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March 4, 1984

JEWISH LEADERS SEEK TO IMPROVE
FRANCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND MIDEAST PEACE

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

This weekend a group of national Jewish leaders from across America returned home after a remarkable week in France.

Concerned about the unhappy and threatening state of world affairs, Howard Friedman, a distinguished Los Angeles attorney, led a delegation of American Jewish Committee leaders to Paris. There they met with a virtual Who's Who of France's political, civic, Christian and Jewish leaders. Their dialogues ranged from President Mitterrand, Foreign Minister Cheysson, Commerce Minister Edith Cresson, the Justice and Interior Ministers, to the U.S. and Israeli ambassadors, Cardinal Lustiger, David de Rothschild and other French Jewish leaders. Many perceptions were changed and stereotypes of France and America were modified.

After the United States and the Soviet Union, France is today a genuine global power with interests in almost every part of the world. For historic and cultural reasons, France today is in a position to play a vital mediating role in East-West and North-South relations, and especially with the Arab and Muslim worlds in the Middle East and Africa.

During intensive discussions with President Mitterrand, Foreign Minister Cheysson and their aides, we were told that they share America's concern over Soviet expansionism. That is why they supported the deployment of American missiles on their soil. While they seek good relations with the Arab world, they told us they have an unbreakable commitment to Israel's security and will never recognize the PLO until Arafat and other Arab leaders recognize Israel's right to be.

All in all, these constructive talks, I believe, were a contribution to improving Franco-American relations and to strengthening in time the Western democratic alliance.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

rpr

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March 1, 1984

Meeting AJC Delegation to Paris with Archbishop Jean Marie Lustiger and Father Dupuy

Short introduction by Marc Tanenbaum touching on Christian-Jewish Relations, Declaration of French Bishops, role Father Dupuy in this connection and thanks for action on Lolek Ehrlichster

Lustiger - AJC largest Jewish group in the US and other short niceties

Dupuy - Speaks of Marc Tanenbaum's role in human rights, Vatican relations, but time now for new steps (I hope so, interjects Lustiger) toward more regular and peaceful relations between Christians and Jews and with Israel. We in France are aware of problems. Difficulties for two years because of political reasons. A New effort is needed this year to improve these relations.

Friedman - Are there any chances for establishment diplomatic relations between Vatican and Israel?

Lustiger - There are some difficult problems 1) Pope himself (interrupted)

Dupuy - Last year the French Catholic Commission for relations with Jews wrote to the Vatican to ask what can be their response and explanation to those who ask about improved relations between Vatican and Israel. The answer, also ~~xxxxxxx~~ transmitted to the Israelis, was:

You can answer that the Holy See recognizes the State of Israel not only de facto but also as a de jure entity. To be convinced of this it is sufficient to read the communiques printed in the Osservatore Romano after visits to His Holiness by members of the Israeli government as just recently the visit of Foreign Affairs Minister (Shamir). The text speaks of Israel as an entity, recognized internationally. Diplomatic representation is difficult; but absence of this does not signify absence of de jure recognition of this nation. This can be proved by the fact that the US and others in the same situation, though for different reasons. But this is not excluded for Israel, whose situation changes year to year.

(above is ~~xxx~~ an on the spot translation of a letter signed by Torella)

Dupuy - Relations are not important now, but one must prepare a dossier of situation and problems. Situation Vatican/Israel is not like that of US. If and when problems clarified it will not be hard. Both sides should prepare material and then perhaps set up a Commission. Psychological difficulties greater than practical ones. Preparatinn should be unofficial before an official status can be reached. Recognition is very important for public opinion and Vatican might agree to it if this is done with an additional sence(context) of peace. Exchanges with Palestinians (not PLO) and other such groups should be envisaged.

Tanenbaum (to Lustiger) You are close to His Holiness

Lustiger - I wrote a long article that appeared in Yediot Aharanot three years ago; it also was printed in French in Le Debat. It was in two parts, and was an explanation about Israel. The Pope reads this paper (assume second?). What I wrote had never been said by other bishops.

VATICAN-ISRAEL RELATIONS

In a warm and friendly exchange, His Eminence Jean-Marie Lustiger, Archbishop of Paris, and the Rev. Bernard du Puys, director of Catholic-Jewish relations for the French/Catholic bishops spoke affirmatively about the important progress that has been made in improving Catholic-Jewish relations in France and elsewhere. But, the Cardinal added, "the time has come for another step forward and soon." In response to an AJC question about the possibilities of establishing diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel, Cardinal Lustiger said he believed that the atmosphere has improved for such a development to take place. The Cardinal, who is a close personal friend of Pope John Paul II, indicated that he had written an article in a ~~xxxx~~ French journal supporting such Vatican recognition of Israel "as a dramatic step forward," that he had shown it to the Pope and had received a positive response. We were told confidentially that a priest is presently in Jerusalem drafting a 40-page document as a proposed "concordat" between the Vatican and Israel for consideration by the Holy See. Father du Puys suggested that ~~xxxx~~ at our next meeting in Amsterdam with Cardinal Willebrands and Vatican authorities that he would propose, with Cardinal's Lustiger's support, the setting up of a mixed Vatican-IJCIC commission to study the "concordat" and the steps that need to be taken together to bring about diplomatic ties between the Holy See and Israel. There was a positive reaction on the part of the AJC delegation, encouraging this direction.

LE MONDE

Following a vigorous exchange with Paul Balta regarding our perception of the pro-Arab and pro-PLO bias of Le Monde, Mr. Balta acknowledged that was the case. He invited AJC to send him materials dealing with Middle East issues and approaches to religious-racial-ethnic pluralism which he said he would consider for publication or adaption in the Middle East section of Le Monde. In general, we were given the impression that much of the press and media in many European countries were ~~xxxx~~ unfriendly to Israel - even though large segments of the populations were friendly and fairer to the Jewish State. The entire area of interpretation of Israel and Jewish concerns in the European media is worthy of consideration as a project for AJC, in cooperation with European Jewish communities. Exchange programs with European editors ~~xxxx~~ and writers to the United States was also talked about.

SUMMARY

At a debriefing session, the AJC officers believed that this was a remarkably useful mission on many levels. They agreed to meet together in the States and to discuss what programs need to be implemented by AJC in order to realize some of the significant opportunities that were opened to us by this mission.

Report prepared by

Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
International Relations Department
American Jewish Committee
March 9, 1984

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 22, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Ken Bandler
subject 2-21 conversation with George Gruen

George Gruen had talks with officials at Israeli Foreign Ministry concerning the proposed West German arms sale to Saudi Arabia and French Middle East policy.

- 1) West Germany
 - a- Israelis don't think final decision on arms sales will be made until Kohl visits Washington on March 5th. They assume that if there is strong U.S. pressure, the German will not proceed with the sale.
 - b- Israelis are concerned that West Germany and Britain are working together in Egypt on a factory that would produce a tank similar to the Leopard.
- 2) France
 - a- Israelis are concerned that at March 20, 1984 EEC meeting, EEC will go further than the Venice Declaration. France is head of EEC, is eager to show initiative and eager to separate itself from the U.S.

French should be made aware that U.S. wants them to stick to 242 and to Camp David.
 - b- French-Egypt relations are very good. French should use their influence to convince Egypt to abide by Camp David and normalize relations with Israel.

I

before, was 250 M. 100 gone

1. Jewish Community - 700,000, more than triple⁶ after war (displaced persons, East Eur. ME and Algeria 1962. More than 1/2 Sepharad now, excellent integration impossible without cooperation and government aid, in add. toFSJU
 Alain de R. quote "If not for ME..." Community also changed, from strong assimilation now openly Jewish, claiming right to difference and support Is

2. France ^{A)} Long economic crisis cumulative effect - unemployment not deareas. inflation not contained, no miracle solutions. France has empty coffers and large (secret) debt with Germany & Saudi Ar. (Trade deficit much improved by present regime)
 After period of largesse and promise-keeping (110 campaign) reality caught up and government reduced to economic policy that would be almost suitable for its predecessors. Net result: nobody happy -- too much and too little -- and future still grim. *him to catch up new technology*

B) Since 1981 constant political tensions too: *missual = US*
 -- As soon as shock of lost elections wore off 1988 presidential campaign began: Chirac, Barre, early resuscitation Giscard
 -- Severe reverses (PC and Soc) in cantonal and municipal elections
 -- Fierce and constant opposition in Parliament on all issues: national ization, death penalty, hospital reform, private school reform, press law.
 -- Street opposition became the mode ~~of~~ interest groups: liberal professions (doctors, lawyers, even police, parents associations... more recently farmers, truckers.

/...

-- ~~Unions~~ and workers (^{in factories}) fought and went to streets demanding no more job cutting -- and meanwhile entire segments of traditional production went from bad to worst, impoverishing a number of regions: textiles, coal, steel, boat-yards. (Corvies: Gov't gave more work orders than previous regimes) ^{and cuts employment}

Polls for Mitterrand lower, but he remains a respected figure; his government polls are a disaster. Barre had a brief moment, seemed to embody calm and inspire confidence. Giscard ^{never really liked} way down, sniffing planes did not help. Chirac is ahead, but inspires some apprehension and antipathy. It is Simone Veil who is ahead of them all and some... Rocard - right wing

Brighter side is a form of reluctant consensus on foreign affairs, not applause, but "we are not against" sort of thing: Chad, Lebanon, Missiles, USSR and even ME-

- C. Extreme right - Generally troubling and particularly for Jews is its return on the scene as a full-fledged party, ^{DF} its success in some local elections. ^{Danout! Poin} This breakthrough also brought forth issue of electoral alliances between right and NF, used by opposition when needed to win. ^{Drumy} Veil public statement -- Giscard comment -- silence of others, until this month, former Min. Monique Pelletier -- story Pâyrefitte/Marchais giving lift.... and finally Chirac publicly excluding alliance with extreme right. But he is contradicted by his party leaders, who still declare need co-existence with and taking account of NF.
3. Anti-Semitism -- Yes, more in past few years, for same reasons as everywhere: no longer tabu, Israel/Palestinians/Zionism amalgam, Lebanon, sympathy underdog. Revisionism ^{France not only Jews with France} affects Jews but seen as non-Jewish problem as far as fighting back. Remember that Copernic, Goldenberg, all serious bloody violence are work of outsiders.

/...:

But anti-Semitism is not part of daily Jewish life: French Jews as such have no more than normal problems, economic conditions touch them as they do everyone, though probably less unemployment than average. Government cooperation and concrete help unflagging, cultural life rich and recognized, 23 University Chairs study Judaism, etc.

*"Friendship"
healy lov.
Veil - assistant
Maudis France
extreme
news
more open*

More worrying is racist campaign of extreme right, today directed against immigrant workers, but since ^{at least how to} always anti-Semitic, predictably ready to aim against Jews as next in line. Hard to say now if rise of NF will continue and become greater threat. It is fielding candidates for European Parliament elections this June, and bets are being made on the percentage of votes they might gain. ~ Veil leading list unified right

4. Middle East - French Jews recognize and accept France's interests vis-a-vis Arab states. It is the little extras that hurt: "imors" -- twice -- to PLO and Arafat in Lebanon; the slow shift of the "balanced" French stance, from Palestinians must have role and voice and PLO not sole rep. to reversal of this; and auto-determination = state and proper structures. And of course arms sales, to Libya, Iraq, Saudis. But here France hardly alone or in any way different from others. Leave French community action and positions to CRIF tomorrow morning, suffice to say it protests vigorously every time there is need.
5. France-Israel Relations - Old regime ended with no dialogue, no meeting closed doors. Advent Mitterrand changed this. Always a friend of

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IV

Jews and Israel (personally and through Socialist International) he made "head of state" trip (been there many times before), redressed boycott legislation, opened dialogue, improved cultural exchange, ^{of gov. +} helped to have Israel trade worries with EEC ^{particular} considered. ^{discuss} ^{8/6M} ^{loan} But, for the last and boycott (though this too has room for infringements) the rest is a cosmetic change, atmosphere change. Nice, of course; but no dent in fundamental ME policy France has set for itself!

