and educational opportunities. By 1931, nearly 25,000 Jews lived in Libya, of whom all but 4,000 lived in Tripoli and a dozen towns and villages in Tripolitania province, the westernmost of the three provinces that make up modern Libya. The remainder were centered in Cyrenaica province, to the east, largely in the coastal city of Benghazi. No Jews lived in the interior province of Fezzan.

The introduction of anti-Jewish legislation in Fascist Italy was extended to Libya in 1936. Under its provisions, on Shabbat, Jewish shops had to remain open and Jewish schoolchildren were required to attend school. Identity cards stamped "Race: Jewish" were issued to all Libyan Jews. By 1940, Libya became the scene of heavy fighting between the Axis and British armies. On orders from the German military commander, the Axis forces, in 1942, plundered Jewish shops and deported 2,600 Benghazi Jews to Giado, a remote military outpost overlooking the Sahara Desert.

More than 200 Libyan Jews of British nationality were among those deported to Italy in 1942 by the Fascists. Rita, now a U.S. resident, was 11 years old at the time. She remembers:

"The Fascists sent us to a camp in Abruzzi, the mountainous region east of Rome," she recalled. "We were well treated, even permitted kosher food and a synagogue. Italian Jews sent us matzoh for Passover and

יהודי לוב חולמים לקבל פיצויים מקאדפי

מאת גד נחשון

ב תאריך ה' 21 ביולי 1970 סידסמה המועצה המהפכנית של לוב חוק הקובע שיפצות את אורחי לוב שהפסידו רכוש כתוצאה מתהליכי ההלאמה שפקדו מדינה מרקסיסטית זו, שמתוחה ומטורחיה נובשו "בספר הירוק" של המנהיג הדיקטטורי של לוב, הקולטל מעומדו קאדפי.

בסעיף מספר 3 של החוק, שעליו התמונה מהניג המהפכה "הנאציוניסטית" - מעומר קראפי, עבדול סלם ג'לוד, מוחמד אורי, ד"ר ג'ומה סקריה ואחרים נקבע, שהסודרי תשלומי הפיצויים חייבים להסתיים תוך 15 שנה מתאריך התחילה על החוק כלומר, עד 1985.

יהודי לוב הפכו לקורבנות הבולטים ביותר של המהפכה הלובית. היא גרמה לחיסול סופי של היחידות הלוביות בעלת העבר המפואר, שראי שיהיה נעוצה עוד בימי האימפריה הרומית. 40 אלף יהודי לוב הפכו ליעד ההתעללות מספר אחד של "המועצה המהפכנית".

לשונא יהודי לוב שורשים עמוקים. ההיסטוריה של יהדות לוב רוויה בפגומים מוסלמים, שהבולטים בהם ארעו ב-1945, ב-1948 ולאחר מלחמת יישום הימים, ב-1967.

השנאה המוסלמית לזכתה בעיקר על-ידי מנהיגי המועצה האומית הלובית שבבעבר חושפנו, כך השאר, מהשנאה התחומית ליהדות ולציניות של מופתי הצידלמי, חאג' אמין אל-חוסייני.

סריחה המועצה הירודית והקמת מדינת ישראל גרמו לזיהוי יהודי לוב עם הציונות וישראל. כל יהודי לובי הוגדר כ"סוכנו" של ישראל.

יהודי לוב, למרות תרומתם הארידה לכלכלת המדינה, נחשבו לאזרחים ממדרגה שניה בחברה המוסלמית.

ב משך השנים הלכה לוב והתקרבה יותר ויותר אל המתנה הערבית האנטי-ישראלית. משטרו של קראפי הנבחר את השנאה ליהדות ולמדינת ישראל והביא עצמו בראש המחנה השואף לחיסול ישראל.

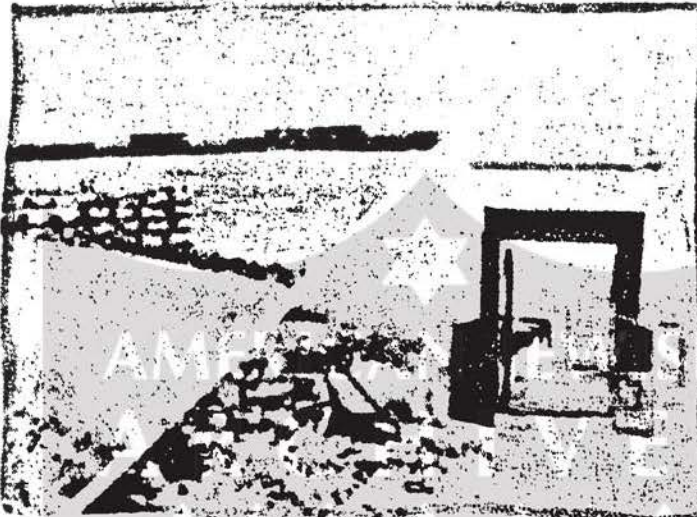
ב-1948 החלו יהודי לוב הנדרסים לקחת לידהם את מקל הנודדים. רובם עלו לישראל, אך רבים נעו לרומא והקימו שם קהילה לובית גדולה וחוססת. לאחר 1967 נאלצו שרידי יהדות זו, כ-4,000 נפש, לברוח מלוב. כיום חיים בלוב רק 5 יהודים בלבד.

יהודי לוב ברחו והשאירו מאחוריהם רכוש אדיר. נכסיהם נשדדו והולאמו. כל יהודי לובי שעלה לישראל הפסיד את רכושו.

משטר קראפי לא רק ששדד את רכוש היהודים אלא גם חילל מקומות קדושים ובפרט את בית הקברות העתיק של טריפולי. אולם יהודי לוב עזרו מאמינים שמשטר קראפי יבצע מתווה שיצאי לפעול את החוק מיולי 1970. במשך חשנים האחרונים הם עושים מאמץ ליצור קשרים עם ממשלת לוב במטרה לממש את זכריהם על רכושם.

הם מאמינים שתהליך החקצנה של משטר קראפי נצטר. הם מאמינים - וישנם סימנים לכך - שמועמד קראפי מנסה לשפר את יחסיו עם אורחי ושאו מדינות המערב. אי-לכך החליטו לפתח שדולה חזקה במטרה לחשיט פיצויים מלוב.

"האטלס", שעליו מונח כובד המשימה הזו, תא המייסד והנשיא של אגודת יהודי לוב



מה שנוותר מבית העלמין היהודי בטריפולי אחרי שנת 1973. תחילה נחרסו עד היסוד ואחר כך נחפר למחסי נמל במקומות משטרו של קראפי

לוב 1970-1935. "הספר זכה לתפוצה רחבה, סיפר לי פלח, גם בלוב עצמאית.

לאחרונה, הופיע ופאלו פלח במפגש מיוחד שאורגן על-ידי הוועד היהודי-אמריקני הליגה נגד השמצה. מטרת המפגש הייתה לסייע ליהודי לוב להקים שדולה יעילה, שתלחץ על לוב ליישם את החוק משנת 1970.

במפגש תיאר פלח את סבלם של יהודי לוב ואת תהליך התרמת רכושם. הוא גילה שיהודים לא מעטים נאסרו על ידי קראפי ועזבו בטענה שהם מהווים "סוכנים של ישראל".

"אני זוכר שהמוסלמים לעגו ליהודים שאיבדו את רכושם. הם לא הבינו שהם יהיו הנאים בתור. ואכן קראפי התרים גם את רכושם. בלוב כל הרכוש שייך לעם. הלובי רשאי להיות הבעלים רק של ביתו הוא, אמר פלח במפגש.

שמשדריה שוכנים ברומא, ראפלו פלח, איש עסקים ממלח במקצועו.

פ לת, יליד לוב, שאביו נרצח במגורם של 1945, החליט להתמסר להגשמת החלום: פיצויים ליהודי לוב. הוא מרבה לזכור בן רומא לבין נירודק. הוא בעל קשרים עם יהודי לוב החיים בישראל ומרבה לתרום מכספו למען פורד ייקטים תרבותיים שונים שמטרתם ליצור מודעות להיסטוריה של יהודי לוב.

פלח אדיגן בזמנו תערוכה על יהודי לוב בריבית התמוצות" בת"א. בכספו הפיק פלח סרט תעודי על חיי יהדות זו. כמו כן הוא מסייע להפצת הספר המאלף על ההיסטוריה של יהודי לוב שנכתב על-ידי ההיסטוריון האמילקי רצנו דה פליציה ונקרא בשם: "יהודים בארץ ערבית".

בכמה מסתכמת תביעת הפיצויים של יהודי לוב?

"בשלב הנוכחי קשה לי למסור נתונים מדויקים", משיב פלח. "הוועד היהודי-אמריקני הקים ועדת פיצויים מיוחדת, שבראשה עומד ד"ר סול בוגן. אני מעריך את גובה הפיצויים בכמה מיליארדים".

"אנו תובעים עתה שקראפי יקיים את מה שהבטיח ב-1970. בראיין שהעניק לאחרונה לעיר תונאי איטלקי, הצהיר קראפי שהוא מוכן לשלם פיצויים אוו חייבים לפעול ליישום החוק. הדבר אינו קל מאחר וקראפי רואה במושגים יהודי וצינוי מושגים נרדפים, תמשיך ואמר נשיא אגודת יהודי לוב.

פלח גילה שהוא מקיים מגעים חשאיים עם גורמים לוביים שונים.

א חד הנושאים המרכזיים, שעזעו את יוצאי לוב, הייתה פרשת חילול בית הקברות היהודי הפתוח של טריפולי. פלח ניסה למנוע את החילול, שהתבטא בכך שהלובים סללו כביש שהוצה את בתי-הקברות ועל חלק משטחו הקימו מלון.

יהודי לוב אינם משלים את עצמם: קשה לאלף את שליט לוב, המפגין מדיניות מטורפת. אך הם מאמינים באפשרות של תפנית קלה שתגיה מסד ליצירת מרמם עם השלטונות הלוביים.

פלח החליט לארגן בראשיה חודש יוני הקרוב נדידת את הוועידה הבינלאומית הראשונה של יהודי לוב, בשיתוף עם הוועד היהודי-אמריקני, המטפל במעמד החוקי של יהודי לוב במיעוט עוד מ-1951 - כלומר, מרגע הענקת העצמאות ללוב שהייתה נוגתה מ-1912 לשליטתה של איטליה.

דרך אגב, ב-1951 הצביעה מדינת ישראל בעד קבלתה של לוב לארם. בתקופה מסוימת אפשרו הלובים לנציגי הסוכנות היהודית וישראל לתפקד ביחד היהודית-לובית.

בוועידה הבינלאומית, בה ישתתפו נציגי קהילת יהודי לוב מכל העולם, תערכנה סדנאות והוצאות רבות, ויצגו בה הסציקודש שניצלו מבית הכנסת "בית-אל" מטרפולי.

פלח מבטיח להפגין בוועידה הבינלאומית את חשיה של יהדות לוב. בוועידה יפיעו אמנים יהודים יוצאי לוב כהרברט פאנגי, מרים מראנגי ו... וזמיה חן.

פלח, ואיש הוועד היהודי-אמריקני, חאדי מלמן, מאמינים שהוועידה תסייע לגבש את יהדות לוב למספחה אחת ותגרום לגיוסה של דעת קהל אחרת ללימוש החלום: תשלום פיצויים ליהודי לוב.



אגב השתמרותו של בית הקברות היהודי בטריפולי עד לשנת 1973

Differing political attitudes: Sephardim versus the Ashkenazim

Jerusalem Post
19.1.87

By LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV - Twice as many Sephardim as Ashkenazim - 30 per cent, compared with 16 per cent - prefer annexation of the territories and deportation of the Arabs as a solution to the Jewish-Arab conflict, according to a Tel Aviv University sociologist.

Speaking during a study day at the end of last week on attitudes of the Jewish Israeli population (particularly Sephardim from Moslem countries) towards peace, Prof. Ephraim Ya'ar added that 42 per cent of Sephardim and 25 per cent of Ashkenazim accept this "Kahane-type" solution as a possibility, even if it is not their first choice. MK Meir Kahane has called for the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel.

The majority of Ashkenazim and Sephardim are not very democratic," he said, and do not want Arabs to live in their neighbourhoods - figures reach as high as 75 per cent for Sephardim and 60 per cent for Ashkenazim.

Two-thirds of Sephardim think Arabs from the territories who work in Israel are depriving Jews of jobs and therefore should not be allowed to work here. Forty five per cent of Ashkenazim hold this view.

Ya'ar raised the question whether these differences between Sephardim and Ashkenazim were "purely ethnic" or could be explained by the fact that Sephardim tend to be more religious, not as well educated and in lower socio-economic classes.

The differences lessen, he said, when these sociological factors are taken into account, but they do not disappear. Non-observant Sephardim, for example, generally hold more radical views than observant

Ashkenazim, and well-educated Sephardim tend further towards the political right than Ashkenazim without much formal education.

Ya'ar said that their experiences as second-class citizens in Arab countries is one explanation for the attitudes of Sephardim here. Prof. Sami Samooha, a Haifa University sociologist argued the contrary, saying that hawkishness in Israel is a reaction to the group's social status here. "They didn't join the [right-wing] Likud because they were hawks; they may have learned to be hawks because they joined the Likud," Samooha said. He also questioned Ya'ar's interpretation of the statistics on the subject.

He added that Ashkenazim have had a longer history here of negative relations with the Arabs, since the beginning of Zionist settlement in the last century. And they also had more negative experiences with gentiles in the Diaspora than Sephardi Jews had with Arabs in their countries of origin.

Ya'ar disagreed on this point: "My parents came from Poland and Russia and they hated the Poles and Ukrainians. Had they found themselves here with a Polish or Ukrainian minority, surrounded by a sea of the same in the neighbouring countries, I'm sure their attitudes would be similar to those of the Sephardim towards the Arabs."

Samooha said he did not agree with those who say there is no majority for territorial compromise in Israel. Though opinion polls show only half the Jews in Israel ready to accept such a compromise, he believes many others would be willing to do so if the deadlock were broken and a real opportunity for peace in exchange for territory were pre-

sented.

Samooha believes the right question to ask is whether the Likud can muster a minority to block a peace initiative. The Likud, he said, is the only party that has any chance of doing it. "Tehiya has an unrealistic goal, which is opposed by the Arabs, the U.S. and world opinion. When people see that there is an attainable alternative, they will not support (parties like) Tehiya," he said.

MK Ehud Olmert of the Likud said that many Sephardim had originally joined Herut not from choice but because they felt the Labour Party (then Mapai) did not want to accept them. Members of the audience complained that he was turning the study day into a partisan event. MK Shevah Weiss (Labour), who was supposed to provide a counter argument, could not come because of illness.

The study day, held at Beit Sokolow, was sponsored by the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries and the Israeli office of the American Jewish Committee. It included a short memorial service for the six Lebanese Jews murdered by terrorists in Beirut, and chairman Mordechai Ben-Porath announced that Wojac would hold a conference in Washington to bring the problems of Jews in Arab countries before U.S. legislators and the public. He also announced that Wojac has just been accepted as a non-government organization at the UN.

REVELACIONES Jorge Rubio

En Israel la Libertad de Conciencia y de Religión Es Vigorosamente Alentada

JERUSALEN

“Cuando se enteraban que yo había llegado de España me decían: ‘Con ustedes tenemos cuentas’ y ‘¿Te acuerdas de la Inquisición?’”, recuerda el profesor católico catalán Paul Figueras.

Han pasado veinte años desde entonces y aquellas primeras preguntas suspicaces han quedado definitivamente atrás.

Ahora Figueras enseña arqueología e historia del arte antiguo en la Universidad Ben Gurion de la ciudad de Beersheba y dedica gran parte de sus esfuerzos al diálogo interconfesional.

“Me quedé aquí”, dice resumiendo su experiencia. “Aquí encontré mis raíces cristianas. Jesús era judío. Si olvidamos eso, olvidamos nuestras raíces”.

En sus clases se lee el Nuevo Testamento “y la mayoría de mis alumnos son judíos”, aunque tiene también estudiantes musulmanes, árabes, drusos. Y les enseña de manera que “comprendan un cristianismo algo distinto al que aprendieron en

su casa”.

En Beersheba, nos dice, “tenemos un obispo árabe de origen hebreo”, y aclara que “tratamos de entablar un diálogo con los árabes”. A esas reuniones han acudido musulmanes, cristianos y drusos. “Han venido también ‘meshijim’, judíos conversos; mesianistas. Habló recientemente ante nosotros el cadí de Yafo y Beersheba”.

Figueras—como así también el jesuita español Juan Esquivias, de quien nos ocupamos en una columna anterior—ha canalizado sus inquietudes por el diálogo en una organización que se fundó con ese propósito: la Asociación Interconfesional de Israel.

El organismo, que tiene filiales en Jerusalén, Tel Aviv y Haifa, es una asociación independiente que actúa desde su fundación en 1957 en todo Israel.

“Su finalidad principal”, nos dicen sus dirigentes, “es promocionar en el estado de Israel relaciones de respeto y mutua comprensión entre todas las comunidades, religiones y grupos étnicos”.

Otro de sus objetivos es “la eliminación de prejuicios y sospechas y preparación de un camino para la confianza y acercamiento mutuos”. Por eso “vigila constantemente para impedir todo daño a los derechos del hombre y del ciudadano por pertenecer a otra religión, etnia, creencia o estilo de vida”.

“Su finalidad principal es promocionar relaciones de respeto y mutua comprensión entre todas las comunidades, religiones y grupos étnicos.”

La asociación practica los principios de igualdad entre los ciudadanos y la libertad de conciencia y religión que propugna la Declaración de Independencia de Israel de 1948: “El Estado de Israel... se basará en los

principios de libertad, justicia y paz, a la luz de las enseñanzas de los Profetas de Israel. Mantendrá una completa igualdad de derechos sociales y políticos para todos sus ciudadanos sin diferencia de credo, raza o sexo. Garantizará la libertad de culto, conciencia, idioma, enseñanza y cultura...”.

En la organización hay judíos de todas las denominaciones, cristianos y representantes de distintas confesiones.

Uno de ellos es el profesor Shalom Rosenberg, judío ortodoxo nacido en Argentina, quien se autoincluye en la llamada “Diáspora en español”, o sea, la comunidad mundial de los judíos que vino a Israel desde el mundo de habla española.

“Yo descubrí mi sionismo cuando entendí que tenía que buscar el tesoro que estaba enterrado dentro de mi propia casa”, dice con una parábola. Una vez aquí, mostrando con su ejemplo que los judíos ortodoxos no necesariamente se niegan al diálogo, se incorporó activamente a la Asociación Interconfesional.

“Queremos resaltar la necesidad de ser iguales dentro de

nuestras diferencias”, afirma Rosenberg. “Lo que nos obliga esto es a ser hermanos, pero conservando la diversidad”.

“Figueras ha canalizado sus inquietudes por el diálogo en una organización: la Asociación Interconfesional de Israel.”

Dice que “nosotros trabajamos en pos de la fraternidad”, pero advierte que “la confraternidad no es un hecho. Hay que educar para ello”.

David Hardan, otro de los integrantes latinoamericanos de la asociación, afirma que “nosotros nos vemos a nosotros mismos como gente que busca el contacto con otras religiones”, y señala que “queremos hacer algo contra la intolerancia”.

Mario Ahlin, rabino y abogado, considera que su propósito en la Asociación Interconfesio-

nal consiste en “descubrir día a día el desafío espiritual de esta vida”.

La entidad, que organiza congresos, seminarios y conferencias internacionales en Israel y envía representantes al exterior, es miembro del Consejo Internacional de Cristianos y Judíos. Entre otros organismos mantiene estrechos contactos con el Comité Judío Americano, organización activa en la promoción de buenas relaciones con los cristianos.

En un reciente viaje a Israel organizado por el Comité Judío Americano y el Centro Católico de Pastoral para los Hispanos del Nordeste de Estados Unidos, los copatrocinadores, el dirigente judío Jacobo Kovadloff y el sacerdote argentino Carlos Molins, trajeron a un grupo de hispanos católicos a una sesión de confraternidad con dirigentes de la Asociación Interconfesional.

Judíos y católicos encontraron muchos lazos comunes y volvieron a demostrar la importancia del diálogo interconfesional en esta ciudad fascinante y profética que invita a la hermandad.”

ETHIOPIAN JEWRY AND RELIGIOUS PLURALISM IN ISRAEL

By Harry Milkman

Prior to 1984, when the Israeli government began "Operation Moses," the repatriation of the remaining Jewish community of Ethiopia, under the Law of Return, the Jewish identity of the so-called "Falashas" had been authenticated by former Chief Rabbis Ovadiah Yosef and Shlomo Goren. Once the Ethiopian immigrants arrived in Israel, however, the Chief Rabbinate required that they undergo symbolic conversion procedures (ritual circumcision of the males and immersion of the females) to dispel some Orthodox rabbis' lingering doubts as to whether the Ethiopians were truly Jewish. Did their Jewish identity meet traditional standards developed over the two millennia in which they had been isolated from other Diaspora communities?

Foremost among the rabbis' concerns was the fact that Ethiopian Jewish divorces had not been conducted according to *halakha* (rabbinic law), thereby relegating the offspring of remarried women to the status of *mamzerim*, and the possibility that the community had absorbed non-Jewish Ethiopians, who obviously would not have been converted according to *halakha*. The Chief Rabbinate claimed to have acceded to the wishes of the Orthodox rabbis out of a concern to prevent the new immigrants from being stigmatized as not genuinely Jewish.

However, the immigrants themselves and the vast majority of the Israeli public did not consider the Chief Rabbinate's demands as benign. They were outraged. Israel had just performed the most dramatic Zionist act—"the ingathering of exiles"—since the mass airlifting of the North African communities in the late 1940s and early 1950s. This operation was followed in the early seventies by the influx of 160,000 Soviet Jews, under the terms of the Law of Return. Now, upon the arrival of the Ethiopian Jews in Israel, was their Jewish identity to be called into question?

The Ethiopians soon learned the method of protest to which Israelis turn first in airing their grievances—they staged a dramatic demonstration. For one month, between September and October, 1985, several hundred newly-arrived Ethiopian immigrants maintained a round-the-clock vigil outside *Hekhal Shlomo*, the headquarters of the Chief Rabbinate in Jerusalem.

The protest ended when a compromise agreement—brokered by none less than Prime Minister Shimon Peres—was reached, whereby the *kessim*, the traditional religious leaders of the Ethiopian Jewish community, would be authorized by the Chief Rabbinate to determine the Jewish identity of individual Ethiopian immigrants. Those Ethiopians wishing to marry, however, would have to verify their ancestry to a joint panel of *kessim* and rabbis designated by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The ministry was directed to establish an "Institute for Research into the Heritage of Ethiopian Jewry" for this purpose.

In the year that has passed since the accord, the ministry has so far failed to implement its charge, citing insufficient funds. In the absence of the proposed Institute and in open defiance of the Chief Rabbinate,

fifteen Ethiopian couples were married by their *kessim* in April. According to a spokesman for the Israeli Embassy in Washington, these marriages were recognized retroactively by the Chief Rabbinate several months later. Finally, on October 6, 1986, Israel's Supreme Court ordered the Religious Affairs Ministry to establish the genealogical institute without delay.

The Ethiopians view the court's decision and the earlier compromise agreement with the Chief Rabbinate as major victories in their struggle for acceptance as Israeli Jews. Members of Israel's emerging Conservative and Reform movements, however, see the agreement as a diversionary tactic by the Chief Rabbinate, intended to free it from the relatively minor issue of the Ethiopians' Jewishness, in order to concentrate on its primary target: non-Orthodox varieties of Judaism in Israel. Whereas the Ethiopians could claim ignorance of rabbinic tradition, and therefore be "forgiven" for their deviance from *halakha*, Jews from the West cannot, in the opinion of the Chief Rabbinate.

Indeed, Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu recently declared on Israel Radio that "there is no freedom of worship" for Jews in Israel. Rabbi Eliahu made this remark while condoning the interruption by Orthodox Jews of a Reform Simhat Torah service in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Baka. (The Orthodox rabbi, who led the interruption, subsequently apologized to the Reform rabbi, and the two rabbis publicly embraced to symbolize their reconciliation.) Former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren added, "I am ready to grant them [i.e., Reform Jews] freedom of worship on condition that they declare that they do not represent the Jewish religion." In other words, if Reform Jews declare that what they practice is not Judaism, they will be entitled to the same rights as Israel's other non-Jewish minorities, according to Rabbi Goren.

While such ideas sound foreign to American ears, they are not surprising in Israel, where the Orthodox rabbinate historically has had the exclusive decision-making power in matters of Jewish religious practice. This state of affairs has been canonized by what is known in Israel as the "status quo principle." When Palestine was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, non-Muslim religious minorities were granted autonomy in matters of personal status, such as marriage and divorce, which were governed by each community's religious leaders. Among Jews, the only recognized religious leaders in pre-state Palestine were Orthodox rabbis. This system was adopted by the British mandatory government and, in turn, by the first Israeli government under David Ben-Gurion.

The reason that the "status quo" has continued until today is purely political. From the Ben-Gurion govern-

Harry Milkman is a Research Analyst in the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department. He is also editor of Israeli Press Highlights, a weekly English summary of the Israeli press, published by the Committee.

Chicago Defender

October 28, 1986

Hails Israel & Africa

Dear Editor:

10/28/86
Chicago Defender

The recent restoration of diplomatic relations between Israel and Cameroon has been hailed as "an important gain" in Israel's efforts to renew its friendly relations with the African continent.

In a paper titled Israel and Black Africa: A Step Closer, (recently) published, David A. Harris and Harry Milkman, respectively deputy director and Middle East Research analyst of the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department, point out:

"The exuberant welcome that greeted Prime Minister Peres on his recent visit to Cameroon underscored the depth of Cameroonian goodwill toward Israel."

This feeling would only be further enhanced, they state, by the prompt Israeli response to the tragedy that took 1,500 lives when toxic gas was released from a lake

inside a volcanic crater: "An Israeli medical team accompanied Peres to Cameroon and remained to treat hundreds of injured victims and study the long-term effects of poisoning."

This is one evidence of a new spirit that seems to be evolving in Israeli-African relations, Mr. Harris and Mr. Milkman assert, stressing that "in recent years there has been a gradual but marked shift in the level of political support for Israel among Black African countries at the UN and other international bodies."

This, they write, may herald a return to the atmosphere during the decades when Israel maintained diplomatic relations with all but two Black African countries, and Israel specialists in agriculture, nutrition, low-cost housing, education, and other fields forged strong bonds of friendship with the Africans.

However, beginning in 1967, they continue, when Israel crossed the Suez Canal and entered North Africa in pursuit of the Egyptian army, and culminating in 1973, all but four Black African states severed relations with Israel because of "Afro-Arab solidarity" or as the result of Arab economic pressure.

But, they add, "The lavish aid promised by the Arabs to Black Africa was only partially forthcoming and could not begin to

offset the devastating impact on fragile economies of OPEC's quadrupling of oil prices and its effect on the prices of fertilizers and insecticides."

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.

Morton Yarmon,
The American Jewish Committee

Controversy persists over report on Tutu's remarks

By Joseph Polakoff

Washington (Special) — Controversy extending through four months over a report in the Boston Jewish Times that attributed anti-Semitic remarks to Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa appears to have ebbed pending outcome of the prelate's presumed visit later this year to Israel.

While the matter in the Boston newspaper regarding the prelate's views was originally reported more than a year ago by columnist Benno Varon, a former Israeli ambassador to Central America who had met him in South Africa, controversy began heightening last fall with additional reports that aroused wide international attention.

A climax was reached on Feb. 18 when the American Jewish Committee's president, Theodore Ellenoff, termed a report in the Boston weekly "baseless and inflammatory" and declared that both South African Jewish spokesman and Archbishop Tutu have "categorically denied these charges."

Ellenoff's statement referred to the report three months earlier, on Nov. 27, that alleged Archbishop Tutu told a closed meeting of the board of Deputies of South African Jews in 1984 that "Jews were the biggest exploiters of Blacks, so they must suffer," and that "there will be no sympathy for the Jews when the Blacks take over."

The report also said that the Board failed to publicize these remarks "out of fear that Tutu would become even more anti-Jewish."

Ellenoff cautioned that "the crisis afflicting South Africa is a natural breeding ground for sensationalistic and false reports about prominent political figures there" and that "in addition to distorting the truth, such reports confuse and inflame debate about South Africa at a time when clear-headed thinking is required from all those who oppose apartheid and support non-violent demo-

cratic change."

Stan Lukin, publisher and editor of the Boston newspaper the last four years and a member of the American Jewish Press Association, confirmed Ellenoff's quotations from his paper were accurate. He found no fault with the committee nor the Philadelphia Exponent which, Lukin said, had also condemned the report.

"There's nothing wrong with the committee criticizing an American Jewish paper," he said in a telephone interview. "I don't object to it. Neither is there anything wrong with the Philadelphia Exponent. I'm not offended by that. The question is Tutu. There's just too much smoke here. Too many examples, at the very least, of theological anti-Semitism."

"Tutu is to be in Israel later this year. Let's see what happens from that trip. Nothing would delight me more than to find there is not one shred of evidence supporting the accusation that Tutu is an anti-Semite."

Lukin said an Israeli newsletter called "Israeli News Bulletin" which is published three times monthly and has a post office box address on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, quoted from speeches allegedly made by the archbishop, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, in New York, Hartford and other places in America.

"I ran the item under a headline on Page 21 on Nov. 27, 1986, 'Jews must suffer,' says Bishop Tutu."

"The response from that was the greatest since I owned the paper," Lukin said. Fifteen phone calls came from South Africa, "disagreeing and agreeing and expressing interest in learning more," he said. "Calls came from all over America. ABC News, talk shows, the Washington Times, Philadelphia Inquirer, from lobby and special interest groups."

To back up his information, Lukin said, he contacted the Jewish Community Relations Council in Hartford.

"We confirmed," he said, "the spirit of anti-Semitism in his speech there (Hartford) if not the letter. We have the text of the entire speech."

Black leaders limit damage of apartheid report

By LARRY COHLER

A mutual understanding stemming from an intense dialogue between black and Jewish leaders helped soften the criticism of Israel for its breach of the South African embargo.

During those talks, Jewish organizational leaders and congressmen agreed with black leaders that Israel should not be exempted from censure, as long as Israel's role was placed in context of other nations cited in the State Department report on violators of the embargo, according to sources involved in the discussions. Jewish leaders also pledged strong support for a drive to increase foreign aid to black Africa.

The report, released last week, also cited France and Italy for violations, as well as private firms in West Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland and the Netherlands. But according to the House Subcommittee on Africa, the significance of Israel's arms trade with the racist regime has been "by far the largest." Israel's military exports to South Africa have been variously reported as between \$400 million and \$800 million annually.

Nevertheless, at a press conference last week and elsewhere, black congressmen bluntly rejected invitations to attack Israel in particular, even as they issued a scathing broadside against the "moral outrage" of the European countries cited. Rep. Mickey Leland (D-Tex.) welcomed

Israel's recent announcement that it would refrain from entering into new military contracts with South Africa as an encouraging first step. He stressed that it must be seen as only a first step and urged other countries to follow suit.

"We've reached a compromise to which our constituents won't be very receptive," said Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. But, he warned, unless Israel takes further steps, that compromise will unravel and "we will want to see stronger language on Israel."

Terms of the Deal

In particular, said Dymally, Israel must not only refrain from signing new military contracts with South Africa but terminate ongoing ones. "In the pipeline already are enough arms to kill many innocent people," he said.

Dymally said the Black Caucus's initial stance on Israel was strongly influenced by the results of discussions it held March 31 with Jewish leaders and members of Congress. Among those attending the 90-minute meeting were Tom Dine, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC); Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee; David Saperstein, executive director of the Reform movement's Religious Action Center; and Henry Siegman, executive director of the American

Jewish Congress. Jewish Reps. Barney Frank (D-Mass.), Howard Berman (D-Calif.), Sander Levin (D-Mich.) and Martin Frost (D-Texas) also attended.

"We discussed two issues that are not necessarily related but that politically are related," said Bookbinder: "Aid to black Africa and the South Africa and Israel situation." Bookbinder hailed the meeting as "a kind of watershed in black-Jewish relations."

According to both black and Jewish sources, representatives of both sides came to the meeting with a desire to avoid confrontation, though one black congressman favored cutting aid to Israel. Jewish participants made it clear that they, too, agreed that Israel must cut its ties with South Africa, notwithstanding the benefits those ties brought to Israel's troubled economy.

"We will want to see stronger language on Israel."

Jewish participants also readily agreed to an appeal by Black Caucus members for support of their campaign to increase foreign aid to black Africa. Said Tanya Vidal, a legislative aide to Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), who was among those attending the meeting: "When



WALTER RUIJY

Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, hailed the meeting between Jewish leaders and members of the Congressional Black Caucus as "a kind of watershed in black-Jewish relations."

whole foreign aid bill by the Black Caucus," Dymally warned.

An amendment to this year's foreign aid bill proposed by Rep. Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, would increase aid to Africa by \$115 million over last year. The unamended sum is less than the Reagan Administration itself has asked for, said Dymally, who termed this "a source of embarrassment" for the Democrats.

In the wake of last week's

bied to obtain high overall funding for foreign aid in tandem with its mission of securing generous assistance for Israel. Obtaining a \$1 billion increase in foreign aid this year, as has been requested by the Administration, is seen as crucial to the campaign for increased aid to Africa. This is a necessity, given the resolve voiced by both Jews and blacks who attended the meeting that the funds should not come out of the \$5.5 billion earmarked for Egypt and Israel—nearly one-half of the total foreign aid budget.

The Understanding

Bookbinder candidly described the Congressional Black Caucus' decision to avoid singling out Israel for special opprobrium "one of the results of our understanding. There was a reciprocation," he said. "That's the nature of coalitions. We're making it clear we don't favor Israel's ties with South Africa, and we're going out of our way on aid to Africa. And they are trying to make it clear their stand on South Africa is not anti-Israeli."

But Saperstein resisted linking the two issues. "There were some separate agenda items which we'll be working on together," he said. "Africa is one of the most deserving areas for foreign aid. I did not sense any linkage."

The Reform leader said Jewish action on the issue comes now because "it's the first time (black congressmen) have mobilized for a major push to increase aid to Africa. The Jewish community is delighted to be of assistance. It resonates with

Israel's policy change on S. Africa wins praise here

By LINDA POLONSKY

Representatives of major Jewish organizations in the United States have welcomed the announcement by Israel that it will not enter into any new military contracts with South Africa. They stressed the financial, moral and diplomatic necessities for the shift in Israeli policy.

Details of Israel's military ties to South Africa are expected to be released April 1 in a State Department report on violations of the international embargo on the sale and exports of arms and military technology to South Africa.

According to foreign press reports, Israel has been selling military equipment to South Africa for the past 15 years, mainly light weapons, communications and electronic equipment.

In addition, it has licensed South

African manufacturers to produce several major Israeli weapons systems. These include Saar-class missile boats, the Gabriel surface-to-surface naval rockets and important components of the Kfir jet fighter-bomber.

Opposition politicians in South Africa have also suggested that the two countries had been hoping to develop nuclear-powered submarines at the South African naval base at Simonstown.

The exact amount Israel derived last year from the sale of military equipment and expertise to South Africa is secret. However, unofficial estimates range from \$400 million to \$800 million. In addition, some 3,000 jobs in Israel are said to be dependent upon military trade with South Africa.

Despite the present financial benefit of the relationship, Israel now stands to lose more financially than it stands to gain.

In terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, passed last October, the Reagan administration must submit by next week a report to Congress identifying those countries breaking the arms embargo, with a view to terminating U.S. military assistance to the

'Israel is a country that was subject to boycotts, barriers and sanctions.'

offending countries. Israel received \$1.8 billion in U.S. military aid last year.

It was in anticipation of the April 1 report that Israel's cabinet last week adopted a change in its

policy toward South Africa. As stated by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin during a question-and-answer session in Tel Aviv on Thursday with a delegation from the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the new policy includes the following four points:

"One, Israel is against apartheid regimes in any form, anywhere, against any discrimination of a human being because of his race, religion, sex — you name it.

"Two, Israel is going to reduce, continue to reduce, its cultural [and] scientific ties, etc., with South Africa.

"Three, no new contracts will be signed between Israel and South Africa in the field of defense.

"And four, Israel will appoint a committee of ministers and others that within two months will decide upon the [further] steps that Israel shall take in the spirit of the free

democratic world vis-a-vis South Africa."

Rabin made clear, however, that Israel was proceeding with sanctions only reluctantly.

"Israel is a country that was subject to boycotts and [trade] barriers and sanctions. And Israel is very sensitive when it comes to this kind of approach. Even [though it] might be today [sanctions] vis-a-vis one country, once the international community will adopt the use of sanctions whenever somebody's not happy with what somebody else's doing, I believe that we open a great danger to Israel."

Other Israeli leaders, from cabinet ministers to Knesset members, voiced similar objections to the sanctions approach, while making clear to President's Conference delegates that they will go along because Israel now has no choice.

The origins of military connec-
(Continued on page 48)

Policy

(Continued from page 4)

tions between the two countries can be traced to the deterioration of Israel's relations with black Africa after the October 1973 Yom Kippur War, according to Dr. Alan Kagedan, an international relations policy analyst with the American Jewish Committee.

From the late 1950s onwards, Israel began developing extensive relationships with black Africa. It became involved in development and medical projects in such countries as Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), Kenya and Tansa-

Pretoria's military deals with other nations cited

Sources within the Israel Mission to the United Nations here note that Israel's military trade with South Africa is minimal when compared to that of other countries. South Africa's military, they point out, has been supplied mainly by France, Great Britain and West Germany. These countries, they say, remain major contributors to the South African arsenal, including providing upgrading for weapons and weapons systems already in place.

According to these sources, since the United Nations imposed an arms embargo against South Africa:

- France sold an undisclosed number of helicopters and air-to-surface missiles, coproduced 1,400 armored cars and assisted in the technology and/or production of Kukri missiles.

- Great Britain sold 12 aircraft radar units worth \$64 million, ne-

African relations was the work of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its affiliate organizations in the United States, and of the Soviet Union and its allies.

"The motive behind the PLO campaign is to delegitimize Israel and to suggest that its military link with South Africa amounts to an ideological link rather than a commercial one," said Kagedan. "On the part of the Soviets the motive is partly to try and dampen Soviet Jewish interest in emigration to Israel."

A PLO-based anti-Israel campaign notwithstanding, Jewish organizations in this country say there was a moral necessity for Israel to change its policy.

Rabbi Benjamin Kreitman, ex-

el." Representatives of Jewish groups also drew attention to the effect of Israel's military relations with the South African government on its relations with black South Africans.

Kagedan felt Israel should establish relations with black anti-apartheid groups in South Africa, for both moral and diplomatic reasons. "But it is hard work," he said, "because the African National Congress, for example, sees itself as a third world liberation movement. It has taken on a lot of third world rhetoric and you have its representatives talking about Israel as a racist, imperialist country."

Mark Friedman, director of the Institute of Public Affairs at the

Handwritten: Jewish News 11/27

Caught in the Middle

South African Jewish Leader Provides 'Insider's Story'

By **SHERRY S. KIRSCHENBAUM**
Of The Jewish News Staff

"Jews are part of the white community of South Africa," declared Aleck Goldberg. And, as such, he continued, "the Jewish destiny in South Africa lies with the whites."

Goldberg, executive director of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, provided "The Insider's Story of South Africa" at a meeting last week of the Metropolitan New Jersey Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, hosted by Jane and Bernard Wallerstein of West Orange.

"South Africa today, to a large extent, is the focus of world attention," stated Goldberg, who assessed the nation's current situation by tracing its origins, structure and character.

The country saw its first white population, the foundation of the Afrikaner nation, when the Dutch East India Co. built a refreshment station on the southern tip of South Africa in the early 19th Century. "Jews first came to South Africa, the southern tip of a rather mysterious continent," explained Goldberg, a South African native who has taught in Johannesburg and London, "in the mid-19th Century, primarily from Lithuania."

By 1910, he continued, 80,000 Jews, including those fleeing European persecution and others lured by dreams of fortunes to be made in gold and diamonds, had arrived in South Africa. While it took these Jewish settlers some time to integrate, said Goldberg, "they adapted themselves and became

a relatively well-to-do, affluent community."

With 85 per cent of this early Jewish community of Lithuanian descent, continued Goldberg, author of "Communal Infrastructure," a chapter in the recently published "South African Jewry - A Contemporary Survey," a homogeneous community developed that placed strong emphasis on Jewish traditions and ritual observance.

Create Zionist Society

These Jews were also an early source of Zionist thought and, in 1898, created a Zionist society.

Today, there are 120,000 Jews living in South Africa, noted Goldberg, "Orthodox by affiliation, but Conservative in practice." Although a small Reform



ALECK GOLDBERG

movement began in the 1930s, most Jewish South Africans, who call their synagogue "shul" rather than "temple," attend Kabbalat Shabbat services on Friday evenings.

(See CAUGHT - Page 19)



Zimbabwe warns Jewish magazine: 'Tone down' Zionism stand

By REBECCA BOROSON

The government of Zimbabwe has publicly warned its Jewish community and the editors of a Zimbabwean Jewish publication against promoting Zionism.

In a nationally televised discussion on apartheid on Yom Kippur eve, Dr. Nathan Shamuyarira, the minister of information, characterized Zionism as a form of racism and said the Central African Zionist Digest, a monthly magazine published in Bulawayo, had been propagating it. He said on the program and in a later telephone in-

terview with The Jewish Week that he had asked the editors to "tone down" their articles.

"The majority are good articles," he told The Jewish Week, "but others have been promoting Zionism by writing about [its history]. We don't feel they should not write about the history, but chasing away the Arabs... is not a good part of Jewish history."

Barney Katz, the magazine's editor, reached by telephone, said he would rather not comment on the minister's remarks. He said the publication, founded in 1958 and distributed free by the Central African Zionist Organization to every

Jewish household in Zimbabwe and Zambia, "only deals with Jewish matters."

Zionism, he said "is part and parcel of the Jewish people. It's from the Bible. We don't look at it from a political connotation."

He said the publishing policy would not change. "We think there's nothing wrong with publishing [as we have been] until we are advised otherwise."

The Central African Jewish Board of Deputies has replied to Shamuyarira on the magazine's behalf, said Katz. The board could not be reached for comment, but Shamuyarira said that he had re-

ceived its letter "saying they do not think the tone of the articles is racist and that they think they are objective."

Zimbabwe has been an outspoken supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization. At a recent meeting there of the 99-member Non-Aligned Movement, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe linked apartheid and Zionism and called them "the most virulent forms [of racism] that our age has known."

David Harris, deputy director of international affairs for the American Jewish Congress, said that "at least until recently, Mugabe had

sought to make a distinction between anti-Zionism and his attitude toward Jews within the country."

Jews there, according to Harris, feel that "anti-Semitism is not a major factor in Zimbabwean society."

There are some 1,300 Jews in Zimbabwe, mainly in the cities of Bulawayo and Harare. They maintain synagogues and day schools, but the community is aging. Many of the young people emigrate, according to Harris, because the "political climate is decidedly Third World."

Survey finds Arab pressure stretches to Asian nations

NEW YORK —

Israel's efforts to cultivate good relations with several Asian nations have often been hampered by Arab or Communist pressures on those nations to distance themselves from the Jewish State politically and economically, says a study published by the American Jewish Committee.

Harry Milkman and Jordana Schein-Levi, of the AJC's International Relations Department and authors of Israel & Asia: A Survey of Bilateral Relations, offer the following views of Jerusalem's diplomatic and trade relations with several Asian nations:

**PLO
office
opened**

Japan is Israel's largest Asian trading partner; however, Japanese-Israeli relations reflect Japan's heavy reliance on Arab oil. In 1976 the Palestine Liberation Organization was allowed to establish an office in Tokyo. Today, while Japan is attempting to improve diplomatic relations, it is still hesitant to increase economic ties with Israel in the face of the Arab boycott.

Hong Kong is Israel's second largest Asian trading partner. Diplomatic relations have been maintained since 1958.

Singapore is Israel's third largest Asian trading partner. Full diplomatic relations have been maintained since 1969. Singapore has supported Israel on a number of important UN resolutions.

At the same time, Singapore's government is careful not to antagonize Malaysia, one of the most populous Moslem nations with a hostile attitude toward Israel and Jews, and upon whom it relies heavily for its water supply.

Thailand is Israel's fourth largest Asian trading partner. Thailand recognized Israel in 1950, established consular relations in 1954 and embassy status in 1958. Since then the two countries have worked together in the areas of trade, agriculture, aviation, defence and nuclear energy. Thailand has been somewhat supportive of Israel in the UN.

India is Israel's fifth largest Asian trading partner, diamonds constituting the bulk of the trade. Not wanting to alienate itself from the Arab nations or its own 84 million Moslem citizens, India has not established full diplomatic relations with Israel.

India has been consistently hostile toward Israel in the UN, and maintains close relations with the PLO. However, there are cooperative efforts between Israel and India in the area of technical assistance.

South Korea is Israel's sixth largest Asian trading partner. Diplomatic relations were established in 1962 despite Arab opposition. However, the Israeli embassy in Seoul was closed in 1978 and has not been allowed to reopen.

Once again, dependence on Arab oil as well as profitable construction projects in the Arab Gulf have strained South Korea's relations with Israel. Israel has provided South Korea with technical development assistance.

People's Republic of China was recognized by Israel, one of the first Western democracies to do so, in 1950. Despite its relations with several Islamic countries and its active support of the PLO since 1965, China's attitude toward Israel continues to show signs of improvement.

The two countries have recently been engaged in talks regarding cooperative projects in the fields of agriculture and high technology. A recent contract calls for Israeli equipment to be used to establish a model irrigated farm in China. Although China does not allow the direct import of Israeli goods,

millions of dollars worth of Israeli arms have reportedly been purchased by the Chinese.

Taiwan does not have formal diplomatic relations with Israel but is engaged in some trade and cooperative developments projects.

Aquino renews projects

The Philippines formally recognized Israel in 1949, and during the next 20 years diplomatic and trade relations improved and expanded. Under the Marcos regime, Israeli development projects in the Philippines were drastically reduced but are now being renewed by President Corason Aquino.

Burma was the first Asian country to recognize Israel, in 1949, and the two nations developed full diplomatic relations over

the next 10 years. Israel has assisted in developing Burma's agriculture, industry and military. In recent years, Burma has been the most supportive Asian country of Israel in the UN.

Nepal established full diplomatic relations with Israel in 1960 and had established several cooperative technical and economic projects. Since the Yom Kippur War of 1973, Arab pressure has resulted in strained relations, although some of the projects are still in existence. Nepal's trade with Israel continues on a small scale, and it has voted in Israel's favor on a number of UN resolutions.

Sri Lanka, after months of negotiations, allowed the establishment in 1984 of an Israeli interests section in the U.S. embassy in Colombo. Currently, Israel is expected to participate in a major Sri Lankan agricultural development project.

Opportunities for Israel to expand and improve its ties to Asia are continually unfolding, especially among those Asian nations looking to strengthen their ties with the United States, conclude the study's authors.

שיפור ביחסים בין ישראל למדינות באסיה

למרות לחץ מצד מדינות ערביות ואיומים בחרם ובאמצעי תגמול – התהדקו יחסי מסחר וכלכלה בין ישראל למספר מדינות באסיה

לטיוואן אין קשרים דיפלומטיים ישירים עם ישראל, אך היא מעורבת אתה בכמה מפעלים של מסחר ופיתוח. הפיליפינים הכירו רשמית במדינת ישראל ב-1949 וכעשרים השנה הבאות הרחיבו ושיפרו את היחסים הדיפלומטיים והמסחריים ביניהן. תחת שלטון מרכוס הופחת במידה רבה מספר מפעלי הפיתוח של ישראל בפיליפינים, אך הם מתחדשים עתה תחת שלטון הנשיאה אקינר. בורמה היתה המדינה האסיאתית הראשונה שהכירה בישראל ב-1949 וכעשר השנים הבאות קיימו שתי המדינות יחסים דיפלומטיים הדוקים. ישראל סייעה בפיתוח החקלאי, התעשייתי והצבאי של בורמה. בשנים האחרונות תומכת בורמה בנאמנות באומות המאוחדות. לנפאל יחסים דיפלומטיים מלאים עם ישראל החל מ-1980, והיתה מעורבת עמה במספר מפעלים טכנולוגיים וכלכליים משותפים. מאז מלחמת יום הכפור ב-1973 הלחץ הערבי גרם למתח ביחסים, אך חלק מהמפעלים המשותפים עדיין מתקיים. נפאל מקיימת קשרי מסחר מוגבלים עם ישראל ופעמים אחדות הצביעה נגד ישראל באומות המאוחדות. יחד עם זאת, אומרות השמועות, עומד הנשיא חיים הרצוג לבקר בנפאל בעתיד הקרוב. סרי לנקה חמכה בהחלטת החלטת האומות המאוחדות ב-1975 שזיהתה את הציונות עם גזענות. לאחר חרשי משא ומתן ב-1984 הוקם בשגרירות ארצות-הברית בקולומבו מדור מיוחד לעניינים ישראלים. ישראל עתידה להשתתף במפעל פיתוח חקלאי מרכזי בסרי לנקה. מחברי המחקר מסכמים, כי קיימות הזדמנויות רבות לישראל להרחיב ולשפר את קשריה באסיה במיוחד עם מדינות אסיאתיות המבקשות לחזק את קשריהן עם ארצות הברית.

קונסולריים קיימים מאז 1954, וארבע שנים לאחר מכן פתחה תאילנד שגרירות בארץ. הקשרים בין שתי המדינות הם בתחומי מסחר, חקלאות, תעופה, הגנה ואנרגיה אטומית. תמיכת תאילנד בישראל באומות המאוחדות היא חלקית בלבד. הודו היא החמישית בגודלה בהיקף יחסי המסחר שלה עם ישראל, בעיקר בסחר יהלומים. הודו אינה מקיימת יחסים דיפלומטיים מלאים עם ישראל, מאחר ואיננה מעוניינת לקומם נגדה את העולם הערבי ואת 84 מיליון תושביה המוסלמים. באומות המאוחדות מגלה הודו עוינות מתמדת נגד ישראל והיא מקיימת יחסים הדוקים עם הארגון לשחרור פלשתיין. יחד עם זאת, ניכר שיתוף פעולה בין השתיים בסיוע טכנולוגי. דרום קוריאה היא בת-הזוג המסחרית הששית במספר. מאז 1962 קיימים יחסים דיפלומטיים בין שתי המדינות למרות ההתנגדות הערבית. אך השגרירות הישראלית בסיאול ניסגרה ב-1978 ולא נפתחה מאז. תלות בולק הערבי כמו מיפעלים ריווחיים בחצי האי הערבי קובעים את מצב היחסים בין ישראל ודרום קוריאה. ישראל סיפקה למדינה זו סיוע לפתוח טכנולוגי. ישראל היתה אחת הדמוקרטיות המערביות הראשונות שהכירו בסין העממית ב-1950. למרות תמיכתה הפעילה בארגון לשחרור פלשתיין מאז 1965 ויחסיה הדוקים עם מדינות מוסלמיות אחרות, חל שיפור מה ביחסי סין העממית וישראל. לאחרונה היו שתי המדינות מעורבות בשיתוח בנושא פיתוח חקלאי וטכנולוגי. נחתם הסכם למשלוח ציוד ישראלי להקמת דגם להשקית משק חקלאי בסין. למרות שסין אינה מתירה יבוא ישיר של סחורות מישראל, רכשו הסינים נשק ישראלי בסכום של מיליוני דולר.

יבשת אסיה מהווה אחד בעל חשיבות גוברת לישראל מבחינה כלכלית וגיאו-פוליטית. מאמצי ישראל לפתח יחסי ידידות עם מדינות אסיאתיות אחדות תלויים במידה רבה בלחץ הערבי או הקומוניסטי על מדינות אלה. הארי מילקמן, חוקר במחלקה לענייני ישראל והמזרח התיכון בעוד היהודי האמריקאי וג'ורדנה שייין-לוי, עוזרת לסגן מנהל המחלקה, חיברו מחקר: "ישראל ואסיה: מחקר ביחסים דו-צדדיים". הם מפרטים את יחסיה הדיפלומטיים והמסחריים של ישראל עם מספר מדינות אסיאתיות.

יפן היא השותפה האסיאתית הגדולה ביותר של ישראל במסחר, אך יחסי ישראל-יפן מושפעים במידה רבה מהתלות היפנית בולק הערבי. ב-1976 הקים הארגון לשחרור פלשתיין משרד בטוקיו, כיום, למרות שיפן עושה מאמצים לשפר את היחסים הדיפלומטיים עם ישראל, עדיין ניכר מצדה היסוס בהגברת הקשרים הכלכליים עם ישראל מחשש לחרם ערבי. הונג קונג היא השותפה המסחרית השנייה בגודלה באסיה. מאז 1958 מתקיימים יחסים דיפלומטיים בין ישראל להונג-קונג. סינגפור היא השותפה השלישית בגודלה במסחר. מאז 1969 מקיימות ישראל וסינגפור יחסים דיפלומטיים מלאים. סינגפור חמכה בישראל באומות המאוחדות מספר פעמים. יחד עם זאת, ממשלת סינגפור זהירה לא לפגוע במלוויה, אחת המדינות המוסלמיות העוינות לישראל וליהודים, בה היא תלויה באספקת המים שלה. תאילנד היא המדינה האסיאתית הרביעית אתה מקיימת יחסי מסחר. ב-1950 הכירה תאילנד בישראל. יחסים

January 8, 1987

Business

'Stage Two' Back to Square One

HARRY MILKMAN

In mid-December, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim presented a package of economic proposals to the Cabinet which was supposed to constitute the second stage of Israel's new economic policy. The first stage, instituted in July 1985, successfully reduced inflation from an annual rate of nearly 800 percent in 1985 to 20 percent in 1986. In recent months, however, the Consumer Price Index has started to rise, while real wages have been restored to pre-July 1985 levels. Despite Israel's successful battle against hyperinflation, the economy as a whole has failed to exhibit real growth. Rather, the stagnation that has characterized Israel's economy since the 1973 Yom Kippur War has apparently continued.

The package of proposals submitted by Nissim to the Cabinet was formulated by the Finance Ministry in cooperation with the Bank of Israel, now headed by Prof. Michael Bruno. It was intended primarily to facilitate cuts in the government budget of up to 500 million New Israeli Shekels (approx. \$330 million) — which the Government had decided to do on a number of occasions, yet never implemented — and to reform the income tax structure by eliminating a long list of special tax concessions and reduce tax rates to benefit those in the higher brackets.

The basic proposal in regard to tax reform was to lower the marginal income tax rate from 60 percent to 45 percent, based on the ("Reaganomic") theory that tax benefits to those on the top of the ladder would have an immediate beneficial effect on productivity, economic activity and investment, and would also eventually "brickle down" to benefit lower income earners, too.

The proposals to eliminate special tax concessions — to people in development towns, for shift work in industry, for various savings schemes, for industrial exporters, and the like — and the clearly regressive nature of the tax reform proposals, evoked massive opposition by both the Histadrut labor federation and the Manufacturers' Association. The Labor Party came out against Nissim's package, and even some of Nissim's own colleagues among the Likud ministers — especially Housing Minister David Levy — were vehement in their opposition.

By year's end the proposal seemed to be stymied, and the Cabinet was hack to square one seeking to work out a new package that could be expected to win sufficient political support to be passed both in the Cabinet and in the Knesset.

Azharim Tal writes in *Ha'aretz*: "The Finance Minister's economic program has gone on a reef, as anyone aware of Israel's special sensitivities could have predicted. It has evoked a broad and strange coalition of opponents. Most of these are not opposed to plan in its entirety or to the basic assumptions on which it is based (with the expected exception of [socialist] Mapam); the opposition, rather, has focused on specific details which hit at special interests and long accepted perks.

"There are those who see in the plan an expression of Moshe Nissim's 'liberal ideology.' That is calumny, plain and simple. Even if we ignore the question of whether Nissim is really a 'true liberal' with the fire of *laissez faire* capitalism burning in his bones, the fact remains that he was not the progenitor of the plan. He was a diligent pupil, who learned the professional aspects

of the plan but failed in his two duties as a minister: to coordinate the planning among the different divisions of the Finance Ministry, and to win political support for it.

"The plan was devised by professional economists, who as far as we can tell are more inclined to left-wing than to right-wing biases. The plan, however, is not a result of any such ideological tendencies, but rather constitutes a response to the needs of the economy. If Shimon Peres would still have been prime minister, or would have been made privy to the planning at an earlier stage, as he was in the summer of 1985, it is very likely that more or less the same plan would have emerged. Would the opposition to it have been as strong in such an eventuality, too? In all likelihood, yes, although the chance of overcoming that opposition would have been greater, and not only because of Peres' clout with the Histadrut.

"In the summer of 1985, Peres displayed a clear ability to neutralize opposition beforehand and to circumvent it cleverly after the fact. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, on the other hand, has again shown his determination to avoid confrontations and his innate tendency to passivity. But there is also a marked difference in the circumstances. In July 1985 there was a real economic crisis and it was relatively easy to persuade the public to make the necessary sacrifices. At the end of 1986, there (was) nothing even resembling a crisis. Sacrifices are required, not to prevent a tangible catastrophe, but in order to realize less concrete goals such as economic reform, growth, etc."

"Income tax reform is a *sine qua non* for the attainment of these goals, on the assumption that the economy will remain a

free one and will not be managed by government bureaucrats, i.e., that it will not be a managed socialized economy of the sort Mapam is longing for. In a free economy there must be a reasonable relationship between the effort expended and material compensation paid. Even a marginal tax rate of 45 percent is excessive in regard to such a relationship.

"There is simply no chance of setting the economy on the path of initiative, innovation, expansion and the investment of capital and labor without reducing the tax rates. Israel is no different in this regard from any other country."

Yuval Elitzur writes in *Ma'ariv*: "Despite the fact that today, as opposed to a quarter of a century ago, our industry and agriculture sell their products abroad for billions of dollars, there has been no change in the situation in which the taxes these productive branches pay are insufficient to support Israel's governmental expenditures for economic and social services. Of the 16 billion shekels (\$10.7 billion) the Treasury will collect in taxes this year, the business community — self-employed, companies, managers, withholding and employers' tax — will account directly for less than one third, or about 5 billion shekels (\$3.3 billion). Even if we add to this the taxes paid from the treasury for subsidies on basic foods, water for crop irrigation interest for agriculture and industry and direct supports for investment and export, it is highly doubtful whether the productive sectors of the economy are capable today of paying for the services provided them by the state."

"What is in no doubt whatsoever is that in the 39th year of the state, the productive sectors are

incapable of supporting the services provided by the state to the 400,000 employees of the vastly inflated 'public sector.' Neither industry, nor agriculture, nor the financial sector is capable of supporting the health and education budgets, not to mention the defense budget and the repayment of past loans which have piled up over years of economic irresponsibility."

"For the past ten years, not only our defense budget, but also that of our rapidly developing social services have been paid for not from our own productive sectors but by the munificent aid of World Jewry and the American taxpayer. Ostensibly, the burden has been placed on the Israeli well-to-do, but only ostensibly so. Very few of Israel's rich pay the (full) tax rates, which are the world's highest. The long list of tax exemptions and write-offs which were imposed on the Israeli tax system over the past decades created the impression that these were automatic benefits granted to special groups, especially to the economically weaker groups, by dint of the law and not by the caprice of the authorities."

"The opposition to the reforms proposed by Moshe Nissim stems, to a large extent, from both the real and psychological need to retain, for as long as possible, the crutches that have sustained our social and economic reform policies. Since we will, eventually, simply have no alternative to confronting reality, walking on our own two feet, and developing more effective means than tax exemptions for protecting the weaker social strata, there can be no doubt that in the final analysis, the new policy will be adopted."

"But specifically because the policy approach is the correct one there is no possibility — a

(Continued to page



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.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PHILADELPHIA, April 24....A newly-formed organization entitled the Philadelphia-Israel Commerce Affiliates, Inc., has launched a unique project designed to create "practical, substantive" business ties between Israel and the city of Philadelphia.

The new venture has absorbed three groups: the Philadelphia-Israel Economic Development Program, created three years ago by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Jewish Committee and the Greater Philadelphia First Corp; the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry/Philadelphia Chapter; and American Investors in Israel.

All three have been engaged in the development of business relationships between Israel and Philadelphia, but recently decided that their expanded activities could be conducted more efficiently under a single management. This has now been centralized in the offices of the American Jewish Committee Philadelphia Chapter.

Says Lisa Schiffman, the new organization's executive director: "In general, our daily activities consist of working with local and Israeli companies to encourage business relations. Specifically, we are responsible for the initial contacts between companies; we arbitrate between differing parties; we interpret one party's activities and intentions on behalf of the other."

Among the current efforts, according to Ms. Schiffman are:

- * finding a new product line for manufacture at a kibbutz;
- * negotiating with an Israeli university to have the University City Science Center in Philadelphia represent the university's technologies to U.S. corporations;
- * encouraging a multi-national, Philadelphia-based pharmaceutical manufacturer to commercialize a product developed in Israel through purchase or licensing.

Adds Ms. Schiffman: "On behalf of Israeli companies we often seek market and distribution sources for finished products, U.S. corporate partners for investment and commercialization of products under development in Israel, and product lines or technologies for sale to kibbutz-based or private companies."

Philadelphia-Israel Commerce Affiliates, Inc. is run by a Board of Directors composed of Jewish and gentile business and civil leaders. It is private and not-for-profit. Albert Soffa, a founder and vice chairman of Kulicke and Soffa Industries, and John D'Aprix, president of the University City Science Center, are co-chairmen of Philadelphia-Israel Economic Development Program.

APR 3 - 1987

Los Angeles Times

Tuesday, March 31, 1987

*A First for Israel's
Diplomatic Service*

Letters to The Times

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES Israeli Consul

A landmark in the history of the Israeli foreign service will be reached this summer in, of all places, Atlanta, Ga. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has named Mohammed Massarwa, an Israeli Muslim Arab, as Israel's new consul-general in Atlanta. If the Israeli Cabinet ratifies his appointment, Massarwa, an attorney known for his rigorous advocacy of equal opportunity for his fellow Arab citizens, will become the first Arab to head an Israeli foreign mission.

All citizens of Israel, regardless of religious or ethnic background, are eligible to serve in any public office in that country, from the local city council to the premiership. Seven Israeli Arabs hold seats in the Knesset, representing parties ranging from the right-wing Likud to the communist Rakah.

Mohammed Massarwa's appointment to represent Israel abroad demonstrates that Israel is indeed committed to guaranteeing the political equality of all its citizens.

CATHY R. MENDELSON
President
Los Angeles Chapter
American Jewish Committee

February 25, 1987

November 8, 1986

LETTERS

Preventive cure for terrorist acts

Dear Editor,

Among the many complex issues raised by the Iran-contra affair is the basic question of how to deal with the taking of hostages. The United States, like all democratic governments, makes every effort to safeguard its citizens, including any who have the misfortune to be taken hostage. But what is its obligation when the well-being of kidnapped Americans seems to conflict with other important national interests?

Bitter experience, even before the recent disclosures, should have made it clear that paying ransom backfires. If hostage taking pays, there will always be fresh hostages to power fresh extortion. And with each payment the stature of

the ransom payer dwindles while the prestige of the terrorists grows.

How should hostage situations be handled? One cure is preventive: Our government should strongly discourage Americans from traveling to known kidnapper havens. Even so, hostage taking will persist. And since terrorist groups are usually state-assisted, governments that oppose terrorism must use diplomatic, economic and, as a last resort, military pressures against these sponsors of terror.

Henry Dubinsky
Member of the Board
St. Louis Chapter
American Jewish
Committee

Repelling Mideast terror

DEAR EDITOR:

Over the past few weeks, Palestinian and other Arab terrorists have repeatedly demonstrated in one country after another their total disregard for universally-accepted norms of civilized behavior. As a spokesman for the Turkish Embassy in Washington stated, after the brutal terrorist massacre in the Neve Shalom synagogue in Istanbul, "These killers cannot be considered Muslims, they're plain criminals."

If anything positive can be said to have come out of the carnage, it is the fact that more and more nations, including some moderate Muslim countries, recognize that the chief purpose of the wanton killings is to prevent a peace settlement in the Middle East by fomenting hatred and distrust between Americans and Arabs and between Jews and Muslims.

But while there are new voices of moderation emanating from parts of the Islamic world, radical states such as Iran, Libya and Syria continue to provide the arms, explosives, passports, diplomatic pouches, funds and other logistic support for terrorist attacks, and a steady stream of anti-Western, anti-Israel and anti-Semitic propaganda to justify and incite terrorist acts.

This war against peace and the innocent must not be allowed to succeed. By word and deed the responsible nations of the world must act together to prevent terrorist acts from taking place, to punish harshly those who attempt or perpetrate such acts, and to encourage the direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states that are the only hope for lasting peace in the Middle East.

Harold H. Goldberg Jr., President,
Metropolitan N.J. Chapter,
American Jewish Committee
Millburn

OTHER VOICES

Will better U.S.-Soviet ties aid Jews?

By DAVID A. HARRIS

THE YEAR 1986 marked the seventh consecutive year of decline and stagnation in Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union. Is there a reasonable chance for a reversal in this trend this year?

The challenges facing the Soviet Jewry movement are formidable. A clever and calculating Kremlin leadership has managed to defuse some noted human rights cases and has attempted to reduce the issue of Jewish emigration to a handful of individuals. At the same time, it has portrayed Soviet Jews as a privileged minority. Despite this concerted propaganda blitz, the American Jewish community remains deeply troubled about the fate of the 2 million Soviet Jews.

Fortunately, U.S. government officials continue to affirm the importance of Soviet Jewry and human rights to America's foreign policy agenda with the USSR. Moscow has been told repeatedly that Soviet performance in these areas will help determine the overall state of U.S.-USSR relations. For those who recall this country's deafening silence to the plight of European Jewry 45 years ago, such affirmations of the right of Soviet Jews to leave are vitally important.

The overriding task facing the United States and the American Jewish community is how to insure that Soviet Jews benefit from any further improvement in Soviet-American relations. Otherwise, there is a serious risk bilateral ties may improve while Soviet Jewry remains largely unaffected.

The American Jewish community's main priority must be serious consideration of strategies.

There has been a virtual explosion in U.S.-Soviet contacts over the past 18 months. Those who argue that a landing rights agreement for Aeroflot and Pan American Airlines, cultural exchanges, joint ventures, sister-city relationships and citizens' dialogues do not constitute major steps forward, are missing the point. Such steps do help create a new mood and a new momentum. And if the Kremlin plays its cards well, Moscow may get away with minimum concessions on human rights as the price for substantial progress on matters of greatest importance to them.

Does the administration have a long-term strategy for reversing the current situation? Do the State, Commerce, Agriculture Departments or other U.S. agencies have a coordinated approach on Soviet Jewry? Is it possible that the administration and the Jewish community will at some point diverge in their interpretations of Soviet gestures?

Clearly, the Jewish community must also develop its strategy. It has been suggested that American Jews launch a South Africa-style divestment campaign against American corporations dealing with the USSR. Such an approach is, I think, doomed to failure, though there is certainly a role for American business in the struggle for Soviet Jewry. The current American mood, as well as that of our allies, favors more, not less, contact. There is also serious doubt whether divestment can have the desired effect on the target country, be it South Africa or, especially, the Soviet Union. Calls for an end to further non-strategic agreements with Moscow until emigration is substantially increased,

David A. Harris is the American Jewish Committee's deputy director of international relations.

while understandable, are also poorly timed. After the almost desperate United States offer to sell subsidized grain to the Soviets, the removal of the ban on Soviet nickel, eased access to American oil and gas equipment technology and talks on increased economic contacts, such notions become fanciful thinking.

The American Jewish community's main priority must be serious consideration of strategies. Is an attempt at further linkage the solution? Should there be a carrot-or-stick approach? If the answer lies somewhere between the two options, how can such an approach be appropriately formulated? If there is support for responses to both positive and negative developments, how does this translate into specific policy recommendations? These questions require the attention of Jewish leadership and other friends of Soviet Jewry. Then, of course, the case will have to be made to the government.

The significance of recent Soviet actions, including Andrei Sakharov's release from exile, cannot simply be ignored, though the condition of Soviet Jews has not yet been affected. Mikhail Gorbachev has shown himself to be a dynamic leader. If he can challenge vested interests on such ticklish matters as economic reform and cultural freedom, then he is no less able to address Soviet Jewry. But only if it is perceived to be in the Soviet interest.

It would not be too surprising to see limited, but well-publicized, gestures by the Kremlin concerning Jewish life in the USSR—such as permission for a few additional Soviet Jews to attend the rabbinical seminary in Budapest, slightly increased opportunities for higher education, more Yiddish-based Jewish cultural events, even the translation into Russian of, say, an Elie Wiesel book on the Holocaust. Such steps could further soften Western attitudes and deflect attention from the central questions of repatriation to Israel, family reunification and permission for Hebrew-language study.

Unless we can formulate appropriate strategies or progress appears on the Soviet-Israeli political front—the hovering wild card in any discussion of Soviet Jewry—we may face this year continued low emigration, distinguished only by the gradual release of some long-term refuseniks, while the larger issue of hundreds of thousands of Jews who seek to leave remains unresolved.

SOVIET JEWS: NYET AGAIN?

These are hard times for Soviet Jews. But the struggle goes on. And there is cause for hope.

**DAVID A.
HARRIS**

In 1979, more than 4,000 Soviet Jews were permitted to leave the USSR each month; in 1986, that number has dwindled to less than 100. Natan Shcharansky is free, but arrests of Hebrew teachers and other activists have continued, and harassment of those engaged in religious and cultural study has intensified. How are we to understand what is happening? And what can we do about it?

Recent visitors, Western diplomats stationed in the USSR and refuseniks themselves, are agreed that the situation of Soviet Jews has deteriorated since Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power in March 1985. Indeed, some refuseniks now talk of a modern-day version of Konstantin Pobedonostsev's alleged solution to the Jewish question at the turn of this century. Pobedonostsev, the influential procurator of the Holy Synod, formulated the infamous "third-third-third" strategy: one-third will emigrate, one-third will be assimilated, and the last third, rejecting either option, will die.

Today, the Kremlin's approach remains three-pronged, though with somewhat different content and proportions. First, Moscow technically retains the emigration option. Although it keeps the exit door only slightly ajar, it claims that its policy conforms to the applicable international agreements to which it is a signatory. When challenged on the low emigration rate, it explains that few now leave because "the process of family reunification has almost been completed." Moscow concedes that it delays emigration for family reunification from five to ten years "where state secrets are involved." It has also alleged it restricts emigration because so many Soviet Jews have gone to the United States rather than to Israel despite their Israeli visas, according to, among others, former foreign minister Gromyko in September 1981; former Soviet envoy to Canada Yakolev, who is now a key Party secretary; and Victor Louis, the Soviet Journalist.

By carefully manipulating emigra-

David A. Harris is Deputy Director, International Relations Department, American Jewish Committee.

tion, the Kremlin seeks to enhance its image overseas. The staggered and well-publicized releases of even a few well-known refuseniks, former prisoners of conscience, and other compelling humanitarian cases bring Western media attention. The Kremlin hopes this will deflect attention from the country's true human rights picture. And by issuing exit visas to some refuseniks (e.g. Essas, Gorodetsky, Mesh and the Goldshtein brothers), the Kremlin is attempting to reinforce Gorbachev's assertion that long-standing cases are resolved against a backdrop of rapidly declining demand. Second, Moscow is also eager to accelerate the process of assimilation. By reducing emigration to a trickle, the Kremlin seeks to drive home a point to those who would apply for exit visas, a point made explicit in the offices of OVIR, where such applications are reviewed: "You have no chance to leave, so why not resume 'normal' lives as Soviet citizens. There are jobs and educational opportunities available to you. Housing, pensions, medical care and safety are at a much higher level here than in the West. Just look at the experiences of those former Soviet citizens who were duped into leaving their motherland only to suffer the consequences of living as unwanted, unemployed, unhappy strangers in a decadent, dangerous and often anti-Semitic new world. Here, nationalities live happily together and we value [as Gorbachev himself said in October 1985] the contributions of the talented Jewish minority." The message is strikingly clear: The time of high emigration is over, and there is no realistic alternative to reintegration.

Third, terror continues to be employed against those who refuse assimilation. No one today speaks of the annihilation proposed by Pobedonostsev, nor of the mass deportation of Jews to Siberia that Stalin had been planning on the eve of his death. The current approach is neither that of Stalin's mass terror of the 1930s nor of the massacre of Jewish cultural figures of the early 1950s. Rather, it is a policy of selective terror. The weapons are isolation, harassment, harsh sentences, remote ...

Soviet Jews: Chosen for Oppression

SUMMARY: In the Soviet Union, Jews are hampered from following their religion and customs but never allowed to forget they are Jews. Soviet Jews are subject to limits on their opportunities throughout life. If they seek solace in religion, they encounter a scarcity of rabbis and synagogues, a shortage of kosher food and a lack of ritual items.



Feldman left Soviet Union, studies at Jewish Theological Seminary in New York.

are probably closer to 3 million," he says. "A great many [Soviet] Jews have no idea of their Jewish culture and many are not interested in it, but 'Jew' is still stamped in their internal passport," says Boris Youssin, a Soviet Jewish activist who works in the mathematics department of Harvard University.

As a religious group, Jews are not allowed to form regional or national bodies, as are other recognized religions, says David A. Harris of the American Jewish Committee. As a national group, the Jews have a "Jewish Autonomous Region" of Birobidzhan. Situated in the far east of Siberia, it is believed to have a Jewish population of about 10,000, says Harris, less than 8 percent of the region's total population.

Birobidzhan produces the only Yiddish newspaper in the Soviet Union, a version of the local Pravda. Moreover, it is written in a peculiar Yiddish, as is the only other publication in this language, Sovietish Heimland, a monthly published in Moscow. Instead of the Hebrew words used in this German-Jewish language being spelled as in Hebrew, they are spelled phonetically.

As for Hebrew, Harris says, there are four places in the Soviet Union where it is taught: the Orthodox Church seminary at Zagorsk and three institutes of higher education. No Jewish student is known to have studied Hebrew at any of these institutions.

Private instruction in Hebrew, while not overtly outlawed, is distinctly suppressed. One private Hebrew teacher, Dr. Yosif Begun, was arrested in 1977 on charges of "parasitism": According to Soviet authorities, teaching Hebrew is not socially useful. Begun is now in the gulag, this time for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Hebrew, the language of Judaic scripture, is, of course, also the language of Israel, the state created by Zionism. The Soviet view of Zionism is reflected by an article published this year in Ogoniek, a magazine with a print run of 1.5 million brought out by the same house that publishes Pravda. In the article, Tsezar Solodar, an elderly Ukrainian Jew, writes, "On one side of the coin is the Nazi swastika, on the other side the six-pointed Star of David. It is hard to be sure which side is which."

It is to Israel that Jews must turn if they wish to leave the Soviet Union. The number of Jews released annually reached 51,300 in 1979 but has been declining ever since. A mere 765 Jews left between January and October this year, Richter says.

Most observers agree that religion is usually not a motivating force in the desire

Growing up Jewish in the Soviet Union.

Age 7: First day at school. Everybody gives his name, his father's name and his nationality. Leonid Mikhailovitch Feldman does not know that he is Jewish and gives his nationality as Russian. "Don't lie, Leonid, and don't try to hide that you are Jewish," the teacher tells him. Moral? Judaism is a nationality, but not as good a nationality as Russian.

Age 9: Leonid's mother dies. Traditional Jewish mourning is observed with relatives and friends sitting low, close to the floor, in the Feldman apartment. The mirrors are covered. The mourning should go on for seven days, but on the second night three men burst into the apartment shouting, "This is an illegal gathering, everybody leave." Relatives and friends obey. Moral? The Soviet state does not like Jews gathering to practice Jewish customs.

Age 12: Leonid is the champion chess player in his age group in the Moldavian S.S.R. As such he is chosen to go to Leningrad to compete with the champions from other republics. Two weeks before he is to leave, though, Leonid is told, "It is impossible that a Feldman represent the Mol-

davian republic in Leningrad." Why? he asks. "Don't ask questions," he is told. Moral? If you are Jewish, don't count on traveling too far, whatever your merit.

Leonid left the Soviet Union 10 years ago and is studying to be a rabbi at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. With the growth of religious observance among Soviet Jews in recent years, he says, "the Soviet authorities have begun to attack the religious elements in the Jewish identity."

This comes as no surprise to those who have been monitoring the situation. A 1977 book titled "Invasion Without Arms" by Vladimir Begun, published in Moscow, described the Torah, or the five books of Moses — the main body of Jewish religious wisdom and law — as "a textbook unsurpassed in bloodthirstiness, hypocrisy, treachery, perfidy and degradation — all the basest human qualities." The book was reissued in 1980.

Nobody knows for sure how many Jews there are in the Soviet Union, says Glenn Richter of the New York-based Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry. "The 1979 census reported there are 1.8 million, but there

MILKREBERG/PICTURE GROUP/FOR INSIGHT

Soviet Jews' plight deplored

Speaker cites the struggles of nation's 3 million

By Alyssa Lenhoff

Vindicator staff writer

Somewhere in the Soviet industrial town of Gorky, there is a man whose every action is watched and recorded.

Like thousands of others who are being forbidden to leave the Soviet Union, Andrei Sakharov is under surveillance by the KGB — the Soviet secret police and intelligence agency.

There is one significant difference between Sakharov and the others under scrutiny — the world knows of Sakharov. His story was told in a movie aired on national television. He has been the subject of books, magazine articles and documentaries.

Others live the quiet life that is hidden in Russia.

The world never hears about those who were fired from their jobs because they held Hebrew classes in their homes.

Equally hidden from the mainstream media are stories of young men and women who want to attend college but are refused because one or both of their parents is Jewish.

With offices throughout the world, the American Jewish Committee is trying to focus world attention on these issues and the other commonly unsung stories of inequities in the U.S.S.R.

David Geller, director of Euro-

pean Affairs for the American Jewish Committee, told about 150 people Thursday night at the Jewish Community Center about the struggles of an estimated three million Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

"Jews are persecuted. It's a different type of persecution and anti-Semitism than that of the [United States]. We fight it here. There, they have nothing they can do," Geller said.

Jewish persecution in the Soviet Union dates back centuries to bloody pogroms and has managed to thrive in the modern state partially because of the Soviet tradition of anti-Semitism, Geller said.

He offered other reasons for the persecution. "Jews have relatives on the outside and the government knows that they'd go if they were ever freed to," Geller said. "And once the Jews go, that would leave the door open to others."

Geller said that there are about 160 Jews being allowed to leave the Soviet Union each month. Geller said this figure doesn't begin to match the numbers of those wishing to leave.

In 1979, some 50,000 Jews left Russia when there was a liberalization of the immigration standards.

"All that has changed," Geller explained, noting that once a person applies for an exit visa, it is recorded on a passport which he must carry.

"That makes him a marked man,"

he said. "People are afraid to apply for leaving."

Geller said there are about 400,000 Jews who want to leave. In addition to forbidding Jews to leave the country, he explained that the government also commits other acts of persecution against the Jews.

"They are putting Hebrew teachers in jail," he said.

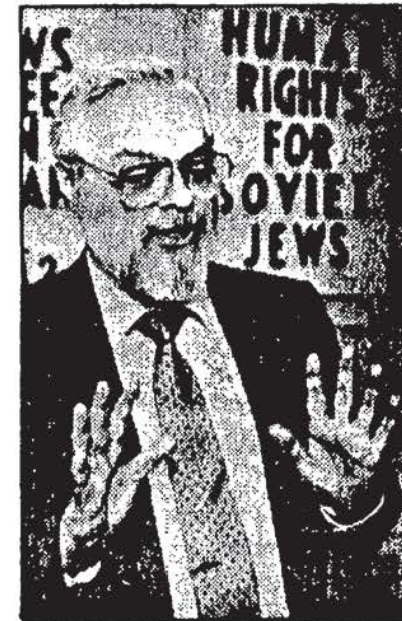
Geller said there are now 25 known Jews being held as political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

"Employers — even if they are good, nice guys — can't hire Jews because they are afraid that they'll get the reputation of being sympathetic to Jews," Geller said.

"Neighbors will shun people if they are friendly to Jews. Their friends get worried about associating with them," he said.

Geller said his organization and satellite groups like the Soviet Jewry Task Force of the Jewish Community Relations Council of the Youngstown Area Jewish Federation have a moral obligation to protest the captivity of Jews in Russia.

Before Geller's speech, a rally for Soviet Jewry was held and speeches in support of the emancipation efforts were made by state Sen. Harry Meshel, D-33rd, Mayor Patrick J. Ungaro, state Rep. Ronald Gerberry, D-71st, state Rep. Joseph Vukovich, D-52nd, and other politicians.



The Vindicator/William D. Lewis

David Geller

... Soviet Jews need help

Clergy attending the rally included: Rev. Frank M. Lehnard of the Diocese of Youngstown; Rev. Richard D. Speicher, executive director of the Mahoning Valley Association of Churches; Dr. Luther Shipmon of St. John's Baptist Temple; Rabbi David Steinhardt of Beth Israel Temple Center of Warren; Rabbi Samuel Meyer of El Emeth Congregation; and Cantor Merrill Fisher of Rodef Sholom Temple.

The rally and other local efforts in support of the Soviet Jews was organized by Jeannie Peskin, chairman of the Soviet Jewry Task Force.

Rights must get continued focus, activists say

By JOEL DUBIN

Journal Inquirer Staff Writer

HARTFORD — The plight of Soviet Jews is only part of the overall human rights struggle in the Soviet Union, and Western leaders must continue to express their concern or the Russians will ignore the problem, local activists said Monday.

The Rev. Gordon Bates of East Hartford, a local activist for Soviet Jewry, said the number of Jews allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union has gone down from 50,000 a month in 1979 to less than 50 a month this year.

"Since 1979, we've had to change our focus," Dr. Daniel Nussbaum, regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, said. "Our reason for being is to keep the issue alive."

"It's a worldwide human problem, and not just a Jewish one," said Nussbaum, who with Bates spoke at the University of Hartford at a conference on religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

Several speakers — mainly immigrants from Poland, the Ukraine and the Baltic states taken over by the Soviet Union — said the Soviets are trying to destroy the national, cultural and religious identity of non-Russian minorities.

They described instances, in some cases personal, of religious and ethnic persecution, including forced emigration to other parts of the Soviet Union, imprisonment and desecration of national shrines.

"The Soviets are attempting to replace everything Lithuanian with Russian," Ignas Budrys, leader of the state's Lithuanian community, said at the conference.

Budrys said the Soviets have converted 23 churches in Lithuania into museums, theaters or athletic facilities.

Budrys said Lithuania has been occupied and divided many times because of its location between Russia and Europe.

Lithuania's neighboring Baltic states, Estonia and Latvia, and the Ukraine have

suffered the same fate because of their strategic location between East and West.

All four countries have been part of the Soviet Union since they were occupied by the Russians in World War II.

Vaike Lugus, president of the state's 200-member Estonian Society, recalled the Soviet takeover of her country in 1941.

"The image of Soviet soldiers breaking down doors is forever etched in my memory," she said.

Boris Krupa, Hartford chairman of the national Ukrainian Congress Committee, said the Ukrainian issue is often overlooked because they are mistakenly identified as Russian instead of as a separate ethnic group.

"After World War II, religious freedoms were summarily done away with," Krupa said.

He, like the others, cited examples of religious persecution, and of growing mass support for religion despite the avowed atheism of the Soviet state.