6. Last brief point: UNESCO
If AJC can act would urge that this be for US not to change its mind:
a) because sanction deserved (waste, unbal. budget, deviat. b) US credibility
But would not push politicization: US was first on it during McCarthy period investigating and firing Secretariat US staff; and US wanted state representatives for Executive Board instead of individuals.
Today political aspect ^{simply} changed, double speak, different meaning same word depending on who says it - ^{Democracy of freedom and nations & collectivism}
^{HR peoples - etc}
^{Disarmament - only for West}

Suggestions for exchange program given at
session with Dean Curran, US Embassy

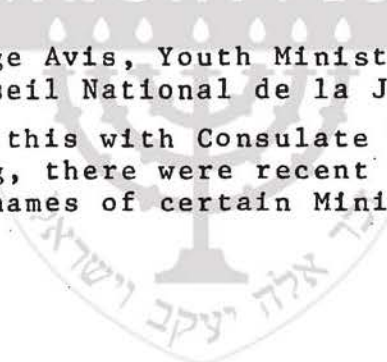
Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA)
Director is Mr. Simon Nora
13 rue de l'Université
75007 Paris

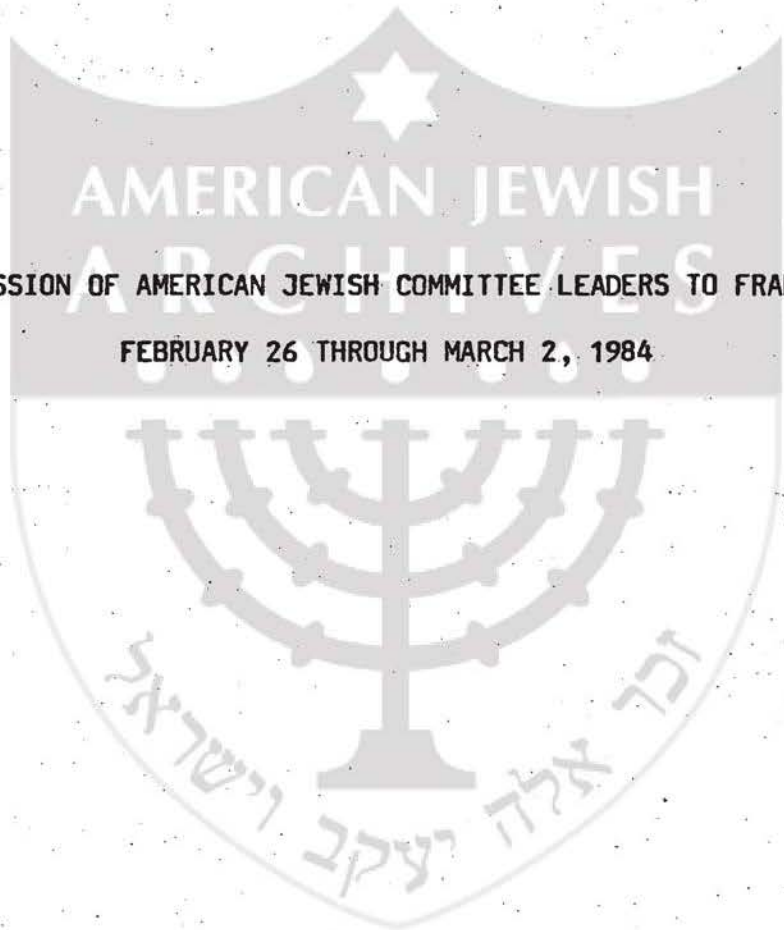
Institut Français Relations Internationales
(IFRI) 4 rue Ferrus, 75014 Paris

Institut National Supérieur Enseignement
Distribution (INSET)
9 rue Plâtre, 75004 Paris

Madame Edvige Avis, Youth Ministry,
perhaps Conseil National de la Jeunesse
(must check this with Consulate New York
before using, there were recent changes in
titles and names of certain Ministries.)

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES





MISSION OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE LEADERS TO FRANCE

FEBRUARY 26 THROUGH MARCH 2, 1984

Confidential

MISSION OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE LEADERS TO FRANCE

FEBRUARY 26 THROUGH MARCH 2, 1984

Senior officers and leaders of the American Jewish Committee undertook this mission to France for several purposes:

- 1) To gain a first-hand knowledge of France's foreign policy and domestic issues and their impact on Franco-American relations:
- 2) To obtain specific knowledge of France's role in the Middle East and its policies toward Soviet Jewry, anti-Semitism, human rights, and terrorism:
- 3 To establish effective contact and communication with the 700,000 Jews of France, who constitute today the fourth largest Jewish community in the world.

Before leaving for Paris, we held briefings with the French desk of the U.S. State Department, the French Embassy in Washington, D.C., and with the Israel Embassy.

Meetings in France

The French Government clearly attached importance to our mission and arranged an impressive series of meetings for us with the highest leadership in the French Government -- President Mitterrand and his two closest aides, Jacques Attali and Charles Salzman; Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson; Minister of Commerce and Tourism Mme. Edith Cresson; Interior Minister Gaston Deferre (who is also Mayor of Marseilles); the Mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac (who is leader of the neo-Gaullist RPR); Minister of Justice Robert Badinter; the President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly, Claude Estier; and the Director of the Cabinet of the Ministry of Industry and Research, Louis Schweitzer.

In addition, we had detailed briefings or conversations with the United States Ambassador to France, Evan Galbraith; Israeli Ambassador to France, Ovadia Soffer; the U.S. Deputy Delegate to UNESCO, Robert Aherne; an official of the Department of Economic Affairs and statistics of the OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development representing 24 nations); Editor of the Nouvel Observateur, Jean Daniel, Editor of the Middle East section of Le Monde, Paul Balta; His Eminence Jean Marie Cardinal Lustiger, Archbishop of Paris; Chief Rabbi Sirat; Theo Klein, president of CRIF; David de Rothschild, president of the Fonde Sociale Juif Universelle; Nicole Goldmann, president of the European Council of Jewish Communities (East and West); Jules Brunschvig, president of the Alliance Israelite Universelle; and Serge and Beate Klarsfeld (captors of Klaus Barbie). An informal meeting was also held with Henri Hajdenberg and David Buk, leaders of the Jewish Renewal Movement, a political action group.

Major Themes

Our discussions covered the entire range of Franco-American relations --East-West relations, North-South relations, defense policy, international economics, Israel and the Palestinians and Middle East peace, terrorism, racism and anti-Semitism, the UN and UNESCO, human rights, Nazis, Soviet Jewry, the internal politics of France, relations with African countries, Central and Latin America, EEC, arms sales, French and American Jewry, Vatican-Jewish-Israeli relations.

In another document, we shall report more fully on each of these topics. Our purpose here is to summarize some of the major issues or themes that emerged out of this diverse range of conversations:

I.- East-West Relations

1. Virtually every French Government authority we spoke with began with a spontaneous affirmation that France and the United States share a tradition of common values and that these linked both countries together in a shared destiny.
2. France identified strongly with the American view that the Soviet Union in its aggressive, expansionist actions is a threat to democratic societies and a danger to human rights. France believes in the need for a strong defense to deter Soviet militaristic designs. For that reason, France was an early and firm supporter of the deployment of U.S. missiles on their soil. France is "grateful to President Reagan for his tough defense stand." France is deeply concerned about the USSR's campaign to "terrorize" the Federal Republic of Germany into demilitarization, and thereby weaken the West's defense capabilities. France plans to become more assertive in strengthening the West European Union's military defenses in anticipation of the time when the military presence of the United States will be diminished or withdrawn.

At the same time, France will pursue a "double-track" policy of seeking to improve relations with the USSR, especially in light of Chernenko's accession to power. France is hoping to resume negotiations on disarmament and other topics, looking for "new directions in the present fluid situation." In light of France's difficult economic situation, France is attempting to expand exports to the USSR which it seeks as "a potential good market." It will try to strengthen COCOM procedures in order to prevent unauthorized military and certain hi-tech supplies from reaching the USSR.

II.- Middle East

- 1) France appears to be following a "double-track" policy in the Middle East. President Mitterrand takes an explicit pro-Israel stand; Foreign Minister Cheysson, while affirming that "Israel's security is a cornerstone" of our policy in the Middle East, is seen as being more regularly sympathetic to the Palestinian cause and promoting ties with Arab nations.

President Mitterrand told us that, in addition to his having "good relations with Jewish leaders and organizations in France (who helped him get elected), "France has good, friendly relations and trust with Israel, even though it is not always easy." Most of the ministers and Mitterrand's personal aides repeatedly reminded us that President Mitterrand "is the first French president to make an official visit to Israel" and that, in fact, he has visited the Jewish state 17 times. He has a number of personal friends among Israel's leaders. Significantly, we were told by Jacques Attali that in June 1981 in Luxembourg, President Mitterrand opposed the Venice Declaration and that it is "no longer our line." (In response to reports that the EEC might adopt another Middle East declaration on or about March 19, Attali said that he was not sure about that, adding that "our big problem now in the EEC is now to deal with the milk problem.") Cheysson also said that "France has a moral and political commitment to the development of Israel as a state and people, she must enjoy the rights of all states and peoples -- that is the cornerstone of our policy." He noted that "I am responsible for the commitment of the EEC to Israel." He added that in discussions of Spain's entry into the EEC, "we have made it a precondition that Spain must have diplomatic relations with Israel in order to enter the EEC." At the same time, Cheysson said, "Arabs should also have the ability to express their rights. The Palestinians must have a state to consider their home, otherwise they will continue to fight in despair as have the Kurds."

He stated that Syria has decided that the Palestinians should have no state and Assad uses their cause to terrorize the Middle East. Egypt is not really interested in the Palestinians, being far more concerned about the one million Egyptians in the Gulf states. Cheysson then said that "the PLO is needed for some time in the future" because it is the only entity available to represent not only the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza, but also the Palestinians in Jordan and the 300,000 Palestinians in Lebanon. France has informed the PLO and Arafat repeatedly that "we will never recognize the PLO unless they formally recognize Israel under international law and accept UN 242."

While acknowledging that he has met with Arafat, he said clearly that President Mitterrand will never receive Arafat until he accepts the legitimacy of Israel.

Attali said that France's relations with the Arab world would be "an asset to Israel and to Middle East peace." "The Arabs consider France the only go-between them and Israel, even though they know that we are completely with Israel." (He noted that this relationship made it possible for France to negotiate the release of six Israeli soldiers from the PLO in Tripoli, even though it was dangerous for French soldiers.) Attali pointed out that President Mitterrand has spoken openly of France's support for Israel with secure borders in the Parliaments and over the media in Riyadh, Morocco, Algiers, and some Arabs were upset."

Charles Salzmann said that "the change of mind among Arab leaders towards Israel during the past three years has been amazing. Moderate Arabs are ready to recognize and live in peace with Israel provided certain things are done for the Palestinians." Attali said "they know Israel is a fact and part of their security. Arab countries know that they will not be able to live in a destroyed Middle East. The dream of a polyethnic Lebanon has become a nightmare for them. They are now moving in a good direction."

While acknowledging his strong ties to Iraq (whose nuclear reactor he negotiated) and to other Arab countries, Mayor Jacques Chirac of Paris, head of the neo-Gaullists, said, "If Israel is attacked, the Europeans should immediately be on Israel's side. We have first to support Israel, but also support peace. Nobody contest's Israel's right to exist, the problem is that Israel wants to take territory, settlements, but the political costs are great."

Cheysson said that he had discussed with Israel's Prime Minister Shamir, David Kimche, and Ambassador Soffer that "we must find some Palestinian expression for their national identity" and they agreed. France believes that the annexation by Israel of the whole West Bank is an impossibility. Israel does have a serious security problem. The issue is to create an Israeli presence, perhaps along the Allon plan, not annexation.

In response to a concern expressed by AJC leaders over "outrageous attacks" on Jews and Israel at UN forums and at UNESO, Salzman said that "France does not go along with that," and that "we generally oppose those attacks on every international battlefield." The AJC leaders indicated that generally there has been no such Western responses, with France frequently abstaining. Attali and Salzman said they would look into that.

They both indicated that before they acted forcefully on such international fronts, they had to change the internal situation in France, and they engaged in a hard battle to reverse the anti-Israel boycott law. As a result, quiet exchanges are now taking place between France and Israel on a number of levels. They also said that France will seek a united front with the United States regarding UNESCO.

In general, they concluded, while we have different approaches to a number of these vital issues, we have shared values, and criticism should not overwhelm our basic commitments to Israel and to peace.