Dr. Allan Kagedan, a policy analyst for the American Jewish Committee, said the problem stems from Soviet ideology, which calls for the ultimate elimination of all religion in the country, and from a basic disregard for individual rights in Soviet law.

Although the Soviets have outlawed religious persecution in the international arena by signing the Helsinki accords, their laws still allow it within the country, Kagedan said.

"You can't argue with the Soviets about Marxism-Leninism, which is hostile to religion," Kagedan said.

"Therefore the coalition approach is important," he said later, referring to a coalition of ethnic and religious groups represented at the conference. "The Soviets must see some political advantage, or fear the loss of political prestige, to grant freedom of religion."



Vaike Lugus speaking at conference on Monday.

PHOTO BY MICHAEL KODAS

Propaganda antijudía en la URSS

NUEVA YORK — Con motivo de los preparativos relacionados con la conferencia de Helsinki que en noviembre próximo pasado se realizara en Viena el Comité Judío Americano ha publicado un análisis que documenta la persistencia de la virulenta propaganda antijudía patrocinada oficialmente por la Unión Soviética bajo el mando del Secretario General Mikhail Gorbachev.

La publicación del análisis, que

se intitula "La Propaganda antijudía soviética, 1979-86", cuyo autor es el Dr. Allan A. Kagedan, analista político del Departamento de Relaciones Internacionales del A.I.C., la dio a conocer David M. Gordis, vicepresidente ejecutivo del Comité, cuya Comisión de Relaciones Internacionales preside Miles Jaffe y cuyo director es el Rabino Marc H. Tanenbaum.

El análisis, que abarca el período

de 1979-86, cita numerosos ejemplos de propaganda antijudía, de los muchos que han ocurrido durante el año y medio de ejercicio de Gorbachev, extraídos de los principales periódicos y libros de circulación amplia. El Dr. Kagedan deduce que el argumento de los dirigentes soviéticos que los judíos soviéticos constituyen "un pueblo privilegiado", puede calificarse de desinformación calculada.

"Mientras la propaganda antisemita sirva los intereses de la política soviética, continuará persistiendo", ya que la política de producir propaganda antijudía es motivada por el deseo de intimidar a los judíos soviéticos para que desistan de expresar sus sentimientos judíos, así como por el deseo de congraciarse con el radicalismo árabe y la esperanza de complacer a los elementos antijudíos y anti-occidentales entre la población soviética, afirma el análisis.

Durante los últimos quince años, se añade, estas motivaciones políticas particulares han resultado en que los escritores soviéticos aceptan la definición del sionismo como fenómeno conspirador judío in-

ternacional, sugiriendo que según la ideología como fenómeno conspirador judío internacional, sugiriendo que según la ideología soviética los judíos se han convertido en partícipe del imperialismo, fuerza global ultramaligna. Como consecuencia, "las acostumbradas patrañas antisemitas se han vuelto resistentes, si no inmunes, contra todo cambio en la política interna y exterior soviética, concluye el Dr. Kagedan.



Art

Andrei Sakharov: A Righteous Gentile

DAVID A. HARRIS

Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov is one of the moral giants of our age. Scientist, Nobel laureate, human-rights crusader, and, since 1980, an internal exile in his own country, Sakharov epitomizes the grandeur and indomitability of the human spirit. The next few months of intensified superpower diplomacy may determine his fate.

Once among the most privileged of Soviet citizens, Sakharov enjoyed all the perquisites accorded the scientific elite. His material well-being and security were assured, his status unquestioned. Yet he abandoned it all to pursue higher goals: world peace, human rights, an end to internal repression. And he has paid a heavy price.

In 1974, while an exchange teacher in the USSR, I had a revealing conversation with a Soviet colleague.

"Sakharov is crazy and should be forcibly placed in a psychiatric hospital," my colleague asserted.

"But why?" I protested. "He is a responsible and decent man."

"Listen," my colleague retorted, "of course he's crazy. After all, he must have known that to challenge the state would land him in lots of trouble, probably force his dismissal from work and place him in prison. Therefore, you see, he's crazy because anyone who would knowingly embark on such a course couldn't possibly be sane."

In 1977 Sakharov's stepdaughter and her family emigrated to the United States. His wife, Elena Bonner, was able to accompany them as far as Rome. Ms. Bonner's devotion to her husband and to their joint work in behalf of human rights and world peace impelled her to leave her daughter, son-in-law, grandchildren and mother in Italy and to return to an unimagineably difficult life in the Soviet Union. Those of us then in Rome working on migration were tremendously moved by Ms. Bonner's seemingly limitless courage and strength.

Since 1980, Sakharov and Elena Bonner have been forced to live in exile in Gorky, a city closed to foreigners. There, cut off from family, friends and colleagues, under constant surveillance, denied even necessary medical attention, they are prisoners in everything but name.

This year Elena Bonner was permitted to travel to the West for medical care and a family reunion. In May she attended the massive Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry in New York, when 300,000 people of all faiths welcomed Anatoly Shcharansky to freedom. Seated alone far from the speaker's platform, she listened intently to Shcharansky's powerful words. What a poignant scene! Shcharansky, the former prisoner of conscience, still savoring the first breaths of freedom; Bonner savoring her last. Shortly after the rally Elena Bonner said good-

bye to her family and to freedom and returned to her husband in Gorky.

Jews owe Andrei Sakharov a special debt. Not only has he fought indefatigably for peace and human rights, but he has been outspoken on behalf of Soviet Jewish emigration, Jewish prisoners of conscience, and a safe and secure Israel.

As early as 1970, Sakharov monitored the trial of the nine Jews and two non-Jews who had sought to divert a plane from Leningrad to Sweden, an incident that captured the world's attention and dramatized the plight of those seeking to leave the USSR. The next year, together with the other two members of the Committee on Human Rights, he called on the Kremlin leadership "to end the persecution of repatriates (Soviet Jews seeking to leave for Israel) and to stop violating the right to leave the country."

In September 1973 Sakharov sent a letter to the U.S. Congress supporting the withholding of most-favored-nation trade status until Soviet citizens were given the right to emigrate. "In our country there are tens of thousands of citizens . . . who wish to emigrate and who, with endless difficulties and humiliations, for years and years on end have been struggling to obtain this right." The next year both houses of Congress overwhelmingly passed the historic Jackson-Vanik Amendment



FILM CLIP — Andrei Sakharov shown in film clip obtained by the West German newspaper Bild.

linking U.S. trade policy with Communist countries' policy on emigration.

In October 1973, two terrorists seized Soviet Jewish hostages in Austria and demanded the closing of the Schoenau camp, the transit site for Soviet Jews proceeding to Israel. Chancellor Kreisky acceded to the demand, provoking outrage from Andrei Sakharov. "It is extremely painful for us to hear that two terrorists could blackmail whole nations on whom we placed our hopes," Sakharov wrote. "That

and other leading Israeli institutions have honored Sakharov.

As the United States and the Soviet Union enter a new round of high-level bilateral diplomacy, the Jewish community and its friends are vigorously mobilizing to press demands for increased Jewish emigration and an end to repression of Jews. Never in recent memory has the situation of Soviet Jews been worse. At the same time, there is an unparalleled opportunity to demonstrate

We should take a hard look at the 'new' Soviet policies

The Editors: Before Americans get too entranced by Mr. Gorbachev's latest public-relations blitz, it is worth taking stock of just what has and has not changed on the Soviet Union's human-rights front.

Andrei Sakharov has indeed been freed from his exile in Gorky, and several noted individuals have been allowed to emigrate for medical and family-reunification reasons. These steps are to be applauded, of course. But it is still not clear if they herald a broad new openness or an effort to achieve a great deal of credit at a relatively small cost.

The 914 Jews allowed to leave the Soviet Union in 1986 were 20 percent fewer than the total granted exit visas in 1985 and 98 percent fewer than the 51,000 who emigrated in 1979.

Most Jewish Prisoners of Conscience currently languishing in the prison camps were jailed after Gorbachev took office; their "crimes" involved the study and teaching of Hebrew and other aspects of Jewish culture and their repeated efforts to leave the Soviet Union. And thousands of other Jews brave enough to apply were refused exit and have been demoted or fired from their jobs, socially ostracized and harassed by the KGB.

These people are understandably not very impressed with Gorbachev's "new policies," and are very worried that their plight may be forgotten as scientific, cultural and business exchanges increase and relationships between the Soviet Union and the U.S. improve.

We must not allow that to happen.

GERRY FRANK

Southeast Area Director

American Jewish Committee

Atlanta

December 26, 1986

Intermountain Jewish News

Miracle of Chanukah

Editor:

The candles that burn during the Jewish festival of Chanukah starting this year on the night of December 26 — commemorate two miracles: First, the victory of the small band of Jews led by Judah Maccabee who recaptured Jewish independence from the mighty Greco-Syrian empire; second, the burning for eight days of the tiny cruse of oil used to relight the Temple menorah after the victory.

At this festive season, it is appropriate to remember another small band of Jews who are courageously resisting the oppression of a mighty empire. Like the ancient Maccabees, Soviet prisoners of conscience like Yosef Begun and Ari Volvovsky and refuseniks like Ida Nudel and Vladimir Slepak persevere in their determination to reclaim their cultural heritage and to emigrate to Israel or other countries where Jewish living is possible.

Jews everywhere pray that these spiritual Maccabees will one day soon light the candles of Chanukah in freedom.

MICHAEL R. ALTENBERG
President, Colorado Chapter
American Jewish Committee

Ethnic groups unite in fight for religious reform in Soviet Union

By GERALD RENNER
Religion Writer

Representatives of ethnic groups whose histories often have been blotched by mutual antagonism — Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians and Estonians — met Monday at the University of Hartford on behalf of religious freedom.

Their object was to form a Connecticut coalition that could put pressure on the Soviet Union to relax religious repression.

"It is a coalition that doesn't often come together. Certainly our history in Europe did not let us come together, but here in Connecticut we have an opportunity to overcome history," Daniel Nussbaum, an organizer

of the conference, told the group of about 50 people.

Nussbaum is a rabbi and executive director of the Connecticut and Western Massachusetts Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The group sponsored the conference to heighten awareness of religious repression in the Soviet Union

against Catholics, Jews, Lutherans, Baptists who do not register with the Soviet government, Pentecostals and others, Nussbaum said.

Participating were representatives of the Greater Hartford Interfaith Committee for Soviet Jewry, Polish American Congress, Lithuanian

See Ethnic, Page D2

Ethnic groups unite in religious-reform fight

Continued from Page D1

Polish American Community of the USA, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Connecticut Estonian Society and the American Jewish Committee.

"We are not here to feed the flames of national antagonisms," but to plan strategy to overcome "historical amnesia" about the Soviet Union and to influence political leaders, Stanislaus Blejwas said. Blejwas, who represents the Connecticut district of the Polish American Congress, is a historian at Central Connecticut State University.

The conference was "the beginning of a handshake" between Jews and Christians of Eastern and Central European background, he said. Blejwas said that to get attention, the participants had to overcome "a mind-set of the media against Eastern and Central Europeans who are

thought of as right-wing anti-communists... tinged with anti-Semitism."

He urged representatives of the ethnic organizations to appear at each others' meetings and demonstrations as symbols of solidarity.

Nussbaum said the conference was inspired by an article on religious repression in Lithuania that Blejwas wrote and which The Courant published in April 1985.

The Soviet Union has a policy of "Russification" in Lithuania and the other Baltic nations, said Ignas Budrys, president of the Connecticut district of the Lithuanian American Community. The 3.4 million Lithuanians are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, he said, but the Soviet Union is trying to impose the Russian Orthodox Church on the people.

In the Ukraine, the Soviet Union has outlawed the Ukrainian Catholic Church, forcing clergy and churches into the Ukrainian Orthodox Church,

which is under the Russian Orthodox patriarch in Moscow, said Boris Krupa, chairman of the Hartford branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Nevertheless, Ukrainian Catholics flourish underground, Krupa said.

Monsignor Stephen Chomko, pastor of St. Michael's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Hartford, said he has visited the Ukraine many times and has met priests and nuns who keep their religious lives a secret.

Vaike Lugas, a schoolteacher in Bozrah and president of the Connecticut Estonian Congress, said the Russians are trying to extinguish the Estonian language and culture and the Lutheran heritage. She recalled the Russian invasion of her country as "a nightmare" of mass executions and deportations. "All this and more is engraved in my memory for now and forever," said Lugas, who emigrated to the United States.

Brazilian Bishop Planning a 'Pilgrimage' to Israel

By ALAN RIDING

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, March 28 — In a major step toward stimulating Roman Catholic-Jewish cooperation here, the president of Brazil's Bishops' Conference is to make an "ecumenical pilgrimage" to Israel next week at the invitation of Brazilian Jews.

Bishop Ivo Lorscheiter of Santa Maria, who has played a central role in persuading the Brazilian Catholic hierarchy to revise its views on Judaism, is to meet with Jewish cultural and religious leaders in Jerusalem on his three-day visit.

He said the trip had "no political im-

plications" and that he would not meet with Israeli Government leaders because the Vatican does not recognize Israel. "It's essentially a pastoral and religious visit," he said in a telephone interview.

Rabbi Henry I. Sobel, coordinator of the National Commission for Jewish-Catholic Dialogue, will join the Bishop on his trip. The rabbi said he and the prelate were anxious to prevent the debate over recognition from dominating the visit as much as it did recently when John Cardinal O'Connor of New York was in Israel.

But Rabbi Sobel recalled that, while the Brazilian Bishops' Conference has

no authority to recognize another nation, a manual it published last year for 229 dioceses and archdioceses to promote an interfaith dialogue had cited "the right of the Jews to a peaceful political existence in the land of their origin."

Echoing the views of the American Jewish Committee, Rabbi Sobel, who is a United States citizen, said the Vatican's refusal to recognize Israel should not deter continuing dialogue here between Catholics and Jews. "More, much more" is involved, he said, adding, "For the first time in 1,900 years, Catholics are listening to Jews."

Bishop Lorscheiter said he had been

invited to visit Israel as an expression of Jewish gratitude to the Bishops' Conference for promoting the dialogue.

The dialogue began cautiously five years ago and led to the First Pan-American Conference of Catholic-Jewish Relations, held in São Paulo in November 1985, to mark the 20th anniversary of a document of the Second Vatican Council that redefined traditional Catholic views on Judaism.

But what many consider the crucial breakthrough came in December when the Bishops' Conference published its 187-page manual to guide Brazilian Catholics not only in understanding the history of the Jewish people, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, but also to guide them in handling prejudices and differences that are still troubling relations.

Brazil Makes A Move Toward Ecumenism

Some years ago, when I was living temporarily in the small city of Elko, Nevada, I became acquainted with a man I nominated as the loneliest Jew in the United States. He was the sole Jewish inhabitant of Elko, population 7,621. (He was the one.) If he wanted to observe the High Holidays, the closest place he could be sure of finding a minyan was Reno, 232 miles away as the bird flies, but close to 300 by automobile.

However . . .

A Baltimore friend, just returned from South America, has given me some fascinating statistics about the Jewish community in the largest country in that part of the world.

Brazil has a population of 132 million, of whom 92 percent (108 million) are Catholics, making it the largest Catholic country in the world. (By coincidence, Italy, where 95 percent are Catholic, and the United States, where only 23 percent are Catholic, each has a Catholic population of approximately 53 million, less than half the Brazilian total.)

In Brazil, there are 160,000 Jews, affiliated and non-affiliated; practicing and non-practicing. That figures out to approximately one-tenth of one percent of the total population.

If there were 825 Brazilians in a room, just one would be a Jew. Not quite as bad as in Elko, Nevada, but in Brazil the situation is actually worse than in Elko, because . . .

Five million Arabs from the various Middle East countries are residents of Brazil, more than 30 Arabs to every Jew.

Partly under the influence of this very wealthy, very influential and very vocal minority, Brazil has become one of the world's chief suppliers of arms to the Arab world, especially to Saudi Arabia, Libya and Iraq, three countries that have fought Israel in one or another of the five Arab-Israeli wars.

Worse than that, Brazil has very friendly relations with the PLO, even playing host to an all-Latin American PLO conference last year in which Israel came in for the usual sort of PLO vilification, but which in this case even went beyond the normal PLO venomosity.

All that is on the negative

side, but my Baltimore friend also brought back good news. Late last year, through the efforts of Rabbi Marc Tanebaum, international affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, a Pan-American Conference on Catholic-Jewish relations was held in Sao Paulo, co-sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the National Conference of Brazilian Catholic Bishops. Six cardinals and five bishops attended, defying, as it were, the not-so-subtle pressure of the Arab countries and the Arab nationals of Brazil.

The theme of the conference was "overcoming misunderstanding and promoting mutual respect."

My Baltimore friend informs me that nothing like this has happened in the 500-year history of Brazilian Jewry. "It was," he reports, "a love fest from beginning to end."

One of the resolutions adopted unanimously by the conference was the condemnation of "each and every violation of human rights, whether in the Soviet Union, where Jews and Catholics are constantly harassed, or in Iran, where the Bahai minority is in danger of extinction, or in any part of the world where these rights may be threatened."

But most important of all was the resolution which read:

"Let the leadership of the Catholic Church and of the Jewish communities . . . resolve to make known the history of the presence, accomplishments and destiny of the Jews in the Americas, in scientific terms, without the burden of prejudices which characterized historiography until the present day."

That happened several months ago. By now, said my informant, there are already fruits of this ecumenical effort. Under the leadership of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, a new Brazilian catechism, entitled "Israel, People, Land and Faith," has been prepared and will soon be widely distributed.

Even though Baltimore and Brazil are thousands of miles apart, and the two Jewish communities may not seem to have much in common except religion, it is good news, not only to Jews but also to the rest of us, that

despite all the pressure the Arabs can bring to bear, the Catholic Church, at least in Brazil, is interested in ecumenism.

CLAUDIO CAMPUZANO

Argentina's Latent Anti-Semitism Struggles to Its Feet

For Jews Argentina is a double-faced country. On the one hand, they have found a society in which they can integrate themselves to such an extreme that often provokes the despair of the more orthodox members of their community. On the other, they have to deal with an underlying anti-Semitism that periodically flares up in acts of terrorism against Jewish institutions and in stories of Jewish involvement in supposed conspiracies — financial, political or whatever — that would undermine Argentina if allowed to go ahead unchallenged.

One such story broke out in 1971. Walter Beveraggi Allende, a well-known anti-Semite, wrote then an article titled "Argentina's Self Defense Against Zionist Aggression" in which he "revealed" a plot by international Jewry to establish a Jewish state in Patagonia — the vast southern and sparsely populated area of Argentina which has been recently in the news as the site for the new national capital proposed by President Raul Alfonsin.

The official news agency of Francisco Franco's Spain ran with the story, claiming to have seen documentary evidence of the alleged "Andinia Plot," which included such details as a "gigantic natural refrigerator" in the Antarctic to store food once "Jewish genius" had achieved "superproduction of food" in Patagonia.

Although it was picked up by more than one Argentine newspaper which should have known better — its echoes of the fraudulent "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which Argentine anti-Semites kept on their night table, was unmistakable — the Andinia story died a natural death.

It was, however, resurrected early this year, under slightly different form, but again appealing to Lyndon LaRouche-type right-wingers who get high on worldwide conspiracies supposedly carried out by Zionism, Freemasonry, multinational corporations and other assorted members of their demonology.

Jacob Kovadloff, the Director of South American Affairs in the International Relations of the American Jewish Committee, has traced this resurrected story to its source. "On January 4, 1986," he reports, "the Argentine news agency *Diarios y Noticias* (DYN) disseminated throughout Argentina a report that Israeli explorers, disguised as backpackers, were surveying the El Clafate region of Santa Cruz province in Patagonia for the settlement there of 10,000 Israelis over the next ten years. The report implied that the project had been approved by national and local government officials. It included confirmatory statements by an alleged 'Jewish leader,' one 'Albert Levy' — a surname often used to identify a Jew in anti-Semitic propaganda in Argentina."

The influential Buenos Aires daily *La Nacion*, as well as many other well-known newspapers around the country carried the DYN report. By March, *Prensa Confidencial*, a newsletter which lays claim to an inside track on what's going on in Argentina, referred to the "likely" settlement in Patagonia of 30,000 Soviet Jews, with the "consent" of the Argentina, U.S. and Soviet governments.

Claudio Campuzano is a New York columnist specializing in political affairs.

Extreme right-wing and anti-Semitic publications echoed and enlarged these "reports" and others chimed in with stories headlined "Patagonia — The New Palestine?" and "The Beginning of a Jewish Settlement in Patagonia." A member of the legislature of the Santa Cruz province was reported by the most influential paper in the region to have made a "serious" accusation about a "planned invasion" of southern Argentina involving "England, Chile and Israel."

The umbrella organization of the Argentine Jewish community, DAIA (Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas de la Argentina), denounced all these bizarre falsehoods and last August published a 46-page booklet, *The Jewish Invasion — A New Anti-Semitic Fraud*, identifying the story as yet another device of reactionary forces to manipulate anti-Semitism as a way of undermining the current democratic regime.

Early on representatives of DAIA had tried to discover the source of the original report, but DYN, the news agency which originated it, could not provide any information on its source. Kovadloff reports that a spokesman for the government of Santa Cruz (the province allegedly involved) "had no information as to the source of the report." The governor himself wrote in one of the newspapers which had carried the original DYN report that he had no knowledge of the alleged Jewish settlement and that he rejected any kind of xenophobia.

"The DAIA's booklet," says Kovadloff, "failed to lay to rest the fear of a Jewish invasion." He goes on to say: "In September 1986 the Associated Press reported that President Alfonsin, on his visit to Moscow in October, was planning to ask Soviet authorities to permit the emigration of Soviet Jews to Argentina. The report was attributed to a 'presidential spokesman.' When Dr. [David] Goldberg, [president] of the DAIA inquired about the report, he was told that it was false."

Nevertheless, says Kovadloff, "another Associated Press report, dated September 19, 1986, quoted a government spokesman as saying enigmatically that the report about the emigration of Soviet Jews to Argentina 'can neither be rejected nor confirmed.'"

What Kovadloff chokes not to say at this time is that by remaining silent throughout this whole episode President Alfonsin is in effect allowing this current anti-Semitic campaign to thrive. Few would believe that Alfonsin, who as a lawyer was deeply involved in human rights cases which included a great number of Jews, has a streak of anti-Semitism in him.

Alfonsin's attitude in this case, however, points out to another trait that might yet be his undoing: he regularly remains silent on any important issue — economic, political or otherwise — far beyond the time he might need for reflecting upon it. By the time he pronounces himself so much public damage has been accumulated that the issue in question has become a festering sore. It took him two years to face the reality of the Argentine economy and come up with the Austral Plan; how long it will take him to let the government's word be heard on this issue of rampant anti-Semitism is anybody's guess.

New AJCommittee Report Suggests More Anti-Semitism In Argentina

NEW YORK (JTA) — Despite Argentina's shift to a democratic regime, anti-Semitic propaganda is still prevalent and used by right-wing elements as a tool to undermine the new government.

This assessment was outlined in a report released by the American Jewish Committee, "The Jewish Invasion — A Case History of Anti-Semitic Propaganda in Argentina."

The report was authored by Jacob Kovadloff, director of South American affairs of AJCommittee's international relations department. The report stated that the Argentine media have disseminated many "bizarre falsehoods" about alleged international Jewish conspiracies against Argentina.

Kovadloff cited a recent example involving a supposed "Jewish plot" to colonize Patagonia, Argentina's sparsely populated southern region. He chronicled the following events.

Last January and again in March, a major Argentine news agency distributed a story stating that disguised Israeli ex-

plorers were surveying a region of Patagonia for the settlement of 10,000 Israeli and 30,000 Soviet Jews over the next 10 years. The story alleged that this project was approved by the national and local governments.

Several influential papers, some well-known vehicles for right-wing anti-Semitic propaganda, publicized the story, using headlines such as "Patagonia — The New Palestine."

Representatives of the Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas de la Argentina (DAIA), the umbrella organization of Argentina's Jewish community, were unable to uncover any information regarding the source or validity of the original report.

Dr. David Goldberg, DAIA president, called the story "one of the many lies spread by certain organizations with clearly anti-Semitic leanings and a general anti-democratic stance."

Last August, the DAIA published a 46-page booklet titled: "The Jewish Invasion — A New Anti-Semitic Fraud." Despite all efforts, Kovadloff added, the story of this Jewish invasion remained intact.

The AJCommittee pointed out that the Patagonia controversy was not new. It dated back to 1939, when it was believed Nazi Germany planned to detach Patagonia from Argentina as a site for future colonization. This idea was revived in 1971 by Walter Beveraggi Allende, who wrote a highly-publicized article revealing a supposed Jewish plot to establish a Jewish state in Patagonia.

Beveraggi recently sued Dr. Goldberg for libel over the DAIA's claim that he is an anti-Semite. He has admitted, however, to being anti-Zionist, the report stated.

A two-year-old anti-discrimination bill, which would have subjected Beveraggi to prosecution, is still pending in the Argentine Senate, and the Jewish community there is waiting to see how his case will be handled.

PLANTÃO

Anti-semitismo: problema ainda latente na Argentina

Apesar de estar restaurada a democracia na Argentina, a propaganda anti-semita no país continua a se manifestar, utilizada por elementos da extrema direita que a usam para desestabilizar o novo Governo. A informação foi tornada pública pelo Comitê Judaico Americano (American Jewish Committee).

Jacobo Kovadloff, autor do relatório intitulado "A Invasão Judaica: antecedentes da propaganda anti-semita na Argentina", declarou que os meios de comunicação na Argentina disseminaram uma série de "mentiras grotescas" sobre supostas confabulações internacionais judaicas contra a Argentina.

Kovadloff, diretor de Assuntos Sul-americanos do Departamento de Relações Internacionais do AJC, menciona um exemplo recente relacionado com a "confabulação judaica" de colonizar a Patagônia, região de pequena população e recursos naturais valiosos na Argentina, e relata os episódios seguintes:

1º. Em janeiro e março do ano passado, uma das principais agências noticiosas argentinas circulou um informe no sentido de que exploradores israelenses disfarçados estavam pesquisando uma região da Patagônia para colonizá-la, enviando ao local 10 mil judeus israelenses e 30 mil judeus soviéticos durante os próximos dez anos. A agência dizia que as autoridades locais haviam aprovado o projeto.

2º. Uma série de renomados jornais, além de outros conhecidos como instrumentos de propaganda diretista e anti-semita, publicou a notícia com títulos berrantes, como, por exemplo, "Patagônia: a nova Palestina".

3º. Representantes da Delegação de Associações Israelitas da Argentina (DAIA), entidade representativa da comunidade judaica argentina, não conseguiram descobrir nenhuma informação sobre a origem ou valdez do informe original. O dr. David Goldberg, presidente da DAIA, qualificou a informação de "uma das muitas mentiras e histórias que determinadas organizações fazem circular com uma clara finalidade anti-semita e de agressão contra a sociedade democrática em geral". Em agosto de 1986 a DAIA publicou um folheto de 46 páginas, intitulado "A Invasão judaica: uma nova fraude anti-semita".

Não obstante todos os esforços despendidos, acrescentou Jacobo Kovadloff, o argumento da suposta invasão judaica se reitera periodicamente.

A "polêmica patagônica" não é novidade nenhuma, assinala o informe do AJC, já que ela remonta a 1939, quando havia rumores de que a Alemanha nazista projetava separar a Patagônia da Argentina como região de colonização futura, idéia ressuscitada em 1971 por Walter Beveraggi Allende, autor de um artigo que recebeu ampla publicidade e que divulgou a suposta confabulação judaica de criar um Estado judeu na Patagônia.

Recentemente, Beveraggi Allende iniciou um processo por difamação contra o dr. Goldberg porque a DAIA asseverou, publicamente, que ele era anti-semita. Beveraggi confessou, sem rodeios, ser anti-sionista, segundo assinala o informe.

Desde há dois anos, o projeto de lei antidiscriminatório, que poderia ter submetido ao dr. Beveraggi a

HADASHOT (ISRAEL)

November 25, 1986

תעמולה אנטי-שמיית בארגנטינה

בארגנטינה מתנהלת תעמולה אנטי-שמית חריפה, המבוצעת על-ידי יסודות ימניים כמכשיר לערעור מעמדה של הממשלה החדשה. כך נמסר בד"ח שפרסם הוועד היהודי-האמריקאי.

כרזה נאמר כי עיתוני ארגנטינה כתבו לאחזנה, שקיים 'קשר יהודי' לישב את פטגוניה, האזור הדרומי של ארגנטינה. תחת כותרות כמו 'פטגוניה - שלטונה החדשה', נטען כי ישראלים מוסווים ערכו מדידות באזור כדי לישב בו עשרות אלפים ישראלים רשמיים ואלף יהודים סובייטים בעשר השנים הקרובות.

דיוויד גולדברג, נשיא 'דאיה', ארגון יהודי ארגנטינה, אמר כי הסיפור הוא אחד מבין שקרים רבים, המופצים על-ידי ארגונים בעלי נטיות אנטי-שמיות ברורות.

הסיפור על פטגוניה מודפס, אגב, כבר כשנת 1939, כאשר גרמניה הנאצית ביקשה להפריד את פטגוניה מארגנטינה כאזור להתיישבות עתידה. כ-71 מודפסות הידועה פעם נוספת, ואז נאמר כי קיימת מדימה יהודית להקים מדינה יהודית באזור.

פמ"א (ציר-יורק)



Delegados del American Jewish Committee

Cordial visita de cortesía realizaron delegados del American Jewish Committee, al Canciller de la República Doctor Jorge Abadía Arias, quienes informaron sobre los pormenores de la visita que realizaron por nuestro país, por invitación del Consejo Central Comunitario Hebreo de Panamá. Los 25 delegados del American Jewish Committee, son todos ellos hombres de negocios y profesionales del más alto nivel en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica.

Comité Judío Americano termina visita a Guatemala



JUDIOS. — Integrantes de la misión del "American Jewish Committee, quienes visitaron nuestro país para llevar un reporte a los Estados Unidos. "Llevaremos información positiva", indicaron. En la gráfica aparecen de izquierda a derecha, Revy Mikler, David Mendell, Joan Balkin, Sergio Nudelsteger y Garr L. Kahn. (JEZ)

—Llevaremos a nuestro país información positiva respecto al desarrollo democrático en Guatemala, expresaron los integrantes de la misión del American Jewish Committee, de los Estados Unidos, que hoy viaja a Panamá.

—Los resultados de nuestra visita serán comunicados a grupos influyentes en nuestro país, con el propósito de fomentar la inversión en Guatemala y mostrar a la opinión pública norteamericana que en esta na-

ción existe un ambiente positivo, agregaron.

Según explicaron en una entrevista para PRENSA LIBRE, la AJC es una entidad enfocada a los Derechos Humanos y Civiles, cuyas investigaciones son consideradas por el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos.

Indicaron que durante su paso por Guatemala visitaron el Congreso, tuvieron una entrevista con el Vicepresidente de la República, licenciado Roberto Carpio; intercambiaron impresiones con representantes de la Comunidad Judía Guatemalteca y escucharon una conferencia acerca del desarrollo democrático en el país, dada por el diputado Héctor Mayora Dawe.

—Nos sorprende que conociéramos tan poco acerca de lo bueno que ocurre en Centro América. Últimamente sólo oímos acerca de Nicaragua y El Salvador, expresaron.

A Reagan supporter asks: Where is morality?

EXECUTIVE FORUM

By MARC M. TANENBAUM

'Must the free enterprise system rest on unethical behavior?'

A thorough president commits suicide in the face of revelations of widespread corruption. Ivan Boesky and a small group of yuppie Wall Street investment bankers exploit their "insider" information—in violation of SEC rules—to make killings in the millions. Major corporations are caught defrauding the U.S. government in defense contracts.

Fraud, deception, price-rigging, bribery, disinformation. Is this what American democracy is really all about? Is it inevitable that the capitalistic free enterprise system rests on dishonesty and unethical behavior? How long can a society—even a superpower—sustain the contradiction between its professed ideals and such contrary business practices?

These are not the murmurings

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum is director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee.

of a Marxist propagandist. I regard myself as a moderate, centrist independent who voted for Ronald Reagan in the last elections. I am the son of Russian Jewish immigrants who escaped from the poverty and pogroms of czarist Russia. Thanks to the freedoms provided by this great democracy and the opportunities made possible by its free enterprise system, my parents were able to earn a decent, if hard, livelihood, raise a family of three children, and feel fulfilled through their successes as American citizens.

Through my 35 years of working in the areas of world refugees and hunger, human rights and foreign relations, I also know from much firsthand experience that the United States is without question the most compassionate and generous nation in human history. It still tugs at my heart to recall a Vietnamese child in a Southeast Asian refugee camp grabbing my jacket and pleading, "Mister, take me to America with you. America is liberty. I love America."

Both those freedoms and that material abundance are inextric-



ably linked to the political culture of the American free enterprise system. And yet as a student of American history, I worry over the future character of American democracy, whose central values are mocked by such widespread cynicism, immorality and just plain white-collar crime.

From the earliest days of this republic, the founding fathers struggled to overcome human greed and unbridled self-interest by insisting that "public virtue" was the keystone of a free society. As Prof. Clinton Rossiter has observed in his study, "The Political Thought of the American Revolution," "Samuel Adams spoke for all American thinkers" when he wrote: "We may look up to armies for our defense, but virtue is our best security. It is not possible that any state should long remain free where virtue is not supremely honored."

What was the content of that "public virtue?" Early American thinkers stressed the following traits:

First, the willingness to act morally without compulsion;

Second, public spirit and patriotism, defined in 1776 as "a disinterested attachment to the public good, exclusive and independent of all private and (Continued on Page 14)

Business loses ethical base

From Page 13

selfish interest;"

Third, official incorruptibility, a state of virtue saluted by Thomas Jefferson when he reminded George 3d that "the whole act of government consists in the art of being honest," and

Fourth, industry and frugality, hard work and plain living, the only path to personal liberty and national independence, since these were essential to the suc-

cess of America's economic productivity.

If we wish to remain faithful to that early American vision of a free republic, we would do well to examine the sources of our present state of values. As Prof. Daniel Boorstin has written, advertising, and particularly its powerful TV offspring, has helped form a culture of instant gratification.

Since piling up wealth and material goods is the sign of the ideal American, inevitably ethics become short-circuited. Every

means to the end of acquisition becomes justified.

The great 12th century Jewish scholar, Maimonides, insisted that moderation, self-discipline and restraint are the "golden way" for authentic, meaningful living.

American society—particularly our business culture and its leaders—would do well to ponder the wisdom of both Maimonides and Thomas Jefferson, before this nation is further weakened internally from the weight of its narcissistic excesses.



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THE AMERICAN

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INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906 in response to the brutal pogroms in Kishinev and elsewhere in Tsarist Russia. Since that time, AJC has maintained as its central purpose the protection of Jews around the world. In this pursuit, it has become a significant and respected factor on the international scene.

The goals of the International Relations Department today fall into five principal categories:

- a) Strengthening the security and well-being of Israel, interpreting its concerns in the United States and elsewhere, and seeking to contribute to the domestic quality of life, particularly in the sphere of inter and intra-group relations;
- b) Combatting of anti-Semitism and protection of endangered and otherwise vulnerable Jewish communities, including those in the Soviet Union, the Middle East and North Africa, Ethiopia, and South Africa;
- c) Enhancement of the quality of Jewish life, particularly in smaller communities in Central and South America, and Europe;
- d) Promotion of international human rights standards and adherence, including religious tolerance, the right to leave, human rights education, and respect for civil and political rights;
- e) Pursuit of inter-religious dialogue, especially with the Vatican and the hierarchies of the Catholic Churches in Europe, Central and South America, Africa and Asia.

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THE EMBEDDEDNESS OF THE ARAB-JEWISH CONFLICT

IN ISRAELI SOCIETY

by Calvin Goldscheider

The Arab-Jewish conflict in Israel is often viewed in the context of the sensational and the exceptional--the terrorism with an incident, the headline of a political action or military operation, or the pronouncements of an Israeli or Arab leader in or outside of Israel. Political issues, particularly the analysis of the role of elites in international politics and the external relations between Israel and neighboring Arab nations, have become major contexts for understanding the internal patterns of the Jewish-Arab conflict in Israel. These perspectives are reinforced by the mass media and by political elites but are inadequate basis for the analysis of the Arab-Jewish conflict within Israeli society. Policies derived from these perspectives are not likely to result in a reduction of the conflicts within Israel.

An alternative perspective focuses on the embeddedness of the Arab-Jewish conflict in Israeli society. The argument is that the internal conflict in the State of Israel is most problematic because it is normalized, i.e., it is embedded in the social structure, in the ways its institutions are organized and how the younger generation of Jews and Arabs are socialized and taught about each other. The core of the conflict is profound because it is linked not to the rare event but to patterns of everyday life; it is integral to the ways Jews and Arabs in Israel live and think, and how they compete for economic and political resources. Because the conflict does not simply reflect the ideologies of political elites but is embedded in the society and its institutions, it is not transitional.

If the conflicts associated with Arab-Jewish relationships are transitory and idiosyncratic, time and normalization will reduce, if not eliminate, the tensions. If the issues are political and individualistic, then political change and the silencing or elimination of individuals will go far toward the resolution of the conflict. On the other hand, when the tensions and conflict are embedded in the social, cultural, political and economic spheres of society, social institutions reinforce inter-group conflict. The overlap of socio-economic, residential, and ethnic differences between groups is translated into ways of thinking; links between ethnicity, power, and social class are,

An earlier version of this paper was presented as a lecture at the Lincoln Square Synagogue, New York, May 28, 1986.

in turn, transmitted generationally. Hence, only policies directed to changing the social structure are likely to affect the intensity and depth of the conflict. To argue that there will be a firm basis for a peaceful resolution of the conflict when Arabs and Jews "desire" peace, implies that if there is no peace, someone doesn't want it and that desires are the major obstacles to a peaceful resolution. The conflicts between Arab and Jew within Israel are not simply a question of desires. Even if a political settlement between Arabs and Jews is reached, the embeddedness of the conflict will continue as a major obstacle to peace.

Two contexts help clarify the embeddedness of the Arab-Jewish conflict. One is the examination of the changing demographic contours of majority-minority relationships. This includes an investigation into the changing size, growth, and ethnic composition of the Jewish and Arab populations, the demographic formation of these communities, and the changing relative proportions of each, now and in the future. A second context relates to the minority group status of Arabs within Israel's social system and the perception of that status by Jews and Arabs with the State of Israel. Here we focus on the perception of the future relationship between these groups, examining the individual views of Arabs about Jews and Jews about Arabs. The embeddedness of the conflict emerges clearly when both the community-demographic and individual-perceptual levels are compared and integrated.

The Demographic Picture

We begin our examination of the embeddedness of the conflict by outlining the demographics of Jewish and Arab populations in Israel.*¹ In the 1980s, Israel had a population size of over four million, 83 percent were Jews and 17 percent were Arabs. Over time, the Jewish population has become increasingly "oriental," i.e., from Asian and African origins: In 1948, about 15 percent of the Jewish population of Israel was "oriental"; in 1985, the proportion had increased to around 55 percent. To be sure, the changing ethnic composition involves the complexities associated with the specific countries of origin within both the oriental and western Jewish population, the changes generated by length of exposure to the country, generation status, and marriage between ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the identification of two socio-ethnic components within the Jewish population reflects the major axis of continuing differentiation and stratification. The oriental-western division remains of primary importance in terms of differential power and economic resources, residential concentration, and social status.

¹ * The statistical presentation is documented in Dov Friedlander and Calvin Goldscheider, Population: The Challenge of Pluralism, Population Bulletin, Population Reference Bureau, Vol.39, No.2, 1984. The data are official data published by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics.

The shift toward a larger proportion oriental within the Jewish population is therefore of significance as a basis of social stratification not primarily as a cultural division.

The Arab population of Israel has become increasing Moslem. In the 1940s, 78 percent of the non-Jewish population was Moslem (almost entirely of the Sunni branch of Islam), 14 percent were Christian and nine percent were Druze. In contrast, 69 percent of the non-Jewish population in 1948 were Moslem. In the territories administered by Israel (the West Bank and Gaza Strip) there are, in addition 1.3 million Arabs (almost all Moslem) and about 30,000 Jews. Together, the population of Israel and the territories administered by Israel has a 65 percent Jewish majority out of a population of 5.5 million.

This snapshot demographic profile needs some historical context in dealing with the relationships between Jews and Arabs within Israel. First, there has been a rather stable ratio between Jewish and Arab population size within the State of Israel. This is surprising since there has been an enormous increase in the Jewish population through mass immigration in the first three years of Statehood and the influx of Jewish migrants to Israel in the last three and a half decades. Between May, 1948 and May, 1951, 650,000 Jews migrated to Israel, doubling the Jewish population; between 1951 and 1985 approximately 1.2 million Jews migrated to Israel.

While the Jewish community increased in size through immigration, the Arab population increased through natural increase (the excess of births over deaths). In early 1948, when Palestine was within the British Mandate, total population size was two million, one-third was Jewish. In mid-1948, the State of Israel was established occupying only part of Palestine, and large numbers of Arabs emigrated (i.e., were "forced out" or "ran away" depending on what side of the political fence you sit). Out of the 800,000 persons counted in the first census of Israel, 650,000 were Jews, 85 percent were European in birth or origin. The mass immigration of Jews in the three years following the establishment of the state, doubled the Jewish population and increased the oriental share of the total population from 15 percent to 33 percent. At the same time, the Arab population within the State of Israel increased in size through high birth rates and declining death rates, with little Arab population growth due to net immigration. The high rate of Moslem fertility began a slow decline during the decade of the 1970s. The Arab populations of the administered territories continue to have very high fertility and there are no clear signs yet of a decline in their fertility. Hence, the demographic ratio of Arab to Jewish population in the State of Israel has remained remarkably constant as Jewish immigration has balanced the high fertility of the Moslem-Arab population and major transitions in mortality and fertility among all population segments have occurred.