Lebanon

- 1) Virtually every French official with whom we spoke -- from Socialist to Gaullist -- said they were "depressed" over recent American behavior in Lebanon. The sudden changes in U.S. policy has badly affected American credibility in the Middle East -- and the third world. Cheysson said that we were given the impression at one stage that the U.S. had good working relations with Syria and we respected that. Based on that, France advised Lebanon to sign the agreement with Israel. Then when the U.S. was pressed in a certain direction, its military contingents suddenly leave. We do not understand that.

France knows that if our security were at stake, the U.S. would be there. But America is no longer credible among our enemies. Shamir ("things go well between us") shares these views. Recent developments will delay the peace process by a very long while. It will take much longer to restore credibility -- the peace process will be delayed a great many months.

Cheysson reported that in the spring of 1983, King Hussein of Jordan through our contacts was almost ready for peace negotiations. He was assured by the Americans that if Syria attacked Jordan, the U.S. would assure Jordan's security. But if the Syrians do not believe that America could be counted on,

Jordan would not go forward. He added that he did not know what it would take to restore the U.S.'s credibility but one thing is clear -- if the U.S. says something, it must stick to it.

Cheysson said the credibility factor also affected France's proposed resolution for a UN military force in Lebanon. He disclosed that Gromyko had agreed in conversations with him to all the points in the UN Security Council resolution, specifying air and naval forces but not land action. When the U.S. withdrew its forces unilaterally, the USSR lost interest and vetoed the resolution.

Cheysson said that the USSR feels that time is on its side. Russia is not a prisoner of Syria as demonstrated by its actions elsewhere. Even though Iraq is the mortal enemy of Syria's Assad, the USSR has given "spectacular" aid to Iraq, introducing SS-12 missiles among other advanced military equipment. This was very unpleasant to the Syrians. The USSR also pressed Syria to let Arafat be saved. The PLO is useful to the USSR.

Attali said that France and the U.S. wanted to avoid the worst massacres and reduce casualties in Lebanon, and we are paying a terrible price. We are trying to organize a real stable situation, but that is impossible with the USSR veto. We are in the core of the storm, and we still hope for some stabilization within Lebanon. If Lebanon is not adult enough to find a solution, we have done more than enough to help them: if they are not able to do so, we will draw the necessary consequences. We have been cheating with reality.

In a somewhat different vein, Cheysson said that there are 11,000 French people in Lebanon. They have been there for centuries, with schools, universities, hospitals. They plan to stay there. Historically, France has been the protector of the Christian population in Lebanon. Ambassador Galbraith told us that "we've been clearly mistaken over Syrian intransigence. The French recriminate us over U.S. innocence. France is now seeking an honorable way out. It appears willing to accept Syrian domination over a coalition that is stitched together. The U.S. is reluctant since there is a convergence of USSR and Syrian interests.

Mme. Cresson explained that France's \$4 billion arms sales to Saudi Arabia was for defense against Soviet expansionism. There is a great demand from Arab countries for arms. France is seen as one-sided in its aid to the Arabs, but it is not understood that France opposes the USSR. France supported the Camp David accords, but France seeks dialogue. Estier said that even in the face of "Syrian duplicity" France seeks contacts with every country: there will be no political solution without talking to everyone."

Cheysson noted that in light of these developments, Iraq has become cautious with Syria. He felt that the Iranians do believe that the U.S. and the other Western powers will not tolerate the closing of the Hormuz Strait and will keep it open.

Soviet Jewry

The AJC delegation expressed the appreciation of Max Kampelman and of American Jewry for the role that France played at the Madrid conference in support of human rights and particularly of the cause of Soviet Jewry. AJC acknowledged the fact that President Mitterrand and Foreign Minister Cheysson spoke out in behalf of such individual cases as Scharansky, Begun, Sakharov, among others. But the group felt that France could do more to support the general movement of Soviet Jewry and other dissidents whose rights have been denied.

It was pointed out that the American Embassy in Moscow has been especially helpful in assigning a consul who maintains contacts with the refuseniks, while no other Western Embassy does so and the refuseniks feel they are being neglected. Attali promised us at once that he would during the coming week instruct the French Embassy in Moscow to consult with the American Embassy and seek to find a way to establish similar regular contact with Soviet Jews. He promised to let us know what happened -- on a confidential basis.

Africa

The AJC leaders indicated that they were aware that France maintains extensive contacts with some 20 Francophone African nations in Western and Central Africa, with some 300,00 French citizens serving there. They explored the possibility of France serving as a mediator in helping to encourage the establishment of diplomatic relations between African nations and Israel. Both Cheysson and Attali indicated that they have been involved in such efforts. Soffer felt that one of the problems was that France saw Israel as surrogate for U.S. economic strategy in Africa, and that was competitive. Nevertheless, recently President Mitterrand authorized Theo Klein of CRIF to undertake a mission to advance such relations between Israel and the Ivory Coast, Gabon and Togo. We underscored that we attached much importance to France's playing a positive role in this area, since it would strengthen the free world's interests in Africa.

Ambassador Galbraith said that France has the capacity in some African countries to promote diplomatic relations with Israel, but would be cautious in resisting alienating the Arabs. He added that France's most important markets are in the Third World, and that it is good business for France to be perceived as championing third world nations.

Economic Relations

An economic specialist, Eric Danone, told us that three-quarters of France's trade today is with developed countries, contrasting with the 1960s when colonial trade predominated. There is higher trade between France and West Germany than there is with the OPEC countries. Trade with Africa presently is 10 billion francs out of a total trade of 1000 billion francs.

The French economy is in considerable trouble, with inflation, high unemployment.

Mme. Cresson told us that France's economic relations with the U.S. are not easy. France is known mainly in the U.S. for "food, fragrance and fashions." Our technology is virtually unknown, and we are unknown in the media. We make good products -- such as the TGV train (250 mph) -- but we don't know how to sell. The country historically and culturally is turned inward, not outward. She added that there is a huge wine market in the United States, but that is curtailed by U.S. protectionism. France needs teachers for training workers in new technology.

Mme. Cresson asked for our assistance in putting her in touch with American businessmen, industrialists, bankers, media people on her next visit to the U.S. around April 1. We promised to do so. We did indicate that because France has an image among U.S. people and the Jewish community of being pro-Arab, she will have to do something about that. She discussed with aides there the possibility of her representing France at the International Economic Conference in Israel this May as a sign of France's positive commitment to Israel.

UNESCO

Mr. Aherne discussed with in frank detail America's distress over UNESCO's financial mismanagement and politicization in an anti-West and anti-Israel manner. He said that U.S. was serious about bringing changes. He asked our assistance in organizing a constituency in support of the U. S. position. We also discussed this with Congressman James Scheuer with whom we met in Paris.

Vatican-Israel Relations

In a warm and friendly exchange, His Eminence Jean-Marie Lustiger, Archbishop of Paris, and the Rev. Bernard du Puys, director of Catholic-Jewish relations for the French Catholic bishops spoke affirmatively about the important progress that has been made in improving Catholic-Jewish relations in France and elsewhere. But, the Cardinal added, "the time has come for another step forward and soon." In response to an AJC question about the possibilities of establishing diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel, Cardinal Lustiger said he believed that the atmosphere has improved for such a development to take place. The Cardinal, who is a close personal friend of Pope John Paul II, indicated that he had written an article in a French journal supporting such Vatican recognition of Israel "as a dramatic step forward," that he had shown it to the Pope and had received a positive response. We were told confidentially that a priest is presently in Jerusalem drafting a 40-page document as a proposed "concordat" between the Vatican and Israel for consideration by the Holy See. Father du Puys suggested that at our next meeting in Amsterdam with Cardinal Willebrands and Vatican authorities March 27-29 that he would propose, with Cardinal Lustiger's support, the setting up of a mixed Vatican-IJCIC commission to study the "concordat" and the steps that need to be taken together to bring about diplomatic ties between the Holy See and Israel. There was a positive reaction on the part of the AJC delegation, encouraging this direction.

Le Monde

Following a vigorous exchange with Paul Balta regarding our perception of the pro-Arab and pro-PLO bias of Le Monde, Mr. Balta acknowledged that that was the case. He invited AJC to send him materials dealing with Middle East issues and approaches to religious-racial-ethnic pluralism which he said he would consider for publication or adaption in the Middle East section of Le Monde. In general, we were given the impression that much of the press and media in many European countries were unfriendly to Israel -- even though large segments of the populations were friendly and fairer to the Jewish State. The entire area of interpretation of Israel and Jewish concerns in the European media is worthy of consideration as a project for AJC, in cooperation with European Jewish communities. Exchange programs with European editors and writers to the United States was also talked about.

Summary

At a debriefing session, the AJC officers believed that this was a remarkably useful mission on many levels. They agreed to meet together in the United States and to discuss what programs need to be implemented by AJC in order to realize some of the significant opportunities that were opened to us by this mission.

Report prepared by

Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
International Relations Department
American Jewish Committee
March 12, 1994

W006-IRD/e1

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
LEADERSHIP MISSION TO FRANCE
February 26-March 2, 1984

Participants

Howard I. Friedman, President
Mrs. Howard I. Friedman
Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors
Mrs. Theodore Ellenoff
Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees
Mrs. Robert S. Jacobs
Edward E. Elson, Vice-President
Mrs. Edward E. Elson
Gordon Zacks, Chairman, International Relations
Commission
Leo Nevas, Chairman, Task Force on Soviet Jewry
Mrs. Leo Nevas
Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director, International Relations
Department
Mrs. Nives Fox, Director, Paris Office

SCHEDULE OF MEETING OF AJC LEADERS WITH FRENCH
GOVERNMENT AND OTHER OFFICIALS

FEBRUARY 26 THROUGH MARCH 2, 1984
PARIS, FRANCE

SUN., FEB. 26

4:00 P.M. - AJC leaders meet for briefing session, Hotel Bristol
Howard Friedman, President, presiding

Dinner, evening free

MON., FEB. 27

8:30 A.M. - Orientation meeting with leaders of French Jewish community, Théo Klein, President of CRIF, presiding (This is a breakfast meeting at the Hotel Bristol and will conclude at 10:00 A.M.)

10:30-12 Noon - Briefing session on Franco-American relations by representatives of the French Government - M. Eric Danone, Chief of Service of Ministry of External Trade and Tourism; at French Center for External Commerce (CSCE), 10, avenue d'Iéna, 75016 Paris

12:30 P.M. - Luncheon

3:15 P.M. - Meeting with U.S. Ambassador to France, Evan Galbraith, at U.S. Embassy (Richard Curran for briefing) 2, avenue Gabriel, 75008 Paris

5:00 P.M. - Meeting with Ambassador Ovadia Soffer, Israel Embassy 3, rue Rabelais, 75008 Paris

6:00 P.M. - Dinner and evening free

TUES., FEB. 28

8:30 A.M. - AJC Breakfast, Hotel Bristol

10:30 A.M. - Mme. Edith Cresson, Minister of External Trade and Tourism, 41, quai Branly, 75007 Paris

11:30 A.M. - M. Louis Schweitzer, Director of Staff, Ministry of Industry and Research, 101, rue de Grenelle, 75007 Paris

1:00 P.M. - Meeting with Beate and Serge Klarsfeld, Hotel Bristol

TUES., FEB. 28 continued

- 3:30 P.M. - M. Gaston Deferre, Minister of Interior and Decentralization, Mayor of Marseilles, Place Beavau, 75800 Paris
- 7:30 P.M. - Reception by Mme. Cresson for AJC leaders at Ministry of Industry and Tourism, 41, quai Branly, 75007 Paris

WED., FEB. 29

- 9:30 A.M. - Meeting with Hon. Robert Aherne, Deputy Delegate, U.S. Mission to UNESCO, 1, rue Miollis, 75015 Paris
- 11:30 A.M. - Meeting with M. Claude Estier President, Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly, National Assembly 126, rue de l'Université, 75007 Paris
- 4:00 P.M. - Meeting with Mr. Llewellyn (New Zealand), Director of Economic Affairs, OECD (Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development), 19, rue de Franqueville, 75016 Paris
- 5:45 P.M. - Meeting with M. Jean Daniel, Editor-in-Chief, Nouvel Observateur, (on East-West relations, foreign policy, Middle East, Africa), 11, rue d'Aboukir, 75002 Paris
- 7:30 P.M. - Meeting with Henry Hajdenberg and David Buk, leaders of Jewish Renewal Movement, at Hotel Bristol

THURS., MAR. 1

- 8:30 A.M. - Mr. Robert Curran, Political Counselor, Mr. Tom Delaney, USIA, at U.S. Embassy, 2, avenue Gabriel, 75008 Paris
- 10:00 A.M. - Meeting with M. Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris, Mairie de Paris, 75004 Paris
- 12:30 P.M. - Luncheon, M. Paul Balta, Editor of Middle East section of Le Monde, at Hotel Le Bristol, 112, rue du Faubourg Saint-Honore, 75008 Paris
- 3:30 P.M. - Meeting with M. Robert Badinter, Minister of Justice, at Ministry of Justice, 13, place Vendôme, 75001 Paris
- 6:15 P.M. - Meeting with His Eminence Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger, Archbishop of Paris, and The Rev. Bernard du Puys, Director of the Secretariat of Catholic-Jewish Relations, French Conference of Catholic Bishops

FRI., MAR. 2

- 10:15 A.M. - Meeting with M. Claude Cheysson, Foreign Minister, at the Foreign Ministry, 37, quai d'Orsay, 75007 Paris

FRI., MAR. 2 continued

11:30 A.M. - M. Jacques Attali, Special Advisor to President Mitterrand,
and M. Charles Salzman, Special Advisor to the President
for Foreign Policy and High Technology

President François Mitterrand
Palais de l'Élysée, 75008 Paris

4:00 P.M. - M. Théo Klein, President, CRIF

6:30 P.M. - Kabbalat Shabbat Servies with Chief Rabbi Sirat, Grand
Synagogue, 44, rue de la Victoire, 75009 Paris



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84-550-16

Klarsfeld

-Caro. Lushger
- National Front

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS OF AJC LEADERS WITH FRENCH
GOVERNMENT AND OTHER OFFICIALS

FEBRUARY 27 THROUGH MARCH 2, 1984
PARIS, FRANCE

SUN., FEB. 26

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Howard Friedman, President, presiding

Dinner, evening free

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meeting at the Hotel Bristol and will conclude at 10:00 A.M.)

Deferre
Barbie

10:30-12 Noon - Briefing session on Franco-American Relations by representa-
tives of the French Government - M. David, Chief of Service
of Ministry of External Trade and Tourism; at French Center
for External Commerce (CSCE), 10 Ave. G'Iena

12:30 P.M. - Luncheon

Press
Attache

3:15 P.M. - Meeting with U.S. Ambassador to France, Evan Galbraith,
At U.S. Embassy (Richard Curran for briefing)

5:00 P.M. - Ambassador Ovadia Soffer, Israel Embassy -
(Iraq)

6:00 P.M. - Dinner and evening free (as of now)

TUES., FEB. 28

8:30 A.M. - AJC Breakfast, Hotel Bristol

Jacobs

10:30 A.M. - Mme. Edith Cresson, Minister of External Trade and Tourism
41 Quai Branly (VII District)

11:30 A.M. - M. Louis Schweitzer, Director of Staff, Ministry of Industry
and Research, 101 rue de Grenelle (VII District)

Book
Presentation

Elkann

3:30 P.M. - M. Gaston Deferre, Minister of Interior and Decentralization,
Mayor of Marseilles, Place Beauvau (VII District)

Rosanne
Haifa

[pro - Israel / Falashas - European Convention on Terrorism
- terrorism -
- Barbie -

6 - Dinner - Simon Weil?

Heidi Hagdenberg - Nouveau
Judge Pettiti

AJC OFFICERS' MISSION TO FRANCE

-2-

Leo Nevas

WED., FEB. 29

Elson

4:00 P.M.

UNESCO - Richard Ahearn (Leo Nevas)
M. Claude Estier, Pres., Foreign Affairs Comm., National Assembly

M. Anderson, Director of Economic Affairs, OECD
2 rue Henri Pascal / 19 rue de Franqueville

Surke Elson

5:45 P.M.
Algiers

M. Jean Daniel, Editor-in-Chief, Nouvel Observateur (on East-West relations, foreign policy, Middle East, Africa)

THURS., MARCH 1

RPR

H. Friedman

10:00 A.M.

M. Jacques Chirac, Mayor of Paris, City Hall of Paris [Iraq]

L. Nevas

12:30 P.M.

M. Rosanne
Luncheon, M. Paul Balta, Editor-in-Chief, Middle East section, Le Monde

Ellenoff

3:30 P.M.

M. Robert Badinter, Minister of Justice, 13 Place Vendome (I District) crime, death penalty / Arabs boycott

FRI., MARCH 2

H. Friedman

Book presentation

10:00 A.M.

M. Claude Cheysson, Foreign Minister, 37 Quai d'Orsay
duplications / 3rd world /

B. Jacobs

11:30 A.M.

M. Jacques Attali, Special Advisor to President Mitterrand

Jewish debriefing
Press Conf.

H. Friedman

6:30 P.M.

M. Charles Salzmann, Technical Advisor to Palais Elysée for Foreign Policy and High Technology (boycott)

President Mitterrand

Kabbalat Shabbat services with Chief Rabbi Sirat Grand Synagogue

Note: The visit to Marseilles scheduled for Wednesday was called off since the Mayor of Marseilles will be in Paris for his meeting with us.

March 1 - Bank strike

MHT:RPR

DRAFT (SUBJECT TO CHANGE)

18 **AMND**

Bold/caps

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS OF AJC LEADERS WITH FRENCH GOVERNMENT & OTHER OFFICIALS, FEB. 27 THROUGH MARCH 2, 1984, PARIS, FRANCE

Bold → **SUN., FEB. 26 -**

4.P.M. - AJC Leaders meet for briefing session, Hotel Bristol
Howard Friedman, President, Presiding

Dinner, evening free

Bold → **MON., FEB. 27 -**

8:30 A.M. - Orientation meeting with leaders of French Jewish community, Theo Klein, President of CRIF, presiding
(This is a breakfast meeting at the Hotel Bristol and will conclude at 10 a.m.)

*Approp
Mediterranean
French
Center
External
Commerce*

10 - 12 a.m. - Briefing session on Franco-American Relations by representatives of the French Government.

(Elysee Palace or ~~Quai D'Orsay~~, to be determined) *Chief de David, Service (Chesson)*
Quai d'Orsay M.
12:30 p.m. - Luncheon *10 Ave. G' Iena*

~~2:30~~ *3:15* p.m. - Meeting with US. Ambassador to France, Galbraith
At U.S. Embassy (Richard Curran for briefing)

*5 - Israel
Embassy
O.S. office*

4:00 p.m. - M. Claude Cheysson, Foreign Minister of France,
A review of French Foreign Policy
(Time and place to be confirmed)

6:00 p.m. - Dinner and evening free (as of now)

TUES., FEB. 28 -

8:30 A.M. - AJC Breakfast, Hotel Bristol

10:30 A.M. - Mme. Edith Cresson, Minister of External Trade and Tourism - *41 Quai Branly (VII Arrondissement)*

11:30 A.M. - M. ~~Lauren Fabius~~, Minister of Industry and Research
Louis Schweitzer, Deputy Director of Staff, 101 Rue de

3:30 P.M. - M. Gaston Deferre, Minister of ~~the~~ Interior, Mayor of Marseilles
Place Beauvau (VII District)

5:00 P.M. - Meeting with Israeli Ambassador to France, Ovadia Soffer, at Israeli Embassy

WED., FEB. 29 -

Proposed visit to nuclear reactor installation near Lyons

(Times to be set for following meetings:)

M. Philip Guerin, Director of OECD

AJC OFFICERS' MISSION TO FRANCE

- 2 -

WED., FEB. 29 (Cont'd)

4 p.m. - Mr. Anderson, Director of Economic Affairs, OECD
2 Rue Henri Pascal

Mr. Jean Daniel, Editor-in-Chief, Nouvel Observateur
(on East-West relations, foreign policy, Middle East, Africa)

Mr. Paul Balta, Editor-in-Chief, Middle East section,
Le Monde

Mme. Simone Weil, former president of the European Parliament

Mrs. Jean Girard, U.S. representative to UNESCO

545 - Jean Daniel, Editor-in-Chief, Nouvel O.

THURS., MARCH 1

Jacques

10:00 A.M. - M. Chirac, Mayor of Paris, City Hall of Paris

12:30 P.M. - Luncheon - M. Paul Balta, Editor, Middle East section, Le Monde

3:30 P.M. - M. Robert Badinter, Minister of Justice
13 Place Vendome (I District)

FRI., MARCH 2

10¹⁵ a.m. - M. Claude Cheysson, 37 Quai d'Orsay

Press

11:30 A.M. - M. Jacques Attali, Special Chief Advisor to President MITTERAND

M. Charles Salzmann, Technical Chief Advisor to Pres. Mitterand
for Foreign Policy and High Technology
Palais Elysee

President Mitterand -

5:30 P.M. - Kabbalat Shabbat services with Chief Rabbi Sirat
Grand Synagogue

*The visit to Marseilles scheduled for Wednesday was called off
since the Mayor of Marseilles will be in Paris for his meeting
with us.

MARCH 15, 1934

VOL. 84.11

● FRENCH WINE STILL FILLING AMERICAN
GLASSES--FOR NOW

● NOTES ON JEWISH AFFAIRS

● BRIEFS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

FRENCH WINE STILL FILLING AMERICAN
GLASSES--FOR NOW

In a decision greeted with relief in many European capitals, the International Trade Commission (ITC) March 6 rejected the complaint lodged by the Aligned Grape Growers for Fair Trade against alleged dumping of European wine on the American market.

American wine growers failed to convince the American executive branch commission that European Economic Community producers were subsidized by their governments permitting them to sell wine at less than cost and harming U.S. viticulturalists.

While foreign producers supply only 20 to 30 percent of the total American wine market, the European share of the market for still table wines is significant. Still wine lacks the carbon dioxide produced during the fermentation process creating the bubbles associated with champagne and other sparkling wines. In 1983, Italian exports accounted for 58 percent of these American imports. France held second place with 17 percent and the Federal Republic of Germany made 11 percent of total European sales to the United States that year. While Italy's share of the American market stagnated this year, posting only a 0.7 percent increase over 1982, the German share rose by 14 percent, and France gained 25 percent over last year.

French exports of medium-priced table wine to the United States have been increasing over the past few years, but in 1983, top-quality wine sales rose as well. Total French still wine sales to the U.S. in 1983 exceeded 22.3 million gallons.

There are three main reasons for the growth of French wine sales in the U.S. First, Americans are drinking more wine in general; wine consumption in the United States is on an upward curve. In 1970, the United States imported only 20.4 million gallons of still wine (less than 14 percent alcohol) for \$90.9 million.

By 1983, the quantity of imports of still table wine reached 46.9 million gallons at a dollar value of \$135.6 million--an increase of over 100 percent in 13 years. (This figure excludes sherries and other apéritif wines.) Second, the strong dollar vis-à-vis the French franc has made French wine more affordable for the American consumer than it was in the past, and in particular, has made it quite competitive with American wines. Third, the fact that French exports of higher-priced wines are expanding, an increase of 25 percent from 1982 to 1983, shows a growing sophistication of the American taste for wine.

French wine sold in the United States is divided into two main quality groups: "vin de table" which is everyday drinking wine, and "vin d'appellation" which is a higher quality wine. The best French wines such as the well-known Lafite-Rothschild, are "vins d'appellation." For these wines, the label indicates the precise region or château where the wine is made. Winemakers whose wines fall into this category are registered with the government and the quality is carefully controlled.

Ordinary table wine exported by France to the U.S. is higher in quality and price than a comparable "vin de table" is in France, according to French commercial officials. These factors buttressed the European position before the American trade commission: European producers are not dumping cheap wines on the American market.

The recent ITC finding prevents the Department of Commerce from placing tariffs on European wine imported into the U.S.--at least for the present. Many in American agriculture fear European retaliation against other agricultural exports if the government raises the duty on imported wine. Wine is Europe's major agricultural export to the United States.

The ITC decision is expected to be appealed by the California wine growers. According to officials close to the negotiations, no final decision on the matter can be expected for the next six months to a year.

NOTES ON JEWISH AFFAIRS

The responses to the following questions, posed by members of the National Assembly to Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson, are reprinted below. The replies are excerpted from the *Journal Officiel*, the French equivalent of the U.S. *Congressional Record*. Both inquiries appeared on March 5, 1984.