What about the future? Is there a basis for projecting a continuous balanced ratio of Jewish and Arab population in the State of

Israel. What are the growth patterns associated with Israel's demographic mosaic? Several projections of Israel's population have been made and are instructive to examine not as predictors of what will be but as indicators of current patterns. All population projections are based on detailed assumptions about the future of those population processes that most directly affect the size and growth rate of the population. In preparing population projections for the Jewish and Arab communities of Israel, a series of maximum to minimum assumptions were made regarding the processes underlying population growth in order to have a broad range of possible combinations of fertility, mortality, and immigration. These were prepared separately for the populations living within the State of Israel and for the larger area under the administration of Israel. Four demographic issues emerge from these projections that are related to our focus on Jewish-Arab relationships.

(1) What is expected to happen to the ethnic balance among Israeli Jews? We have already noted the shift toward oriental-ization of the Jewish population of Israel, i.e., the increase in the proportion of Jews from Asian and African origins. This pattern will continue in the future but at a very slow pace. The relative stability of the size of the Western and oriental Jewish populations in Israel derives from the convergences in their reproduction patterns, balanced by the small number of immigrants who are entering Israeli society from Europe and America, combined with the small number of Jews remaining in Asian and African countries. The most conservative estimate suggests that by the year 2015, the proportion of Israeli Jewish population who will be of oriental origin will hover around 60 percent. The range of likely possibilities is small and represents almost no change in current patterns.

(2) What about the Jewish majority in Israel? Jews became the majority of the State's population after 1948, moving to 81% of the total population from 33% in the pre-State period. By the 1980s, the proportion Jewish had edged upward to around 83% of the total in the state. Most of this small change was due to the long term impact of Jewish immigration. Since Israeli Moslem fertility has fallen, the relative proportion of Jews and Arabs within Israel should remain between 76% and 79% irrespective of any realistic assumption about fertility and immigration changes of either population. Thus, the majority-minority demographic issue within Israeli society is not likely to significantly change in the foreseeable future.

(3) What about Jewish Arab balance within "Greater Israel? The demographic picture of Jewish-Arab ratios will be dramatically different if Israel annexes territory and the populations within the territories administered by Israel. Even unrealistic assumptions of increases in the rates of fertility and immigration of the Jewish population, shrinks the proportion Jewish to 60% by the year 2015; the more likely assumptions

will move the proportion Jewish to slightly less than 50% in that year, when the total populations of Israel and the administered territories are considered jointly. This reduction of the Jewish demographic majority will occur even with a decline in Moslem fertility and some Moslem emigration from the West Bank.

The administrative and political incorporation of the Arab populations of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into Israeli society would obviously change the relationships between the Arab and Jewish sectors. The extreme scenarios (e.g., the emergence of bi-national state with a likely chance of an Arab majority or an increasingly colonial-like relationship between a diminishing Jewish majority and disenfranchised Arabs living in the extended borders of Israel) would intensify the conflict basic of Jewish-Arab relationships.

(4) What about "westernization" within the newly extended borders? Zionism and Israeli society were founded and formulated by western and European Jews. Will the State of Israel remain European or western in socio-political orientation? The proportion of European-origin Jews is unlikely to exceed 30% of the total population within the current boundaries of Israel and about 22% of the population of Greater Israel. Israel therefore is being transformed, and is likely to become less European-oriented as a political and social system under conditions of a "Greater Israel." This process also has the potential of intensifying the Arab-Jewish conflict.

The importance of the orientalizing and Islamization with Israel goes beyond issues of politics and culture. These processes have shaped the social and demographic composition of the society and structured the potential increase in tensions and conflicts between the changed Jewish and Arab populations within Israel. Three and a half decades ago, the Arab-Jewish conflict in Israel was between an overwhelmingly European, urban, educated, Jewish population and a divided, leaderless, isolated, agricultural Moslem community. In the 1980s, the Israeli-Jewish population is more likely from Moslem countries, recently educated and modernized, and economically mobile intergenerationally. The social position of the growing majority of oriental Jews is below that of the Israeli-born of European origins and above that of Israeli Arabs. It is this social structural position of oriental Jews, even for the second and third generations removed from foreign born status, that becomes important in the determination of Jewish-Arab relations. Oriental "culture" or "mentality" is not the primary factor influencing the ways in which oriental Jews relate to Israeli Arabs; nor are the "negative" experiences of foreign born oriental Jews with Arabs in countries of origin the key element in the current relationships between their children and grandchildren with the Arab minority in Israel. Rather it is the social position oriental Jews occupy in the social hierarchy within Israeli society that shapes in large part their relationship to the strata below them (i.e., the Israeli Arabs) and the strata above

them (Israeli-born Jews of European origin).

The emerging Israeli-Jewish population is interacting (at least formally) with an increasingly well-educated Moslem population working in urban-related industries, linked to Arab-Moslem populations in neighboring countries and throughout the world. The Israeli-Moslem population has limited political control over its own community, is relatively isolated residentially, and is restricted by the economic opportunities available. Israeli Arabs are increasingly in competition over social, political, and economic resources with the oriental segment of the Jewish population. In such competition, the Israeli Arabs are rarely in a position to compete successfully. The structural position of these groups within Israel along with the changing ethnic demography shape as well as the attitudinal and normative patterns of how Jews view their relationship to Israeli Arabs and how Israeli Arabs view their future in Israeli society.

The major demographic questions posed by 19th century Zionists in Europe, again in 1948, and in political debates in the 1980s will remain salient into the 21st century. Will Israel remain a Jewish State? Will those who argue for its Jewishness be those who by their political actions insure a diminished Jewishness or an altered polity? Will Israel remain a democratic western society? Whatever the ideological, social, economic, political, and cultural complexities of these questions, demographic processes will remain central among those factors determining the future of Israeli society.

The Attitudinal Picture

How are these structural and demographic patterns translated into attitudes and feelings among Arabs and Jews at the individual level. Do these demographic concerns influence the deeply embedded social conflict or are they irrelevant for the people involved? Population patterns have profound implications for Israeli society and the people within it (and some of those not living in Israeli society). To address these questions we turn to a second context of minority-majority relationships, not in the sense of demographic size, composition, and numbers, but of power, tolerance, and the attitudes of minorities within society.

The standards to evaluate the relationships between minority-majority populations are very high when measured by the criteria of moral-political pronouncements and ideals. From the very beginnings of statehood and even before its establishment, all the leaders of the Jewish community in Israel professed principles of equality between Jew and Arab in the emerging new nation. The rights of the Arab communities--legal, moral, social, and political--were to be safeguarded and ensured. These early political values of tolerance, however, were not the basis of the institutions built. Jewish-Arab relations have been based on, and continue to be based on, principles of mutual distrust. The Israeli government operates on the principle that Arabs are suspect

and potentially disloyal. Formal and informal education raises generation after generation of Arabs and Jews not to trust each other. These patterns may be justifiable for a variety of reasons, particularly given the long history of war and terrorism in the area. However, even when understandable, the patterns have profound implications. Thus, for example, the continuous state of war and hostilities between Israel and her Arab neighbors has led to the geographic segregation of Arabs within Israel as well as other forms of educational and occupational discrimination. Indeed, the treatment of the Israeli Arab population as potentially disloyal to the State of Israel has been justified on this basis, as has the treatment of Arabs within the territories administered by Israel. The termination of the Arab-Israel conflict would not automatically alter the embeddedness of such discrimination, since these patterns over time, and particularly over generations, have become institutionalized.

How does this distrust get translated into Jewish and Arab attitudes? Recent surveys in Israel reported by Haifa University sociologist Sammy Smooha*² show how deeply ingrained are these attitudes of distrust. He reports that about two-thirds of the Jews believe that they cannot trust Israeli Arabs and an equivalent proportion of Israeli Arabs believe that they cannot trust Israeli Jews. Each group perceives the State of Israel and the nature of the Arab-Jewish conflict in very different terms. Most Israeli Jews, for example, see the State of Israel as a Jewish homeland and want to maintain a Jewish majority, with Hebrew as the sole national language, and are supportive of continuous Jewish immigration to Israel. Most Israeli Arabs eject these views. While most Israeli Arabs reject the notion of Israel as a Jewish-Zionist State, most do not see an Arab State as an alternative model but envision a State based on a dual language and dual culture; a State recognizing equality and the legitimacy of socio-cultural identities for Jews and Arabs.

The attitudinal differences between Jews and Arabs are not abstract but relate directly and concretely to the core of the Arab-Jewish conflict. Smooha reports that while rejecting the ideology of the PLO, Arabs in Israel argue for the right of Palestinians to self-determination, for the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and setting up a Palestinian State alongside of the State of Israel. Israeli Jews tend to reject these positions. Most revealing is how Israeli Jews expect to deal with protest and conflict. Public opinion polls reveal expressions among Jews of rather harsh treatment toward Arab dissenters. Almost two-thirds of the Israeli Jewish population would deal with Arabs who do not agree with the Jewish-Zionist consensus extra-judicially, i.e., outside of the normative

² *S. Smooha, "The Tolerance of the Jewish Majority in Israel Toward the Arab Minority: Comparative Perspectives," in Alouph Hareven (ed.), Is it really Difficult to be an Israeli?, Jerusalem: The Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 1983 pp.91-107 (Hebrew).

legal system through preventive detention or expulsion without trial. Intolerant attitudes toward dissent and political pluralism characterize the Jewish responses to Israeli Arabs who do not accept the Zionist ideology of the State of Israel. While these attitudes in general characterize the Israeli Jewish population, they are more extreme among the oriental origin segments of the Jewish population.

Forms of structural discrimination against Israeli Arabs within the State of Israel have been extensively documented. Discrimination in schools, residence, jobs, and in public activities are conspicuous. While the minority rights of individuals are safeguarded in Israel, minority communities have little independent control over their lives, educational system, mass media, political parties, or even their religion. Arabs in Israel are recognized as a religious and cultural minority but not as a political minority community. These structural forms of discrimination impinge on the attitude sets of Jews and Arabs and are embedded in the institutional patterns of the society.

In most cases, Jews in Israel believe that the State should prefer Jews to Arabs in all arenas of public policy. Only a small proportion of Jews subscribe to the notion of "equal opportunity" for all groups in areas of education, jobs, and financial support from the government. Smooha reports that fully one-third of Israeli Jewish adults are not prepared to work with Israeli Arabs and two-thirds are not prepared to have an Arab supervisor at their workplace. And while Israeli Jews express support for the rights of minority groups everywhere in the world in the areas of jobs, education, land ownership, and fair trials (particularly for Jews who are in the), they justify discriminating against the Arab minority in Israel in these same areas.

The implications of these attitudes are clear for Jewish-Arab relationships within Israel for the tensions between western and eastern Jews within Israel, and for the potential conflict between Israeli Jews and Jews outside of Israel. As the Jewish population in Israeli society becomes more oriental ethnically, the tensions between Jews and Moslems are likely to increase.

The demographic and attitudinal patterns imply serious challenges to policy. The future population projections are not forecasts. They describe the current pattern, not what will be nor what is inevitable. There are few solutions to the Arab-Jewish conflict in Israel if the territories are incorporated within a greater Israel and the Arab populations within them are retained. Given the current attitudinal profile of Jews and Arabs in Israel, the retention of the status quo will also accelerate Arab-Jewish conflict within Israel.

The raising of a new generation on the basis of mutual mistrust feeds the sparks of extremism on both sides. "Come let us reason together" is too often a political slogan that is empty of policy. It is used by some to show that there is nothing to talk about or no one to talk to. "Let us put our house in order" may represent a basis for a

better policy. Israel needs to deal constructively with its own ethnic pluralism and its institutional relationship to the Arab minority within its borders in order to create a new basis for a pluralistic social order. If not, the growing orientalizing of the Jewish population and the growing proportion of Arabs within Israel and the territories it manages will continue to polarize the society and exacerbate the conflict.

The Arab-Jewish conflict has become embedded in Israeli society. While the conflict is rooted in history historical rationalizations are polemical exercises on both side. Moral arguments about Jewish "rights" to Judea and Samaria are difficult to sustain in the context of other moral imperatives, of at least equal value in how others (strangers and citizens) should be treated within Jewish society. Nor can we avoid the continual effects of war and terrorism that "justify" the variety of discriminations against the Arab minority and is the rationale behind the expressed discriminatory attitudes and practices.

There are new factors in the Arab-Jewish conflict related to the types of embeddedness that make the situation in the late 1980s different and more problematic than at early points in Israel's history. Ethnic compositional changes within the Jewish population, the growing proportion Moslem, the linkages among Moslems in and outside of Israel, and the generational transmission of mutual distrust are significant part of the new embeddedness. Policies need to be designed to generate structural and institutional equalities for all communities and to transform the ways in which Jews and Arabs in Israel relate to each other. The Jewish-Arab conflict within Israel will not likely be reduced by the continuation of current policies; more likely than not the conflict will become more extreme.

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BACK TO BASIC PRINCIPLES*

by George E. Gruen

It may be a fortunate coincidence that the centennial of David Ben-Gurion's birth is taking place at a time when the basic relationship between the State of Israel and the Jewish communities of the United States and other Diaspora communities is again the subject of intense discussion and heated controversy. The repercussions of the Pollard Affair, the renewed debate over the primacy of the obligation of Russian Jews with Israeli visas to come to Israel versus their right to freedom of choice, the potential impact of Israeli arms sales policies on the Jews of Iran or South Africa, -- these are only some of the most recent manifestations of fundamental issues on the nature of the relationship between Israel and the Jewish communities abroad that needed to be defined when the State of Israel was first established.

When the recent mission of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations paid a visit to honor the memory of Ben-Gurion at Sde Boqer, in March '87, they were greeted by Professor Ilan Troen, Director of the Ben-Gurion Research Institute and Archives. The Boston-trained historian began by noting that Ben-Gurion had always displayed a profound sense of history and when the Jewish State was established he was grappling with a situation that was new and unique. Jewish sovereignty had not existed for some nineteen centuries. Moreover, the concept of the modern, democratic nation-state in which Jews were accorded full and equal participation in political life, as in the United States, was also a relatively recent and unprecedented development. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion therefore welcomed the initiative of Jacob Blaustein, a leading American industrialist and the then President of the American Jewish Committee, to discuss and clarify the basic issues.

Mr. Blaustein had been working hard in Washington to enlist American political support and economic assistance for the new Jewish State. Yet he always made a point of stressing that "as an American citizen and a Jew" he advocated a pro-Israeli policy, in the face of continuing opposition in some State Department circles, because of his firm conviction that strengthening Israel would advance United States national interests, by creating "a stronghold of democracy in an area where liberal democracy is practically unknown." He was naturally also concerned that Israeli statements or actions not undermine this sense of

* This article was distributed by the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee to persons who visited the AJC's booth at the Jerusalem Book Fair in April 1987. (The full text of the Blaustein-Ben-Gurion Agreement is available on request.) Dr. Gruen is Director of the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department.

common interests or raise the spectre of dual loyalty.

The extensive Blaustein-Ben-Gurion discussions, which included cabinet consideration, resulted in an agreed exchange of public statements at a luncheon at the King David Hotel on August 23, 1950. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion declared that it was "entirely clear" to him that "American Jews, as individuals and as a community, have only one political attachment and that is to the United States of America. They owe no political allegiance to Israel." He noted that in the first speech following Israel's admission to the United Nations, Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett had stressed that "Israel represents and speaks only on behalf of its own citizens and in no way presumes to represent or speak in the name of the Jews who are citizens of any other country."

Mayor Teddy Kollek, who welcomed the Presidents' Conference group on their arrival in Jerusalem on March 17, noted the relevance of the Ben-Gurion declaration to the Pollard Affair. Mr. Kollek, who had been the Director-General of the Prime Minister's office at the time and closely involved in the Blaustein-Ben-Gurion discussions, recalled that Prime Minister Ben-Gurion had stressed that "Any weakening of American Jewry, any disruption of its communal life, any lowering of its sense of security, any diminution of its status, is a definite loss to Jews everywhere and to Israel in particular."

Those who had recruited Pollard to spy on behalf of Israel, Mr. Kollek said, had been insensitive to these considerations. "We have to go back to basic principles," Mayor Kollek told the Presidents' Conference delegation, "and not to try to be overly smart." In an interview with Abraham Rabinowitz (Jerusalem Post, March 13) Mr. Kollek had already expressed the hope that Israel would quickly reaffirm that although it sought the sympathy and support of American Jewry, "their loyalty belongs to the United States."

At the meeting of the Presidents' Conference group with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir on March 18, I referred to the Ben-Gurion statement and quoted from two additional sentences: "We, the people of Israel, have no desire and no intention to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of Jewish communities abroad...Our success or failure depends in a large measure on our cooperation with, and on the strength of, the great Jewish community of the United States, and we, therefore, are anxious that nothing should be said or done which could in the slightest degree undermine the sense of security and stability of American Jewry." I asked Mr. Shamir whether he agreed with Ben-Gurion's statement and whether he regarded it as still applicable to current issues.

Prime Minister Shamir assured me that he agreed with these principles. "We don't want to interfere in the life of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. We want to talk with them, to consult, to agree if we can, on all the issues on the Jewish agenda. We are one people...We

don't impose our views, we try to convince, when we believe we are right."

One of the matters on which Israeli leaders from Ben-Gurion to Shamir have sought to convince the Jews of the Diaspora is the importance of aliyah to Israel. Most American Jews acknowledge this and understand the deep disappointment felt by Israelis over the fact that the great majority of Jews have chosen to remain in the Diaspora. It may come as a surprise to some Israeli readers that the Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations, which was established by the American Jewish Committee several years ago, issued a statement in October 1986 encouraging and recommending practical steps to increase aliyah. The statement by the Institute's American Advisory Board noted:

"Over and above the ideological motivations that individuals may have for deciding to go on aliyah, namely the wish to live a full Jewish life in a Jewish State, it is recognized that discussions to go on aliyah are frequently the result of positive experiences in Israel, particularly by young people, such as extended study periods, work or service programs, frequent visits, or investments in Israel. Accordingly, the Institute should stimulate and in some instances undertake programs of study, research and education that would have as their objective, increasing and enhancing all such opportunities for American Jewish-Israeli interaction... The Institute should also work with Israeli leaders to improve their educational programs dealing with aliyah and to remove those barriers which impede successful absorption of the immigrants into Israeli society."

What American Jewish leaders from Jacob Blaustein's time until today have objected to were Israeli declarations that negated the legitimacy of Jewish life in free societies such as the United States, or that sought to employ questionable methods to stimulate aliyah. The most recent of these has been the attempt by Israeli officials to change U.S. immigration policy so as to restrict the possibility for Russian Jews with visas for Israel to benefit from current U.S. refugee provisions.

With regard to this painful controversy as well, the authoritative statement issued by Israel's first prime minister in August 1950 and reaffirmed by Mr. Ben-Gurion in a joint statement with Mr. Blaustein in April 1961, is worthy of note:

"We should like to see American Jews come and take part in our effort. We need their technical knowledge, their unrivalled experience, their spirit of enterprise, their bold vision, their 'know how'... The tasks which face us in this country are eminently such as would appeal to the American genius for technical development and social progress. But the decision as to whether they wish to come -- permanently or temporarily -- rests with the free discretion of each American Jew himself. It is entirely a matter of his own volition. We need halutzim, pioneers too. Halutzim have come to us -- and we believe more will come, not only from those countries where the Jews are oppressed and in

"exile" but also from countries where Jews live a life of freedom and are equal in status to all other citizens in their country. But the essence of halutzit is free choice."

Mr. Ben-Gurion recognized that aliyah must be a matter of individual free choice. There is today no more heroic champion of aliyah than Natan Sharansky. Yet I heard him only the other day warn Israeli leaders to radically overhaul their cumbersome bureaucracy and improve the absorption process if Israel is to attract and keep significant numbers of olim from the Soviet Union. To the extent that Israel straightens out its economy, maintains a vibrant democracy, and actively pursues peace, it will also succeed in attracting increasing numbers of Jews from the United States and other free societies as willing partners and participants in its historic mission.

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AMERICAN JEWISH ATTITUDES TOWARD ISRAEL AND ISRAELI JEWS

RESULTS OF AJC-COMMISSIONED STUDY

By Steven M. Cohen

April 23, 1987

The vast majority of American Jews express passionate concern for the State of Israel, and a substantial minority maintain significant personal relationships with Israelis and other extraordinarily close ties with the Jewish State, according to a nationwide survey of American Jews released this morning by the American Jewish Committee.

The survey also found that most American Jews consider criticism of the Israeli government acceptable, and those most often troubled by the policies of the Government are those who are most intensely attached to Israel.

The study, which ranged over such issues as antagonism to Israeli Orthodox Jews, anxieties about U.S. support for Israel, fears about U.S. anti-Semitism, and reactions to the rise of Meir Kahane, was discussed today at a news conference at AJC national headquarters here. The survey of 1133 American Jews was sponsored by AJC's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations and conducted by Steven M. Cohen, professor of sociology at Queens College, CUNY, who was the main speaker at the news conference.

Titled "Ties and Tensions: The 1986 Survey of American Jewish Attitudes Toward Israel and Israelis," the study was based on data collected in October and November, 1986, through a mail-back questionnaire.

Alfred H. Moses, chair of the U.S. Advisory Board to the Institute, noted that the survey was a follow-up to a study conducted by Professor Cohen for the Institute in 1983, and added: "We hope that these latest findings will provide a new understanding and new insights into the tangled web of American Jewish-Israeli relations."

The study found that the percentage of American Jews who express various forms of strong attachment to Israel was about the same in 1986 as it was in 1983. Thus, in the 1986 study, about a third of the respondents said that: they had been to Israel (33%); had a personal friend in Israel (30%); had family in Israel (34%); knew an American who had settled in Israel (40%); corresponded with, phoned, or dealt directly with an Israeli in the last year (26%); would want their children to spend a year in Israel (34%), and considered themselves Zionists (27%).

While the respondents who gave these kinds of responses may be regarded as the most deeply attached to Israel, said Professor Cohen, about three-fifths or more can be seen as "at least moderately attached to the Jewish State." Thus, the survey found that at least three-fifths knew an Israeli personally (60%), said they would regard Israel's destruction "as the greatest personal tragedy in my life" (61%), and viewed "caring about Israel" as "a very important part of my being a Jew" (63%). Also, more than three quarters (77%) would want their children to visit Israel, and 60% say they intend to travel to Israel, whether for a first or a repeat visit.

The study also indicated that since 1983 the number of American Jews who are "peripherally attached" to Israel grew about 10 percentage points at the expense of the "moderately attached" middle group. "Although we cannot know for sure," Professor Cohen said, "it seems that the very fortunate absence of war in the Middle East has led some American Jews, those with the most peripheral involvement in Jewish or pro-Israel life, to express somewhat lower levels of interest in Israel.

"One thing is clear, though. Differences with the Israeli government are not the immediate cause of the small amount of distancing the study has detected among the one-third of American Jews who are least involved with Israel."

On the one hand, Professor Cohen reported, about 40% of the entire sample said they were sometimes "troubled by the policies of the Israeli government." But, he stressed, those who were troubled were found more frequently among the minority who had been to Israel, among those who expressed the highest levels of attachment, and among the more religiously traditional.

Moreover, most respondents did not object to criticism of Israel by other Jews. By a 3 to 1 majority (63% to 22%) -- the widest margin in five studies since 1981 -- the sample rejected the view that "American Jews should not publicly criticize the policies of the government of Israel." An overwhelming 72% majority agreed that "Jews who are severely critical of Israel should nevertheless be allowed to speak in synagogues and Jewish community centers." A plurality (38% to 27%) also agreed that "most American Jewish organizations have been too willing to automatically support the policies of whatever Israeli party happens to be in power."

Jews under 40 scored somewhat lower on attachment-to-Israel measures than did those 40 and over. The difference could not be totally explained, said Professor Cohen, by the fact that younger adults had not traveled to Israel as much as their elders had; nor, he said, was there a comparable difference between older and younger adults in other dimensions of Jewish identity. "These findings," he said, "constitute some evidence -- although still weak at this stage -- of a slight erosion in the intensity of younger adults' attachment to Israel as compared with their elders."

The survey also documented very large variations among the major Jewish religious denominations: on all measures of involvement with Israel -- such as travel to Israel, knowing Israelis, caring about her survival -- the Orthodox outscored the Conservative Jews by wide margins, while Conservative Jews outscored Reform Jews by somewhat narrower margins. (The differences remained constant in synagogue members and non-members alike.)

For example, most (57%) of the Orthodox had been to Israel, as compared with 41% of the Conservatives, and only 24% of Reform Jews. More dramatically, over a third (34%) of the Orthodox had been there at least twice, as compared with 13% of Conservative Jews and 7% of Reform Jews.

Moreover, in comparison with 1983, the Orthodox, already strongly involved with Israel, apparently became even more deeply attached; the Conservatives remained unchanged, and the Reform Jews, who had been generally among the less involved in 1983, became even more removed. It is likely, Professor Cohen indicated, that the increased estrangement of Reform Jews from Israel stems from their discontent with the growing influence of Israeli orthodoxy.

Almost half the sample expressed anxieties about U.S. support for Israel, but there were fewer worriers in 1986 than in 1983: in the current study, 40% said they were "worried the U.S. may stop being a firm ally of Israel" (down from 55% in 1983), and 46% believed that "when it comes to the crunch, few non-Jews will come to Israel's side in its struggle to survive" (down from 54% in 1983).

"Clearly," said Professor Cohen, "the anxieties over the U.S.-Israel relationship were less pronounced in the fall of 1986 than in 1983. The earlier study was conducted in the wake of the Lebanon war, when Israel's actions were being severely criticized by the American media; the latter survey took place after many years of a strengthening of the strategic, commercial, financial, and diplomatic ties between the two governments."

These concerns, he continued, must be seen against a background of American Jewish anxiety about American anti-Semitism generally. As in several previous AJC studies of American Jews, about two-thirds of the sample expressed serious concerns about U.S. anti-Semitism. As many as 74% could not agree that "Anti-Semitism in America is currently not a serious problem for American Jews," and 63% failed to concur with the statement that "Virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews."

The 1986 survey also uncovered considerable opposition to Meir Kahane, the American-born rabbi who was elected to the Israeli Knesset in 1984 on a platform that many mainstream Israeli political figures regard as racist and anti-democratic. Though Kahane was well-known to the sample, in contrast to all other Israeli personalities in the

survey, he was almost uniformly rejected by the respondents. Unfavorable views outnumbered favorable impressions by a 7-to-1 margin; at the other extreme, Shimon Peres's "favorables" outweighed his "unfavorables" by more than 10-to-1. Rejection of Kahane was generally most pronounced among those most attached to Israel, reflecting their greater interest in Israeli current events. At the same time, the only group in the sample with some noticeable measure of acceptance of Kahane were the Orthodox, who were fairly evenly divided.

Finally, despite their apparently high levels of commitment to Israel and the Jewish people, the sample also exhibited what Professor Cohen termed a "tribal universalism." Almost all (96%) agreed that "As Jews we should be concerned about all people, and not just Jews." An overwhelming majority (89% to 9%) claimed that "I get just as upset by terrorist attacks upon non-Jews as I do when terrorists attack Jews." A vast majority (75% to 15%) also agreed that "In most ways, Jews are not better than non-Jews."

The data were collected through a mail-back questionnaire administered to a demographically balanced Jewish sub-sample of the Consumer Mail Panel maintained by Market Facts, Inc., a major market and survey research company. Jewish identity and demographic characteristics of the sample fall within the range of distributions found in several recently conducted random sample surveys of Jewish populations in major U.S. metropolitan areas. Sampling error amounted to no more than 4 percentage points on any item.

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ATTITUDES OF AMERICANS TOWARD ISRAEL AND AMERICAN JEWS

RESULTS OF AJC-COMMISSIONED ROPER POLL

February 1987

Recent events in the U.S. in which both American Jews and Israel have been prominently mentioned, including the Iran-Contra affair, the Ivan Boesky insider trading scandal, and the Jonathan Pollard spy case, appear to have had little negative impact on the attitudes of Americans toward Israel and American Jews.

Results of the February 1987 poll carried out by the Roper Organization for the American Jewish Committee and made public on April 30 revealed that nearly a majority (48%) of respondents continue to sympathize with Israel in the Middle East conflict. This is the second highest figure for Israel (1986 -- 53%) that Roper has reported on this question. Sympathy with the Arab side stands at 8%, unchanged from 1986.

Other salient findings:

* 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.

* 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%).

* 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%.

* Only 7% of respondents believe that 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%).

* A majority of respondents (63%) have read or heard either a lot or a little about the Ivan Boesky insider trading scandal. 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%).

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:

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

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

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

In conducting the 1987 poll, the Roper Organization interviewed 1,996 respondents in their homes between February 14 and February 28, 1987. Those interviewed constituted a representative national sample of men and women 18 years of age and older.

The results of the February 1987 Roper poll, which was conducted before the sentencing of Jonathan Pollard, are consistent with the findings of a New York Times/CBS News poll conducted after the Pollard sentencing and reported in the New York Times on April 12, 1987.

Commenting on the poll findings, Theodore Ellenoff, President of the American Jewish Committee, said:

"We are gratified by the results of the Roper poll, which testify to the sound instincts of the American people and the strength and vitality of American pluralism. At the same time, we are concerned lest the poll findings lead to complacency. Neither Israelis nor Jews can afford to ignore those who seize every pretext to incite hatred against the Jewish people, wherever they may be. We will continue to be vigilant in opposing anti-Semitism and dedicated to promoting pluralism in American society."

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EBRAISMO E ANTIEBRAISMO:

IMMAGINE E PREGIUDIZIO

SESSIONE INTERNAZIONALE, FIRENZE, MARZO 18-20, 1987

**Co-sponsored by the City of Florence
(1986 Culture Capitol of Europe)
and the Gramsci Institute of Tuscany**

**Address by Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of
International Relations, American Jewish Committee**

"JEWISH REALITIES IN THE UNITED STATES"

AMERICAN JEWISH

I bring you the warm and heartfelt greetings of the American Jewish community, in particular, the American Jewish Committee which is the oldest human relations organization in the United States. Since our founding in 1906 in response to the Kishinev pogroms, we have recognized the interdependence in fate and destiny of Jews everywhere. We have, therefore, been dedicated to upholding the civil, political and religious liberties of all Jews and are committed to strengthening constitutional democracies and human rights of all peoples, for we believe the cause of Jewish liberties is inseparable from the cause of all human liberties.

In particular, I express our deeply-felt solidarity with the Italian Jewish community, the oldest Jewish center in the Western world which has contributed so magnificently to the permanent enrichment of universal Jewish culture and moral spirit. Immanuel of Home, the Soncino family, Don Isaac Abrabanel, Rabbi Leon of Modena, Elijah del Medigo, Prime Minister Luigi Luzzatti, have all illuminated the Italian and Jewish firmaments. Thus, Italian humanist culture and world Jewry remain forever in your debt for this noble historic past, but as well for your continuing heroic efforts to maintain the great Italian Jewish continuities.

My assignment is to share with you some observations about "Jewish Realities Today in the United States." As many of you know, the United States is a very large country, with a complex religious, racial, and ethnic population of some 240 million people. The Jewish community in the United States, which numbers some 5,900,000 members -- the largest Jewish community in the world -- is complex like the rest of America, and, as is the case with everything Jewish, is even more so. To try to analyze so much complexity in this brief presentation necessarily involves distortion through generalizations and over-simplifications. I hope you will compensate for that by reading more detailed studies of American Jewry which are available in great abundance. The literature

is enormous and unending (and I will be glad to make available our publications catalog.)

In May 1986, the American Jewish Committee sponsored a "Conference on New Perspectives in American Jewish Sociology" in New York. This consultation brought together some 50 leading Jewish historians, social scientists, demographers, rabbis, writers, and editors from major universities, institutes and journals in the United States, and reactions from several Israeli scholars.

At the outset, the conference acknowledged that there is scholarly disagreement about the future of the American Jewish community. There is an ongoing debate between various American Jewish scholars; there is an even sharper controversy between U.S. Jewish intellectuals and leaders and a number of their Israeli counterparts who are concerned about American Jewish life.

The scholarly debate over American Jewish life takes place mainly between two schools of thought -- the "assimilationist" and the "transformationists."

The "assimilationists" see American Jews becoming gradually less Jewish and indistinguishable in their identity from their non-Jewish neighbors. The "transformationists" claim that the nature of Jewishness may be changing but that it is not eroding. They point to an impressive body of Jewish scholars and scholarly publications, and the secular universities sponsorship of some 230 chairs of Jewish studies. Much creative vitality in Judaism is also centered in the rabbinic seminaries, yeshivas, and universities of modern Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jewry.

Both schools acknowledge that "erosion and renewal is going on simultaneously in different parts of the community." Assimilationists see transformation and renewal going on, while transformationists are aware of assimilationist threats. Thus, Prof. Nathan Glazer of Harvard University observes that "despite a drop in the last few decades in the percentage of Jews in the total American populations, Jews will be a relatively large minority in the United States for the foreseeable future."

Dr. Calvin Goldscheider, a prominent demographer of Brown University, similarly concludes that "the American Jewish population will remain stable well into the 21st century despite low fertility rates, high geographic mobility, intermarriage and assimilation." There will be some gains, some losses, but the population will be stable.

Dr. Glazer adds that even in the face of all those concerns "our institutions are stronger and political influence greater than ever before."

While trying to avoid either alarm or complacency, both the

assimilationist and transformationist schools have a deep concern over challenges posed by biology and values to the body and spirit of American Jews.

They point to the following demographic data:

- 1) There is a real danger of a shrinking birthrate. Since the 1920's, Jewish women gave birth to an average of two children; today it is down to 1.5%. (There are many more marriageable women than men, and it is hard to find Jewish husbands.) Thus, Jewish fertility will not exceed the replacement level, and may fall below it.

Counterbalancing those trends are the following: Orthodox Jews are committed to large families and may offset the low fertility rates (the Lubavitcher movement subsidizes large families.) While the Jewish divorce rate is near the national average, the remarriage rate of Jewish divorcees is higher than for non-Jews. And Jewish professional women - more than their non-Jewish counterparts - tend to believe that success is being married, having children, plus a career.

- 2) Owing to higher mortality rates, elderly Jews will become a greater percentage of the Jewish population, and deaths will outnumber births in the years to come. This will have many implications for synagogues, schools, marriage, leadership recruitment, and other issues.
- 3) Large-scale Jewish immigration is unlikely (even should Soviet Jews come to the U.S. rather than to Israel, and if, God forbid, a crisis forces some of the 120,000 South African Jews to emigrate, the demographic consequences will be minor.)
- 4) Intermarriage is estimated nationally at 30% and remains a continuing concern, but scholars differ about its data and meaning. Dr. Goldscheider says we know very little about intermarriage; who intermarries and why, and -- in the absence of facts -- we cannot know whether intermarriage results in losses for the community or gains.

However, Dr. Steven Cohen of Queens College recently conducted an analysis of the impact of intermarriage on the Jewish community of New York (1,800,000 people, largest Jewish community in America). He reports that after a rapid climb in the 1960s, the intermarriage rate is leveling off. It is the peripheral Jews -- those with a low rate of Jewish affiliation and practice -- who intermarry. When the non-Jewish spouse converts to Judaism, the Jewish life of the family replicates that of natural (endogamous) Jewish families.

In New York, the study notes, about one-half of the Jews married to non-Jews observe two or more important Jewish rituals, such as Pesach and Yom Kippur. Generally, they have mostly close Jewish friends.

According to Dr. Cohen, intermarriage does not necessarily mean alienation from the Jewish community.

While the intermarriage estimates for New York are low, they are higher in the Western states. By the year 2,000, one-quarter of all American Jews will be living in these states. In Dr. Glazer's view -- which I share -- such intermarriages are not a strong basis for Jewish continuity.

- 5) Geographic mobility is gradually eroding old, established Jewish communities. Thus, Baltimore Jewry is down 10% since 1968. The rise of substantial communities in the Sunbelt states may offset this decline.

Responding to this data, two eminent Israeli demographers, Profs. U.O. Schmelz and Sergio Della Pergola of Hebrew University, came to quite pessimistic conclusions: They argue that low fertility, prolonged singlehood among young Jews who are postponing marriage, the 30% intermarriage rate with many children who do not identify as Jews, and other factors are leading to a Jewish population decline in the United States that will continue unless there is a large-scale immigration or a baby-boom, neither of which appears likely. The "quality" of American Jewish life, they warn, cannot make up for the demographic erosion.

Among the reactions to that Israeli pessimism were some rather sharp comments. One scholar said that some Zionists, Israelis, Orthodox Jews, and some Jewish organizations have vested ideological or institutional interests in portraying American Jewish conditions in a bad light. Shililat Ha-Golah is alive and well, they say.

Dr. Egon Mayer, well-known sociologist, contends that demographic analysis provides no meaningful definition of 'Jewishness,' and therefore measures nothing tangible of the Jewish moral will. He advocates an anthropological approach that would go beyond quantitative analysis, and examine what participation in Jewish life means to the people involved; to study the diverse ways in which people identify as Jews.

That approach was illustrated by references to recent National Surveys of American Jews. One observer commented that "many more Jews acknowledge and assert their Jewishness than in the past," but he questioned whether new forms of Jewishness can preserve Jewish identity the way religious tradition did, particularly in the face of an overpowering and seductive American culture.

Nevertheless, observers persist in stating that Jewish life has a higher quality than used to be the case. Jews today are assimilated in language, dress, and culture but ideological assimilation is largely gone. There is little sign of efforts to obliterate Jewish identity as in the past. There is little self-hate evident among young Jews. Unlike the 1930s and later, American Jews now advocate universalistic concerns without abandoning their Jewishness.

There is a very high level of identification with Israel. In Dr. Steven Cohen's survey, 77% of the respondents say they would want their children to visit Israel. 85% say they pay special attention to articles and newspapers about Israel. 40% have friends or family members who have moved to Israel. It is clear that large numbers of American Jews visit Israel, keep well informed about her, and care passionately about her welfare -- but do not make aliyah in significant numbers.

But this survey also indicates that while Orthodox attachment to Israel intensifies, there is a growing alienation, especially among Conservative and Reform Jews. Unless something substantial is done and soon about ultra-Orthodox hostility and repression, that alienation toward Israel could grow and expand. The conflict between Orthodox and non-Orthodox in Israel has already had negative impact on the unity of American Jewry, and efforts are being made to contain that erosion.

Paradoxically, ordinary Jews remain concerned about anti-Semitism, while Jewish leaders seem to be less so. A 1986 national survey discloses that 67% of the respondents believe that anti-Semitism in America may, in the future, become a serious problem for American Jews. The remarkable high level of economic well-being of American Jews may underscore this anxiety at having their social and financial security possibly endangered.

American Jews worry about the Moral Majority, and a network of similar radical right-wing groups, who advocate "a Christian America," uninhibited laissez-faire capitalism, rabid anti-Communism, and the imposition of their Puritannical/Sectarian morality through legislation. For theological reasons, the Moral Majority are strong supporters of Israel, whose existence is a precondition for the Second Coming of Jesus. Jews are troubled by having to choose between their strong pro-Israel support which is welcomed and their threat to America's democratic pluralist society.

On the left, the 1984 Presidential campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson deeply upset American Jewry. His anti-Jewish references to "Hymie - Town," his alliance with the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, the viciously anti-Jewish and anti-Israel Black Muslim leader, troubled American Jews and caused much Black-Jewish tension. Jesse Jackson is running again for U.S. President in 1986, and is making efforts to establish friendly relations with Jews and Israel, while maintaining his pro-Palestinian, pro-third world stand.

Among the mainstream of Americans - Catholics, Protestants, Evangelicals, and Greek Orthodox - anti-Semitism remains at a low level. An indication of this is suggested by a recent poll in which 82% of the American people indicated they would vote for a Jewish candidate for the President of the United States. Most recent polls also demonstrate that there is a consistently high support for the State of Israel, with some 67% of the general population being favorable to the Jewish State, while

being overwhelmingly opposed to the PLO's terrorism and violence.

In recent months, one can sense a growing anxiety among most American Jewish leaders in response to a convergence of stresses between the United States Government and Israel. Efforts to scapegoat Israel for the Iran-Contra affair; the terrible Pollard spy scandal; the provocative elevations to high position of Rafael Eitan and Colonel Sella; the forthcoming U.S. Government report on military transfers between Israel and South Africa have reached a crescendo of concern and feeling.

The right-wing and left-wing press have had an anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist field day with these revelations. The issue for American Jewish leaders is now damage control, and how to keep further mistakes and alienations from taking place.

While facing forthrightly all these issues -- their pluses and minuses -- the scholars concluded their deliberations with a consensus statement which I believe is a fair summary of the American Jewish condition today:

"We are comfortable neither with predictions of decline in the quality of American Jewish life nor with projections of impressive cultural renewal. Rather, we see the ongoing reformulation of Jewishness within the framework of basic stability."

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ISRAEL AND BLACK AFRICA: A STEP CLOSER*

by David A. Harris and Harry Milkman

The recent restoration of diplomatic relations between Israel and Cameroon, the California-sized West African country, marks an important step in Israel's efforts to renew the close ties with the African continent that prevailed in the 1950s and 60s.

Beginning in 1967 -- when Israel captured the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, a member of the Organization of African Unity -- and culminating in 1973 -- when Israel crossed the Suez Canal and entered North Africa in pursuit of the Egyptian army -- all but four Black African states severed relations with Israel, either as expressions of "Afro-Arab solidarity" or as the result of Arab economic pressure. (Mauritius followed suit in 1976.)

Today, seven Black African countries maintain diplomatic links with the Jewish state. Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland, in southern Africa, were the only three countries that did not sever relations with Israel in the 1970s. Zaire reestablished ties in 1982, followed by Liberia in 1983 and the Ivory Coast earlier this year. Gabon, Ghana, Kenya and Togo are among those countries that maintain relations through diplomatic-interests sections. Some two dozen Black African countries maintain commercial contacts with Israel. Many also benefit from Israeli technical assistance. Indeed, between 1974 and 1985, 3,000 Black Africans received Israeli technical training at home or in Israel.