QUESTION:

Mr. Georges Sarre directed the attention of the Minister of External Relations to the fate of the Syrian Jewish community, settled predominantly in Damascus, Aleppo and Kamishli. The subject of years of harassment and restrictions, and deprived of the freedom of movement within the country, Syrian Jews are now being denied the right to emigrate. He therefore asked whether France's representatives who had visited Syria had been able to intervene in this matter and what result they had achieved. In addition, he sought to know whether the minister was proposing to step up these efforts.

ANSWER:

In accordance with the guidelines determined by the French President, the government places great emphasis on the observance of human rights in all countries. It has often intervened with foreign governments, including that of Syria, to stress the importance it attaches to individual freedom of movement. France particularly insists on respecting the right to emigrate, especially with regard to members of Jewish communities. But it does not wish to publicize its interventions in a manner that might adversely affect their effectiveness since all governments consider this matter as lying within their own sovereignty.

QUESTION:

Mr. Emmanuel Hamel drew the minister's attention to an article in the Israeli press reporting that France may propose an amendment to United Nations Security Council resolution 242. He asked whether this report was true.

ANSWER:

In the French view, U.N. resolution 242, adopted unanimously by the Security Council on November 22, 1967 outlines principles governing any negotiated settlement of the Middle-East conflict. While this resolution provides for the Israeli withdrawal from the territories they occupied in 1967 and for the right of all countries in the region--including Israel--to live in peace within secure and recognized frontiers, it does not mention the rights of the Palestinian people.

For this reason on July 29, 1982 with Egypt, France tabled a draft resolution in the Security Council. This measure, while confirming resolution 242, provides for "the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people--their right to self-determination with all that it implies." This agreement would mean that "the Palestinian people will have to be represented and consequently that the Palestinian Liberation Organization will join in the negotiations."

The text of the draft proposal also calls for mutual and simultaneous recognition of the parties concerned. The article appearing in the Israeli press probably refers to this initiative which has been supported by the member countries of the European Community. France reserves the right to present this draft to the Security Council when deemed worthwhile.

Other French action directed towards Jews unable to emigrate centered on the U.S.S.R. Mrs. Aviva Koutchinski, president of the French committee for solidarity with Jews in the U.S.S.R. met with First Secretary Alexander Avdeev for three hours March 2 at the Soviet Embassy in Paris.

Talks centered on the "refusniks," Jews who have been denied permission to emigrate to Israel, the French news agency, Agence France Presse. Mrs. Koutchinski requested that more exist visas be processed immediately. In particular, she mentioned the cases of the following Jews: Josif Begun, Anatoly Scharansky, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak, Simon Schnirman, Yuri Tarnopolski and Leonid Keiber.

The Soviet representative claimed that only two percent of exit visa requests Israel had not been granted. According to the French news agency report, however, he admitted that there was a Jewish emigration problem in the Soviet Union.

BRIEFS

As for political news, former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has announced his candidacy for the legislative elections set for 1986. Giscard d'Estaing made his announcement during a televised broadcast March 5 and suggested at that time that he was viewing the presidential elections in 1988 an eye to running, reported the Agence France Presse on March 6.

The neo-Gaullist-edged out the communist slate by seven percent this week in a minor by-election held to replace the communist mayor of Limeil-Brevannes. The Parisian suburb was forced to call new elections because of irregularities were uncovered regarding the elections held last March. Although the left has stood firm in two by-elections held since last spring, eight towns have slipped over to the opposition since then.

SPECIAL TO JTA

PRESIDENT MITTERAND'S VISIT TO U.S. HOLDS MEANING
FOR AMERICAN JEWS, SOVIET JEWRY AND ISRAEL

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee, has just returned from a mission to France.)

- - - - -

NEW YORK - The current visit of President Francois Mitterand of France to the United States is primarily devoted to strengthening Franco-American relations, but clearly has vital implications for Israel, Soviet Jewry, and American Jewry.

That conclusion results from a high-level mission to France just concluded by American Jewish Committee leaders who met with President Mitterand, Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, Gaullist Mayor of Paris Jacques Chirac, and six other ministers of the French Cabinet. That sense of the present moment was also reinforced for us through extended conversations with the U.S. Ambassador to France, Evan Glabraith; Israeli Ambassador to France, Ovadia Soffer; the U.S. delegation to UNESCO; and with French Jewish leaders headed by Theo Klein, president of CRIF; David de Rothschild, president of the Fonde Sociale Juif Unifie (FSJU); Jean Paul Elkann, president of the Consistoire; Mme. Nicole Goldman, director of the European Council of Jewish ~~Communiti~~ Communities; and several leading French journalists.

Throughout all our conversations with President Mitterand and his two impressive Jewish aides, Jacques Attali and Charles Salzman, as well as with other key French government officials, two central themes emerged:

(a) France shares fundamental democratic values with the United States and therefore is committed to upholding human rights and constitutional democracies.

PRESIDENT'S JOURNAL

(b) France perceives the Soviet Union as a major threat to free societies and to human rights, and must therefore be resisted.

While the image of France in many circles is that of a jaded colonial power, our rich experiences persuaded us that France today must be taken seriously as a "mini-superpower" that has global interests in virtually every part of the world. Defense experts report that next to the U.S. and the Soviet Union, France has the largest military force, nuclear capacity, and naval fleets spread over critical areas of the world. Therefore, France must be looked upon as a vital ally of the United States, and her foreign policy can be crucial for the interests of Israel in the Middle East, the European community, Africa, and Latin America.

Under Foreign Minister Chesson, with whom we met for more than an hour in intense review of foreign policy, it became clear that France is pursuing an assertive "double-track" foreign course. France supports the United States in vigorous resistance to Soviet expansionism. At the same time, France is seeking to open dialogue with the Soviet Union and is widening its commercial ties with Russia and her allies.

During our talks with Mr. Cheysson and Messrs. Attali and Salzman, Howard Friedman, AJC president expressed appreciation for France's championing the cause of individual Soviet Jewish refuseniks, but pressed France to become more vigorous in supporting the broader cause of Soviet Jewish emigration. We got a commitment from these French officials they would press the cause of Soviet Jewry in their widening dialogue with Soviet authorities. Significantly, we were promised that the French Embassy in Moscow would ~~xxxxxxx~~ become more actively involved in arranging direct contact with Soviet Jewish refuseniks as does the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

On the Middle East, France also follows a "double-track" policy. President Mitterand is portrayed as the foremost friend of Israel, noting that he has been to Israel 17 times, and is the first French president to make an official visit to the Jewish State. While Mr. Cheysson firmly stated that "Israel is the cornerstone of France's policy in the Middle East," he specializes in maintaining good relations with the Arab states and with the PLO's Yasir Arafat.

Cheysson told us that while he has met with Arafat, he wanted us to know that it French policy that President Mitterand will not receive Arafat until he recognizes Israel's legitimacy and gives up its campaign of terrorism. Jacques Attali, the brilliant young Algerian Jew who is the closest foreign policy advisor to Mitterand, told us, "The Arabs consider France - which has a long history of involvement in the Arab world - the only go-between them and Israel, even though they know we are completely with Israel." He added that France's relations with the ~~Arab~~ Arab world would be "an asset to Israel and to Middle East peace." French authorities said that was especially important now that the United States has lost credibility in the Arab world since withdrawing its military forces precipitously from Lebanon.

Charles Salzman said that "the change of mind among Arab leaders towards Israel during the past three years has been amazing. Moderate Arabs are ready to recognize and live in peace with Israel provided certain things are done for the Palestinians." Attali said "they know that Israel is a fact and part of their security. Arab countries know that they will not be able to live in a destroyed Middle East. The dream of a polyethnic Lebanon has become a nightmare

for them. They are now moving in a good direction."

En Africa, France today is a major economic and political force and that too has implications for America and especially for Israel. There are now some 300,000 Frenchmen working in ²⁰predominantly French-speaking countries in West and Central Africa. The AJC delegation said that Americans and American Jews feel strongly about the importance of reestablishing diplomatic relations between ~~France~~ Israel and the African nations, and we urged France to use its good offices to encourage that development. Attali and other foreign service people indicated that they regard this as an important issue and will pursue its implementation.

We then expressed our profound concern over the growing pattern of attacks on Israel and Jews at the United Nations, UNESCO and other international agencies. We pointed out that while the United States has courageously responded to these attacks, France and Western powers have generally sat by passively. We insisted that France must stand by the side of the United States, together with other Western powers, in combatting these vile incitements of anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and vulgar bigotry. A number of French officials appeared to be visibly moved by our feelings and promised they would look into why their representatives have been derelict in the face of such verbal violence against Jews and Israel.

Finally, it became clear that the French government is deeply interested in improving its relations with American Jews. France's economy is in trouble and their government is determined to improve their exports of high-technology to the U.S., not just their "food, fragrances, and fashions." They are also concerned about their weak or negative images of France in America's media. They are persuaded that American Jews can help them. We don't plan to disappoint them. For too much is at stake for world Jewry.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

COMMUNITY SERVICES & MEMBERSHIP DEPARTMENT

DATE 2/23/84

TO: M. Tanenbaum

FROM: **Shula Bahat**

- For Your Information
- For Your Approval
- For Your Comments
- Advise/Handle
- As Requested
- Let's Discuss
- Enclosed is biographical material of _____ for your upcoming meeting
- Enclosed is (OTHER): _____

REMARKS:



U.S. Israel & The Middle East

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1.

PA: AJC - 1/28/84

H. Friedman The weekend Program we have deferred to this evening, the consideration of a very narrow even an esoteric subject. We try to have a subject that really would be so focused that it would involve only one set of considerations, and everybody could then concentrate upon it and resolve it in a sitting of a couple of hours, and in order to assist us in that process we didn't tell either of our presentors what the program was, because we wanted to get people who didn't know anything about it at all, and notify them very shortly before the evening event that they are going to be making presentations in order to test their capacity, almost extemporaneously, almost impromptu alike, to see if they can deal with this very narrow and simple subject.

In all seriousness, we are going to talk about Israel, United States and the middle-east this evening. Gordy will start it with a somewhat broad journey as it were, among the three prongs of that question, and then Al will supplement what Gordy talks about by looking at these complexities from the point of view of their impact internally in Israel, and then we will all participate in an open discussion Questions-Observations after the two of them have made their observations.

PA: Gordy

Gordon Laats Quite specifically what I intend to do, is to try to assess the current situation in the middle east, and then to

PA: Gordy

2.

talk of the issues of American-Israel relations, and then to talk of the consequences of these changes on the Program of The American Jewish Committee. Now, to talk to this sophisticated audience, I'm going to use alot of shorthand because there is alot of information that you know that I don't want to repeat, but, in order to really take a look at the context of change, it is necessary that we look at the region from several different perspectives.

First, I want to look at it from the point of Soviet-American. Secondly, I want to look at it from the point of view of the entire middle-east, and I am talking about the middle-east that goes from the mediterranean, all the way through to the Persian Gulf. I want to look at Arab-Arab. I want to look at the issue in Lebanon, and then I want to look at Israel and the Arab world, and then I want to take a look at the Gulf States.

All of that in 5 minutes, because next I'm going to talk about American-Israel.

Let me start by talking about whats happened I think, in the past 18-24 months in respect to the East-West as characterized by Soviet-America. I happen to think that the primary objective for both parties is to assure access to the free flow of oil out of the Persian Gulf, and in the context of maintaining assured access the Soviets have over the period of the past twenty some years, managed to extend their influence from Ethiopia through the south of Yemen, now with troops in Afghanistan, with backing both Iraq and Iran, and with client state in Syria.

In the past period since the Lebanon invasion, the Syrians have permitted and the Soviets have agreed, to resupply and permit Soviet troops to the extent of ^{about} 8,000 troops manning the missile basis inside of Syria. So the Soviet presence in the region is stronger today than it was several years ago, and the Syrian position visa-ve, the remainder of the Arab states is stronger today than it was prior to the Israel invasion of Lebanon. In spite of the decisive destruction by the Israelis of the Syrian surface and missile sites today, they are stronger and they have more modern up-to-date equipment.

Secondly, that as a consequence of the inability of the west to stop the perry of the Soviet and the Syrian play in Lebanon, Syrian's creditability throughout the Arab world is much higher, and Egypt's position visa-ve throughout the Arab world is much lower, and the Soviet position visa-ve the Arab world is much stronger, and the American creditability in the Arab world is much lower. As a general characterization, that is what I think is happening.

Now, at the same time it has not been all pluses for the Soviets, they are tied up in Afghanistan with 120,000 troops, and they would like to figure out a way to get out, and they don't know how to get out. At the same time, the fact that they are there, the fact that the Syrians permit Soviets to remain in Syria is not lost on the Gulf States, and the Gulf States who fear greatly both, the power of the Soviets and the power of their client states,

plus the rise of Moslem Fundamentalism which threatens the very stability of the region is looking for some way to counter the threat of the Soviets, and carry the threat of Moslem Fundamentalism and has looked to the west without finding in the offers made by the United States, a play that they think would secure their regimes. They have chosen to play a game on their own. What you find the Saudis have been doing, is buying off all their potential enemies, and that game is the game that they continue to play. They pay off the P.L.O. all factions. They pay off Iran. They pay off South Yemen. They pay off North Yemen. The likelihood is, that is, the game they will continue to play. It has been almost two years since the AWAC's battle and maybe $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and there has been no significant change in Saudi posture or policy visa-ve, The west as a consequence of the AWAC sale in that intervening period of time, the bottom line is, that we are not believable and creditable as an alternative in the minds of the Saudis to assuring their own regimes survival, and they would rather play the game of buying off their enemies then trying to create the conditions under which they provoke them by getting in bed with the United States.

Now, the context of that, let me move to the Arab-Arab struggle, because in the context of Arab-Arab, you have the Syrian occupation of the Lebanon. You have the Syrian threat to Jordan.

You have the continuing, but unresolved Iraq-Syrian dispute, and you have in the context of North and South Yemen, a continuing unresolved area of tension. At the same time in the context of

Moslem-Moslem, you have the Iranian-Iraq war. You have the whole phenomenon of the Sheite-Suni split which sends people bananas in trying to understand what's really going in the middle-east, because we in the west basically do not appreciate the power of passion in the minds of people who are dominated by religious beliefs. Because we have tended to down play religion, and we do not appreciate the extent of what religious passion can dominate and control the behavior of men. Now, we have seen a bit of it recently, and we are beginning to resurfact the whole issue, when suicide squads can go and attack marine barracks or when suicide squads can go hit an Israeli Embassy or whatever, It awakens the phenomenon of what belief can do in terms of dominating a man's behavior. In the context of that, when you have in Syria a 70% Suni majority and you have a small minority that is a branch of the Sheites in control, the allwhites, in Syria, and next to Syria in Iraq you have the phenomenon of a majority that is Sheite, 70% Sheite, and a leadership that is a minority that is Suni and next door to Iran which is majority Sheite, and the inter-relationship of the Sheite and the Suni conflict with each other, tends to affect the manner of which the political behavior of these countries play out.

At the same time, inside of the Gulf, where you have a moderate Suni phenomenon in dominance, there is this great fear of the rise of the Sheites and the rise of Moslem Fundamentalism for both the Suni and the Sheites. The bottom line in my view is that long term stability in the region is going to be greatly affected by this phenomenon of religious fanaticism, and no one is

sure exactly how to counter it, and no one is sure where it is ultimately going to end up.

Now, let me move for a minute to Lebanon. Inside of Lebanon, I think it is clear the most thoughtful observers, that de facto partition has occurred. That there is no way to reunify the Lebanon without the removal of all foreign troops, and there is no way to get all foreign troops out short of military confrontation between either the Americans or the Israelies or both, and the Syrians. Neither the Americans nor the Israelies have the will or the inclination to go to war against Syria in order to reunite Lebanon. Consequently, the likelihood is that the Syrians will remain for an indefinite period of time, and will effectively achieve their objective which is either direct control or substantial influence upon the political configurations, and political decision making which takes place within the Lebanon.

Essentially, Israel will retain control of the South of Lebanon. Essentially, the Syrians will retain control of north and east, and the whole issue that is really being debated is whether or not there will be a Third Power Block in Beirut, or whether or not that will fall to the hands of someone else. But whether the Jmael Government can control Beirut is really the question that is being discussed. Not whether the Jmael Government can reunify Lebanon.

Next, let me move ^{to} the whole issue of Israel-Arab. Because in the context of Arab-Israel, the most important phenomenon in my view (a) that the peace treaty with Egypt did hold throughout

the whole period of the Lebanese war. Now the fact is that it is a cold peace, but nevertheless it is a peace. Given that it is a cold peace, there are some very serious tensions between Egypt and Israel surrounding the posture of Egyptians to live up to the letter and the spirit of the Camp David accords. The absence of an Ambassador in Israel. The cancelling of tourism. The cancelling of seminars. The anti-semitic literature and cartoons which are permitted to be published in Egypt. All of those are evidence of a lack of commitment to really developing the kind of normalization that was envisioned when the peace treaty was signed. The consequence of that is several fold, No. 1, it is a disincentive to the Israelis to consider further territorial compromises for peace in the advancing peace process forward. No. 2, remember Erins Cohen or God, voted against Camp David, Shamir was President of the Knesset and abstained, but certainly wasn't sympathetic and supportive, and a consequence of the failure of the Egyptians to live up to the spirit of Camp David is to create more internal domestic pressure for annexation within Israel.

Now, A1 is going to talk about Israel and domestic considerations inside so I won't deal with that any further.

The next point that I want to deal with is the fact that in Egypt's eagerness to be accepted, and to return to the Arab fold, the comments that were made by King Hassan of Morocco last week with regard to private conversations that he had with Mubarak, wherein Mubarak allegedly said "that Camp David was dead". That Egypt had

milked from it all that it was going to get. It got the oil. It got the return of the territories. There was nothing left in terms of substance and the form was there, and it lived only in the minds of the Arabs, that Egypt and in the rest of the world it was dead. To the extent that has not been denied by Mubarak, and it is a very serious signal that awakens very real apprehension within the body politic of Israel.

The last point that I want to make in terms of the situation and the assessment of the present, is a comment about the P.L.O., and a comment about Jordan. The one positive thing that I think can be said as to what happened in Lebanon, is that the north of Israel is secure today to a greater extent, than it has been, and there are fewer acts of terrorism emanating out of Lebanon than took place before, and the demise of the P.O.O. as a major military terrorist force has in fact taken place, not that terrorism has been eliminated, but it has been retarded. The fact of the matter is that the inner structure that supported an international network of terrorism was delivered a very serious blow as a consequence of the Israel invasion. Having said that with the eagerness of the President to advance the peace process consistent with his September 1st initiative, it seems to me that the resuscitation of Arafat is contrary to advancing the cause of peace.

It is difficult for me to see how Arafat who has been an obstacle to the process, is going to advance this likelihood that Hussein will be able to come forward and sit down and talk peace. Therefore, I do not see any significant movement toward advancing

PA: Gordy

9.

the peace process taking place in 1984.

Now, with respect to America-Israel. No. 1, in my experience, I don't remember a period in time when I have been involved in Washington that maybe Booky can remember something, that I didn't see, when this relationship cosmetically has been better between Jerusalem and Washington. That there is a very genuine and very real interest on the part of Washington today to develop the strategical operation with Israel as the means perrying the Syrian-Soviet threat to the stability of the region and ultimately to the flow of oil out of the Persian Gulf. It is at the same time not without internal opponents. You are aware of the Weinberger opposition to this. Weinberger has recently been muted, the new advocate of opposition is the Pentagon military structure with Vessey leading the way and the other members of joint Chiefs, except for a navy in opposition. As a matter of fact for the 6th time, since the President has made the decision that he wanted to pursue stratigical operation, he had to directly intervene into the process, and over rule the Pentagon in forcing implementation of the talks. The talks that went on this week were clouded in great secretcy, almost impenetrable secretcy. The only thing that anyone has been able to say about them is that, they were very productive, and will lead to more talks. There will be talks on the military/military withing the next 30 days. They are talking about prepositioning. They are talking about joint exercise. They are talking about joint planning. At the same time, they are talking about economic assistance to Israel, increasing from grants and loans, to all grants.

The administration will be talking about 2.2 Billion Dollars in all grants, both military and economic. The free trade area which has a significant impact in terms of Israel ability to restore its economic health is well on its way politically. There are serious technical problems with GAT. There is opposition politically from protectionist groups. But, generally there is a commitment on the part of both the Administration, the Congress and the Israelies to advancing toward the free trade area. The bottom line that I see is, that the Administration has concluded that the only effective deterrent to Soviet-Syrian threat is US-Israeli strategic cooperation. At the same time, the Administration still wants to strengthen its ties with "moderate" Arabic states. Now, the implications for AJC in the next 12 months in my view are the following:

I think that the pressure for withdrawing the Marines has already started. There will be enormous political pressure either expressing itself in a resolution in the Congress, or an Act in the Congress. I think we are going to have to come to grasp with, where we stand in terms of the American Marines in Lebanon. Is it an issue that we should involve in, if so, in what way, and what position should we take, and is it public or is it private?

No. 2: The whole issue of foreign aid. The effort to increase from 2.2 Billion to 2.6 Billion is well under way in an all grant form and the issue again for us is going to be what position do we take, and do we take it publicly or privately? The issue of the free trade zone for the free trade area is an issue that is alternatively to end up in the Congress. That issue is an issue that I

PA: Gordy

11.

think we have to take a position on, and that issue is an issue about which we are going to have to be prepared to go public with. There will be a movement to cut off funding through congressional action to the American Embassy in Tel-Aviv, and to demand that the Embassy be relocated in Jerusalem. The Monahan has introduced that legislation. That legislation is gaining momentum. Mondale has endorsed it, publicity is certainly will be in the platform of the Democratic Party, and there will definitely be a major effort on the part of other national Jewish organizations to support the effort, to force the administration to consider relocating the Embassy of the United States to Jerusalem. I think we have to decide what position we are going to take on the issue, and in what manner we are going to express it. I think that there is an effort under way by the Egyptians and the French to modify resolution 242 in the United Nations, to change the characterization of the Palestinians from refugees to upgrading it to a political issue of it. The United States has come out in opposition to this effort to amend, but, I think the issue is one about which we are going to have to decide where we stand, and what position we are going to take on it. As I say, this administration is going to seek at the same time that its trying to build strategic cooperation with Israel, to improve or strengthen its relationship with "Moderate-Arab" states in the region. That means arms sales to Jordan, within the frame work of two different characterizations. #1, The arm sales to support the rapid deployment force, which has as its mission being able to put down insurrection that occurs in the Persian Gulf among the oil producing states. The United States is going to ask for congressional approval to take out

of the secret budget some 200 million dollars to support that activity. We're going to have to decide where we stand on that issue. At the same time, there is going to be an effort to try and encourage Hussein to move forward to peace, for this government to try to negotiate arms sales to the Jordanen army, and again we're going to have to decide what position we as an institution want to take on that issue and how we want to express it. It will be, I am certain additional efforts on arms sales to the Saudis in spite of the disappointments that we have had with failure of the Saudis to comply with our needs, and our requests for our strategic interests in the region. I think we are going to have to decide what we are going to do if the government tries to tilt toward Irag, in the Iraq-Iranian war, and decide what kind of an issue, that is in terms of our agenda.

The bottom line for me, is that the agenda will be very full for the American-Jewish Committee, and for the American Jewish Community in 1984. At the same time that we as an institution have been groping to define where we should be going and what issues we should be about, and what priorities we should attach to what, is is that we do. It seems to me important to reflect on the fact that in this context, in the terms of our support for Israel, there is no doubt about the need for all of us to operate within the frame-work of that which is necessary to bring about the security, and the well being of the State of Israel, and that we are at a moment of great historical opportunity in that regard. Because it seems to me, that what is being considered and negotiated now, in terms of American-Israel strategic cooperation, will directly effect the

PA: Gordy

13.

characters of that relationship for the period of the next decade in a very profound and significant way, and it could annure to the benefit of Israel and her security for a long time to come.

Thank you very much.

PA: Chairman Speaker:

Thank you Gordy.



Affected Names

PA: AL

14.

I want to talk about the situation from within Israel, and I want to do it with some historical perspective.