Israel's record of development assistance in Black Africa is legendary. Especially during the decades when Israel maintained diplomatic relations with all but two Black African countries -- Mauritania and Somalia, members of the Arab League, were the exceptions -- Israeli specialists in agriculture, nutrition, housing, education and a dozen other fields compiled a remarkable record of practical achievements and forged strong bonds of friendship as well. Black African countries could identify with Israel as a fledgling state with a developing economy and a commitment to democracy.

A recent American visitor to Marxist Ethiopia was struck by the undisguised nostalgia shown by several local officials for the Israeli assistance of an earlier era. Faced with overwhelming problems of famine and drought, of deforestation and desertification, of inefficient land management and antiquated farming methods, Ethiopia could benefit

* This article appeared in the Washington Jewish Week, September 4, 1986.

tremendously from Israeli expertise in desert agriculture, drip irrigation, water resources engineering, arid zone medicine, solar energy and hydrobiology. Such pioneering centers as Ben-Gurion University's Jacob Blaustein Institute for Desert Research have made enormous advances in these areas. But Ethiopia has cut virtually all ties with Israel.

A former State Department official who served in the early '70s at the U.S. Embassy in Yaounde, Cameroon's capital, welcoming the renewal of diplomatic relations between Israel and Cameroon, recalled the "genuine mutual affection" that characterized pre-1973 ties. He described the "significant impact" of Israeli technical aid on the West African country, and noted the "profound sorrow" with which Cameroon and many other Black African states, succumbing to the simultaneous fear of oil blackmail and lure of extravagant promises of Arab assistance, broke relations with Israel. The exuberant welcome that greeted Prime Minister Peres on his recent visit underscored the depth of Cameroonian goodwill toward Israel, which was further enhanced by the prompt Israeli response to the freakish tragedy when toxic gas released from a volcanic lake took 1,500 lives. An Israeli medical team accompanied Peres to Cameroon and remained to treat hundreds of victims and study the long-term effects of the gas poisoning.

The lavish aid promised by the Arabs to Black Africa was only partially forthcoming and could not begin to offset the devastating impact on fragile economies of OPEC's quadrupling of oil prices with its concomitant effect on the prices of such petrochemical products as fertilizers and insecticides.

But dropping oil prices and disarray in the Arab world have weakened the Arab position in Black Africa. As the Jordanian daily Al-Dustur noted (August 26) in commenting on the reestablishment of Israeli-Cameroonian relations, "The resumption of diplomatic ties between Israel and Black African countries is not only a significant development for Israel, but a severe defeat for Arab policy in Africa." The paper added that "this development is a bitter result of the split in the Arab world."

In recent years there has been a gradual but marked shift in the level of political support for Israel among Black African countries at the UN and other international bodies. The most recent effort, in October 1985, by the Arab and Soviet blocs to deny Israel's UN credentials garnered the support of only six Black African members, four of which -- Djibouti, Mali, Mauritania and Somalia -- have overwhelmingly Muslim populations. And Western diplomats attending UN specialized agency meetings report growing complaints from African and other Third World diplomats about Arab efforts to "hijack" these gatherings away from their mandated technical functions, of great potential value to underdeveloped countries, to preoccupation with Middle East political issues.

Similarly, an American delegate to last year's Decade for Women

Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, reported numerous complaints by Black African women furious at Arab efforts to politicize the gathering and divert attention from the issues facing the world's women.

The Arab countries have sought to dissuade Black Africans from establishing ties with Israel by exploiting the perception of a "special relationship" between Israel and South Africa. This perception has created difficulties for Jerusalem, notwithstanding Israel's repeated denunciations of apartheid and assurances of compliance with the 1977 UN arms embargo on South Africa. Some observers note that Arab countries' trade with South Africa, though impossible to quantify because of official silence on both sides, is far more substantial than the very limited Israeli-South African trade. The authoritative Shipping Research Bureau in the Netherlands, which monitors worldwide oil deliveries, reported "the Arab proportion of oil exports to South Africa increased from 38% in 1981 to 79% in 1985" and estimates its total value at "about \$2.5 billion a year." (By comparison, Israel's exports to South Africa in 1985 totalled \$54 million, according to the International Monetary Fund.) Such revelations have undermined Arab credibility in Black Africa.

Additional diplomatic opportunities for Israel do exist in Black Africa. Among the factors that will determine the pace of Israeli progress are: (1) the price of oil; (2) Israel's ability to offer tangible assistance to African countries, including trade, investments, development aid and military cooperation; (3) the role of the United States and other Western countries (especially France, whose ties to Francophone Africa remain strong) in encouraging a further diplomatic rapprochement; (4) the state of relations between Israel and Arab countries (both Israel's relations with Egypt and the recent talks in Morocco with King Hassan contributing to a greater African willingness to consider normalization of relations with Israel); and (5) the growing strength of Islam in some Black African countries, which strengthens the links between them and Arab countries. (There are 100 million Muslims in sub-Saharan Africa.)

A final cautionary note: When first Zaire and then Liberia resumed diplomatic relations with Israel, Israeli officials hoped for a snowball effect, but progress has proved slow. The geopolitical complexities of African-Arab links militate against quick developments. PLO, Arab League and other Arab representatives continue to actively court Black African countries. Nevertheless, the prospects for further Israeli gains in Black Africa remain bright.

* * *

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SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH LEADER ASKS FOR UNDERSTANDING

by Harry Schwarz

I have had the opportunity of reading a report in the issue of your paper dated April 17, on a panel discussion at the Holy Blossom Temple on South Africa, and in particular what are stated to be "the most startling comments. . ." from a former director of the Zionist Federation of South Africa (Walter Hess, currently executive director of the United Israel Appeal of Canada).

One regards as complimentary and welcome his recognition that South African Jewry "is one of the strongest and finest in the Diaspora" "and intensely loyal to Israel."

Your report says "He then went on to severely criticize the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, the chief communal organization in the country for its lack of leadership and its refusal until recently to take a clear moral stance in the current struggle the country faces over apartheid."

I think it is only fair to put the other side of the picture; let me first state my credentials. I have only served on the executive of the Jewish Board of Deputies since the middle of 1985. I however, participated in Jewish communal life long before that. I have, however, participated actively in politics in South Africa for many years.

I opposed the laws which are now being repealed when they were enacted. My opposition to apartheid goes back to the days when it was not so popular abroad to condemn apartheid as it is now.

Also, I believe I can speak as a South African, as a Jew, and as an opponent of apartheid with some knowledge and credibility on the attitude and action of individual Jews and the Jewish Board of Deputies toward apartheid.

I think it is beyond argument that ever since the National Party came into power, Jews as individuals have overwhelmingly voted against the candidates of that party. One needs only look at the areas where the Jewish vote is concentrated to see for whom they vote.

Individual Jews have actively opposed apartheid, not only since 1948, but long before this. The list of names in politics, trade unions and other organizations is lengthy and speaks for itself.

This article appeared in the Canadian Jewish News on November 20, 1986.

The records of the Jewish Board of Deputies show that while there were in the past differences on approach, the principle which was adhered to throughout was that discrimination is not a concept which accords with Jewish values.

Resolutions urging Jews to promote anti-discriminatory concepts and Jewish value standards calling for solutions based on justice and dignity of the individual were passed at the board's congresses in 1963, 1965, 1967, 1970 and 1972.

In 1974 the issue was taken further when the chairman of the board's public relations committee called upon the community to "restore the moral values of compassion and justice and so help reactivate the conscience of mankind."

The board resolved to call on the community to "share in the great challenge and opportunity involved in establishing a just, stable and peaceful relationship between all races and groups in South Africa.

In 1976 the board's vice-chairman confronted Prime Minister Vorster at a banquet, saying, that "attitudes and practices, the heritage of the past bearing upon the relations between our various racial groups are no longer acceptable. . . We must move away as quickly and effectively as is practicable from discrimination based on race or color. . ."

Remember, that was 10 years ago. Times were different then. It took some courage to face Mr. Vorster with these and other statements.

The same year, the board again passed a resolution calling for change to an equitable society and for all Jews to work for the elimination of unjust discrimination based on race, creed or color.

In 1977, the then chairman called upon the community to continue by word and deed to put into effect change to create an equitable and acceptable society.

The 1980 congress of the board called for more significant social, economic and political change to avoid violence and bloodshed and polarization and instead create a united and just society. The liberal, now defunct, Rand Daily Mail newspaper hailed this as a "unique voice which had special significance and demanded special attention."

So resolution after resolution was passed, eviction of squatters was condemned, so was detention without trial, the board's objection to quotas for Blacks at universities was publicly stated.

There have been statements on freehold property for all, on the infamous Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

The list can go on. The board has made its position on discrimination and apartheid clear. I do not list all the work done in communica-

tion, trying to build bridges, and trying to help where help is wanted and needed.

It is not a perfect record -- no organization can lay claim to such qualities, nor can any individual -- but all in all, I think the criticism should be reassessed in the light of actual facts.

The statement that "there is no system of local or regional say in policy-making for the community at large" is not understood.

It is in conflict with the facts. The board has executive committees regionally elected on the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Western Cape and Orange Free State. These organizations act and control their own local offices. They all have representation on the national executive, where policy for the whole country is made.

To say, as is reported, "There is no indigenous organizational structure in the local community 'is a major, major (repeated) weakness'" I find puzzling to say the least.

A statement made by another person participating (Thea Abramson, president of the South African Jewish Association of Canada) as to the choice facing increasing numbers of families being painfully obvious: Choose life with one's children overseas, or a life of ease and comfort in the country of one's birth, but which comes at a high moral price," is one I would like to debate.

Firstly, in our community there are many who do not have a "life of ease and comfort." There are many who have serious economic troubles, many have to receive help. Certainly there are many who are well off but there are many who have anything but a life of ease and comfort.

The statement that the life of ease and comfort comes at a "high moral price." What is the high moral price if one actively opposes apartheid, actively campaigns for change in South Africa?

Staying or leaving South Africa is a personal choice, but is it fair to say of those of us to have for decades opposed apartheid and sought to uphold human rights, have paid a high moral price?

Even the South African synagogue came in for criticism. It was said (by Prof. Elaine Newton of York University) that there was "too little social and community support being done by the country's synagogues" and there was "a lack of strong rabbinical leadership in the country.

There is hardly any social, cultural or educational programming of the kind which most Canadian Jews take for granted. . ."

Well, if Canadian Jews have better social, cultural and educational institutions than we have I am very pleased, but then they must be

pretty good.

The lady who made the statement about half a year in Cape Town, which Institution did she visit? Sea Point Congregation with its regular programs in the very fields she mentioned? The Herzlia Schools?

We have only 120,000 souls in our community, but 15,000 children received Jewish education at nursery schools, Talmud Torah and Jewish day schools. We have day schools in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Sandton, Benoi, Port Elizabeth, Durham and Cape Town. We have a network of Jewish organizations which cater for our aged, our handicapped, we have synagogues, welfare bodies.

Our people render community service not only to our own people, but also to other people irrespective of race, color or creed. We have an active Zionist organization, and per capita need take second place to no one in our contribution to Israel.

It sounds as if I am proud of my fellow Jews. Yes, you are right, I am.

There is a dispute in some sections about the nature of rabbinical leadership. Some believe rabbis should attend to their communities and attend to their spiritual needs. Others believe that they should also speak out on national issues. We have those that our rabbis can stand on the same level as those elsewhere in the Diaspora.

That when South Africa is in the limelight Jews in Canada should discuss Jews in South Africa is not only understandable but welcome. It shows they have not only interest but perhaps also concern, and one is appreciative of this.

But I hope you can see us as we really are -- as it is said, warts and all! We do not pretend or claim that we are better than Jews anywhere else in the world, but I doubt if we are very much worse.

When a community is under stress and lives in difficult times and circumstances, it often brings out the best in it. I hope it will do so in our case and I also hope that in this we will have the understanding and support of Jews in Canada, including those Jews who were once part of our community.

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Harry Schwarz is the chairman of the international relations committee of the South African Board of Jewish Deputies and a member of the South African Parliament.

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ISRAEL AND ASIA
A SURVEY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS

by Harry Milkman and Jordana Schein-Levi

Asia has emerged as a region of increasing economic and geopolitical importance since World War II. The continent is viewed as an arena of competition between socialist and capitalist economic systems and between authoritarian and democratic political systems. Three major powers -- the United States, the Soviet Union and China -- compete for influence there.

Israel has striven to cultivate friends in Asia through trade and technical assistance. Yet Asian countries that are heavily dependent on Arab oil, share borders with Communist or Muslim states, or have large Muslim populations are vulnerable to the pressures of the Arab and Third World blocs to distance themselves politically and economically from Israel. For these reasons, Israel's relations with many Asian states have been low-key.

Although geographically an Asian country itself, Israel has been excluded from many Asian regional organizations and rarely enjoys Asian support in the United Nations. Because of this ostracism, its generally Western outlook, and its dependence on the United States, Israel is more closely identified with the West.

Israel currently maintains diplomatic relations at various levels with ten Asian countries: Burma, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Nepal, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Israel trades with all of these countries, as well as with Taiwan and mainland China.

Israel has extended technical and economic development assistance to Communist China. Through its trade relationship with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Israel has indirect commercial ties with the Muslim state of Indonesia. Israel has also reportedly supplied arms to the Afghan resistance fighters via Pakistan.

A survey of Israel's relations with several key Asian countries follows. Turkey and the Soviet Union, which are European as well as Asian countries geographically, are not included in this survey.

JAPAN

Israel's first diplomatic mission in Asia opened in Tokyo in 1952, but Israeli-Japanese diplomatic relations did not reach the ambassadorial level until 1963. Today Japan is Israel's largest trading

partner in Asia -- in 1984, Israel-Japan trade totaled \$380 million -- although several major Japanese corporations comply with the Arab boycott of Israel.

Japan's relations with Israel reflect Japan's delicate political balancing between the United States -- Japan's major trading partner and Israel's closest ally -- and the Arab states, upon which Japan depends heavily for oil to fuel its industry. Arab oil-exporting states imposed a partial but painful embargo on Japan during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. The embargo was lifted after Japan made some conciliatory gestures toward the Arab cause. Though Japan did not succumb to Arab demands to sever relations with Israel, it permitted the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to establish an office in Tokyo in 1976.

In September 1985, then-Israeli vice premier and foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir visited Japan at the invitation of the Japanese government, becoming the highest-ranking Israeli official -- and the first Israeli cabinet minister -- to make a state visit to Japan. No Japanese official of similar significance has ever visited Israel.

Shamir's visit and the visit of a three-member Knesset delegation, headed by Abba Eban, in September 1986 have been interpreted as signals of Japan's interest in improving its relations with Israel, which have been marred by Japanese trade barriers and diplomatic coolness toward Israel. While the Israeli visitors were accorded traditional Japanese hospitality, their visits did not lessen Japan's hesitation to increase economic ties with Israel in the face of the Arab boycott.

SOUTH KOREA

South Korea established diplomatic relations with Israel in 1962 despite Arab opposition. Israel's embassy in Seoul was closed in 1978, partly for budgetary reasons and partly because South Korea had still not established an embassy in Israel. The South Korean government currently refuses to allow Israel to reopen its embassy in Seoul; Israel's ambassador to Japan is therefore also accredited to South Korea.

South Korea's dependence on Arab oil and its lucrative construction projects in Arab Gulf states have complicated its relations with Israel. Despite these diplomatic difficulties and the participation of South Korean companies in the Arab boycott, South Korea is Israel's sixth largest trading partner in Asia. South Korean students have gone to Israel to study, and Israel has provided South Korea with technical development assistance.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Israel was among the first of the Western democracies to recognize

the People's Republic of China; it did so in January 1950. Quiet Chinese overtures to Israel to establish diplomatic relations in the mid-1950s were rebuffed by the Israeli government out of concern that such a move would jeopardize Israel's relations with the United States at a time when U.S. secretary of state John Foster Dulles was pursuing a militantly anti-Communist foreign policy.

China's Muslim minority, although sizable (it is estimated at between 10 and 15 million), is relatively insignificant in a total population of over 1 billion. China has relations with several Islamic countries, however, and since 1965 has actively supported the PLO, which maintains an office in Beijing.

Currently, there are signs of improvement in China's attitude toward Israel. For more than a year the two countries have been conducting talks concerning cooperative projects in the fields of agriculture and high technology. This new Chinese attitude toward Israel may be attributed to China's new economic policy, the objective of which is to achieve rapid industrial development with the assistance of any country willing to cooperate.

Israeli economic, agricultural and scientific delegations have visited, worked and attended meetings in China. Major Israeli electronics, computer and medical-equipment firms have also sent representatives to China. In February 1985, an Israeli armaments company was awarded a contract to rebuild China's aging Soviet tanks, and millions of dollars' worth of Israeli arms have reportedly been purchased by the Chinese, although officially China does not allow the direct import of Israeli goods.

In October 1986, a spokesman for the Israeli Export Institute's Agricultural Center announced that a half-million-dollar contract had been signed between an unnamed Israeli company and China's National Institute of Agricultural Research, through the offices of a Singapore firm representing the Chinese. Under the terms of the contract, Israeli equipment will be used to establish a model irrigated farm in China. The spokesman added that the accord was likely to lead to other agriculture-related purchases by the Chinese.

TAIWAN

Israel and Taiwan do not have formal diplomatic relations because of Israel's recognition of Communist China. However, the two countries engage in trade and cooperative development ventures. They foresee great opportunities for cooperation in the field of high technology. In addition, Taiwan produces Israeli-designed armaments for its own use under a licensing agreement signed with Israel in 1977.

HONG KONG

The British crown colony of Hong Kong follows Japan in its volume of trade with Israel. (In 1984, Israel-Hong Kong trade totaled \$180 million.) Israel and Hong Kong have maintained consular relations since 1958, although Israel was represented by a former Russian Jew in Hong Kong until this year, when it established a consulate there. (Hong Kong's Jewish community today is estimated at between 600 and 1,000 members, who have come from 18 different countries, including Britain, Israel, the United States, Australia, South Africa and Holland.)

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines was the only Asian country that supported the 1947 United Nations General Assembly's Palestine partition resolution, and it formally recognized Israel in 1949. During the 1950s and 1960s, Israeli-Filipino diplomatic relations were steadily elevated until they reached the ambassadorial level in 1962. Israeli trade and cooperative projects with the Philippines also expanded gradually during that period.

Israeli development projects in the Philippines were severely reduced due to the corruption of the Marcos regime, but now President Corazon Aquino has renewed these programs. Filipino preoccupation with the insurgence movement among its Muslim minority -- the majority of Filipinos are Catholic -- is a source of both tension and identification between the Philippines and Israel.

THAILAND

Thailand is Israel's fourth largest trading partner in Asia; Israeli-Thai trade totaled \$31 million in 1984. Thailand recognized Israel in 1950 and established consular relations in 1954. Israel's consulate in Bangkok was elevated to embassy status in 1958, at which time Thailand's ambassador to Italy was also accredited to Israel.

Since then Israel and Thailand have signed a number of cooperation agreements in the areas of trade, agriculture, nuclear energy, aviation and defense. Hundreds of Thai students and technicians have studied in Israeli universities and kibbutzim, and Israeli technicians have assisted the development of Thai agriculture and social services. Thailand has been somewhat supportive of Israel in the United Nations.

SINGAPORE

Israel's third largest trading partner in Asia (\$60 million in 1984) is Singapore, which has maintained full diplomatic relations with Israel since 1969. Israeli military advisers helped organize Sing-

apore's armed forces during its early years as an independent state, and Israeli agricultural and medical technicians have worked in Singapore.

Singapore has supported Israel on a number of relevant UN resolutions; in October 1985, Singapore voted in favor of tabling indefinitely an Arab-sponsored resolution that would have denied Israel's credentials in the General Assembly.

Singapore continues to depend on Malaysia for its water supply, and takes pains not to antagonize Malaysia and Indonesia, its neighbors to the north and south respectively, which are among the most populous Muslim nations of the world.

(Malaysia has a hostile attitude toward Israel and Jews. In 1984, the New York Philharmonic canceled a scheduled visit to Malaysia after the Malaysian government demanded that it not perform a work by a Jewish composer. In September 1986, Malaysian prime minister Mahatir Mohamad charged that the Asian edition of the Wall Street Journal, based in Hong Kong, is "controlled by Jews" and involved in a "Zionist plot" to topple his government.)

BURMA

In 1949, Burma became the first Asian country to recognize Israel, and full diplomatic relations between the two states were established gradually over the course of a decade. In 1953, Israeli foreign minister Moshe Sharett attended the first Asian Socialist Conference in the Burmese capital of Rangoon, and in 1955 Burmese prime minister U Nu became the first Asian head of state to visit Israel.

The Burmese have been particularly interested in Israel's success in creating a socialist economy and well-trained armed forces. Israeli experts have assisted in developing Burma's agriculture, industry and military. In 1959, an Israeli-Burmese construction company and a joint shipping line were founded. Today, an Israeli company is installing Rangoon's telephone system.

Among Asian countries, Burma has been the most supportive of Israel in the United Nations in recent years, although it has occasionally succumbed to Arab pressure.

NEPAL

Israel and Nepal enjoyed warm relations from the late 1950s until the Yom Kippur War in 1973, when Arab states pressured Asian countries to distance themselves from Israel. Full diplomatic relations between Israel and Nepal were established in 1960, and were followed by a flurry of cooperative technical and economic development projects, some of which are still in existence.

Nepal and Israel continue to trade on a small scale, and Nepal's record on Israel-related issues at the UN is comparable to those of Thailand and Singapore (i.e., it votes with Israel about 25 percent of the time). Israel values its relations with Nepal because of Nepalese participation in UN peacekeeping forces in Lebanon. It is rumored that Israeli president Chaim Herzog may visit Nepal in the near future.

INDIA

India recognized Israel de facto in 1950, but since that time there has been no progress in establishing full diplomatic relations between the two countries. India is represented in Israel through an interests section in the British embassy in Tel Aviv. Israel maintains a consulate in Bombay, not the Indian capital of New Delhi, ostensibly because of the Jewish community in Bombay, which today numbers approximately 5,000 and constitutes the largest Jewish community in Asia outside of Israel.

Not wishing to alienate its 84 million Muslim citizens or jeopardize its relations with the Arab world by developing close ties with Israel, India has been consistently hostile to Israel in the United Nations. In 1985, India and Yugoslavia were the only non-Arab, non-Islamic states to sponsor UN resolutions condemning Israel and calling upon member nations to sever all ties with Israel. India has a close relationship with the PLO, and has often urged Israel to "change its attitude" on the Palestinian issue.

Nevertheless, outside the realm of politics, there is cooperation between Israel and India, particularly in the areas of trade and technical assistance. India is presently Israel's fifth largest trading partner in Asia. Diamonds constitute 90 percent of Israeli-Indian trade, the remainder being chemicals, metals and machinery. Israeli technicians have trained Indians in such fields as agriculture, defense, health and social services, power generation and telecommunications.

SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka (formerly known as Ceylon) invited Israel to open a legation in Colombo in 1958, following the sale of two Israeli frigates to the Sri Lankan navy. Sri Lanka abruptly broke diplomatic relations with Israel in 1970 and voted in favor of the 1975 UN resolution equating Zionism with racism.

In 1984, following six months of negotiations, Sri Lanka permitted Israel to establish an interests section in the U.S. embassy in Colombo. That year, Sri Lanka also requested Israeli assistance in countering the insurgency of the Hindu Tamil separatists, who seek to establish an independent Tamil state in northern Sri Lanka and are reportedly receiving arms and training from the PLO.

On October 19, 1986, The Jerusalem Post reported that a secret meeting between the Israeli and Sri Lankan foreign ministers had taken place in New York in September during the UN General Assembly's 41st session. As a result of that meeting, Israel is expected to participate in the massive Mahawali River agricultural development project, which aims to resettle 200,000 Sri Lankans in the Mahawali River Valley after dams have been constructed and the land readied for cultivation. Israeli technical experts are presently in Sri Lanka to appraise possible Israeli contributions to the project.

COMMUNIST AND MUSLIM COUNTRIES

Israel has no relations with the Communist states of Mongolia, North Korea, Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia), Laos and Vietnam. Nor has it relations with the Muslim states of Brunei, Malaysia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. However, opportunities for Israel to expand its ties to Asia and strengthen its existing relations continue to unfold, especially among Asian countries wishing to bolster their relationships with the United States. In August 1986, Zia ul-Haq, president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, said of the Jewish state: "Israel has come to exist. It is only a question of time for Arabs and others to recognize it."

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THE USSR AND ISRAEL: A NEW BEGINNING*

by David A. Harris

In August, 19 years after the Soviet Union broke diplomatic relations with Israel, representatives of the two countries met in Helsinki to discuss the reestablishment of consular ties. The meeting signaled a possible shift in Soviet policy. Sharp differences over the issue of Soviet Jewry, in particular, underscore the gap separating the two sides. Still, the very fact of the meeting, and the cordial talks between Israeli Prime Minister Peres and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in New York in September, are important developments in a complex and often stormy relationship spanning four decades.

In the fall of 1947, Soviet deputy foreign minister Andrei Gromyko offered the Kremlin's support for the UN's plan to partition British-held Palestine. "The representatives of the Arab states," he told the world body, "claim that the partition of Palestine would be an historic injustice. But this view of the case is unacceptable if only because, after all, the Jewish people has been closely linked with Palestine for a considerable period of history. Indeed, the USSR was the third nation, after the United States and Guatemala, to recognize the fledgling Jewish state and the first to extend full de jure recognition. With Soviet assistance, Czechoslovak arms were sent to the Jews in Palestine even before the establishment of the state in May 1948. In 1949, the Soviet Union joined 36 other members in supporting Israel's admission to the UN (12 were opposed, including nine predominantly Muslim states, and there were nine abstentions).

At the same time, the Kremlin's attitude toward the Soviet Jewish population hardened. The welcome extended by Soviet Jews to Golda Meir when she arrived in Moscow in the fall of 1948 as Israel's first ambassador to the USSR alarmed the Kremlin. After all, Soviet Jews were supposed to have been either assimilated or cowed into silence, yet throngs met Golda Meir when she visited the Choral Synagogue in Moscow's center. The years 1948 to 1953, known as the "black years" of Soviet Jewry, were marked by the execution of leading Jewish cultural figures, the infamous "Doctors' Plot," and Stalin's plan, unrealized due to his death in 1953, to deport the entire Jewish population to Siberia.

On the international level, the Soviet Union's support of Israel as a counterweight to British influence and a potential socialist bulwark in the Middle East quickly gave way to a courting of the Arab nations. Diplomatic ties did, however, continue until 1967, though with an inter-

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ruption of several months in 1953 after a bomb was set off at the Soviet embassy in Tel Aviv and despite a growing anti-Israel campaign in the USSR. As a result of the Six Day War, the Kremlin and its East Bloc allies (except Romania) severed diplomatic ties.

Since 1967 there have been periodic contacts between Soviet and Israeli officials in capitals around the world. And delegations, organized by Rakah, the pro-Moscow Israeli Communist Party, have regularly visited the USSR. Participants in these groups have included many non-communist Israelis. Other Israelis have traveled to the USSR for academic and cultural purposes. Soviet citizens, including Russian Orthodox clerics, delegates to Rakah congresses, and observers at ceremonies commemorating the end of the World War II, have visited Israel. From time to time, rumors of an impending resumption of formal ties have surfaced in the press. Israeli officials have on several occasions publicly expressed a desire to renew links, asserting, however, that diplomatic protocol required Moscow, which broke the ties, to take the first step. The pace of the contacts and rumors has notably quickened in the last 15 months.

In May 1985, the Soviet Union's two leading newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia, unexpectedly gave prominent display to messages from Israel, including one from President Herzog, marking the 40th anniversary of Nazi Germany's defeat.

In July 1985, the Israeli and Soviet ambassadors to France met secretly in Paris, but news of the session was leaked to Israel Radio. The report, if accurate, was sensational: the Soviet ambassador offered a deal including resumption of diplomatic ties and Soviet Jewish emigration in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, assurances of an end to the "drop-out" phenomenon (whereby many Soviet Jews leaving the USSR with Israeli visas settle in the United States), and Israeli cooperation in toning down anti-Soviet propaganda in the West. The Kremlin, clearly disturbed by the leak, promptly denied any such offer, although it never denied that a meeting had taken place. Viktor Louis, the Moscow-based journalist often used by the Kremlin to pass messages to the West, emphasized, in an interview with Israel Radio, that "there are no grounds for expecting this to herald an immediate restoration of diplomatic relations," though he added that "most likely, it will lead to occasional consultations on Middle East problems in general."

At the same time, other Soviet spokesmen, wary of Arab reaction, rushed to downplay the news. A week after the Paris meeting, Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) Domestic Radio Service reported that "an official Soviet spokesman announced today in Kuwait that the reports about the resumption of relations between the USSR and Israel have been fabricated by Western sources for media sensationalism."

The next month, conflicting reports on the Soviet position were heard. A Soviet Middle East specialist, Robert Davydkov, suggested on

the New York Times's op-ed page (August 7) that the USSR "has never questioned whether or not the state of Israel should exist" and "has sought to use its political weight and prestige in the Arab world to convince those circles that their attitude toward Israel is unrealistic and illegitimate." But, he added, "the Israeli occupation of considerable Arab and Palestinian territory is the main cause of tension in the Middle East. It is also the reason that the Soviet Union decided, in June 1967, to sever diplomatic relations with Israel." He artfully skirted the question of restoring ties.

On August 10, 1985, the Israeli daily Yediot Aharonot carried a report that a "high-ranking Soviet diplomat has told West German chancellor Helmut Kohl that the new Soviet leadership intends to take steps towards improving relations with Israel." Three days later, however, Leonid Zamyatin wrote in the weekly Moscow News: "While reasons which led to the severance of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations in 1967 exist, it is unrealistic to expect changes in the Soviet approach."

In the fall of 1985, a whirlwind of diplomatic activity heightened speculation that progress might be at hand. Israeli prime minister Peres sent a letter to Soviet leader Gorbachev via World Jewish Congress chairman Edgar Bronfman urging improved ties. Ovadia Sofer, Israel's ambassador to France, who had met with Soviet ambassador Vorontsov in July, was invited to a reception in Paris given by French president Mitterrand in honor of the visiting Soviet leader and had occasion to talk with several Gorbachev aides. The Israeli weekly Koteret Rashit reported that Peres had secretly flown to Paris to meet with Gorbachev, a claim quickly denied by Israeli officials.

Attention then turned to the UN, where world leaders had assembled to mark the opening of the General Assembly and the UN's 40th anniversary. Israeli foreign minister Shamir held meetings with counterparts from Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland, the last resulting in an agreement to expand bilateral ties, including, significantly, an accord to establish low-level diplomatic links, the first such reestablishment of ties with a Warsaw Pact country since 1967. Since such a step could not possibly have been taken without the Kremlin's assent, further speculation on a possible Soviet-Israeli rapprochement was fueled. Still, the continued trickle of Jewish emigration from the USSR -- an average of fewer than 100 per month compared with a monthly rate of more than 4,000 in 1979 -- and an intensified campaign against Soviet Jewish activists raised concern in some quarters that Moscow's diplomatic initiatives were simply a shrewd public-relations ploy, timed to coincide with the November Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

Prime Minister Peres, addressing the UN in October, declared his willingness to place Middle East peace talks under international auspices, a long-standing Soviet demand, if Moscow would agree to resume diplomatic ties. At the same time, he reiterated profound concern for the fate of Soviet Jewry. In Washington, Peres urged President Reagan

to raise the issues of diplomatic ties and emigration with Gorbachev in Geneva.

Rumors of a large-scale airlift of Soviet Jews to Israel via Warsaw began to circulate, particularly after Edgar Bronfman's visit to Moscow at the end of September, his subsequent meetings with Polish officials in Warsaw, and President Mitterrand's talks with Polish leaders. On October 30, 1985, Agence France Presse reported that a delegation from El Al, Israel's national airline, had visited Moscow and discussed the logistics of such an airlift. The report speculated about a possible route via Bucharest (which had been a transit point for some exiting Soviet Jews in 1972-73), although other reports spoke of Warsaw.

The Israeli absorption minister heightened speculation when, according to the Jerusalem Post's international edition of November 2, he revealed that he was expecting "thousands of Soviet Jews" to arrive in Israel soon.

Two weeks later, another Israeli paper, Hadashot, reported that "the Soviet Union will soon decide whether to resume its diplomatic relations with Israel. The final decision depends on the success of the summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev.... This message was delivered to Israel by a senior Soviet diplomat who conferred with a senior Israeli diplomat in New York last week."

Reports from the November summit indicate that President Reagan did, indeed, raise the issue of Jewish emigration in his private meetings with the Soviet leader and that the Middle East, not unexpectedly, figured prominently in their discussion of pressing regional issues.

Despite this flurry of rumors, Prime Minister Peres apparently concluded by mid-December, as he stated at a press conference in Geneva, that no fundamental change in Soviet policy toward either Israel or Soviet Jewry could be discerned. Then, unexpectedly, a front-page New York Times story at the end of December reported a meeting in New York between a Soviet embassy official and an American Jewish representative in which the latter was allegedly told of the prospect of diplomatic ties by February 1986, perhaps in connection with the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress.

In a further effort to allay the fears of some Arab countries (significantly, neither Egypt nor Jordan protested reports of a possible resumption of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic ties, largely because they believed it might spur progress toward their goal, shared by Moscow, of an international conference on Middle East peace), Moscow International Service broadcast in Arabic on December 27 a message to the Arab world: "They [the Western media] have begun to propagate rumors about preparations to restore diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel and, as is the case now, about Soviet Jews leaving the country on a larger scale to the promised land of Zionism. The aim of

such campaigns is to spread feelings of mistrust and doubt in the friendly Arab countries toward their friend, the Soviet Union, and to convince Arabs that the Soviet Union has agreed, behind their backs, to something that can only arouse their concern....The fabrications of the Western media are just baseless."

Undaunted, Israeli officials continued to hope that changing East-West conditions and a new Kremlin foreign-policy team, including Anatoly Dobrynin, former Soviet ambassador to the United States, might lead to changes in the Soviet posture. In March 1986, during a visit to Israel, the Finnish foreign minister agreed to convey to Moscow Israel's ongoing concern about both diplomatic ties and emigration. (Finland has represented Soviet diplomatic interests in Israel since 1967, while the Netherlands has represented Israel in the USSR.)

The announcement of the Helsinki talks on consular ties in August suggested that the Kremlin, after considerable hesitation, had finally decided to test the waters, and to do so prior to the scheduled October transfer of power in Israel from Shimon Peres to Yitzhak Shamir. In an attempt to minimize the talks' political significance, Soviet spokesmen attributed them to concerns of the Russian Orthodox Church. The church has important real estate and other interests in the Holy Land that would undoubtedly be served by the resumption of low-level diplomatic ties. But this is surely not an adequate explanation for the resumption of diplomatic talks after 19 years. The complex web of Soviet-Arab ties and problems of Soviet-American relations, together with internal factors, including policy toward Jews, strongly suggest that the USSR may have broader objectives.

What could the Kremlin hope to achieve by embarking on a process that might lead to restored diplomatic ties with Israel?

(1) In diplomacy there is seldom a substitute for the role played by diplomats, in situ, charged with representing a country's interests and monitoring local developments. The absence of a permanent Soviet presence in Israel is a serious lack for the Kremlin, one that cannot be adequately filled by iconoclastic Romania, the only Soviet ally that currently maintains an embassy in the Jewish state. In fact, the USSR has only infrequently used diplomatic rupture as a weapon, realizing that it can, at times, prove counterproductive. (A number of State Department figures contend that the United States learned the same lesson when, as a reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Washington canceled a consular exchange agreement with the USSR that would have permitted the opening of an American consulate in Kiev.) In fact, several knowledgeable Soviet officials have privately noted to Westerners that the Kremlin seriously erred in breaking off ties with Israel in 1967 rather than expressing its ire at the time by, say, merely recalling its ambassador.

(2) The USSR is anxious to position itself at the center of Middle East affairs. For too long it has ceded primacy in the region to

Washington, in part because even Moscow's Arab friends have recognized that only the United States is in a position to talk to both sides in the Arab-Israel equation, leaving Moscow to play a marginal (and usually disruptive) role only. Success in brokering a resolution of the Golan Heights issue would demonstrate to Arab states not only the Kremlin's value as a patron (in this case of Syria) but also its ability to influence events in the region.

(3) The Kremlin believes it might well enhance its image in the West, particularly in the United States, if it reestablishes ties with Israel. Were the Helsinki and New York talks timed to soften U.S. public opinion on the eve of a new round of superpower diplomacy? Indeed, when plans for expansion of Polish-Israeli ties were first revealed last year, speculation on the motives focused, in part, on Poland's desire to improve its badly tarnished image in Washington and to strengthen economic ties with the United States.

For Israel, there would be several advantages to the reestablishment of diplomatic ties:

(1) Any agreement on the resumption of diplomatic ties would likely include provision for increased Soviet Jewish emigration. Such a provision is indispensable to Israel. But former prisoner of conscience Anatoly Shcharansky has forcefully urged Jerusalem not to move on the diplomatic front at all until the Kremlin first permits large-scale Jewish emigration.

(2) It might enable the Jewish state to achieve its desire of direct flights from Moscow to Israel, thereby preventing the emigrants' "dropping out." Until now, Vienna has been the transit point for exiting Soviet Jews, and the Austrian government has always insisted on their right to choose their final destination.

(3) It would give Israel the chance to reestablish a physical presence in the USSR. During the 19 years when the two states maintained diplomatic ties, the presence of an Israeli embassy in Moscow had significant symbolic value for the 2 million isolated Soviet Jews.

(4) Resumption of ties with Moscow would reduce the diplomatic isolation imposed on Israel in 1967 by the Warsaw Pact countries. Indeed, it could augur a renewal of links with other countries, in both the East Bloc and the Third World, that severed ties between 1967 and 1973. Since its creation, one of Israel's primary foreign-policy goals has been universal diplomatic acceptance.

Of course, resumption of diplomatic ties would entail serious risks for both sides. For the Kremlin, it could strain relations with such Arab states as Syria, Libya and Algeria unless Moscow could induce Israeli withdrawal from the administered territories and action on the Palestinians. Too, the Kremlin worries about the potential impact on the Soviet Jewish population of an Israeli embassy and a cadre of

Israeli diplomats in the USSR. From Jerusalem's viewpoint, acceptance of a Soviet role in the Arab-Israeli peace process could complicate chances for a settlement. It might also lead to differences with Washington. Finally, if the Israeli government failed to achieve substantial progress on the emigration question, the government would face a serious domestic backlash.

Observers will be closely watching the progress of the diplomatic contacts, as well as the rate of Soviet Jewish emigration, and the development of ties between Israel and Eastern Europe -- especially with Hungary, which is likely be the next country to restore formal relations -- to determine whether a new chapter in Soviet-Israeli relations is truly unfolding.

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Poland and Israel, 1967-1987
by David A. Harris
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Twenty years ago, following the Kremlin's lead, Poland severed diplomatic ties with Israel during the Six-Day War. Like 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 supported the establishment of Israel and maintained diplomatic ties until Israel's 1967 victory over its Arab enemies. The few remaining nondiplomatic links -- commercial and cultural -- that survived the break ended the following year when the Gomulka regime, faced with pressing economic problems and domestic unrest, sought a convenient scapegoat -- the country's remaining 20,000 Jews -- and embarked on a vicious anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic campaign. Polish leaders charged "Zionist centers in the West" with an 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. Some 12,000 left in 1968 and 1969, resettling primarily in Western Europe -- especially Denmark and Sweden -- North America and Israel.

With no political or commercial ties left, the principal links between the two countries were Holocaust-related activities: Yad Vashem, which continued its research on the Holocaust and the naming of Righteous Gentiles (as of December 1986, the Israel-based institution had honored 2,074 Polish citizens, the second largest 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; and ceremonies marking anniversaries of the 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising.

Another link has been 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.

Other than an hour-long meeting between the Israeli and Polish foreign ministers in New York in 1981, no significant diplomatic contact occurred until the fall of 1985. Then, against the backdrop of the new Kremlin leadership, Yitzhak Shamir, Israel's foreign minister, met in New York with the Polish foreign minister (and, separately, with the Bulgarian and Hungarian foreign ministers). To bolster the view that something potentially important was afoot, Poland, for the first time in 1985 and again in 1986, distanced itself from the USSR and was recorded as absent from the annual Arab/Soviet effort at the UN General Assembly to deny Israel its credentials.

Following the New York meeting, Israeli and Polish officials continued to meet, reaching agreement to restore limited diplomatic ties and to renew cultural, tourism, and other links. By the fall of 1986, Mordechai Bar-Zur, who had served as Israel's ambassador to the Dominican Republic, was named to head Israel's interest section 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 1985 and 1986, Israeli and Polish ballet, opera, and theater companies exchanged visits. With a resurgence of interest in Jewish topics, and the legacy of a once-flourishing pre-war Jewish community that had numbered 3 million, there has been growing interest in Poland in contacts with Israel and world Jewry. In Israel, the presence of a sizable population that traces its roots to Poland has stirred interest in both cultural and tourism opportunities. Still, for Polish-born Israelis memories of their former homeland are understandably complex, dominated by the almost complete devastation of Polish Jewry during the Nazi period.

Why the sudden change in Polish political attitudes in 1985 and 1986? Clearly, the accession to power of Gorbachev in Moscow 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 United States, the only superpower able to speak to all sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the 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 a serious image problem in the West arising from the imposition of martial law in December 1981, brutal suppression of the Solidarity movement, and widespread imprisonment of political and Catholic Church activists. It also suffered from severe economic difficulties, made worse by the imposition of U.S. economic sanctions, in December 1981 and October 1982, that denied Poland most-favored-nation trade status and access to official U.S. credits and credit guarantees. Renewing ties with Israel (and American Jews, whose friendship Poland has also sought) would help generate support for

Poland's efforts to improve its international position, especially in Washington. (The sanctions, in fact, were lifted by President Reagan in February 1987 in response to a Polish political amnesty last September and other liberalizing steps.) And it was a low-cost move. With only a few thousand aging Jews left in the country, Poland, unlike the USSR, has little to fear from a nationalist revival inspired by the flying of the Israeli flag in the capital. And it calculated that the interest of Israeli and Diaspora Jewry in searching out roots, restoring dilapidated synagogues and neglected cemeteries, and preserving the memory of the Holocaust could provide an influx of tourists and the possibility of joint projects.