It seems to me that for the decade of the 80's, all three years and 27 days, the two names that have had the greatest impact, the two persons, are not Menachem Begin or Shamir that names that you would think, but the two persons who have had the greatest influence on where Israel is today, are Yoram ARI dor, a name known to few persons in the United States, and Ariel Sharon. Sharon, who's name is known by a great many people in our country. They have had the greatest impact on where Israel is today, and that impact has brought about a change in Israel perception of itself, and its confidence. ARI dor as you know, was Minister of the Treasury. He came into office in 1981, by way of background. Lecould became the government of Israel, the combination of the Liberal Party, and had root. In May of 1977, the remarkable election of Monachim Begin, who everyone thought of as a sure loser, became a winner. Lecould in his economic announcement followed precepts of the Liberal Party, and the Liberal Party has as its background Western European thought, liberal economics. It preached reduction of government budget, abbolition of food subsidies. It put in the platform the words "strive to establish a free economy", based on efficiency, initiative and competition. Words that might well have been in the Republican platform of 1976/1980, and will find there counterparts in the Republican Platform of 1984. Get around on the platform of curtailing the institutes group economic power instituted as you know, as the General Federation of Labor that owns a very large faction of Israel industry. It even invoked the saintly name

Milton Friedman, who went to the University of Chicago Graduate School, where the sainted Milton Friedman was giving his economic pronouncements in your day. Into the post of Secretary of the Treasury, Ministry of the Treasury. Since, Erlich out of that discipline, a member of the Liberal Party, and he proceeded to bring about a change of sorts in Israel economic policy. Food subsidies were reduced. Other transfer payments were reduced. The deficit and the balance of payments was reduced, and there was a slight decrease in real earnings. He was replaced in 1979 by Igal Horowitz, also from the Liberal Party, and Horowitz proceeded to follow the same policy. Exchange curtailments, restrictions were removed. Israel started moving in the direction of a freer economy. It had a depressing effect upon the Israel economy. Under the circumstances, oil prices were at a very high level. Israel as a non-producing nation of raw materials, was suffering, and with Israel's Knesset deciding the instigation of the party politics of Israel, that there would be a national election in 1981, but could demand it, and in fact received the resignation of Igor Horowitz, and he was replaced by Yoram Aridor. What Aridor proceeded to do, was to put in a policy called, Correct Economics, self defined, but that was the term. The campaign pledge, Food Subsidies were increased, taxes endurable, consumer durables were decreased, budgeting restraints were relaxed. The effect of it was, there are those who say that Menachem Begin was re-elected in 1981, on the T.V. Ticket. Every Israelie would have a T.V. in his home. Not a chicken in the pot. Not a car in the garage. Not a 5¢ cigar, but a T.V. in the home. It was the T.V.

ticket and Ahdor's policy produced that. They also produced an increase in real wages. They produced an increase in exports as Ellenoff can tell you, exports simply shot through the roof, because of credit arrangements, reduced by the government. Special government arrangements with regard exchange insurance, and the party went on. The party went on until 1982. I'm talking about the economic party. Even with the Lebanese war, there was a slight increase of taxes, but the economic boom continued, and then in the fall of 1983, in the words of a song writer, "The party was over". Patricia Squire is going to sing that to us. The parties over, very good. What happened was, that Israel's economy came to a screaming halt. The change in policy became mandated, and as a result, there has been with regards as a result of the reduction in the value of bank stocks which Israelies were encouraging by various governmental means to purchase, that sharp decrease resulted in a 40% decrease in the net worth of 1/3 of the Israelie population. Overnight 1/3 of the Israelis population lost 40 per cent of its net worth. The reduction by real wages since the fall of 1983 just a few months ago, has bee a 15% reduction in real wages. Budgeting constraints have been put into place. As a result of which the loan to settlement policy, is now not on hold, slowed down to the point where there is not substantial government support for the policy. Israel is questioning whether it has the economic means to carry on as it has heretofore.

The dependence on U.S. aid and Gordy referred to it, and talked about the change from partial grants to partial loans to 100 per cent grants, maybe 2.2 Billion which was agreed upon to a slightly larger figure when the Israelis were here in the fall, or 2.6 Billion that Gordy talked about. All or substantially all in the form of grants just highlights and puts numbers in the economic fact that Israel dependence on the United States today in economic terms is simply a mess. Simply a mess. The result of a policy put into place in 1981 by Yoram Aridor, one of the persons responsible, not individually, but in personifying it, it is fair to say one of the two persons responsible for the stress that the Israel society experiences today. The other Ariel Sharon. A Sharon, you all know the great hero. He was a hero long before many of us were AJC in the early days prior to the 56 War. He was the one that went out and would catch Beduin at night. Egyptian supported terrorist Feduain and when he would come back with numbers to the F 1 ine, that he had been able to kill and they would question, they said, one man can't kill or one brigade can't kill that many people. He brought back the heads to prove it. That was A Sharon. The great hero of the Yom Kipper War, who crossed into Egypt proper, got across the Gulf of Suez without authorization from the Chief of Staff, may well have won the war against Egypt in 1973. Then toward to politics, was Minister of Agriculture, which gave him control of the Settlement Policy. The portforlio that he sought, Minister of Defense was denied him a long time, primarily because of the Liberal Party as you recall Menachem Begin kept that porfolio of Prime Minister, but, in 1981 he became as a

manner of political expediency with his own political influence in the country, the Minister of Defense, and so there was a political honeymoon between Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon, and like many political honeymoons, it lasted only as long as a rose will bloom, and Ari Sharon is no longer in the government. The effect of it all where does it start from. Ari Sharon had a different view of the military power. Israel had always looked upon its military forces. The IDF as being the instruments of self defence to insure the security of Israel within the boundaries of Israel. Sharon had a different point of view. His view was more in keeping with that Prussian militarist and writer, ^{Claus}~~Herz~~owitz, who said that "war is a continuation of diplomacy by other means", and that was truly the policy of Ariel Sharon who saw the idea not simply as a military instrument, but, as a political instrument, and the war in Lebanon was his opportunity to show what the military force can do in terms of effective political results. Heretofore, Israel had used its force to assure security not to bring about political changes in Arab countries. When Sharon went into the Lebanon, he went in not simply to defeat the P.L.O. militarily which the Israelis had done in a more limited way in 1978, in March of 1978, but he went into the Lebanon to change the political composition of that country through the instrumentality of the Israel defense force. That was something heretofore Israel had never done, and in it met with less than satisfactory results. Think of the campaign. The PLO was soundly wipped in South Lebanon. Israel troops were initially

going no more than 40 kilometers, went to Beirut, they severed the road between Damascus and Beirut. They pushed the Syrian forces into the Bekaa to the East. They isolated the Syrian forces from the mainstream of the Lebanon, in effect provided a means which Israel could control the political destiny, or so Sharon thought, of the Lebanon by installing as a government of the Lebanon a Christian Maronite Government. On the thesis that they had certain antipathy to the Moslem population that could work to the benefit of Israel. Sharon saw this as more than a relationship. He saw the opportunity of using Israel defense forces to install a Maronite Government in Beirut. But what happened, and it is a matter of history, the ~~Mar~~ ^{Ma}alange, the military arm of the Maronites did not proceed into Beirut and we have the siege of Beirut which continues for some 90 days, with all of the negative fallout in the western world finally relieved by the vacuation of the PLO forces as a result of negotiations in which the U.S. was the principal mediator. Following that we had Sabra and ~~Sh~~ ^{Sh}atilla and the downfall of Ariel Sharon removed from government. The effect of that was a politicalization of the army. Something that never happened before, the resignation of a very courageous high military officer, and the Israel body politic questioning for the first time, its own sense of reliance on force as a means of protecting Israel and of questioning which came about as a result of these instances as to whether there is still the national will to preserve the kind of Israel that has heretofore existed.

What we have today, whether we recognize it or not, is an Israelie government which is intent upon withdrawing from the Lebanon. Moshe Arens made it very clear that he sees a much more limited roll for the IDF. Arens as the present Minister of Defense, and given the opportunity Israel troops will withdraw in stages from the Lebanon and even Issac Shamir the strong man, the former stern gang leader, stern group, during the British occupation during the period of the mandate has most recently talked in terms of Israel faces withdrawing even if there isn't a complete Syrian withdrawal from the Lebanon. So, what we have today is, Israel which is economically weakened; we have a Israel which is spiritually weakened and we have an Israel that is questioning within its own body politic, its national will and the efficaciousness of the ability of its armed forces to carry out their mission. What does that mean in terms of future policy of American relations with Israel? What does it mean in terms of AJC Policy.

First, and foremost, because it is the area of greatest possible tension between the Arab government and that of Israel, Gørdy referred to it, its the question of the west bank and Gazza. Our government remains committed to the policy of territory for peace. That is if Israel is to have peace, it must surrender territory. The definition of what that territory is in terms of portion, what portion, what percentage of the west bank and Gazza is to be negotiated, but this administration like all predecessor American Administrations since 1967 is committed to the policy of

territory for peace as embodied in Resolution 242. The present government of Israel is not in fact committed to that policy. Lecould's government policy is one of asserting, and indeed not surrendering or compromising on the issue of Israelie Sovernty on the west Bank, and Gazza, and that is a area of potential conflict. At the same time, there is the reality as a result that Abbadore has produced, and what Sharon has produced, that the Israel have less capability of bringing about that policy, then they had heretofore. There is less money available for settlements. Also, if today elections were held, labor would win overwhelmingly, regardless of whether Sharon Perez, Robin or whoever you want to mention, Navone, were heading the ticket. Today that would be the result, and if there were a labor government the policies regarding the west Bank and Gazza would be different in degree, not in totality but certainly in degree. If Hussein were to come to the negotiating table tomarrow, and you all have seen the little dance that he has been performing, bringing back his parliment and talking in terms of elections, reconstituting his government with more Palestinian Ministers, sort of going through the shuffle back and forth as though he is about to announce his willingness to come forward and negotiate on the basis of the Reagon proposal. Maybe meeting with Arafat, maybe not. Maybe embracing with Arafat, maybe not. The possibility of a Inaudible between the Saudis and the Egyptians which would further give support to a Jordanian initiative. If all of that would come about in our lifetime, the

Israelie response would have to be under those circumstances affirmative in the sense that whether it was a Lecould government, or labor government entering into negotiations there will be no alternative. But, I can assure you, if that were to occur, all of us here would squirm because the fallout of it would be, that the U.S. policy with regard to those negotiations, and the Israelie position with regard to those negotiations would differ, and differ sharply regardless whether the president of the U.S. is Walter Mondale or Ronald Reagon, and we will be caught very much in the middle of that.

Let me just close on this note, if I may. I have over the years, as many of you know who listen to evenings such as this, have been critical of the Israelie settlement policy. I think we took the correct position when we formulated and adopted the position paper we did on the middle-east last March, where we were supportive of Israel generally. We questioned the Settlement Policy in a broader sense saying in changing the conditions on the ground could make it impossible to bring about a territorial compromise in the West Bank, and Gaza, and if we do favor the concept of the territorial compromise and at the same time we quite properly pointed out that the onus lies with the Arab world in not coming forward and negotiating.

In the next year or two, if the situation moves so that the West Bank and Gaza becomes a focal point of U.S.-Israelie tension, and I think the chances of that are very substantial, we

simply as a Jewish organization will no longer have the luxury of trying to make the whole thing on all sides come out right. We simply would not have that luxury. We will simply have to decide whether the Jewish Organization, we're going to support the Israel position or as an American-Jewish organization, we're going to support the American position. My sense of it is, under the circumstances, we will be more supportive of the Israelie position. That we will see the merit in Israel's call for security, whether from the Israel's perspective, will mean a continued Israel presence on the West Bank and Gaza of a permanent nature. We will be sympathetic of Israels's call that there can be no sovernty. Basically, there will be a cleveage between our sympathies on that point and where our governments is. We will be in the position of having to decide in historical terms whether we are going to be a confidant of providence, which we have been heretofore. A luxury which has been permitted us, and as a confidant of providence we have have been one who has been on the side of the oppressed who speaks out in the name of Universal Morality of which you and I leave ourselves to be the spokesman in part, and where we have appealed to a sense of history, and to the good society that we wish to see constructed. That is where we have been as a confidant of Providence.

But, I suggest to you, in the next year or two, we will have to decide whether we can continue to be a confidant of Providence, or what I will term a counselor to the prince, which

is one who takes into account the restraint of reality. I suggest that at the time, and I think you should be thinking about it, we are going to opt to be counselors to the prince, because the reality of the situation is not going to afford us the luxury of having the situation come out right from the stand point of all sides. We are going to have to make that very difficult choice, which I hope this group will never have to make, and indeed/^{had}Israel's policy been somewhat more comfortable for it isn't much fun to be counselor to the prince. END.