Israel has made no secret of its desire since 1967 to restore ties with the Eastern-bloc countries. It saw Warsaw's move as a possible harbinger of similar steps by other Warsaw Pact countries, including, ultimately, the USSR. Too, it believed that Warsaw's move might encourage Third World countries that broke ties in the early 1970s to follow the Polish example. Finally, in 1985, Israel believed that Poland might become the long-sought East European transit point where emigrating Soviet Jews could 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 leader General Jaruzelski, after meeting with French president Mitterrand 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, however, indicate that the Kremlin, as part of its current minuet with Israel, has decided to send Soviet Jews to Israel via Romania, a country that maintains full diplomatic ties with Israel and has existing air links.

The prospect is for continued advances between Israel and Poland in the area of human contacts, the establishment of limited economic ties,¹ and maintenance of 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.

¹ There are reports, in light of Israel's decision to reduce its ties with South Africa, a supplier of coal, of a possible barter arrangement involving Polish coal and Israeli agricultural products and electronic equipment.

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THE JACKSON VANIK AMENDMENT

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

by David Geller

In the past year, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment -- by which Congress linked U.S. trade policy toward the Soviet Union with the human rights policies of the Soviet government -- has come under increasing attack from groups interested in expanding U.S.-Soviet trade. Several prominent senators, including Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas, have called for a review of U.S. trade policy toward the Soviet Union. A number of Jewish leaders have indicated that they would support waiving Jackson-Vanik restrictions if the Soviets permitted increased Jewish emigration.

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which originally had strong support in Congress and was endorsed by Presidents Ford, Carter, and Reagan, promises to become again a controversial public issue. The following brief facts, in question-and-answer format, may be helpful to the concerned citizen.

Q. What is the Jackson-Vanik Amendment?

A. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Reform Act of 1974 instructs the president to refuse most-favored-nation (MFN) status and U.S. government and investment guarantees to any "nonmarket economy" (communist) country that denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate, imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration, or penalizes citizens as a consequence of their desire to emigrate. (MFN status entitles a country to the lowest customs duties applied to any country trading with the United States.) The President is authorized to waive these restrictions if he certifies to Congress that such a waiver will promote the objective of free emigration or that he has received assurances from the country receiving the waiver that its emigration policies will be liberalized.

The Amendment was sponsored by Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Charles Vanik of Ohio. Other congressmen who played major roles in securing passage of the Amendment were Senators Jacob Javits and Abraham Ribicoff and Representatives Wilbur Mills and Sidney Yates.

Passed by large majorities in both houses of Congress, the Amendment was signed into law by President Gerald Ford on Jan. 3, 1975 as the Freedom of Emigration Amendment of the Trade Reform Act.

Q. What prompted the Jackson-Vanik Amendment?

A. In 1972, at the same time that it was requesting substantial economic and technical assistance from the United States, the Soviet government announced that all emigrants would be required to pay a tax ostensibly covering the cost of the education they had received in the USSR. The tax was high and clearly punitive, since it did not take into account that the emigrant's education had already been paid for through hidden taxes on the earnings of his or her parents nor that, upon graduation, people were assigned jobs for one or two years at very low salaries to help make up to the state the expense of educating them.

Q. Does the Amendment apply to all Communist countries?

A. It applies to all communist countries except Yugoslavia and Poland, which had been granted MFN status in 1964 when President Lyndon Johnson declared that those countries were substantially independent of the Soviet Union. Later, MFN was granted to Romania in 1975, to Hungary in 1977 and to China in 1980.

Q. What was the Soviet response to passage of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment?

A. In October 1974, in an exchange of letters with Senator Jackson, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger conveyed assurances from the Soviet government that harassment of emigration applicants would cease and that the number of visas would "rise to correspond to the number of applicants."

In his reply, Senator Jackson spelled out Congress's understanding of the "assurances" mentioned in Secretary Kissinger's letter: "We understand that the actual number of emigrants will rise promptly from the 1973 level and will continue to rise to correspond to the number of applicants, and may therefore exceed 60,000 per annum. We would consider a benchmark -- a minimum standard of compliance -- to be the issuance of visas at the rate of 60,000 per annum"

On Dec. 3, 1974, Secretary Kissinger testified to the Senate Finance Committee that assurances on the emigration issue had been received from Chairman Leonid Brezhnev, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

Nevertheless, soon after passage of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, the Soviet Union renounced the 1972 U.S.-Soviet trade agreement. Accordingly, Soviet exports to the United States do not enjoy MFN status, and in addition there are restrictions on the export of U.S. technology to the Soviet Union as well as credit controls.

Q. What is the Stevenson Amendment?

A. The Stevenson Amendment, adopted in 1974, pertained to the Emibank Bill extending the life of the U.S. Export-Import Bank for four years. The Amendment placed a \$300 million ceiling on credits to the USSR over a four-year period... an amount described by Henry Kissinger as "peanuts in Soviet terms." It is the general consensus that it was the Stevenson Amendment which was primarily responsible for causing the Soviets to rescind the October 1972 US-USSR Trade Agreement.

Q. Did the Jackson-Vanik Amendment increase emigration from the Soviet Union?

A. Emigration of Soviet Jews, which had reached 34,733 in 1973, fell to 20,628 in 1974 and to 13,221 in 1975 -- the years when the Jackson-Vanik Amendment was proposed and passed. Thereafter, emigration rose dramatically, reaching 51,320 in 1979. But then it fell even more dramatically, reaching a low of 896 in 1984. The current rate is fewer than 1,000 yearly.

Some observers attribute the decline in emigration to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, arguing that the Soviets would not accept what seemed to them an insulting limitation on their right to trade with the United States on the same terms as other countries. Other observers point out that the economic position of the Soviet Union improved dramatically in 1974 and 1975 as a result of the rise of world oil prices, enabling the Soviet Union -- the world's largest oil producer -- to reject concessions of a kind it might have earlier felt necessary to improve its economic situation.

Q. What are the main arguments of critics of Jackson-Vanik?

A. Critics of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment have made the following arguments:

1. The Soviet Union will not permit what it considers its internal policies to be dictated by the United States.
2. The Soviets can get from other countries the products they would normally get from the United States, thereby meeting their needs and at the same time denying the United States the benefits of such trade.
3. Increased trade between the United States and the Soviet Union would contribute to resolving some of the major political problems between the two countries.
4. Trade relationships create conditions that would bring the Soviets into closer association with the democratic West.

5. Since trade restrictions have not in fact produced the anticipated results, the United States ought to change the emphasis of its policy from "the stick" to "the carrot."

Q. How do supporters of Jackson-Vanik reply to its critics?

A. Supporters of Jackson-Vanik insist that they are not opposed to U.S.-Soviet trade. In fact, they favor trade as an important part of the overall relationship between the two countries. They claim, however, that in view of human rights violations in the USSR the Soviets should not be given special economic benefits. It is these special benefits that they would withhold until the Soviets have taken positive steps on human rights, especially the right of emigration. Supporters of Jackson-Vanik point out that the Soviets change their policy only under pressure and that trade is one of the most important kinds of leverage the United States has. They note that, overwhelmingly, Jewish activists and refuseniks in the Soviet Union strongly favor Jackson-Vanik as the most effective leverage available.

In addition, they point out that the willingness of the United States to link trade and freedom of emigration sent a strong signal that henceforth human rights would be a major consideration in the relationship between the USSR and the United States. The effectiveness of the J-V Amendment can best be appreciated by noting that emigration in 1979 reached 51,000. More recently, in 1983, its effectiveness was shown when Romania rescinded the education tax it had imposed on emigrants when threatened with the revocation of MFN.

Q. What is the chief area of disagreement regarding Jackson-Vanik at this time?

A. Besides those who have always opposed Jackson-Vanik, there are others who believe that the waiver provision of that Amendment should have been put into effect in 1979 when the number of emigrants reached 51,320. They further suggest that the United States ought to implement the waiver provision now to encourage the Soviets to allow freer emigration of Soviet Jews.

Others agree that in 1979 some relaxation was perhaps called for. But they point out that a waiver at this point -- when emigration has been reduced to a trickle and when arrests, harsh punishments, and other kinds of harrassment are directed against Hebrew teachers and other activists in the Soviet Union -- would be not only unjust but counter-productive. They support a measured response proportionate to concessions the Soviets may make now.

Q Is it possible that the Soviets will increase emigration to obtain MFN status?

A. The Soviet economy is in bad shape, in part because of the drop in oil prices and further exacerbated by the disaster at Chernobyl. In these circumstances, it is possible that the Soviets might undertake actions that would help their economy. On the other hand they may not want to be seen as negotiating from weakness. They might liberate a small number of people while still denying emigration to hundreds of thousands of others and continuing their campaign to eliminate Jewish activism and wipe out Jewish culture and religion.

Q. Is there now a consensus on Jackson-Vanik among major Jewish organizations?

A. On May 30, 1986, seven Jewish organizations released a statement expressing their support for continuation of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment as a weapon in the struggle for Soviet Jewry. They were: National Conference on Soviet Jewry; National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council; Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; Center for Russian Jewry and Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry; Coalition to Free Soviet Jews (New York); Union of Councils of Soviet Jewry; World Jewish Congress. Their statement follows:

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which is known as the Freedom of Emigration Amendment to the Trade Reform Act (1974), reflects U.S. commitment to the fundamental principle of free emigration, a principle on which American society was built. The Amendment denies favorable trade status and commercial credit to the Soviet Union and other communist countries which restrict emigration. The Amendment provides that its restrictions may be waived, year by year, if the President and Congress find that there is significant change in these restrictive policies. The Amendment remains the clearest and most effective expression of that commitment as it pertains to the rights of Soviet Jews and others.

The campaign for and passage of the Freedom of Emigration legislation was instrumental in the release of many tens of thousands of Soviet Jews. Frequent Soviet complaints about the Amendment demonstrate that it remains a key lever for future progress on behalf of these human rights.

Jackson-Vanik imposes no limit or ceiling on U.S.-Soviet trade. Furthermore, any financial disadvantages the Soviets incur by reason of less favorable tariffs and lack of credit can be suspended by Presidential waiver, earned annually. The Amendment permits US trade concessions to flow, so long as the emigrants flow.

Hence, Jackson-Vanik enshrines as law the flexibility that its opponents have argued can be achieved only through modification or repeal. It ensures a continuing incentive for the granting of emigration rights.

Despite some well-publicized cases affording freedom to a small number of individuals, there has been no sign of any change in the repressive policies of the Soviet Union. In fact, emigration of Soviet Jews diminishes while persecution of Jewish cultural activists and would-be emigrants increases. We vigorously reiterate our support for the principles and the policies represented by the Jackson-Vanik Amendment and affirm that we would strongly oppose any legislative effort to repeal or modify it. The Soviet Union must be shown that unless and until it has complied with the terms of the Amendment, U.S. policy will remain as it is. There is no room for unilateral gestures until the Soviets show that they are willing to abide by the rules protecting these human rights to which they gave their pledge at Helsinki. We look for significant changes, including major steps to resolve the refusenik and Prisoner of Conscience issues, ending the present harassment of emigration applicants and study group participants and, of course, a very substantial climb in yearly levels of emigration as envisioned by Senator Jackson.

David Geller is Director of European Affairs in the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee.

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Address by Gunther van Well*
Ambassador of the Federal
Republic of Germany

It was with great pleasure that I accepted the invitation to talk about "German-Jewish Relations Today." It gives me a most welcome opportunity to meet the leadership and members of the Detroit Chapter of the American Jewish Committee and representatives of various important institutions of this city. Talking about "German-Jewish relations today" in fact means to talk about three different issues or at least three different elements of German-Jewish relations:

- the relations between Germans in general and German citizens of Jewish faith as they live together in the Federal Republic of Germany;
- the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the State of Israel;
- and finally the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Jewish groups outside of Germany and Israel, which in the first place is the Jewish community of the United States.

Each of these aspects would deserve a look into the past, into the present situation and into possible developments in the future. We don't have the time available to talk about and to discuss all these issues in an adequate manner today. However, I should like to make at least some remarks with regard to each of them.

The Situation of Jews in the Federal Republic of Germany

In the Federal Republic of Germany about 28,000 German citizens of the Jewish faith are registered in 65 local Jewish communities. An estimated figure of 25,000 unaffiliated Jews has to be added. Prayers are offered in 56 synagogues. There are Jewish schools in Munich, Frankfurt and Berlin. Jewish students and Christian students are educated alike at the College of Jewish Studies in Heidelberg. A Jewish museum has been inaugurated in Frankfurt recently and another one soon will follow in Rendsburg. Recently a Jewish theater was founded which will show productions by Jewish authors in various cities in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Jewish community is a small but important part of German society, supportive of our democratic institutions and active in the political,

* This address was delivered on November 24, 1986 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

cultural, economic and intellectual life of our country. The central Council of Jews in Germany in its annual Rosh Hashanah message (September) emphasizes the basically positive outlook for Jewish life in postwar Germany. President von Weizsacker, Chancellor Kohl and other political leaders as well as religious leaders in numerous statements have praised Jewish contributions to German life and thanked Jewish citizens for their readiness to extend their hands in reconciliation despite the heavy burden of the past.

German students are studying the history of the Nazi period and learn about the Holocaust. There are seminars for non-Jewish teachers and educators and international meetings of historians on Jewish and Israeli issues and on the Holocaust. Exhibitions shown in various German cities deal with the history of Jews in Germany, with their contributions to German culture and with the crimes committed in the Nazi period. Lectures and courses about Jewish history and culture sponsored by Jewish institutions in Germany attract nearly as many Germans as Jews. After the United States and Israel, Germany today is one of the largest publishers of literature about the murder of the European Jews.

One year ago, in West Berlin, the Berlinische Gallerie presented an exhibit of German Jewish art which had been collected by Leo Baeck Institute in New York. The reviewer for the Berlin daily newspaper "Der Tagesspiegel" wrote of this exhibit:

"If someone should ask what we Germans lack today, intellectually, culturally, in terms of human decency and cultural history - I would point to the row of paintings here....This is doubtless the most important cultural-historical exhibit that Berlin has confronted since the war. It displays a major portion of that intellectual substance that was cold-bloodedly murdered."

We Germans must and will not forget the past. Jews living in Germany today have to cope with this past in a very special way. We have to live with the past, we are studying it, we endeavor to understand how the terrible events of the Nazi regime could happen. One important consequence of this process of self-searching is the growth of a strong commitment with regard to Christian-Jewish reconciliation in the Federal Republic of Germany, with regard to ever closer ties to the State of Israel and with regard to more understanding with other Jewish groups, especially here in the United States, where most of the survivors of the Holocaust outside of Israel are living today.

In an article published November 12 in a special edition marking the 25th anniversary of the magazine "Tribune," a periodical founded for the purpose of creating understanding for the Jews in Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl wrote: "The German government's task is perfectly clear. It has to indicate what significance the barbarism of the past has for our country in the present and what conclusions have been and are being drawn in our country from these horrible events for the future. We are unable to choose the historical context in which we live nor are we able

to simply shake off those things that burden or disturb us. The more alive and the keener our sense of history is, the more clearly we will understand how much depends on what conclusions we draw from the historical heritage that weighs so heavily on us. Those who were born after the fact would be well advised not to consider themselves unaffected by criticism, simply because they themselves were not confronted with the temptations of totalitarianism. The younger generation, too, cannot be totally free of the implications of the past in its political actions."

Wherever there are problems in German-Jewish relations in Germany today, we are determined to bring them into focus and to deal with them. All of you probably read about anti-Semitic remarks that occurred in Germany. You were able to read about such remarks because in Germany today we are determined not to tolerate such things. However serious they are, incidents like these in Germany are published immediately, they are commented on in the media, they are discussed by the public and - most certainly - there is no cover-up. But we have to understand, too that there is no way in a free society of 60 million people to avoid that at least some fringe individuals once in a while make stupid remarks. I only can ask you to learn from this kind of - rather rare - incident, which I cannot exclude from happening again in the future, that such remarks in Germany today not only don't find any support in the public, but are condemned by political leaders as well as by leaders of the Christian churches and other important social groups and institutions. They should rather be regarded as an opportunity to state how far such remarks in the Federal Republic of Germany today differ from the views of the large majority of the people.

The Relations Between the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the State of Israel on May 12, 1965, the relations between the two countries have developed in a most remarkable way. In fact in 1965 probably nobody - on the German side as well as on the Israeli side - would have been able to imagine how such a development could take place in the relationship between the two countries, having in mind the terrible events of the Nazi period.

But the fact is that in almost every field of public life contacts, dialogue and cooperation have reached a remarkably high degree and are still expanding. This includes - besides contacts between the two governments and the parliaments of both sides - especially trade, economic and industrial cooperation, agriculture, cooperation in science and technology (based on numerous cooperative agreements between the four universities in Israel and universities and scientific institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany), youth exchange, cooperation and exchange in the cultural field, exchange of teachers, and other sectors such as trade unions and even television.

Forty-seven cities in Israel have sister cities in the Federal Republic

of Germany; in comparison with only 25 cities having sister cities in the United States, this appears to be a remarkable figure.

Highlights in the development of political relations were the visit of President Richard von Weizacker to Israel in October 1985, the visit of Chancellor Kohl in January 1984 and Prime Minister Perez' visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in January 1986.

When the Israeli minister of science, Juval Nieman, came to Germany in 1983, he praised the "epochal role" of scientific cooperation between the two countries; over a period of a decade more than 600 German and Israeli scientists have been working together on joint projects. In 1984 Federal Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber went to Israel to discuss ways of extending and consolidating this cooperation.

The volume of trade has increased considerably over the past years. Germany no longer is only a buyer of agricultural products, but has become a major buyer of industrial products too. Israeli products are displayed at a number of trade fairs in the Federal Republic of Germany and Israeli publishers participate in the international book fair in Frankfurt. Israeli freight planes are a regular feature of our airports.

Tourism, too, has increased considerably over the past years, but the most promising development in my view is the increasing youth exchange between the two countries. With the support of government-funded youth exchange programs every year 3000 young Israelis come to visit Germany and 6000 young Germans go to Israel. But this is only the "hard core"; there are so many institutions and private initiatives on both sides to support and increase youth exchange between Israel and Germany that I am not able to give you even a rough idea of how many young people altogether take part in this every year.

I am firmly convinced that out of this broad and still increasing exchange a new relationship is growing between Israelis and Germans. There may even be a door opening again towards the development of a new common future of Germans and Israelis. The attitude of Israel and especially of the young Israelis with regard to their young German counterparts is most encouraging.

The Relationship Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Jewish Community in the United States

With almost 6 million Jews living in the United States, numerically the Jews of this country form the most important group of Jews in comparison to all other countries in the world, including the State of Israel.

Given the close relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States on one side and the very close relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany on the other side - over a long period of time - I should rather say for decades - it seems surprising that

there were no significant contacts between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Jews of this country. I am not talking about the contacts between Germans and citizens of this country who just happen to be Jews, but about contacts between Jewish leaders of this country and representatives of my country. For a long period of time no meaningful contacts whatsoever existed, there were no substantial talks about future relations between Jew and Germans in this country and - of course - there was no cooperation at all.

It was the American Jewish Committee which finally in the late seventies took the initiative to make an attempt to change this situation.

- In March 1979 a leadership delegation of the AJC went to Germany for the first political talks, in particular about the abrogation of the statute of limitations for murder committed during the Nazi period.
- In June 1979 the leadership of the AJC met Chancellor Schmidt in New York City to talk about various issues of common interest, above all about the situation in the Middle East.
- In 1980 the exchange program between the AJC and the Adenauer Foundation - the first of its kind - was initiated, when the first AJC group went to Germany in June 1980.

We don't have the time, and certainly with this audience I need not mention all further steps that followed on this road. The sequence of political talks between leaders of the AJC and leading politicians of my country step by step came a more important element not only with regard to German-Jewish relations, but also in the broader context of German-American relations in general.

From the most recent actions let me just mention here:

First of all, there is the initiative taken by the AJC with regard to the visit of President Reagan to Germany last year and the discussions about Bitburg. It was the AJC which invited State Minister Alois Mertes, whose electoral district happened to be Bitburg, to speak at the 79th annual meeting of the AJC about the problems related to the Bitburg visit.

Then I would like to recall the scientific conference about "Ethnic Minorities and International Law" a case study about the situation of Jewish and German minorities in the Soviet Union in March 1986 in Bonn, organized by the AJC and the University of Cologne.

Finally I would like to mention the German-American school book project which is just under way and which in both countries could have some important effects with regarding to the teaching of students, especially at the high school level, on the German side about Jewish questions and on the American side about some important elements of German history.

As can be seen from these examples, the history of American/Jewish /German relations at least over some years to a large extent was written by the AJC. This is a fact which we recognize and I am happy to have this opportunity to express my gratitude for the active and courageous role the AJC decided to play with regard to creating a new relationship between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Jewish community of this country.

I appreciate that meanwhile other Jewish organizations have decided to follow - in various ways - the example given by the AJC. For the AJC this is certainly a welcome confirmation of its policy with Germany, and for the German side this is a new chance to broaden its contacts and further develop its dialogue with the Jewish community of the United States in general. A growing number of Germans place great significance on this dialogue. Each opportunity to meet and to exchange views - as we are able to do here today - is an important step towards developing closer and more intensive relations. We will have to keep in mind what happened in the past. This past shall never be forgotten - it will always add an extraordinary dimension to any kind of contacts between Germans and Jews wherever and whenever they may take place. But we have to be aware that in our days again people in many countries are hoping for a better world, for peace, social justice and for the preservation of human rights. In this spirit Jews and Germans are called upon to contribute to the creation of a better world by using the potential inherent in their future cooperation. The AJC already has taken an important step in this direction.

Address by the Federal Chancellor

Dr. Franz Vranitsky

to the

2nd World Meeting of War Veterans,

Resistants, War Victims

and Victims of Fascism

Vienna Town Hall, 3 December 1986

Check against Delivery

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I consider it remarkable that you chose "Peace, Security, Freedom, Solidarity" as the theme of your convention. These are topics which once more are of profound concern to us especially at present, in view of numerous new threats and disappointed hopes with which we are confronted. And we could be more competent to speak up powerfully on this subject that you who lived through the devastation of the Second World War and the inhuman horrors of the Nazi Empire, and who are deeply marked by these experiences.

The theme of your meeting reaches out into the future but also reaches back to the past, and you will understand that it is this aspect which I want to discuss first at a moment when this country has drawn so much critical attention from world opinion. 40 years have passed since the end of the Second World War. Today already the grandchildren of those who were too young at the time to incur guilt are growing up. In Europe we enjoy security, stability and prosperity to a degree never known before, and relations between our countries and conditions in our countries are well ordered and peaceful.

And yet the shadows of remembrance still hang over us, the memory of moral failure deeply burnt into our collective consciousness, and the questions which we have to address to ourselves, which are addressed to us and to which we have to address ourselves have lost none of their weight and urgency. On the contrary in many European countries, not only in this country, there is today a debate going on, a very lively and emotional debate which is generally subsumed under the concept of "coming to terms with the past."

In the course of this debate it is often suggested that we should finally stop talking about the past. It is useless, some people think, to look back to that succession of terrible years searching for actors and victims, the guilty and the innocent, or to make any attempt to come to moral and political judgments. We should close this chapter of history and turn to the future.

As against this, there is evermore detailed and ever more informative historical research, and ever more insistent questioning, especially by young people, questions to which they are entitled to get an answer. I myself am sceptical about the concept of "coming to terms with the past." Coming to terms implies a finality which one can hardly achieve in the scrutiny of one's own history. This scrutiny is a continuous argument which will flare up again and again, under the impact of new events and new findings. What I consider vital are the lessons we can draw from these debates and the understanding we can gain for the solution of problems before us. From the viewpoint of our present situation we must squarely face the past, we must accept our measure of guilt and responsibility, and from this we must deduce the standards for our actions in the future.

Our emotional attitude, our feeling of horror, the moral challenge, and the urge to evade this moral challenge, all this stems from the terrifying insight into the implications of what happened: an ideology totally contemptuous of human beings took advantage of modern technology and modern organization to pursue its aims.

The sobriety of the technicians of death formed a union with the highest degree of irrationalism, with an irrationalism and a contempt of humanity of which, after all, even modern societies are capable and which ultimately led to a complete breakdown of human solidarity. In a recent article Jurgen Habermas called this an "incomparable violation of the substance of human togetherness."

The age in which we live is not only dominated by the fear that still far more effective instruments of destruction such as nuclear weapons have been placed in our hands. We also live in a world after Auschwitz, a name which for us is a reminder of the possibility of a complete moral shipwreck of a modern society.

And when we - again and again - think of the people who in those days offered resistance to that system, in hopelessness and with their own destruction in view, this is not just because we want to tell a story - but above all because these women and men of the Resistance by their actions upheld the principle of hope; of the hope that this moral shipwreck was not absolute, but that some human beings even in the most atrocious conditions know how to distinguish between good and evil, and are willing to act accordingly and to give proof of human solidarity.

And in saying this I want to build the bridge back to the present, to the future: what are the lessons we should draw from all this? To my

mind, the first point is the realization that there is no achievements which cannot be called in question. There is no moral consensus which does not have to be constantly renewed, confirmed, politically struggled for, and developed. We must now allow solidarity to be lost - not within our society and not in the interrelationship between our countries. Just as there is no European country without minorities - religious as well as ethnic minorities - which are in need of constant protection and of our solidarity, just so we also need solidarity at the international level - since it is clear that our security can only be collective security, that peace, freedom and justice are inseparable, that the poor of this world have a right to the solidarity of the rich.

Hence it cannot be our maxim to bury the past in order to be better able to work for the future. On the contrary, we shall only be able to work for this better future if we remember what happened to us in the past, and the guilt we incurred in the past. This is a debate and a recognition we must not evade. We owe this debt not only to the victims of that war and to the victims of that senseless campaign of destruction but we also owe it - on behalf of those victims - to future generations.

Let me end these remarks with an urgent appeal by Bertolt Brecht who said: "Mankind's memory of sorrow suffered is amazingly short. Its ability to imagine coming sorrow is perhaps even smaller. The worldwide horrors of the forties seem forgotten. Yesterday's rain doesn't make us wet, many say. It is this insensitivity which we have to fight: its most extreme degree is death. All too many people today look already like dead people, like people who have behind them what they have in front of them, so little do they do against it.

"And yet nothing will convince me that it is hopeless to assist reasoning against her enemies. Let us say again and again what has been said a thousand times, let it be said one time to little! Let us repeat our warnings even if by now they are like ashes in our mouths!"

* * *

THE JEWS OF AUSTRIA: IN MEMORIAM

by Bruce F. Pauley

We are gathered here tonight for two related reasons: to remember the Holocaust in general and, more specifically, to honor the memory of those Austrian Jews who died in that most horrible of all tragedies.

If, as I wrote a few years ago, the Austrian Nazis are "The Forgotten Nazis" their victims are the "Forgotten Austrians." This fact is both a tribute and a travesty. It is a tribute because the great Jewish Austrian intellectuals and artists were so thoroughly Austrian that Austrians today simply accept them as one of their own. But it is also a travesty because most Austrians are simply unaware of the enormous contributions which Jews made to modern Austrian culture. Nor are they adequately aware of the discrimination and brutality to which so many Austrian Jews were subjected. However, as we learned this afternoon, efforts are being made in Austrian schools to correct this lack of information. It is to be hoped that the just concluded symposium, sponsored by the Center for Austrian Studies at the University of Minnesota, will help assure that the forgotten Austrian Jews will be forgotten no longer.

The histories of Austria as a whole, and Austrian Jews in particular between 1848 and 1938, are inextricably intertwined. Austrian Jews played a prominent role in the Viennese Revolution of 1848, in the industrialization of Austria-Hungary in the rapid urbanization of Vienna and Budapest between 1850 and 1914, in bringing international fame to the medical school of the University of Vienna, and, in general, in brilliant intellectual renaissance of fin de siecle Vienna. Jews volunteered and fought enthusiastically for the Habsburg Monarchy in World War I, a war in which 30,000 of them were killed in battle. When the Dual Monarchy broke apart in 1918 all the inhabitants of the new Austrian Republic suffered serious consequences, but probably no group more than the Jews. Jewish merchants lost their markets, Jewish

This address was given at the Temple Israel, Minneapolis, Minnesota on May 9, 1986. It also appeared in Austrian Information, Vol. 39, No. 7/8 1986 on August 29, 1986

professors lost many of their student, Jewish writers lost many of their readers. When the Great Depression struck Austria in 1929 more viciously than probably any other country in the world it was again Jewish bankers and industrialists who were the most affected. Although all Austrians were eventually, though not immediately, to suffer the consequences of the Anschluss in 1938 by being dragged into Nazi Germany's war machine, it was again the Austrian Jews who paid by far the heaviest price: 65,000 dead of one-third of the entire Jewish population of Austria.

There is now only a tiny Jewish community in Vienna and one can hardly speak any longer of a Jewish "question." But the results of the Holocaust for Austria are still painfully obvious. If Vienna's opera houses, theaters, art salons, publishing houses, and libraries are not closed, as the Jewish author, Hugo Betauer, predicted in his novel Stadt Ohne Juden (City Without Jews) in 1926, there is no doubt that Austria's cultural and intellectual creativity today cannot compare to the time when the country still had a free and flourishing Jewish community.

Vienna is the birthplace of both modern anti-Semitism and modern secular Zionism. Anti-Semitism affected every political party and every social class in Austria. It is ironic, and perhaps of some cold comfort to Jews to know that this anti-Semitism was usually abstract and only rarely aimed at individual Jews. Nor for the most part was anti-Semitism sponsored by the state either during the Monarchy or the Republic. But it was tolerated by the federal and local governments. Seven decades of anti-Semitic propaganda obviously had a certain conditioning effect. At the very least a large number of Austrians by 1938 had come to think of the Jews as being alien, over privileged, treacherous if not treasonous, and certainly not worthy of the rights of equal citizenship. If the Holocaust was not the inevitable result of this attitude, then the path for it was clearly made smoother.

Looking at the Holocaust as a whole, Jews and gentiles are confronted with a dilemma: should we consider it a unique historical event or should we see it as one of many similar tragedies like the killing of 1.5 million Armenians in World War I, the extermination of Biafrans in Africa, and more recently, the slaughter of Cambodians in Southeast Asia. There are dangers associated with either viewpoint. If we say it was not unique it loses much of its horror and we forget the sheer magnitude of the event. Yet if we say it was unique it becomes merely a part of the past, of interest perhaps to Jews and to antiquarian historians, but not to other people living today and tomorrow. Such an attitude can lead to the smug assumption that only Germans and Austrians were capable of such atrocities and nothing even remotely comparable could ever happen elsewhere. But could it?

While German Jews were being driven out of the civil service and free professions in 1933 almost no American blacks had ever held these positions to being with. While Jews were being thrown into concentration camps in the 1930s hundreds of American blacks were being lynched

every year and continued to be until the early 1950s. When the German government deported German Jews in 1942 in the middle of the night because it feared unfavorable popular reactions such as those which followed the Kristallnacht in 1938, the American government deported 120,000 American citizens who happened to be of Japanese ancestry, in broad daylight and with the enthusiastic support of most of the American people. To this day there are some Americans including a columnist for the Orlando, Florida Sentinel, who say that the Japanese Americans got exactly what they deserved. While Jewish professors in Austria were finding it increasingly impossible to gain promotions during the 1920s and 30s, no Jew was even appointed to the faculty of Yale University until 1950. A century before Hitler began the extermination of the Jews and was planning to put Russians and Ukrainians on reservation Americans had started to exterminate Indians and to put the survivors on reservations. It is startling to read in Nazi and other anti-Semitic newspapers of Austria and Germany how frequently they drew inspiration from American racially motivated immigration laws, miscegenation and segregation laws, the writings of Henry Ford, and modern propaganda techniques.

The Holocaust, then, should not be considered as simply a part of the so-called dead past. Instead it must be a living symbol and constant reminder of what can happen to any group when persecution and intolerance are allowed to go unchecked for decades or centuries.

I would like to conclude my brief remarks with a tribute of an Austrian Jew to his homeland. On March 11, 1983, only hours before the Wehrmacht marched into Austria ending both that country's independence and the freedom of its Jewish people one Dr. Georg Berger, whose exact identity remains unknown to me, published the following article Die Wahrheit, the oldest Jewish newspaper in Vienna:

"The general secretary of the Fatherland Front, Minister Guido Zernatto, in his radio speech of 6 March has won the enthusiastic approval of every Austrian. He emphasized that the freedom and independence of our fatherland is anchored primarily in our unbending love of this country, in our voluntary loyalty to this country, and in our belief of this country.

"Our hearts also belong to Austria. We Jews whose cradles and whose fathers' cradles stood in Austria, whose families lived in old Austria for many hundreds of years, love and homeland. We love Austria's mountains and valleys, its lakes and cities. We love its streets and squares. Austrian adults were our educators, Austrian children our playmates. In the Austrian Army we fought and died for Austria's honor.

"We gave this country famous state ministers like Josef von Sonnenfels, a series of outstanding scholars, physicians, and inventors like the late modern archeologist, Emanuel Lowy, the psychiatrist Sigmund Freud, the physician Ignac Semmelweiss, Seigfried Markus, who helped invent the automobile in 1875, and Schwartz, who invented the dirigible. We gave

Austria its greatest lyric poet, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, playwrights of the rank of Richard Beer-Hofmann, writers like Arthur Schnitzler, musicians and architects, painter and sculptors like the living master Georg Ehrlich. Jewish Austrians fought for Austria's fame in the world; the playwright Max Reinhardt, the painter Epstein, the pilot Krofeld. The names would be endless if one wanted to mention them all. We helped establish the prosperity of Austria in the last century. We also help today.

"We know Austria and love it. We are permitted to love Austria and we must do so! Right up to the present time we have avoided no sacrifice for Austria's honor, freedom, and cultural position in the world and will not do so in the future either as long as it does not roughly push us back and shuts us out of every useful way of collaborative work. We must today clearly recognize what the immediate future can bring. We can take no step backward because we are in the right and have paid for our rights and want them also in the future. We must say who we are and what we want so long as a free and true word carries weight. Every one of us knows that his responsibility, ever one of us fights for Austria's respect in the world, for its cultural position, for its economic health, for its social welfare, and for its independence, for freedom and justice. Every one of us does this whether he is a scholar or artist, journalist or engineer, businessman, manual laborer or worker. We love Austria and believe in Austria."

Today, even though great Jewish writers, scientists, physicians, playwrights, and composers of the period 1848 to 1938 are all dead and the Jewish community in Austria is only a remnant of its former size, the magnificent Jewish contribution to Austria culture and by extension to Western Civilization remains a magnificent legacy for all of us, Jews and gentiles alike, to cherish and preserve.

* * *

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AN AMERICAN JEWISH PERSPECTIVE ON
GREEK FOREIGN POLICY

A Jewish perspective on Greek foreign policy must begin by noting recent steps taken by the Greek Government to improve bilateral relations with Israel and expand the dialogue with world Jewry. In the last year, the Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry visited Athens; a three-year agreement on scientific and cultural cooperation was signed; a joint campaign on tourism was launched; and Dr. Karolos Papoulias, the Greek Foreign Minister, indicated his intention to visit Israel, which would represent the first such visit by a Greek foreign minister since Israel's founding in 1948.

In addition, the Greek Government has sought to establish improved communication with world Jewish figures. Earlier this year, for example, Prime Minister Papandreu met in Athens with World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman and former Israeli Ambassador to the United States Ephraim Evron. This month, Foreign Minister Papoulias held a 90-minute meeting in New York with leaders of the American Jewish Committee. The message of Greek officials is both clear and welcome: Greece seeks a continued improvement in its bilateral relations with the State of Israel, and neither the Greek Government nor the Greek people harbor any enmity to the Jewish people, either among the remaining 5,000 Jews in Greece or elsewhere in the world.

Still, notwithstanding these encouraging signs, an accurate portrayal of the state of relations, first, between Greece and Israel, and, second, between Greece and world Jewry must include a number of troublesome issues. These include:

(1) With the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Spain and Israel at the beginning of 1986, Greece became the only Western democratic nation that does not maintain full de jure diplomatic ties with Israel. Compounding the difficulties, in 1981, as one of the first foreign policy acts of the new Papandreu Government, de facto recognition was accorded to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a terrorist organization whose charter calls for the destruction of the Jewish State. In 1984, Greece became the first European Economic Community Member nation to extend full diplomatic recognition to the PLO. Thus, the Papandreu Government has placed Israel and the PLO on equal diplomatic footing.

(2) When Great Britain uncovered compelling evidence of Syrian Government complicity in the attempt, last April, to blow up an El Al plane departing from London, the Greek Government stood alone among Britain's 11 European Community partners in refusing to hold Syria accountable for the terrorist attempt. It declined to support a ban on new arms sales to Syria and other limited measures, though in practice Greece would not have to break ranks with the rest of the Community because it sold no arms to Syria and planned no high-level visits. Most recently, The New

York Times (December 10, 1986) reported that, at a meeting in London, "the Interior Ministers of the European Community, except Greece, agreed on which countries backed terrorism." And in 1981, there was Yasir Arafat's visit to Athens, the very first by a major foreign figure after the October elections, at which time Prime Minister Papandreu was quoted as declaring, "You, brother Yasir Arafat, are the epitome of popular struggles for freedom and independence." The Prime Minister also reportedly commented to Faruk Kaddumi, the PLO's "foreign minister," "What the Nazis did to them (the Jews), the Israelis are doing to you," referring to Israel's incursion in Lebanon in 1982. There is a strong perception among Jews that, because of Greece's historical, political and economic ties with the Arab world, it has lent itself not only to rhetorical excesses but also to a fundamental misreading - and perhaps, even, unwitting encouragement - of terrorism in the Middle East.

(3) United Nations voting patterns shed light on government attitudes, although many governments are quick to add that they may feel compelled to act in a particular manner in such public fora whereas, in reality, their policies are actually more nuanced. In fact, though, UN votes do send a message to the world community of nations. Thus, on the one hand, we note with pleasure that Greece has voted consistently in favor of Israel's UN credentials when they come under annual attack by a coalition of Arab and Soviet bloc member states. Yet, on the other hand, as recently as December 1985, Greece voted in favor of UN resolution A/40/L.44 which, in one of its paragraphs, called on Member States "to sever diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Israel." In fact, in a 1985 tabulation of key UN votes affecting Israel among 23 Western nations, the average non-negative vote among them was 73% (the U.S. figure was 96%) but Greece's was only 33%. To be fair, however, this figure was an improvement over 1984 and augurs, we would hope, a continued rise.

(4) An area of great concern to world Jewry is the fate of two million Soviet Jews who are, by and large, denied both the right to leave the USSR or to live as Jews in the country. Among the most important international fora for discussion of such fundamental human rights questions are the conferences and experts' meetings of the 35-nation Helsinki process, created by the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act in August 1975 by all the countries of Europe, East and West (with the exception of Albania), and the United States and Canada. Many Americans, including American Jews, while having few illusions about the ability of this Helsinki process to effect fundamental change in domestic behavior, nevertheless regard the structure as providing a unique opportunity to review the compliance record of member nations. According to U.S. delegates who have participated in all the relevant meetings since 1975, as well as to outside observers, the Greek delegations have seldom raised their voices about human rights abuses behind the Iron Curtain. We recognize and respect that the Greek Government is understandably preoccupied with the continuing plight in Cyprus, after 12 long years, of 200,000 refugees and 1,400 missing persons, as well as the situation of the Ecumenical Patriarch. We also recognize the

concern in Athens for the condition of those tens of thousands of Greeks who live in the USSR, some of whom seek to emigrate to Greece but encounter serious obstacles. At the same time, we would hope that the Greek Government, through such significant international instrumentalities as the ongoing Vienna Review Conference of the Helsinki Final Act, as well as appropriate bilateral channels, might lend its support to the consensus of Western nations that seeks to forestall a deliberate Soviet policy of spiritual genocide of 15% of world Jewry and an officially-sponsored anti-Semitic campaign.

We are clearly sensitive to the need of every nation to pursue its national interests and to attempt to balance its relations between often adversarial nations or blocs. We recognize, in this regard, that Greek foreign policy is a function, first and foremost, of its membership in the family of Western democratic nations, including participation in the European Community and NATO and the bilateral relationship with Washington. We also understand that relations with Turkey and the key question of Cyprus are other key determinants of its foreign policy. Third, we recognize that Greece's geographical location as a Mediterranean nation and its links with the Near East and North Africa significant factors in the formulation of foreign policy. Fourth, we note that Greece seeks to maintain cordial relations and open lines of communication with Eastern bloc nations.

In our view, there need not be incompatibility between the strengthening of bilateral relations with Israel and the maintenance of existing ties with the Arab world. Other countries, including Italy and Spain, have similarly deep ties yet are able to maintain full diplomatic relations with Israel, and, particularly in the case of Italy, a strong network of economic, cultural and other links as well. And the case of Spain, too, is instructive. When Madrid was first considering the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, Arab League nations threatened numerous reprisals against the government of Prime Minister Gonzalez. Unwilling to yield to such blatant pressure, he moved forward to establish diplomatic relations, while assuring Spain's Arab friends that it desired continued close ties but would not succumb to what amounted to blackmail. In the end, relations were established, ambassadors were exchanged and the threats of Arab nations fizzled.

In sum, we look forward to the continued improvement of Greek-Israeli relations as being in the interests of both nations. We hope that Foreign Minister Papoullas will indeed fulfill his pledge to visit Israel in 1987. Such a visit would have important symbolic and substantive meaning for world Jewry. We urge the Greek Government to reconsider its position on the PLO, which remains committed to armed struggle and has never formally acknowledged Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized borders, as well as Greece's lone position in the European Community on the compelling issue of state-sponsored terrorism. We trust that the Greek Government will continue to review its posture on issues affecting the Middle East at the United Nations and other international fora. And finally, we request that the Greek

Government use its good offices in behalf of the Jewish community in the USSR to permit them to exercise their rights under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant of Civil and Political Liberties and the Helsinki Final Act.

The heritages of Greeks and Jews form the cornerstones of Western democratic tradition. They have rich traditions and many common values; they understand the centrality of a homeland and the phenomenon of dispersion. Clearly, Greeks and Jews have much upon which to continue to build ever greater mutual understanding and closer cooperation.

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Prepared by David A. Harris, Deputy Director, International Relations Dept.
On July 1, 1987, Mr. Harris will become AJC's Washington Representative.





FOR RELEASE ON NOVEMBER 18, 1986

GREEK-AMERICAN LEADERS COMMEND STATEMENT
OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE OFFICIAL

WASHINGTON -- Three Greek-American national leaders today commended the American-Jewish Committee for the recent statements of Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of International Relations for that Jewish organization.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, speaking at the NAMEDAY Dinner for Archbishop Iakovos in New York City October 26, said that, "In innumerable ways, the fate and destiny of the great Greek and Jewish peoples are interdependent. In light of that historic reality, no person, no force can ultimately succeed in severing those profound bonds nor in alienating Greeks from Jews, nor Jews from Greeks."

His comments were made just over a month after Mayor Koch of New York City created a storm of protest from the U.S. and international Greek and Jewish communities over allegations of anti-Semitism in Greece during the Holocaust and today.

Rabbi Tanenbaum noted that "Western democratic societies are inconceivable without the fundamental contributions of the Greek and Jewish peoples across the past millenia." He added that the American Jewish community in the mid-1960s worked closely with Archbishop Iakovos to urge the U.S. government to declare Greek Orthodoxy as a fourth "major faith" of the American people, and it was subsequently designated one of the four major faiths of America.

Recognizing that "there are problems outstanding today between Greece and Israel, and between Greeks and Jews," Rabbi Tanenbaum added that "the paths we have chosen to deal with such difficulties are those of dialogue, reconciliation and healing. Provocation and alienation are not the modes that Greeks and Jews choose to resolve their problems."

Commenting on the remarks, Andrew A. Athens, Chairman of the United Hellenic American Congress; George P. Livanos, Chairman of the American Hellenic Alliance; and Philip Christopher, President of the Pancyprian Association of America, said, "Rabbi Tanenbaum, on behalf of the American-Jewish Committee, has spoken eloquently and very helpfully at an important moment in Greek/Jewish relations. There is a very basic affinity between the Greek-American and Jewish-American communities based on common experiences in America, common senses of values, similar institutions, and similar objectives. There is therefore no reason that the relationship between the two communities should not always be extremely close. Rabbi Tanenbaum's public comments, and other similar remarks by Greek-American and Jewish-American leaders, therefore should be encouraged and applauded by leaders of both communities striving to strengthen the relations."

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COMBATING TERRORISM
LESSONS FROM THE ISTANBUL MASSACRE*

by George E. Gruen

There is a passage toward the conclusion of the Hazzan's repetition of the Musaf (additional) service on Rosh Hashanah, which this year assumed a new significance for me. The passage begins: "Avinu, Malkenu" -- "Our Father, our King," and asks that He bring an end to "pestilence, bloodshed, famine, captivity, destruction, iniquity, plague, evil mishap, every illness, every obstacle, every strife, every sort of punishment, every evil decree, and baseless hatred (sin'at hinam) from upon us and from upon all members of Your Covenant."

Until I came to Istanbul last month to attend the funeral of 19 of the innocent victims of the brutal terrorist attack, I never fully understood or personally witnessed an example of sin'at hinam -- unprovoked hatred. As the Sephardi Chief Rabbi of Israel Mordechai Eliyahu pointed out, the attackers did not know their victims, they had never spoken to them, there was no personal grudge or insult committed by the worshipers to arouse the hatred of their killers. Why did the terrorists choose a synagogue most of whose regular worshipers were among the poorer and elderly members of Istanbul's Jewish community of 22,000?

Since the two terrorists blew themselves up in the course of the attack and their accomplices have not yet been found and arrested, we may never know for certain. The accepted explanation is that this was a "soft target," one that was unprotected and therefore easy to attack. Moreover, since the synagogue had been undergoing renovations, the terrorists may have entered the synagogue earlier disguised as repairmen and hidden some weapons and grenades. Jack Veissit, the chairman of the Chief Rabbinate's lay council in Istanbul, told me, "We were in a deep sleep." He added, "We never thought that anything like this might happen to us in Turkey, a country that has permitted us to enjoy full religious freedom." In fact, the death toll would have been far higher had a scheduled Bar Mitzvah not been postponed, or had the terrorists struck a day later, when 500 guests were expected to attend a wedding in this beautiful synagogue.

But who would attack a house of prayer and kill the worshipers

* This report was adopted from his address at Temple Beth El, Cranford, New Jersey, October 6, 1986 at an ecumenical Erev Zachor -- "An Evening of Remembrance and Solidarity" service to mark the 30th day after the Istanbul murders.

inside? As many of the outraged Turkish newspapers pointed out, this was a clear violation of Islam and basic human decency. One should not describe the terrorists as bestial, an editorial in Tercuman said, because "the savage nature of fanaticism...is even worse than that of wild animals." Signs of their sadistic behavior were sickeningly

apparent. The stained glass windows had been blown out, the walls were pocked with bullet holes, and signs of fire damage on the woodwork were still visible even after the floor was carefully cleaned of the blood of the victims, and the shattered remains of broken chairs and glass, and the charred remnants of Torah scroll covers and books were removed to make the synagogue usable for the official funeral service.

Rafi Shaul is a teenage boy who survived by playing dead and lying still while the blood of his dying father, Dr. Moiz Shaul, gushed over him. He reported that the terrorists systematically shot their victims and began to pour gasoline on them before igniting the last hand grenades, which apparently also killed the terrorists. While young Rafi was not physically wounded, he too has been deeply scarred by the terrorist attack. As his older brother, Gabriel, was leading him to the synagogue for the funeral service on Wednesday, four days after the Sabbath massacre, Rafi kept trying to run away, saying, "I can see them coming back, they are shooting, they will kill us all."

This heartrending story illustrates the essence of terrorism: an action designed to instill deep fear and terror in a community. How should we respond to it? There are no simple answers to the complex phenomenon of terrorism in its multifarious manifestations around the world today. But there are several lessons we can draw from the massacre in Istanbul.

1. We must not allow the terrorists to intimidate us. The decision of the Turkish Jewish community to hold the official funeral service in the Neve Shalom synagogue itself was an act of courage and defiance to express outrage and show the world that the terrorists would not prevent Jews from assembling in prayer. It was, of course, a terribly shattering experience for the relatives of the victims. So was the moving ceremony at the cemetery where the Magen David-adorned caskets of the 19 victims to be buried in Turkey -- two were buried in Israel -- were led in procession one by one for burial together in a semicircle, to symbolize that, as they had prayed and suffered death together, they would remain united for eternity.

2. The funeral was also an important demonstration of solidarity. The Chief Rabbis of Israel, France and Sweden and other Jewish rabbinic and lay representatives from the United States, Great Britain and many other countries from Australia to Yugoslavia were present. As the Hahambashi (Chief Rabbi) of Turkey, Rabbi David Asseo, told me when I offered my condolences to him at the cemetery, "What has preserved the Jewish people through the thousands of years of their suffering and dispersion since the destruction of the Temple has been the sense of

solidarity, the sense that kol Yisrael arevim zeh lazeh" (all the children of Israel feel responsible one for another). It is this sense of not being alone or abandoned that had imbued him with the courage to go on. Rabbi Asseo, who looked much older than when I had last met with him in 1980, had less than a month before suffered the loss of his wife, after a long illness. ("Evel al gabei evel" [sorrow upon sorrow], he sighed when I expressed my sympathy to him.) Yet in ministering to the families of the victims, he rushed around like a young man and appeared unaffected by his own personal tragedy.

Turkish Jewish leaders told me they were also heartened by the messages of sympathy and solidarity that had poured in from around the globe and the examples of Christian and Muslim representatives joining with Jews in ecumenical unity against the terrorist outrage.

I had occasion to emphasize this ecumenical theme by bringing to the Jewish leaders in Turkey copies of the statements issued by John Cardinal O'Connor of New York and various Catholic and Protestant groups in the United States. In Istanbul I learned that some Jews were uneasy over the possibility that the Turkish press might misinterpret the natural concern expressed by Jewish leaders from Israel and the Diaspora, who were coming for the funeral, as criticism of the way the authorities were handling the matter or as a parochial attempt by the Jews to appropriate what the Turks regarded as a national tragedy. Consequently, I drafted a brief statement on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, which was issued in Turkish and English. (Our statement was published in full in the mass-circulation Hurriyet, in the respected Cumhuriyet, and in the liberal Milliyet, and quoted in most of the other papers as part of their coverage of this tragic event. It stressed: "This attack is an attack not only against Jews. It is an assault against all humanity and humane values. We are gratified that the Turkish Government, together with the governments of the United States, Israel, and Western Europe, as well as religious leaders of all faiths have condemned and spoken out against this massacre. We call upon the entire civilized world to unite in the struggle against terrorism.")

3. The need for appropriate governmental action. The Turkish authorities not only vigorously condemned the massacre but immediately dispatched the Minister of the Interior to Istanbul to head up the investigation. The fingerprints of the terrorists were sent via Interpol to over 130 countries. Police protection in Istanbul was pervasive before and after the funeral, and special guards were provided for foreign religious leaders. The Turkish Government also reiterated its call for international cooperation by all countries of the civilized world against the scourge of terrorism.

Turkey has long been a victim of terrorist groups, ranging from Soviet-trained and supplied Turkish communists, Kurdish separatists and Armenian nationalists, to native right-wing ultranationalists and Islamic fundamentalists with links to other radical Islamic groups in neighboring Syria, Lebanon and Iran. When the Israelis overran the bases

of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon, they furnished the Turkish authorities with evidence of the links between the PLO groups and many of these other terrorist groups of the left and the right, which were trying to destabilize and transform Turkish society.

Thus the Turkish authorities certainly have an interest in finding out what group was behind the Istanbul massacre. Not only was this an attack on Turkish sovereignty, and as the Government stressed -- an attack on loyal Turkish citizens -- but this attack was also seen by some, such as former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, as "an attempt to undermine the secular character" of the Turkish state.

In a statement on September 6 condemning the attack, and calling for international cooperation in the fight against terrorism, Prime Minister Turgut Ozal stressed that "all citizens living in Turkey are under the protection of the state, irrespective of their religion, language or race." He went on: "We share as a nation the grief and pain of all the families of our fellow citizens who have died because of this odious assault, and express our deepest sympathies to them."

This reassurance to the Jewish community was welcome, especially since many observers have been noting a resurgence of Islamic piety among the younger generation in Turkey. While by no means as widespread as the Islamic fundamentalism that has taken over in Iran, it is feared by some that this tendency, if left unchecked, could erode the Western, secularist outlook Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of the Turkish Republic, sought to instill in the country's youth. Prime Minister Ozal, himself a devout Moslem, has been encouraging closer ties between Turkey and the Islamic world, although his declared intention is primarily to reap economic and political benefits from Turkey's position as a bridge between the West and the Middle East. Ozal has refused to yield to Arab demands to break off relations with Israel.

The Turkish authorities are trying to establish the identity of the terrorists and determine whether they, in fact, belonged to the Palestinian Revenge Organization, a possible Abu Nidal front, or to one of the Moslem fundamentalist groups, such as the Lebanese-based Islamic Holy War, or the Islamic Resistance, a pro-Iranian group, each of which claimed responsibility for the massacre. The authorities are also seeking to determine whether the perpetrators received any logistical support from indigenous Turkish sources.

If this is established, then the date of the synagogue attack, September 6, may prove highly significant. For it was on September 6, 1980, that a massive rally was held in the traditional Islamic center of Konya, where religious fanatics shouted Arabic slogans and called for the abolition of secularism in Turkey. Ostensibly, the march was called to protest against Israel's Knesset decision proclaiming unified Jerusalem Israel's eternal capital. But the "Jerusalem Liberation Day" rally in Konya soon turned overtly anti-Semitic. Necmettin Erbakan, leader of the pro-Islamic National Salvation Party (NSP), blamed "international Zionism" for all of Turkey's economic problems, called on

Turkey to break off diplomatic ties with Israel, and urged all Moslems to liberate Jerusalem.

According to eyewitnesses, a seven-year-old child dressed in traditional Islamic garb carried a banner declaring: "Death to the Jews!" Another banner proclaimed: "One branch of Zionism is capitalism, the other is communism." The demonstration ended with the burning of the Israeli, American and Soviet flags. (This symbolized that for Erbakan's followers, as for Ayatollah Khomeini's, the three "Satans" that Islam had to confront were Israel, the United States and the Soviet Union.)

The Konya rally was the "last straw" for the Turkish military, who regard themselves as the guardians of Ataturk's secular heritage. Six days later, on September 12, 1980, the military, led by Chief of Staff Kenan Evren, took over. The NSP and other extremist parties were outlawed. Erbakan was arrested and charged with violating the Turkish constitution. He was tried and convicted, but was released from prison more than a year ago and has resumed public appearances.

Is it simply a coincidence that the first terrorist attack on a synagogue in Turkey took place on September 6, the anniversary of the Konya rally, or does this mark a renewed challenge to Turkish secularism by virulently anti-Semitic Islamic fundamentalists? General Evren, who was elected President in November 1982, and the government of Prime Minister Ozal are determined to find out. But as of October 6 the Turkish Embassy in Washington had received no definitive information on the identity of the terrorists or their possible accomplices.

4. The need to stop state condoning of terrorism. The nature of the target and the chilling cruelty in the execution of the assault provide circumstantial evidence that the Istanbul attack may very well have been the work of the Abu Nidal group. It is this fanatical Palestinian group, led by Sabri el-Banna, that was responsible for the terrorist attack on the main synagogue in Rome in 1982, and on the Rome and Vienna airports in December 1985. Sabri el-Banna is virulently opposed to any possible compromise with Israel, and it is precisely whenever there are glimmers of hope of movement toward peace that the Abu Nidal group springs into action.

Indeed, its victims have not only been Jews and Israelis, such as Shlomo Argov, the Ambassador of Israel in London, but Jordanian officials and Palestinians who appeared to be advocating a peaceful Middle East solution. Thus, one of Abu Nidal's victims was Dr. Issam Sartawi, one of Yasir Arafat's lieutenants who was trying to move the PLO to recognize Israel. Abu Nidal's assassin killed him while Sartawi was attending a Socialist International conference in Portugal.

A disturbing revelation about French policy toward Abu Nidal is contained in the dispatch from Paris by Richard Bernstein in The New York Times of October 5, 1986. Pierre M. Marion, the head of the French

intelligence services during 1981-1982, recalled in an interview in Nouvel Observateur that he had met twice with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's brother, Rifaat, who was in charge of Syrian links with Palestinian and other terrorist groups, and convinced Assad to agree that Abu Nidal would no longer operate on French territory. Marion cited as proof of the "success" of his policy the fact that Abu Nidal waited two years until Dr. Sartawi had left France for the conference in Portugal to have him gunned down!

Until recently, some European governments, such as Greece, Italy and France, had thought that they could buy immunity from foreign terrorism by closing their eyes, or making the kind of deal Marion made. It was only after the various hijackings and airport bombings caused a tremendous economic drain on the tourist industries of these countries that they began seriously to reconsider their policies of indifference to Palestinian terrorism.

Another factor, which was cited by Attorney General Edwin Meese at a meeting of the Presidents' Conference last week, was the United States retaliatory raid against Libya in April. Fear of what the United States might do next, and the possible complications of unilateral American action, finally convinced the Europeans to begin working together more fully to share intelligence, to adopt economic sanctions against Libya, to crack down upon known terrorists, and to carefully check the identity of suspicious travelers. The recent spate of bombings in Paris has gotten the French to reexamine their own misguided policy.

The simple truth is that Abu Nidal could not continue to operate as he has for over a decade if he did not have one or more governments -- Iraq, Syria, Libya -- providing him clandestinely with a safe haven and all kinds of logistical support. The Syrians, in response to repeated American demands that they rid themselves of Abu Nidal, have claimed that he no longer operates his terrorist activities from Syria but merely has a political office in Damascus. After all, say the Syrians, how can they refuse to support the noble Palestinian cause? This brings me to the fifth point.

5. The need to reject moral relativism. You must have frequently heard it said that there is no objective standard to define terrorism because "one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter." After all, didn't the Algerian liberation movement kill Frenchmen, and didn't the Irgun kill British soldiers and blow up the King David Hotel in order to hasten the British departure from Palestine? Of course, violence is often a necessary part of a struggle for liberation. What people forget is that the King David was not a luxury tourist hotel but the headquarters of the British Mandatory Government at the time that Menachem Begin ordered it blown up. Moreover, before the attack, the British were warned to evacuate the building.

A crucial difference between a legitimate act of warfare and a wanton act of terrorism is in the choice of the target. As Secretary of

State George Shultz has pointed out, "terrorist means discredit their ends." The late Senator Henry Jackson gave the most eloquent rebuttal to this false moral relativism: "Freedom fighters or revolutionaries don't blow up buses containing noncombatants; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters don't set out to capture and slaughter schoolchildren; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters don't assassinate innocent businessmen, or hold hostage innocent men, women and children; terrorist murderers do." (I would add that today the entire Jewish population of Syria, numbering more than 4,000, are being held hostage. Anyone caught trying to leave illegally, is subject to five years imprisonment. Thus Syria, in addition to supporting terrorist groups in other countries, terrorizes its own citizens.)

If Senator Jackson were alive today, he would no doubt add: "Freedom fighters don't shoot paralyzed tourists in wheelchairs; terrorist murderers do," and "Freedom fighters don't attack Sabbath worshipers at a synagogue; terrorist murderers do."

6. Taking practical steps to fight against terrorism. Enforcement of border controls, surveillance, sharing of intelligence, monitoring of diplomatic pouches to prevent abuse, economic sanctions, and preemptive and retaliatory strikes are all matters that are appropriately in the hands of governmental authorities.

What can we do as individuals? We should encourage our own government and other civilized governments to take tough and coordinated measures. We should take prudent measures to increase security at our own institutions. We should express our disapproval by refusing to travel to or do business with countries that support or condone terrorism. Finally, we should reward countries that do act vigorously against terrorism, notably Israel, by spending our tourist dollars there and showing our solidarity with the Israelis by visiting as frequently as possible.

Only when governments and an outraged citizenry work together can we begin to hope that the scourge of terrorism, like that of piracy on the high seas, will cease to capture the daily headlines and become merely a subject of historical interest.

APPENDIX

The Evening of Solidarity and Remembrance was cosponsored by the Union County Board of Rabbis and the Jewish Community Relations Council of the Jewish Federation of Central New Jersey. At the conclusion of the meeting, the more than 400 persons who attended were asked to sign a petition supporting the Administration's efforts against terrorism, and to communicate their views directly to President Reagan and to their senators and representatives. The text of the petition follows:

A PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

AMERICAN JEWISH

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The citizens of Central New Jersey, in memorializing the victims of the massacre at the Neve Shalom synagogue in Istanbul, Turkey, stand firmly behind our government's denunciation of terrorism and its efforts to eliminate it worldwide.

We support the Administration's policy that acts of terrorism must be met by determined political, economic and, if necessary, military action.

We support efforts by the Administration and Congress to press our western allies, and the entire community of nations to pursue an active, comprehensive anti-terrorism policy.

The entire community condemns any act of terrorism against any people, anywhere, at any time, and urges all nations to deny terrorists a haven or opportunities to carry out their activities.

* * *

George E. Gruen is director of the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division in the International Relations Department

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NGO Statement by International League for Human Rights
to the
United Nations Commission on Human Rights
Delivered by Sidney Liskofsky
Director, Jacob Blaustein Institute
American Jewish Committee
March 6, 1987

The International League for Human Rights wishes to convey its respect to the Commission for the important measures it has taken in recent years to advance the promotion and protection of human rights worldwide through the establishment of several specialized mechanisms. We are particularly encouraged by the work of the Working Group on Involuntary or Enforced Disappearances; the Special Rapporteurs on (a) Torture, (b) Summary or Arbitrary Executions, and (c) Religious Tolerance; and the Special Rapporteurs examining conditions in several countries, (Afghanistan, Chile, El Salvador, and Iran), as well as the Ad Hoc Working Group on South Africa.

The International League for Human Rights also has been pleased to note the establishment of the Working Group on a Draft Declaration on the Rights and Responsibilities of Individuals, Groups, and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The League encourages the Working Group to move promptly to conclude its drafting, so that its final declaration will bring hope and protection to the thousands of individual human rights defenders and groups of defenders who look to the United Nations for moral support.

The League has a longstanding concern that persons who are active in the defense of universally recognized human rights do not suffer harassment and/or punitive action because of their peaceful efforts to promote and protect human rights. The League has noted, with grave concern, patterns of detention of many persons who are active in the defense of human rights.

We ask all governments to take action to ensure that persons engaged in the peaceful defense of human rights be freed from incarceration, and safe from punitive actions and harassment, whether judicial or extra-judicial... [A list of imprisoned human rights activists in Algeria, Cuba, Chile, USSR, Yugoslavia, and South Africa followed.]

The League urges that these persons be freed and further harassment be ended against them and all other peaceful defenders of human rights.

Mr. Chairman, in concluding this brief presentation, the International League wishes to pay tribute to the great scientist, humanist, and human rights defender, the Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov, who has honored us in serving for many years as our Honorary President. In his

now famous letter to [Soviet] General Secretary Gorbachev...which occasioned their historic telephone conversation reported by the media worldwide, Dr. Sakharov wrote in part:

I believe that the existence of prisoners of conscience in our country is a legacy of the intolerant, dogmatic ideas of those years, the deplorable Stalin era, ideas that still affect the thinking and actions of some government officials...There should be no prisoners of conscience in a just society. We can do little to affect the fate of prisoners of conscience in other countries, except through the example we set. We can, however, free our own prisoners of conscience...their release would have real humanitarian, moral, political and, I dare say, historical significance...It would advance the openness [glasnost] of our society, international confidence and the cause of peace. It would bring happiness at last to the prisoners' families...It would evoke a positive response throughout the world...I assign exceptional importance to the fate of prisoners of conscience.

Mr. Chairman, we regret that time prevents our reciting the full text of this eloquent and moving letter. It is a public document that has been widely reported in the press and other media. We recommend it as obligatory reading for all who are truly concerned with human rights.

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THE "JEWISH INVASION":
A CASE HISTORY OF ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA IN ARGENTINA

by Jacob Kovadloff

Despite the discrediting of Argentina's recent military dictatorship, right-wing elements have not accepted the country's young democratic regime. One weapon in their campaign to undermine the constitutional government of President Raul Alfonsin is anti-Semitism, which is still endemic in Argentina. Bizarre falsehoods concerning Jewish conspiracies against Argentina crop up periodically, are publicized by right-wing propagandists and reported in the media, and then fade. A recent example, exposed by Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas de la Argentina (DAIA), the umbrella organization of the Argentine Jewish community, alleged a Jewish plot to colonize Patagonia, Argentina's vast and sparsely populated southern portion.

ARCHIVES
THE PLOT REVEALED

On January 4, 1986, the Argentine news agency Diarios y Noticias (DYN) disseminated throughout Argentina a report that Israeli explorers, disguised as backpackers, were surveying the El Calafate region of Santa Cruz province in Patagonia for the possible settlement there of 10,000 Israelis over the next ten years. The report implied that the project had been approved by national and local government officials. It included confirmatory statements by an alleged "Jewish leader," one "Albert Levy" -- a surname often used to identify a Jew in anti-Semitic propaganda in Argentina.

The DYN report was carried in the influential Buenos Aires daily La Nacion and in a number of provincial papers, including La Opinion Austral (Rio Gallegos), Rio Negro (Rio Negro), La Nueva Provincia (Bahia Blanca), La Voz del Pueblo (Tres Arroyos), La Gaceta (Tucuman), Diario de Cuyo (San Juan), and El Tiempo (Azul). Some of these papers are known as supporters of right-wing factions in the armed forces and vehicles for anti-Semitic propaganda. La Nueva Provincia, for example, in the 1970s castigated the banker David Graiver for his alleged handling of guerrilla funds and later his business associates, including the journalist Jacobo Timerman.

For several weeks, local agitators exploited the "settlement" issue with the cooperation of some provincial newspapers. On March 14, Prensa Confidencial referred to the "likely" settlement in Patagonia of 30,000 Soviet Jews with the "consent" of the Argentine, U.S. and Soviet governments. The "Jewish invasion" was publicized in nationalist and anti-Semitic Buenos Aires newspapers such as Bastion and Independencia.

In February the monthly Cono Sur, published in Comodoro Rivadavia, headlined an article "Patagonia -- the New Palestine?" In May another article's headline asked "The Beginning of a Jewish Settlement in

Patagonia?" This concerned one "Dr. Guillermo Boslavsky," a Jewish furrier from La Plata, who was seeking to buy 40,000 hectares of fertile land in southern Argentina presumably for Jewish settlement. Also in May, La Nueva Provincia reported that a Peronist deputy from Santa Cruz province had made a "serious" accusation about a "planned invasion" of southern Argentina involving "England, Chile and Israel."

When representatives of DAIA tried to discover the source of the original report, DYN officials could give them no information, nor had DYN even kept a copy of the wire communication. A spokesman for the government of Santa Cruz province "had no information as to the source of the report." The governor himself wrote in Tucuman's La Gaceta that he had no knowledge of the alleged Jewish settlement and that he rejected any kind of xenophobia. On January 17 DAIA president Dr. David Goldberg told La Nacion that the story was "one of the many lies or canards spread by certain organizations with clearly anti-Semitic leanings and a general antidemocratic stance." In August 1986, the DAIA published a 46-page booklet, "The Jewish Invasion" -- A New Anti-Semitic Fraud, identifying the story as another device of reactionary forces to manipulate anti-Semitism to undermine the current democratic regime.

ARCHIVES

THE BACKGROUND

The "Jewish invasion" of Patagonia has a long history. As early as 1939, Nazi Germany reportedly eyed Patagonia as a site for future German colonization. Nazi agents may have been involved in plans to bring about the secession of Patagonia from Argentina.

The idea that Patagonia might be detached from Argentina was revived in 1971 by Walter Beveraggi Allende, a prominent anti-Semite (who in the 1940s had been deprived of his citizenship for seeking U.S. military intervention in Argentina). In an article titled "Argentina Self-Defense Against Zionist Aggression," Beveraggi Allende revealed a plot by international Jewry, worked out during a visit of "New York Chief Rabbi Gordon" to Argentina in March 1969, to establish a Jewish state in Patagonia. The alleged conspiracy was publicized throughout Argentina by pro-Franco journalists connected with the official Spanish news agency who claimed to have seen documentary evidence of the plot. The so-called Andinia Plan even included a "gigantic natural refrigerator" in the Antarctic that would serve as a food-storage zone once "Jewish genius" had achieved the "superproduction of food" in Patagonia.

Soon a Tucuman lawyer, Ezequiel Avila Gallo, took up the story of the Andinia Plan. At his instigation, a local newspaper published a series of anti-Semitic articles in 1972, although another newspaper pointed out that Avila Gallo had in the past been a disseminator of unsubstantiated allegations. In 1986 Avila Gallo embraced the story of the "Jewish invasion" of Patagonia. He was supported by La Gaceta of Tucuman, which condemned the Jewish "conspiracy."

As the DAIA took pains to point out, the Andinia Plan and the "Jewish invasion" report share certain features of the notorious forgery, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Both schemes are products

of an alleged international Jewish conspiracy (which Argentine reactionaries identify with Zionism, Freemasonry, multinational corporations, and other bogeys) and both are "proved" by documents that have happened to fall into the hands of racist agitators.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

The DAIA's booklet failed to lay to rest the fear of a Jewish invasion. In September 1986 the Associated Press reported that President Alfonsin, on his visit to Moscow in October, was planning to ask Soviet authorities to permit the emigration of Soviet Jews to Argentina. The report was attributed to a "presidential spokesman." When Dr. Goldberg of the DAIA inquired about the report, he was told that it was false. In a statement to Radio Argentina in Buenos Aires, Dr. Goldberg noted that "the report stems from certain ultranationalist quarters of the press. This deplorable fiction is related to other precedents. What prompted this fabrication is anybody's guess."

But another Associated Press report, dated September 19, 1986, quoted a government spokesman as saying enigmatically that the report about the emigration of Soviet Jews to Argentina "can neither be rejected nor confirmed."

Meanwhile, Beveraggi Allende has sued Dr. Goldberg for libel for identifying him as an anti-Semite in the DAIA booklet, "The Jewish Invasion"; Beveraggi Allende asserts that he is anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic. The trial opened in Buenos Aires at the end of October. There is considerable interest in the Argentine Jewish community about how the judiciary will handle this case under existing Argentine law.

An antidiscrimination bill sent to Congress two years ago by President Alfonsin was passed by the House but is still pending in the Senate. Under its original provisions, Beveraggi Allende, the plaintiff in the libel case, should have been subject to prosecution.

* * *

Jacob Kovadloff is Director of South American Affairs in the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee.

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EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, DIRECTOR
OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AT BLACK-JEWISH FORUM, WITH THE REV. JESSE JACKSON, AT
QUEENS COLLEGE, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1987, 7:30 P.M.

The invitation extended to me by the Honorable Alan Hevesi, assistant majority leader of the New York State Assembly and professor of political science at Queens College, and by Professor Ernest Schwarcz, dean of General Studies at this college, is deeply appreciated. Their establishment and support of the Queens Black-Jewish/People to People Project is both a symbol and a substantive contribution to a vital goal that hopefully all of us here tonight share -- the overcoming of misunderstanding and the advancement of knowledge, mutual respect and cooperation between the Black and Jewish communities, in the context of a profound concern for the welfare of our beloved American democratic republic.

Let me be clear at the outset about my mandate -- as I see it -- this evening. I speak here as an individual, exercising my democratic right of free speech. While I believe that I may express the feelings and views of many in the Jewish community, what I am about to say does not represent the official positions of the American Jewish Committee and certainly not those of the American Jewish community, which is characterized by diversity and a plurality of views as is true of every other religious, racial or ethnic group in our democracy.

Why are we here this evening before this large assembly? This is not an easy evening either for the Reverend Jesse Jackson nor myself. If the bigots and extremists in our society had their way, this evening would not take place. The fact that Jesse Jackson and I made a decision to share this platform in the face of threats, slanders, and intimidations is a statement of our determination to reject hatred, bigotry and verbal violence. We do not and we will not evade the troublesome and disturbing episodes in Black-Jewish relations in the recent past, but our purpose tonight, as I see it, is to try to find a better way, a more civil and constructive way for Blacks and Jews to live and work together, as they have done for much of their history during the past 25 years.

Why are we here tonight? I want to try to answer that question out of my reflections and life experiences during the past quarter century or more. In 1968, I became involved with Catholic and Protestant leaders in trying to relieve the suffering of the victims of the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. That exposure to so much destruction of human lives, with tens of thousands of deaths of Muslims and Christians and incredible starvation of thousands of innocent children, transformed my life.

While the Jewish agenda -- Soviet Jewry, Israel, peace in the Middle East between Jews and Arabs, the Black Jews of Ethiopia -- are constantly at the core of my consciousness, since 1968 I have been driven to dedicate much of my waking hours to the problems of world refugees, world hunger, and international human rights.

There are about twelve million refugees in the world today, some six million of them in Africa -- the largest refugee problem in the world -- living mostly in desperate conditions. The searing fact is that most of these refugee tragedies are the result of religious, racial, ethnic, and tribal conflicts. In the Sudan, several years ago, nearly a million Black Christians and animists were massacred by Arab Muslim tribes of the North. In Uganda, President Idi Amin and his Nubian tribesmen slaughtered some 500,000 Black Christians, half of them Anglicans, half Roman Catholic.

In India, there are unending slaughters of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. In Sri Lanka, Tamils and Sinhalese destroy each other. The Iran-Iraq war has resulted in the deaths of an estimated quarter million people, many of them children, 12 to 14 years old. Lebanon, once the citadel of Arab Christendom and the model of pluralism in the Middle East, is now a daily slaughter-house. And who loses sleep over Ireland where for more than a decade Protestants and Catholics have been destroying each other?

Religious, racial and ethnic hatreds have become the engine of an epidemic of dehumanization in the world. Nowhere is that dehumanization more palpable and tragic than in South Africa. In October 1985, I went on a mission with American Jewish Committee leaders to South Africa. We met with a great many representatives from every segment of that blighted society -- from Archbishop Tutu, black union leaders, the Sash legal aid society, to leaders of the government, business, and the Jewish community.

It is a nightmare, an abomination, to experience the chemistry of nationalist arrogance and religious bigotry. Two massive religious lies have dominated Western civilization, including that of South Africa. Jews have suffered and have been destroyed by the 1,900-year-old religious lie of "deicide" -- the absurd notion that the Jewish people collectively killed Christ, and therefore must endure unending punishment and exile. Some Fundamentalist Christians preached the obscenity that the Nazi holocaust was God's ultimate punishment of the Jews for having allegedly killed Christ.

Apartheid is another such religious lie. In Dutch Reformed Churches, it has been taught for generations as gospel truth that the Black people have been cursed by God with "the curse of Ham." Segregation and apartheid have thus been justified as doing God's will. I saw the demonic power of that religious lie as I watched from afar young Afrikaans leaping out of their "hippo" armored troop carriers in Soweto and shooting black youths at will. These young Afrikaans, fresh off the farms and filled with their church lessons, have been raised in a culture of religious and racial hatred. Where were they to learn that the life of a black child is as precious in the eyes of God as their own?

The late psychoanalyst, Dr. Eric Fromm, in his monumental last work, The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness, called such behavior, "group narcissism." As in the dynamics of individual narcissism, a group attributes to itself all virtue, and to the outgroup all vice. Such a group becomes totally self-centered and sees itself as naturally superior, and sees the other as inferior -- "an infidel, a heretic" deserving of destruction. Dr. Fromm called such group conflict "psychopathic" behavior that is responsible for much of the group aggression, terrorism, and violence that pockmarks the world today.

The cost in human lives that the human family is paying for such religious and racial hatreds all over the world is staggering. In a nuclear-missile age, such psychopathology when out of control could conceivably, God forbid, trigger off a nuclear holocaust.

AMERICA IS DIFFERENT

Blacks and Jews, all Americans, need to acknowledge that America is different. For the past 200 years, our national and religious leaders have struggled mightily to establish an open, democratic pluralist society. The true genius of America rests in the reality that each religious, racial, and ethnic group comes to the common American table by right, not by sufferance.

Each group -- religious, racial, ethnic -- has its agenda, its own deeply felt priorities, and has a right to receive a fair and sympathetic hearing at the shared American table. While advocating its own agenda, each of us has a simultaneous and overarching obligation to serve the common welfare.

American democracy is founded on a social compact which is a fragile instrument. Watergate and Irangate underscore that fragility. That compact needs to be continuously nurtured. That does not preclude constructive criticism, for holding differing views. But indulging religious or racial bigotry, reckless and uninhibited racial epithets or anti-Semitic defamations can beat this precious, fragile social compact into the dust.

America is the only nation on earth that has not been despoiled by religious wars. Yet we have had far too much of racism, anti-Semitism, lynchings, and verbal violence. Indeed, the infamous canard that "Zionism is racism" is just such an expression of defamation and verbal violence. If we are to prevent the Balkanization of America, or the regression to any form of the group hatred that pockmark so many other parts of the world, we -- each of us, Jesse Jackson and myself, each of us in this audience -- must commit ourselves to the course of civility and dialogue, in a spirit of mutual respect and helpfulness. And we must spontaneously -- out of our own ethical convictions and democratic values -- repudiate the scurrilous attacks of demagogues. Of such moral courage and integrity is credibility made.

BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

At their height and most productive, Black-Jewish relations in the 1960s and 1970s were the paradigm of democratic pluralism at its best.

The essential reason for that extraordinary, indeed, historic cooperation was well formulated by my colleague, Albert Vorspan, in an OP-Ed piece in The New York Times. He recalled how, in 1964, the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was challenging racial discrimination in public accommodations in St. Augustine, Florida. There was a fierce resistance, and he appealed to the Central Conference of American Rabbis for help. Within hours, 16 rabbis came to St. Augustine where they joined Dr. King and his people. For entering the black church and for integrating a lunch counter, they were all cattle-prodded into a cell; a number had their lives threatened.

Why did these rabbis engage in acts of civil disobedience and prepare to go to jail? Vorspan wrote: "The answer is simple: Martin Luther King, Jr.

"No other person could have evoked such an instantaneous and uncritical response from us. With Dr. King, there was implicit trust, a profound bond of mutual respect, and a deep sense of solidarity with his mission.

"We respected him because he was intellectually keen and a powerful orator, loved him because he cherished the glory of racial and religious diversity. He despised black separatism as both wrong and counterproductive. He saw the civil rights revolution not as a black rebellion but as a covenant of white and black, Christian and Jew, standing together for decency.

"To Dr. King, justice was a seamless web: anti-Semitism and anti-Catholic prejudice, like racial bigotry, were anathema; his goal was not only justice for America's blacks but human rights for all peoples everywhere."

Vorspan adds:

"If, as I believe, Meir Kahane is essentially a problem Jews must face and resolve, so the Rev. Louis Farrakhan is a central challenge to the integrity and future of the black community...But black-Jewish relations are bigger than Louis Farrakhan or Meir Kahane, and we still have much in common that transcends our demagogues and our frictions. As Dr. King never tired of pointing out, blacks and Jews have common enemies; we have shared a history of oppression. That gives us a shared vision of a compassionate and open society.

"We need each other. Black and Jewish Congressmen are advancing a common agenda -- protecting the poor from Reagan social cuts, resisting violations of the separation of church and state, supporting the security of Israel, speaking out for Soviet Jews and others denied their human rights, opposing apartheid in South Africa and racism at home. Despite the irritations and conflicts that cloud black-Jewish relations -- even on such anguished issues as affirmative action -- there is still a bond that ties Jews and blacks together."

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. forged a Black-Jewish bond in love, devotion, blood and dreams. The greatest homage we Jews can pay to his memory -- that superb "Religious Leader as Political Activist" -- is to nurture and strengthen that bond which was -- and must remain -- a blessing for America and for the world.

I can only hope and pray that this shared evening with the Rev. Jesse Jackson will mark a turning away from aberrations and deviations in Black-Jewish relations of the past, and will return us to the highway of justice and mutual respect, for the sake of the Black and Jewish peoples of our nation, and for the well-being of all Americans.

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ADDRESS BY THE REV. JESSE JACKSON, PRESIDENT OF
THE RAINBOW COALITION, AT BLACK-JEWISH FORUM,
WITH RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, DIRECTOR OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
AT QUEENS COLLEGE, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1987

Thank you to Queens College for your sponsorship of this important evening, and for your ever gracious hospitality. And thank you to Alan Hevesi: for developing the idea of the Black-Jewish dialogues, for ensuring its support, and most of all for your own personal leadership. This community is fortunate to have you: in your district, in the Assembly, and in the classroom.

You have asked me to begin by speaking of the religious figure as a political leader -- a tradition going back at least as far as Moses, that great leader whose life is also a symbol of interracial cooperation. Fleeing the court of Pharaoh, Moses went to Midian. He married Zipporah, an African woman, and named their child Gershon, because, he said "I have been a stranger in a foreign land." It was Moses, the Jewish child raised by an Egyptian princess, who led his people out of Egypt to freedom.

As political leader, Moses spoke up to Pharaoh -- told the truth to Pharaoh and braved his wrath -- then led the Jewish people across the Red Sea on the way to the promised Holy Land. As religious leader, Moses spoke up to this same people -- when he came down from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments and found them worshipping the golden calf.

And this is the finest tradition of religious leaders -- to speak the truth, to stand up to imperial authority when necessary and to speak out to one's own congregation when appropriate but always to be prepared in God's name to speak the truth as you know it.

American history begins with religious figures serving as political leaders. Led by their ministers the Pilgrims dared that dangerous voyage across the Atlantic in search of religious freedom -- and yet, ironically, what they valued for themselves they denied to others, forbidding dissension, persecuting Quakers, demanding adherence to a strict sectarian line.

But there are other examples, too, of early religious figures who preached and practiced tolerance. The Baptist Minister Roger Williams founded the Colony of Rhode Island on the principles of religious tolerance. The Quaker leadership of Pennsylvania fleeing persecution at home, offered sanctuary to others -- and not coincidentally, fair play to native Americans -- an American first and too long an American oddity.

Religious figures stepped to the front lines of leadership in the fight to abolish slavery: John Brown, Frederick Douglass, both deeply religious, they used their talent, public platforms, pulpits and their moral authority to speak out against the evil of slavery, to insist that this nation live up to its own best principles of freedom and equality.

Meanwhile in fields and cabins, slaves told each other the story of the Exodus secretly at night, a symbol of hope and redemption. In the Black communities of slaves and freemen alike, the religious leader was most often also the political leader; the natural result in small cohesive communities with their own internal social structure but little or no economic resources or political authority.

There are similarities between these Black communities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe during the same time. There too the rabbi was likely to serve as teacher, civic authority and negotiator with the outside world. Who better could articulate the hopes and goals of his community? Who better, in the tradition of Moses, to speak out to civil authorities on behalf of the oppressed?

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum and I come to this meeting to speak from our different perspectives; but we begin by acknowledging our common experience. As Jews and as Afro Americans, our people have known what it is like to be slaves. Of all the people in the world, we explicitly remember that experience, reminding ourselves and our children that we were slaves -- in the land of Egypt and the United States.

And as we remember slavery, we celebrate emancipation. We value and take joy in our freedom, knowing that it is brought to us by God's grace and protected by constant human vigilance.

Jews and Blacks have traveled different journeys, but we share a common history; the experience of oppression.

Both our people have suffered from harsh and painful government. For Blacks, that meant slavery -- legislated and enforced by government followed by years of institutionalized, legalized discrimination -- again, enforced against us by the agencies of our own government.

For Jews, the memory is of the Holocaust, the horror of rulers gone mad, the murder of millions of human beings, from babies to grandparents -- and the search for safety and refuge from which too many of the world's governments turned away. For both of us, the memories are fresh and the lesson clear. Because we have suffered from the murderous attacks of bad government, -- carried out in the name of the law, carried out by people even wearing the uniform of the law -- because we have experienced the horror of governance for evil, we are totally committed to the standards of government for good.

Because we have felt the pain and shed the blood of race hatred, we understand the need for interracial understanding and cooperation. Because we have mourned the fallen in the war of hatred and prejudice, we must pledge ourselves again to fight for the triumph of knowledge and love.

Let me share with you a story from recent history that will make our message clear. When President Reagan announced his plans to travel to Bitburg, I was shocked. Shocked that in spite of appeals from government officials and the public, he would be adamant and remain so insensitive to the feelings of those who had lived through that history. In formulating my own response to his trip, I spoke to people who were authorities on the Holocaust, here and abroad. I spoke to Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Laureate -- a Nobel Laureate who certainly merits our greatest gratitude and congratulations on an honor well deserved -- as well as U.S. Dr. Paul Parks of Boston, the former State Education Superintendent in Massachusetts, an engineer and veteran.

Dr. Parks, a distinguished African-American, told me of his own personal experience as a soldier in the United States Army in 1945. As a member of the Corps of Engineers, he was with the Black Battalion that was the first to enter Dachau. When those troops approached this death camp, which were so eerie and silent, they were frightened. They thought it was a military camp; it was a death camp. They saw the piles of bodies and knew they were in the presence of an incomprehensible tragedy and consummate evil. But they also assumed that German soldiers were hiding within the camp's walls, waiting to attack them.

Inside those silent buildings, the remaining Jewish prisoners were huddled in fear. They hear the approaching footsteps and assumed the worst, that German soldiers were returning to finish them off. Then, cautiously peering out, they realized these soldiers were black and could not be Nazis. The prisoners, most of whom had never seen a Black, rushed out when they saw them. In stark disbelief and in passionate relief, they embraced. They were in trauma. Both were in shock. Both stood momentarily paralyzed on the cutting edge of history. Mutual fear and insecurity had been transformed into mutual security and rescue.

Blacks got to the Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps first. There are stories here that must be told.

It is the spirit of those moments of triumph that must be recaptured and nurtured and never let go. For in those moments were messages not just for Blacks and Jews, but for the suffering and rejected everywhere. For the entire community of the suffering and the survivors, including the Hispanics, Asians, Arabs, native Americans, Central Americans, and the people of the Carribean.

This true story of Dr. Parks and Dachau is one of the most important lessons of our time. In their ignorance, inmates and liberators each thought the other was the enemy. Separated by the death camp's walls, they feared the worst. But when they opened their eyes, they saw for themselves, they realized the truth. That we must look at each other squarely -- and recognize our allies. Walls and ignorance keep us apart. We must tear down the walls, open our eyes, smile through our tears, and open our hearts and arms to one another.

And so today when we look at the situation here at home, we see examples of racial conflict that are even more chilling because they involve the young for whom we have such high hopes. We can find many examples of walls of ignorance and fear, which breed insecurity and hatred, that manifests itself in acts of blind and mean violence. Caught in the prism of racism, we see natural allies kept apart.

It is because I believe so strongly in that which we have in common that I came here tonight to talk about our common future -- our cooperation for the common good. It is because I believe so strongly in the ability of people of good will to reason together that I urge us all tonight to focus our sights not on those issues on which we may differ but on the large issues on which we agree. And it is because I believe so strongly in the need for us to work together that I want to speak to you tonight about some of the myths that divide us.

Yes we have real problems and real concerns. No resident of Queens, no resident of New York, no thoughtful citizen of the United States can deny that we have problems and conflicts between groups. But let us also be aware that some of these problems are exaggerated; that some of these conflicts have been exacerbated; that some of the so-called issues are better exposed as modern-day myths.

What are these myths? Let me list three.

First is the myth that among the biggest problems facing Blacks and Jews are those posed by extremists within each group. The sociologists would refer to this as blaming the victim. In reality this is a political diversion, an attempt to distract our attention to the real problems for both of us caused by attacks from outside. And make no mistake -- the real extremists out there are aiming at both of us. The neo-Nazis in Idaho who want to build an Aryan Nation are full of hate toward Blacks and Jews. The Director of Communications in President Reagan's White House, who argued against the celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, also opposes the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. Even if we had less in common we would be reminded of our common interest by the enemies we share.

The second myth is that Black/Jewish relationships are so fragile, in such bad shape, that they are somehow worse than relations between other ethnic groups.

Why is it that so much public attention is being focused on the relations between Blacks and Jews? Why is it always our relationship that is being tested, monitored and critiqued? The day after the killing at Howard Beach, did we hear calls for investigation of Italian-Black relations. When so few white ethnics in Chicago voted for Harold Washington, did we see newspaper articles about Irish-Croatian-Italian-German-ethnic Black relations? Even the hardest friendship would be endangered by constant laboratory testing and public monitoring. We remain under watch and investigation!!

The fact that our relationships have lasted as long as they have in the face of this pressure is a testament to its strength and durability.

And finally, I want to speak about the third -- and potentially the most dangerous myth. That the positive relationship is over; that divisions between Blacks and Jews have split the old Roosevelt coalition.

In fact, Jews and Blacks continue to work together for social justice at home and abroad. In the Congress, Black members and Jewish members work closely together, fighting for economic opportunity, for urban aid -- and for an end to Apartheid in South Africa.

On the floor of Congress and voting booth, Jews and Blacks vote very much alike. In 1984, despite the self-interested predictions of those who would divide us, both Jews and Blacks voted for Walter Mondale. Last month in my home city of Chicago, where a great Mayor Harold Washington is seeking reelection, Jewish voters supported Harold Washington in numbers far greater than any other ethnic group. In public opinion polls and in the polling place, Blacks and Jews demonstrate similar commitment to the values of social justice, civil rights, and human dignity.

Those are the myths, but there are other factors which are not myths. It is not a myth to say that Blacks and Jews may differ -- but it is also time to say to one another that we can express our differences aloud and still be friends. Friendship does not require choral speaking -- friends do not have to live in an echo chamber. If we speak in terms of civility; if we frame the debate within the terms of tolerance; if we extend to one another the respect we owe to one another. Allies can be honest and speak out, without fearing that our alliance will be destroyed. It is not a myth to say that there are issues on which Blacks and Jews may differ -- so long as we remember the many more on which we agree.

The bonds between us have been forged over many years of common experiences and goals. Because we have arrived, at the same time at this place in history, does not mean we have not traveled different paths to reach this place. If sometimes our different experiences lead us to different conclusions, that does not invalidate the importance of our values.

Thus, Blacks and Jews have very different reactions to the word quotas. For Blacks, a quota can be a door to opportunity. For Jews, the quota system has meant a ceiling on success. But because we differ on quotas does not mean we can't agree on affirmative action, opening the way for minorities and women to participate in every phase of American life.

Even reaching America was a very different experience for Blacks and for Jews. For Jews, leaving Europe to come to the United States was to leave oppression and arrive at freedom. For Blacks the experience was reversed, leaving Africa to come to the United States meant leaving independence and being forced into slavery. Thus the very word immigration has a different meaning to us. But both of us can agree that political refugees deserve the right to immigrate, and both of us will fight for these rights.

Whether the prisoner is Jacob Timmerman in the jails of Argentina or Anatol Shchranskyin the Soviet Union, or Nelson Mandela in South Africa -- we believe that the Government of the United States should speak out on behalf of those unjustly jailed -- not make alliances with their jailers.

That is why, when I went to Geneva with a peace delegation from the United States and had the chance to speak to Premier Gorbachev, I raised the issue with him about Soviet Jews. That is why earlier this month I met outside the White House with Koreans protesting the brutality of their own South Korean Government. And that is why so many of us, Black and Jew, white and Hispanic, marched together and were arrested together outside the South African embassies across this country -- because on the issue of human rights, we are united.

Look around this room
Look at the person sitting next to you
Look at the people sitting in your row
And in front of you
We are the people who care...the people who make the effort to come out tonight -- to share with each other our feelings and commitment...The people who want to reach out and work together.

Our enemy is not within this room but outside...among those who try to stop communication...to spread fear and distrust ...to set us against one another because they oppose our principles of social justice and human dignity.

And so they try to set us against one another.

Look at this building...think about the value of this College, and the first rate education experiences this school made available. Think about the dedicated teachers who teach here like Barry Commoner, Alan Hevesi and Mike Harrington. Think about how much education has contributed to the health of our nation and the strength of our society.

But there are those who want to cut back education. The President's budget proposes to trim 5 billion dollars from the Federal Education Budget, to narrow grants in favor of loans, to lessen the number of classes that can be taught, of scholarships available, of textbooks that will be used. The enemy is not within this room but is outside among the people who talk about excellence but try to cut back education.

Look at the young people with us tonight. Think of our own hopes and goals when we were their age. Think of what they mean to us, to all of us, as a society and as a nation. But what sort of future can they expect when decent jobs are shrinking, when America's economic base is weakened, when opportunities for employment and education are disappearing.

The enemy is not within this room but outside, among those people who would deny our young people the chance for a better life.

When we understand that the enemy is outside, then we understand too that our allies are inside. For us inside this room let there be no question that the alliance is real, the goals are shared, and that our directions will be forward. I thank you for the opportunity to speak with you tonight, and I look forward to answering your questions.





AMERICAN JEWISH
HIGHLIGHTS OF ACTIVITIES OF THE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

JANUARY 1, 1987 THROUGH JULY 1, 1988

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906 in response to the brutal pogroms in Kishinev and elsewhere in Tsarist Russia. Since that time, AJC has maintained as its central purpose the protection of Jews around the world. In this pursuit, it has become a significant and respected factor on the international scene.

The goals of the International Relations Department today fall into five principal categories:

- a) Strengthening the security and well-being of Israel, interpreting its concerns in the United States and elsewhere, and seeking to contribute to the domestic quality of life, particularly in the sphere of inter and intra-group relations;
- b) Combatting of anti-Semitism and protection of endangered and otherwise vulnerable Jewish communities, including those in the Soviet Union, the Middle East and North Africa, Ethiopia, and South Africa;
- c) Enhancement of the quality of Jewish life, particularly in smaller communities in Central and South America, and Europe;
- d) Promotion of international human rights standards and adherence, including religious tolerance, the right to leave, human rights education, and respect for civil and political rights;
- e) Pursuit of inter-religious dialogue, especially with the Vatican and the hierarchies of the Catholic Churches in Europe, Central and South America, Africa and Asia.

FORWARD

The year and a half, from January 1, 1987, through July 1, 1988, was an unusual period of tumult and challenge in international relations.

The Palestinian intifadeh uprising erupted during this period. King Hussein of Jordan announced his breaking of administrative and legal ties with West Bank Palestinians. The Iran-Iraq brutal war seemed to move toward a cease-fire. Election politics charged the air of both Israel and the United States.

The summit meetings of President Reagan-Chairman Gorbachev were held and raised dramatic questions about the next stages of East-West relations and arms control. Implicit in glasnost were questions of its possible meanings for the future of Soviet Jewry and of Soviet-Israeli relations.

There was intifadeh fall-out in Western and Eastern Europe, with a number of anti-Israeli demonstrations in several of these countries. Relations with European governments (and media) with Israel and their respective Jewish communities became a matter of intensified concern.

The meetings between Pope John Paul II and Austria's President, Kurt Waldheim, in Rome on June 25, 1987, and again in Austria during the June 22-25, 1988, papal visits stressed Vatican-Jewish relations and required special attention.

Panama became a symbol of the uncertainties experienced by Jewish communities in Central and South America. And relations between Japan and Israel and world Jewry also surfaced as a meaningful challenge.

In keeping with the founding mandate of the American Jewish Committee, the international Relations Commission in cooperation with the department's professional staff, sought to "defend the religious and civil rights of Jews throughout the world" and to contribute to the defense of democracy and human rights everywhere.

This report of the highlights of the program activities of the IRD suggest how the AJC sought to be responsive to the above challenges which fell within the organization's mandate from its inception. It remains for the reader to determine just how faithfully and effectively that mandate was honored.

Deepest appreciation is owed to the IRD Steering Commission members as well as to the department's exceptionally competent professional staff for the intellectual and moral contributions they have made to the realization of this far-flung program.

We look forward to the continuation of this high tradition of service under Richard Rice of Chicago, newly-elected chairman of the International Relations Commission.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations Department

Miles Jaffe
Retiring Chairman

**HIGHLIGHTS OF ACTIVITIES OF THE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

January 1, 1987 - July 1, 1988

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

During the past year, AJC's International Relations Department (IRD) has continued in its efforts to interpret events in the Middle East, both to AJC's own membership and to the American and international publics at large. This year we were faced with a significant challenge: to educate the public in the midst of widespread criticism of Israel for its actions during the Arab uprising in the West Bank and Gaza.

While not endorsing specific military measures, AJC sought to help maintain support for Israel during this difficult period. To that end, AJC organized a score of meetings with key American and Israeli officials, including high-ranking White House and State Department staffs, the Israeli ambassador to the U.S., and other key Israeli officials. Consultations were also held on the Middle East with Ambassadors and foreign ministries in Western and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Japan.

AJC leaders have met with a wide range of U.S. officials central to Middle East policy, from Secretary of State Shultz to key members of the State Department and National Security Council (NSC). Specifically, there were meetings with John Whitehead, Deputy Secretary, Department of State; Richard Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; Philip Wilcox, Mr. Murphy's assistant and the recently named new consul general in Israel. In each instance, the AJC expressed solidarity with Israel and urged that U.S. initiatives be taken to renew peace initiatives. There were several consultations with National Security Council officials, among them, Ambassador Robert Oakley and Middle East specialist, Dennis Ross.

IRD has also conferred regularly with Israel officials, meeting three times in just ten days with Moshe Arad, Israel's Ambassador to the U.S. Consultations were also held with Dr. Yossi Beilin, the political director general of the Israeli foreign ministry, and Nimrod Novik, Foreign Minister Peres' political advisor. Cables were sent to Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres, and Defense Minister Rabin in which the AJC expressed its concern over some of the measures used to bring stability to the occupied territories. AJC President Ted Ellenoff also met with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to discuss Egypt's role in the resolution of the crisis.

IRD has maintained close contacts with other major organizations, such as, the Conference of Presidents (headed by Honorary AJC President Morris Abram) in order to preserve a unified approach in this difficult period. The department has shared materials and analyses with the various AJC chapters and Jewish federations/CRCs all over the country. Finally, the

AJC has participated in intense media consultations both here and in Israel on this issue, urging major media discussions to put the situation in perspective. IRD joined in meetings with ABC, NBC, and CBS television executives in January to discuss the achievement of balanced news interpretation. These meetings served as useful forum for the exchange of views, and for the communication of constructive ideas.

In addition, IRD cooperated in assembling together in many cities various non-Jewish ethnic and religious groups in order to convey to them a better understanding of Jewish concerns.

Throughout this period, IRD has done its utmost to keep AJC leaders, the field staff and other involved individuals abreast of new developments, and to provide them with the necessary tools for taking action in their own communities.

A primary tool in promoting public understanding of the Israeli dilemma was a background analysis, prepared by Dr. George E. Gruen and Gary Wolf, entitled "Continuing Turmoil in the West Bank and Gaza: Responses to the Current Crisis, Underlying Issues and Potential Solutions." This report, which was updated and expanded four times, has become a standard document used by numerous American Jewish organizations.

In March, AJC and other Jewish leaders from around the country came to Washington for AJC's two-day "Fly-In", an intensive series of discussions aimed at formulating strategies for dealing with the uprising. Participants were given the AJC's "Talking Points and Action Recommendations for Meetings with House and Senate Members." Furthermore, Jewish activists have been kept up-to-date throughout 1988 by way of frequent lectures by AJC Middle East experts.

The IRD has prepared educational materials on many other important topics relating to Israel and the Middle East. In addition to the weekly Israeli Press Highlights these reports include "The Current Status of the Arab-Israel Peace Process"; "The Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987"; the Arab Summit in Amman"; "Israel: A Democratic, Pluralistic Society"; "The PLO and the Palestinian Uprising"; and "The Mubarak Awad Case". (See list of IRD publications on back page.)

A critical problem faced by Israel society over the years has been the growing tension between religious and secular Jews. In recent years, this tension has occasionally escalated into violent clashes and other ugly incidents. In response to this ongoing crisis, the IRD organized together with the Leonard Davis Institute on International Relations of the Hebrew University a three-day conference on "Society, State and Religion: The Jewish Experience", held in Jerusalem in February 1988. The conference was attended by distinguished academics and religious and communal leaders from Israel and the Diaspora, as well as by several Israeli government officials.

The conference included such eminent speakers as Professors Yehoshafat Harkabi and Shlomo Avineri, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, former Ambassadors Avraham Harman and Zalman Abramov. The conference was co-chaired by Prof. Harkabi and IRD director, Marc Tanenbaum. Coordinators were Gabriel Scheffler, associate director of the HU Davis Institute, and AJC's Dr. George Gruen.

Among the key sessions were the presentation of papers on "Jewish Law and the

Character of the State of Israel," "Political, Social and Cultural Cleavages within Jewish Society," "Means and Strategies for Change in Israel," and "Mutual Impact Between Developments in the Diaspora and Israel." The concluding sessions explored how to strengthen Jewish unity within a democratic, pluralistic framework with an eye toward advancing mutual respect and solidarity between Israel and the Diaspora. There were recommendations for an expanded secular-religious dialogue and for more attention to the issue of women's participation in religious life.

Plans are under way for publication of the major papers and a summary of the stimulating discussions which brought together representatives of a broad spectrum of political and religious views. In addition, IRD has already released its own background paper dealing with this area, entitled "Religious Conflict Among Jews in Israel: Prospects for Reconciliation," written by IRD's Gary Wolf.

In the spring and summer of 1987, IRD joined in efforts to deter Knesset passage of several pieces of legislation aimed at changing the definition of "Who is a Jew" so as to deny the authority of conversions performed under the auspices of Conservative and Reform movements. Persistent consultations with Israeli political leaders by IRD's Israel and New York offices, as well as by other advocates of the status quo, paid off when the resolutions in question were either defeated or not put to a vote.

In May 1987, Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead requested IRD Director Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum's assistance in forming a coalition of religious, ethnic and civic leaders to help mobilize a national constituency behind the maintenance of a full foreign affairs budget including foreign aid. On May 19th, a meeting organized by the State Department, with substantial IRD assistance took place at the White House. At this meeting, over 40 communal leaders were addressed by Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, NSC Director Frank Carlucci, and officials of the Agency for International Development (AID) all of whom emphasized the strategic importance of foreign aid. AJC President Ellenoff, Board of Governors' Chairman Leo Nevas, and Tanenbaum actively participated in the consultation.

The recently released report by the Lutheran World Federation, "The Palestinian/Israeli Issue" threatened to rupture Jewish/Lutheran relations at a time when real progress had been made. The Middle East Affairs Division formulated a critique of this blatantly anti-Israel paper which contributed to the Federation's decision not to adopt the document's views.

Soviet Jewry

In collaboration with other Jewish organizations, IRD played a major role in organizing the successful Mobilization Rally in behalf of Soviet Jewry in Washington on December 6, 1987, the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit. David Harris, formerly deputy director of IRD and now the head of the AJC's Washington office, coordinated the effort which brought over 200,000 Americans from all across the nation to demonstrate solidarity with the plight of Soviet Jewry. AJC's Morton Yarmon also led the publicity and public relations aspects of the rally. In addition, IRD prepared material on the Soviet Jewry issue for Senate Majority leader Robert Byrd and House Minority leader Robert Michel. The role the Soviet Jewry rally played in focusing world attention on this vital issue was extraordinary. In harnessing the support of public figures in solidarity with Soviet Jewry, IRD obtained a statement from Nobel Peace

Prize Laureate Oscar Arias Sanchez, the President of Costa Rica. After the rally, former Prisoner of Zion, Natan Sharansky, received the AJC's highest honor, the American Liberties Medallion, at an award dinner at the Sheraton Grand Hotel in Washington, D.C.

A major consultation on Soviet Jewry was held in Chicago in March 1987. Participants included Thomas W. Simons, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; and Dr. David Luft, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State of Commerce for Services. Richard Rice of Chicago, newly-elected chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, presided at the proceedings. IRD director of European Affairs, David Geller, coordinated this successful conference

At the conference, specialists from government and academia discussed Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost policy and its effect on Soviet Jewry. While participants did not feel that glasnost had especially benefitted Jews, the release of most prisoners of Zion was noted as a step forward. The Jackson-Vanik amendment, which restricts U.S. trade with the Soviet Union so long as the latter obstructs the free emigration of its citizens was acknowledged as an important instrument of leverage. IRD published a backgrounder prepared by David Geller on the Amendment explaining its history and significance. The discussants also noted the growing influence of Russian chauvinism and the persistence of anti-Semitism even among some of the intelligentsia. The expanding dialogue between the USSR and Israel was also discussed. Few expected that the restoration of full diplomatic ties will occur in the near future. It was suggested that a special meeting of marketing specialists be convened to help develop more effective publicity and public relations. Of utmost importance, conference participants decided, was the need to reach out to various groups in the non-Jewish community and in Congress to keep them informed on the status of Soviet Jewry. IRD has made presentations on Soviet Jewry to various American groups and has made appeals in behalf of Soviet Jewry over radio as well.

In order to help preserve Jewish culture and identity in the USSR, IRD has been active in developing a radio program on Jewish themes to be transmitted to the Soviet Union. The "Academy of the Air for Jewish Studies" has broadcast insightful educational lectures on various aspects of Jewish history, culture and religion. Several hundred tapes have been prepared by scholars and translated into Russian for use in this project. The "Academy of the Air" has been heard by Soviet Jews, including renowned activist Ida Nudel.

A book was published based on the papers from the March 1986 conference on the conditions of Soviet *minorities under international law*, co-sponsored by the AJC and the Institut fur Ostrecht of Cologne University. One of the first comparative treatments of the condition of Soviet Jews and Soviet Germans, the dual language book, with contributions from scholars of international law and Soviet nationalities from both sides of the Atlantic focuses on internal Soviet affairs and human rights.

IRD has continued to intervene for the rights of individual refuseniks. In the case of refusenik Gregory Gimpelson of Leningrad, a letter was drafted to the editor of the New York Times and documentation was submitted to Ambassador Schifter and Assistant Secretary of State Simons as well as to Spencer Oliver, Chief Counsel for the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

Europe

In January 1988, IRD and the Washington office launched a new program, the Ambassador's Forum. The Forum is an opportunity for AJC leadership and other members of the Jewish community to meet with foreign ambassadors to the United States to discuss issues of mutual concern. The first forum was a luncheon addressed by Ambassador Rinaldo Pettrignani of Italy. The discussion focused on such topics as East-West relations, the current conflict in the Middle East, Italian-American relations, international terrorism, and recent manifestations of anti-Semitism in Italy. Other subsequent Forums featured addresses by the Canadian Ambassador and the Hungarian Ambassador.

In November, IRD participated in a conference in Bonn on relations between American Jews and West Germany. The Conference, organized by William Trosten, AJC associate director, was co-sponsored by the AJC and the Atlantik Bruecke (Atlantic Bridge), a prominent German foreign policy group. American academics and journalists joined AJC leaders in meeting with German leaders of industry, politics, and academia to discuss their perceptions of one another, reactions to events such as Bitburg, and how the mass media has influenced the two sides' thinking. A series of recommendations were issued to improve the ties between American Jews and Germans. A second conference with Atlantik Bruecke was held in New York in June 1988.

Preparations are underway for a conference on the introduction of courses on American Jews in German high schools. Held in March 1988, the conference was co-sponsored by the AJC, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and the Georg Eckert Institute, Germany's leading textbook research organizations. Participants in the conference included German government education officials, teachers, union members, and publishers. They were assisted in their deliberations by German and American scholars specializing in aspects of American Jewish history.

IRD has maintained contacts with the Greek government in an effort to encourage Greece's full diplomatic recognition of Israel as well as its greater involvement in the Middle East peace process. IRD had urged Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias to improve Greek-Israeli relations during the Foreign Minister's 1986 visit to the States. Last November, Papoulias became the first Greek Foreign Minister to make an official visit to Israel. After his successful meetings with top Israeli leaders, Mr. Papoulias indicated that he would recommend that Greece establish with Israel de jure relations. In addition, the Greek Foreign Minister invited his Israeli counterpart, Shimon Peres, to visit Greece. Prime Minister Shamir has invited Greece's Prime Minister Papandreou to Israel as well. Appreciation of IRD's role in contributing to this progress was noted by Greece's Ambassador to the U.S., George Papoulias, in a letter to IRD director Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum.

The long standing relationship between the AJC and the Italian Government was demonstrated by the cooperation between Italy and IRD in co-sponsoring two cultural events during the two-month long "Italy on Stage" festival in New York. The two events were a documentary film depicting Italians who risked their lives to protect Jews during World War II, "The Righteous Enemy," and a performance by the Libyan Jewish Singer Myriam Meghnagi. More joint programs in Rome and New York are being planned for 1988-89.

IRD has played a significant role in coordinating activities relating to the Rashi Associa-

tion, a group of scholars and laymen involved in the preservation of Jewish monuments in Europe. Rashi was started by Dr. Werhner Cahnman and is currently under the chairmanship of Dr. Joseph Maier. IRD's David Geller sits on the association's executive board.

Austria, Waldheim, and Nazis

The Austrian and international reaction to revelations of President Kurt Waldheim's role in relation to Nazi war crimes has been closely monitored by IRD. AJC sought to distinguish between Waldheim and Austria in acknowledgment that two-thirds of the Austrian people were born either during or after World War II. Moreover, the Austrian Government has provided first asylum for over a quarter of a million Soviet and East European Jews. Thus, the AJC has looked forward to opportunities to improve Austrian-Jewish relations. To this end, IRD plans to co-sponsor a symposium on "Austrian-American Jewish Relations -- Past, Present, and Future" with the Austrian Government, political parties, and universities. The conference, to be held in early 1989, is the outgrowth of an AJC delegation's visit to Austria headed by Leo Nevas, and a subsequent mission led by Ted Ellenoff. It will cover all aspects of Austrian-Jewish interaction with an emphasis on facing the Nazi past and learning lessons for strengthening democracy and human rights in the Second Republic.

In November, 1988, Rabbi Tanenbaum will address an international congress of scholars, Vatican and other religious leaders at the Institute for the Study of Man in Vienna. He will share a platform with Archbishop Pietro Rossano, president of the Pontifical Vatican University in Rome. Both speakers will present papers on "Jews and Christians - Accomplishments and Unfinished Agenda."

In a letter to IRD director Marc Tanenbaum, Austrian Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock conveyed his endorsement of the conference but also detailed a number of his country's projects designed to improve Austrian-Jewish relations. These projects include the establishment of a Jewish Museum in Vienna, including a Holocaust memorial during 1988; the organization of an international symposium in Vienna dealing with Judaism and Christianity; and a related symposium of historians dealing with the "history and pre-history" of the "Anschluss," Austria's 1938 absorption into greater Germany.

* IRD played an instrumental role in persuading the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Perez de Cuellar, to open up the UN archives on Nazi criminals for use by individuals and governments who are still trying to bring these perpetrators of crimes against humanity to justice. David Harris obtained the file of Nazi war criminals and David Geller compiled ten volumes listing 25,000 Nazi war criminals (category A) whose files are under the jurisdiction of the UN War Crimes Commission. This research and the publications prompted the opening of the archives. IRD's efforts were acknowledged by Israeli Ambassador to the UN Binyamin Netanyahu in letters of appreciation which he sent to the department. IRD intends to turn over the lists to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, which has the competent staff to use these materials constructively and responsibly.

Vatican-Jewish Relations

* IRD has been closely involved in efforts to clarify and improve relations with the

Vatican in the wake of Pope John Paul II's meeting with Kurt Waldheim on June 25, 1987 and again in Austria in June 1988. IRD director Marc Tanenbaum was an active participant in the meetings between Jewish leaders and the Pope which took place in Rome on September 1, 1987, and in Miami ten days later. In the aftermath of these meetings, Rabbi Tanenbaum prepared an IRD backgrounder on the issue, "Pope John Paul II, Waldheim, Jews and Israel." Last fall, Rabbi Tanenbaum was unanimously elected chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC). IJCIC is the coordinating body of major Jewish religious and communal groups in their relationships with the Vatican, the World Council of Churches, and other international religious bodies. Thus, IRD will be at the forefront of constructive engagement with the major world religious communities.

At AJC's annual meeting in May 1988, Sir Sigmund Sternberg of London awarded the "International Interfaith Medallion" to Rabbi Tanenbaum in recognition of his quarter century of "historic leadership" in improving Jewish-Christian relations in many parts of the world.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

South Africa

* In an effort to help relieve the widespread hunger and malnutrition in the black "homelands" of South Africa, IRD helped to launch the Bayard Rustin Project in December. This project will provide life-saving self-help programs to eight villages in the northern South African region of Lebowa. Deprived of minimum protein requirements, children in these villages suffer from "stunting" or damage to mental and physical development. The Bayard Rustin Project will provide tools, seeds, building materials and instructions to make these villagers self-sustaining and ready to produce craft goods for income. The project was implemented with the American Jewish World Service, which provided a matching grant to that of AJC.

Japan and the Pacific Rim

* Concern over Japan's compliance with the Arab boycott of Israel as well as the publication of millions of copies of anti-Semitic diatribes (such as the infamous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion") led the IRD and AJC's Washington Office to seek a consultation with Japanese studies specialists. A January 1988 meeting between AJC leaders and five American scholars on the subject of Japanese-Jewish relations was widely covered by the Japanese media. In the aftermath of this consultation, one of the academic participants reported that a Japanese foreign ministry official had heard of the meeting and wanted to work with the IRD in organizing a program in Japan on Japanese-Jewish relations. Discussions are under way to realize this objective first proposed by IRD's director, Marc Tanenbaum, three years ago.

This opportunity to progress in the much neglected area of Jewish relations with the Pacific rim -- which is overtaking Europe as an American trading partner -- should facilitate improved relations between Japan and Israel as well as with diaspora Jewry. While the Japanese Ambassador to the U.S., Nobuo Matsunaga has stated that "anti-Semitism has no roots in Japan's cultural history," the problematic state of Japanese-Israeli relations is readily apparent. Until July 1988, no Japanese cabinet member has ever officially visited Israel. Prime Minister Suzuki was the first head of a non-communist country to receive Yasir Arafat

(in 1981). Until recently, no Japanese economic delegation has ever visited Israel. David Harris, AJC's Washington representative and former deputy director of IRD, critically analyzed Japanese-Jewish relations in an October 1987 article in Moment magazine.

South America

* In August 1987, AJC lay leaders, David Hirschhorn of Baltimore and Charlotte Holstein of Syracuse, led an AJC mission to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay in order to study the current conditions of South American Jews and to help promote Jewish identity. In addition to exploring reports of growing anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in the region, the 28 member delegation of AJC members from all over the U.S. served, as Jacobo Kovadloff, AJC's Latin American director, put it, "...to bring the message of AJC's ongoing commitment to democracy, pluralism, and human rights..[and] to find new ways to improve upon the various interreligious and intergroup programs that AJC is involved with in South America." Through the high-level contacts established by Mr. Kovadloff over many years of AJC programming in South America, the delegation met with President Alfonsin of Argentina, President Sarney of Brazil, and President Sanguinetti of Uruguay. In addition, there were meetings with the Foreign Ministers of all four nations as well as with other members of these states' cabinets. Consultations were held with Jewish Community and Catholic Church leaders and human rights organizations.

The highly successful mission resulted in a number of recommendations to foster improved South American-Jewish relations. These included calls for programs to share AJC expertise in Jewish Affairs and interfaith dialogue with Latin American Jewish communities; an exchange program for Jewish youth to learn more about each other's communities; research on the status of small Jewish communities in Latin America, outside population centers; the publishing of a two-way informational newsletter; the sharing of educational materials; and increased education programs in Washington for the advancement of democracies in Latin America.

* As part of IRD's extensive program in international understanding, Jacob Kovadloff, IRD's Director of South American Affairs led a delegation of Hispanic Jewish and Catholic leaders from the New York area on a twelve-day trip to Israel in February 1987. The interreligious, interethnic mission was co-sponsored by the AJC and the Northeast Regional Pastoral Center for Hispanics. The result of years of joint efforts by both groups in Jewish-Catholic relations, the mission included visits to holy sites as well as meetings with Spanish-speaking groups at Kibbutzim, Universities, and interreligious bodies.

* The Iranian embassy in Brazil's circulation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, repudiated by the Brazilian press, prompted a report by Mr. Kovadloff, The "Protocols" in Brazil: The Iranian Connection, which was published as an IRD background analysis in September.

* IRD's South American Affairs Division has continued the major project of translating into Spanish AJC materials, including press releases and backgrounders. This effort has enabled IRD to disseminate information to the Spanish media in this country, Spain, and throughout Latin America. The result has been increased publicity for AJC programs and points-of-view in the Spanish-speaking world which benefits the Jewish Community, Israel, Soviet Jewry, and

improved human relations between people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Central America

* An AJC leadership delegation headed by Sergio Nudelstejer, the Director of IRD's Mexico and Central American Office, visited Guatemala and Panama in March 1987. In Guatemala, the delegation met with leaders of the Jewish Community as well as with Guatemalan Congressmen representing the various political parties there. The mission was also briefed on Guatemala's political, social, and economic situation by Vice-President Robert Carpio Nicole. In addition, meetings were held with the Israeli and American Ambassadors.

In Panama, the AJC group met with leaders of the local Jewish Community, and also visited well-reputed Jewish schools. The delegation also met with Foreign Minister Jorge Abadia Arias. American-Panamanian as well as Jewish-Panamanian issues were discussed and attention was given to Panama's role in the Contadora Group, involving Latin American nations who are trying to pacify the region in light of civil wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The mission afforded a unique opportunity to improve contacts with these two Jewish Communities. The delegation was able to experience the problems and challenges Central American Jews face in trying to maintain their Jewish identity while remaining loyal citizens of their respective countries, especially during periods of turmoil.

* Twice during the past year, Sergio Nudelstejer met with the Presidents of the Jewish Communities of Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, as well as with some of the Board members of FEDECO (the Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama) concerning the next FEDECO conference which is ostensibly scheduled for Costa Rica in 1989.

Sergio's office plays an important role in the preparation of this conference, a rare opportunity for Central American Jewry to meet and exchange views on such issues as how to confront anti-Semitism that often accompanies domestic upheaval. The reports of the dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda by some of the elements opposed to Panama's General Noriega, for example, have been closely monitored by IRD's Central American Division.

* Through the Mexico City office headed by Sergio Nudelstejer, IRD has enabled Mexican and Central American Jewry to participate in issues of concern to world Jewry. Thus, through the initiative of the Mexico office, mass demonstrations were held in front of the Soviet Embassy last December 7th during the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in behalf of Soviet Jewry. A small delegation, including Mr. Nudelstejer, was welcomed by high-ranking officials of the Soviet Embassy during this demonstration -- thereby starting a dialogue on the plight of Soviet Jewry. Mr. Nudelstejer is a member of the Executive Board of the International Council of the World Conference on Soviet Jewry. He was elected to serve as chairman of the Latin American Conference on Soviet Jewry.

International Human Rights

* The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights (JBI) is preparing an authoritative Guide to Interpretation and Application of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, in a continuation of JBI's previous contributions in the area of freedom of religion or belief. The Declaration is the only human rights instrument which establishes explicit protections for specific practices as expressions of religion or belief. In the United Nations and in non-governmental circles, strong interest is now being voiced in promoting and expanding upon the protections set forth in the Declaration. The Guide will provide government officials, jurists, teachers, and scholars with approaches to resolving conflicts between the freedom of religion or belief and other human rights associated with religion or belief.

Donna Sullivan, assistant to JBI Director Sydney Liskofsky, drafted the text of the analysis, which will be reviewed and revised by an international group of eminent legal scholars in a series of three conferences. The first conference will be held in New York in the autumn of 1988. In cooperation with the Strasbourg Institute for Human Rights and the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, JBI plans to convene the second and third conferences in Strasbourg, France and San Jose, Costa Rica.

* JBI devoted considerable energy in 1987 to systematically distributing a Declaration on the Right to Leave and Return. The Declaration was adopted by a conference of legal experts at the Strasbourg Institute in November 1986. The conference was co-sponsored by JBI and assisted by a Ford Foundation grant. The conference called on all nations to adopt legislative or other measures ensuring full enjoyment of the right to leave one's country, temporarily or permanently, and to return. The Declaration spelled out a variety of political and legal steps to realize this fundamental human right, including coordination of state policy with international organizations. The text has now been made available in English, French, Spanish, German, and Russian. JBI gave personal copies in all five languages to Ambassador Warren Zimmerman, head of the U.S. delegation to the Helsinki review conference meeting in Vienna. Copies were also distributed to participants in the November 3, 1987, experts' meeting with President Jimmy Carter at the Carter Center in Atlanta. Jacob Kovadloff and Sergio Nudelstejer had Spanish copies distributed to appropriate groups and individuals in the Hispanic world, including an intimate advisor to President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina. This effort to "assist" the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of discrimination and Protection of Minorities to adopt the international instrument on the right to leave and return has been a primary focus of the JBI since its creation. The significant JBI contribution to this goal is ongoing.

* The second seminar of the JBI-subsented Conference on Human Rights Education, co-sponsored with the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights, was held in November in San Jose, Costa Rica. Specialists from Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Panama, and Costa Rica--including representatives of the various ministries of education -- evaluated the human rights educational programs that had already been initiated in their native countries and analyzed the reports given by the other participants. The seminar provided a forum for the discussants to voice their problems, exchange ideas, and explore new ways of integrating human rights principles in the curricula of primary, secondary, and higher education institutions as well as in programs in the Education and Human Rights project. Participants were very enthusiastic about the Project and expressed hopes for its continued success.

Endangered Jewish Communities

* The third international conference of the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) was held in Washington in October. IRD played a seminal role in the planning and coordination of this forum for addressing the concerns of Jewish refugees from Arab lands as well as those Jews who remained in Arab states who continue to face persecution and an uncertain future. IRD provided key documents in support of Jewish claims against various Arab states and assisted in the drafting of WOJAC resolutions. The WOJAC conference noted that some Arab states continue to deny human rights to Jews, including the "right to leave" established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. WOJAC resolutions called upon Arab governments -- particularly Syria, Iraq, and Yemen -- to cease persecution of Jews and to allow them to emigrate. Syria was admonished to let Jewish women leave in order to find Jewish spouses. WOJAC appealed to the international community -- and to the United States in particular -- to use its influence on Arab governments to ensure that they fulfill their obligations to protect the rights of their Jewish minorities and redress the claims of Jewish refugees. IRD's Division of Middle East Affairs compiled background material for a courtroom-style tribunal investigating abuses of the human and civil rights of Arab Jewry. IRD published an English translation of a paper by the former head of the Jewish Agency's Aliya and Absorption Department, Yehuda Dominitz, entitled Immigration and Absorption of Jews from Arab Countries. This paper estimates that Israel spent \$11 billion to resettle some 600,000 Jewish refugees from Arab states, and notes that many refugees left penniless, while fewer than 25,000 Jews remain in the Arab world today. A pamphlet by Dr. George Gruen, The Other Refugees, documents the gross violation of these Jews' human rights. Dr. Gruen notes that UN Security Council Resolution 242, still considered the primary vehicle for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, calls for a redressing of Jewish as well as Arab claims in affirming the need for "a just settlement of the refugee problem." He cites Justice Arthur Goldberg, the American delegate who helped to draft the resolution to corroborate this interpretation. The AJC will continue working with WOJAC to bring the much neglected issue of the rights and claims of Jews from Arab lands to the attention of the United States and the international community.

* In June, IRD sponsored the first international convention of Libyan Jews, in New York. IRD was involved in the planning, coordination, and execution of this event in which hundreds of Libyan Jews gathered from all over the globe to mark the twentieth anniversary of the forced flight of Jews from Libya after a two thousand year-old presence in that country. The conference sought to focus attention on the history and cultural heritage of Libyan Jewry, as well as on the nearly forty thousand Jews who were forced to leave Libya since the birth of the State of Israel. The conference called for a redress of the claims of Libyan Jews against the loss of communal assets and personal property in Libya. Much Jewish property was either seized by governmental decree or destroyed by Libyan Arab mobs in the wake of 1967's Six Day War. In the aftermath of this historic conference, the AJC announced that it would be willing to serve as a center for the processing of these claims. Unfortunately, while Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi's government obligated itself to compensate Libyan Jewry through the issuing of fifteen year government bonds in 1970, the deadline passed in 1985 without any action by the Libyan Government.

* The plight of Ethiopian Jewry was publicized by IRD through the hosting of a press conference for journalist Ruth Gruber, the only foreign journalist allowed to witness Israel's "Occupation Moses" airlift. In the course of a discussion, chaired by IRD Director Marc

Tanenbaum, Ms. Gruber revealed hitherto secret information about the operation while also relating what she had seen of the absorption of Ethiopian Jewish refugees in Israel, the anguish of those who had to leave friends and relatives behind, and the plight of the 10,000 Jews still remaining in Ethiopia. IRD will continue its efforts to seek freedom for the remaining oppressed Jewish Community of Ethiopia.



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