PA: Chairman

Now the floors open for your Questions and/or Comments.

Please go to the microphones if you will.

PA: AL MOSES

Well, the confidant of Providence, I recognize the difficulty in making ones self understood, in a statement such as that. The confidant of Providence is one who takes the high road basically, and looks at the moral option only, and I don't thing we're going to have that luxury. We're not going to be able to construct a world in which everything comes out right with regards to the West Bank and Gaza. Its going to be the very hard choices that we avoided up till now, but which we will not be able to avoid within the next several years. Because the issues are going to be posed very directly and we're not going to be able to talk about the -should-of's; the would'of's or could-of's. It's going to be the hard choice whether we're willing to support Israelies Sovernty

on the west Bank and Gaza. Even with the limitations that are imposed by Israel's weakened economic status, the difficult circumstances surrounding Israel's military, even if there were to be a labor government. The hard core issues will still be there and we as American-Jewish Organization. It is not as individuals that I am concerned, but, as an organization, we are going to find it very difficult, but I suspect that the way we are going to come out on this issue is one being closer to the Israel position than what I foresee to be the American Government position, regardless of which party is then occupying the White House.

PA: Chairman - Howard

I took what Al Moses said as a very optimistic statement. We can now quote Al Moses as saying there will be an initiative within the next two years by Hussein.

PA: AL

I'm not at all sure about that. The fact remains Howard, that it is an issue that is there, the Lebanese, I have put it on the back burner. But, I will predict as an optimist that the Lebanon situation will be resolved in the next year, in the sense the Israelies will be largely extricated, our marines will be out, the Arab world that we look upon, the Saudis, the Jordanians, the Morroccans as being friendly to us. Egyptians are going to say to this Administration "you owe us one, and a big one", and that big one is the West Bank of Gaza.

David Peirce Question No. 1 - I would like to turn to something Gordy mentioned, which is very topical. That is the Jordanian rapid deployment force. My own view, and of course I would like to hear from each of you as to what you think we should do as a Jewish organization, publicly or privately-is that Hussein is a spectacular survivor. He has survived for many years and my feeling is that someone like him that has survived so long is totally non-dependable, because his only concern is survival. For that reason and others, I certainly think that we should as a Jewish Organization publicly oppose, notwithstanding your admonitions about difficult decision. We should oppose the funding of a rapid development force in the hands of Jordan, and I would like to know how each of you think and how you think we should express ourselves.

PA: Gordy

I think as a practical matter, in the context of the strategic negotiations that are going on between the U.S. and Israel, some accommodations are going to be worked out, that will be acceptable to the Israelies in not approving of the sale of weapons for the rapid deployment force, but basically agreeing to disagree in principal, but not fight in fact. That will revolve around the composition of the equipment that will be sold to the rapid deployment force. They have already agreed in negotiations to omit one critical component. Secondly, it will center around who has the authority to activate the force. The compromise that is being negotiating is now that it will require the joint approval of the U.S. and the King

PA: Gordy

27.

of Jordan and, Third, it will have to do with logistically where they supply the weapons to assure that the weapons are not accessible to the normal supply routes of the Jordanian army. I think that in the whole scheme of things, that Israel is going to find it very difficult to oppose this. Given all of the other countervailing factors that Israel is going to be getting from the U.S. If Israel doesn't oppose it, frankly, I would find it very difficult to encourage the American Jewish Committee to come forward in opposition. On the other hand, as a second peer of issues related to arms sales to Jordan, and that has to do with the sale of sophisticated weapons to the Jordanian armed services themselves. That I think, unless Hussein evidences a willingness to come forward and talk in terms of peace, we should oppose.

PA: AL

I agree with Gordy. Everything I heard is the same as what Gordy has just said. We are talking about 8,000 men to be trained and to be used explicitly to deal with either destabilizing efforts in the Gulf or Iranian movements in the Gulf State, where we have a very vital interest, as the Jordanians are the best suited to do that, and the fact is we have used them heretofore for that purpose. We used them in the late 70's, because there is much talk about it, and they were also used in Yemen in the 70's. The Israelies have indicated when they were here last week, that without stating it, they will probably not oppose the sale; The sale is now being held up in a message to the Congress for the reasons that Gordy referred to. Also, because there is a very genuine concern in our administration as whether this weapon could fall into terrorist hands,

and safeguards are trying to be worked out, and there is a very technical nature to insure that this weaponry will not fall into terrorist hands. With those few small addenda, I concur on what Gordy said.

PA: Charlie

Charles Tobais Q. I am surprised that neither of you discussed what seems to me to be a major issue of American Policy in the next six months. That is, should we or should we not, withdraw our troops from Lebanon? Certainly the American-Jewish Committee is going to be asked to take a position on that. I have no position, but I would like to hear what you have to say about that.

~~PA: AL~~

Gordy Lachs As I said, in my remarks, it is an issue that we will have to come to grips with, and I did not advocate a position, because that is not what I was asked to do. But, my own position is this--I opposed sending the marines into Lebanon. I thought it was a mistake. When the situation turned from whether or not the marines were there to support the Jmael Government or the issue was--would American stand tall, and stand firm when faced with the threat of terrorist activity against us, then I felt we had to stay firm, and that it was important that we remain in order to maintain credibility throughout not just that part of the world, but all over the world. So I supported the President at that point in terms, we had to stay and the 18 months thing through Congress, I supported that, personally supported that.

Now, in the here and now, I am in favor of getting the marines out of Lebanon as quickly as possible. The means by which I think it can be done without compromising American's credibility in the region, which is critical, because the price we paid for permitting the Shah to fall, to actually encourage them to pushing the Shah over the cliff, in terms of reliable ally to Saudi Arabia, to INAUDIBLE, to INAUDIBLE, etc., has been a disaster, from the most serious foreign policy errors since the past World War II period, in my opinion. But the way in which we can avoid that like it or not, noone in the Arab World believes that there isn't a coordinated action taking place today between Israel and the U.S. We continue to deny, the Israel's continue to deny, and nobody in the region believes. So when the Israelies retaliate against the Sheite fanatic sites, it is perceived in the region to be a strike orchestrated cooperatively between the U.S. and Israel, and wherein Israel is acting on our behalf.

My view is, that we ought to take advantage of that perception, because it is the belief that that coordination exist. The continued readiness and willingness of their own necessity for the Israeles to act to defend and retaliate when needed, that I believe would permit us to withdraw our troops in phases. The way I would do it, I would it is--I would take them out of the airport, and put them on a ship and I would leave the ship there for awhile, gradually negotiate the best deal Jamael can negotiate, and let the

ships then do their own thing. That's my personal view, and its only because of the improved relationship between Israel and the United States, that I think that we can afford to do this without undermining our credibility in the region. The Israelie view is Shamir is persuaded that Syria wants war. That Syria is arming for war. That they now have 400,000 troops. That they are better armed then any other force in the region outside of Israel. That there are 8,000 Soviets there. That the real threat to the stability of the region is Sovietinspired Syrian aggression against Jordan and subsequently against the Saudes if they ever gain control of Jordan. Therefore, they the Israelies believe, Shamir believes, that the need to stop Syria-Soviet expansion in Lebanon, ant that America has to stand firm in support of its commitment to Jamael and that we the U.S. and Israel, have to establish facts on the ground in terms of strategic cooperation that will make clear to Hassad, that America and Israel are committed to the same objective, and that we have stahing power.

~~PA: Howard ?~~

Alfred Moses I don't think I am in a position to say whether the marines should stay or go. My disposition is to say they should remain, but I don't reach that conclusion with great confidence. It stems upon the state of negotiations between ourselves and Syria, and the extent of which the presence of the marines is a factor in those negotiations. I am not troubled by having 1800 marines in Lebanon. I would not be troubled if there were twice that number,

PA: Howard?

31.

or a larger number than that. I think that is a necessity, such as this, to obtain a benefit from those troops being there. I think the implications of their withdrawal without receiving some quick or quo from the Syrians under the circumstances which lessens our effectiveness with regard to political developments in the area. We put down our marker, whether we were correct in doing so or not, I don't think we now have the option of picking that marker up, without obtaining something in the way of chips from the Syrians. With the negotiations on going and the matter with Rumsfeld making his periodic visits to the area, I would just hesitate to stand up here and say, "let's get the marines out". The feeling is that for all the reasons that we share.

PA: Chairman - Howard.

-Please don't feel that you are confined only to answering/questions. If any of you have comments or observations of your own....

~~PA: BOB~~

Hy Bookbinder Every single word uttered by both of the speakers on this subject, I agree with, but, I want to add the following. That we may not have to use your word, the luxury of just thinking about this problem, because there is a strong movement on the hill now to get a resolution of this, and action taken in the Congress. Some of our best friends on the hill, best friends in terms of Israel support, have found that in the districts, when they were back home during the recess, they keep hearing this comment, of getting the troops out.

So we may be faced, we don't have to accept the challenge, we can just be quiet, but our friends are going to be asking us, Should they or should they not vote for a certain kind of resolution? Very, very delicate problem. Until there is indeed a position on our part, 1st let me tell you what I think the Israelies say when they are asked this question. Despite what you said Gordy, they are very concerned that the American people of the world, do not think that the marines are there to help Israel. They are very, very concerned. No matter what you think, and what the truth may be, that that is not a reason for the marines being there. Therefore, when there is American casualties--you are there for other important reasons. Well, the INAUDIBLE the Presidnet keeps saying, giving and that doesn't please the Israelies or us when he does that. But when you press the Israelies in private conversation, and this is a private conversation right here, their bottom line is always as you indicate, we rather they would not leave. We don't want them to leave. I myself have in conversations, and get all kinds of conversations, on the other hand I wish they hadn't gone, but then as one congressman last week pressed me..but what should I as a congressman act on this resolution. I end up saying, "I rather that the marines not leave right now. Like Al's. But it is not a precise enough thing, and I just, when I ask in your conversation, we may be faced with a decision soon about how in fact we advise our Congressional friends.

PA: Chairman Howard

Robert Horowitz I would like to come back to the discussion that was raised on each INAUDIBLE and I really don't think it was complete.

I think there is a larger part of the equation there. My own personal feelings is that Egypt is reacting very much in her own interest, and partially in the interest of Israel, which might sound a little strange. She of course has economic needs which should partially be met by the United States and also of course, by the Saudis, and other members of the region. I think her move is very calculated and from an Israelie standpoint, not altogether bad. As long as it is Israel and Egypt that keep the war equasion away from each other, and I think that is a given in the region, although I certainly have nothing to base it on. Having said that, I think that the Egyptian chip in the bargaining on the west Bank now becomes very important. Again, Israel gave up great amounts of territory. Gave up oil and got a piece of paper which we all know is turning a little bit yellow. That is a very valuable chip when you begin talking on the West Bank, and I think that maybe these two gentlemen I would like to hear from on this particular subject.

~~PA: AL~~

Gordon Luchs I think that the failure on the part of Egypt to comply with the spirit and the letter of the Camp David accord is going to prove to be one of the more serious obstacles to advancing the peace process that has occurred since Sadat changed the reality-- and went to Jerusalem. I think that the government of the United States has failed to exert sufficient pressure on the Egyptians, to cause compliance. I think that the government of the United States mistakenly believed that the re-entry of the Egyptians into

the Arab world, justifies the non-compliance on the part of the Egyptians, which we publicly disapprove, we're not willing to do the tough thing that are necessary in order to express our displeasure. Because the signature of the United States is on that document as well. The credibility of the United States is the advocate for that process is on the line. We will no longer be credible as a honest broker in any future negotiations if this particular document isn't honored in both letter and spirit. I view that as a very, very, substantial and serious obstacle to the advancement of peace, and I feel that Israel has been short changed by the world community, and particularly the the United States in failing to exert more leverage on the Egyptians.

Alfred Noyes I find myself in a radical position supporting an administration that I didn't vote for, and tried to see that he was not elected. I think that the Regan administration has done all that it can in trying to persuade the Egyptians to be more forthcoming. The tangible results have not been all that has been desired, but we do not control Mubarcic, and more than we control Shamir. Mubarcic did as a result of U.S. proding send a Deputy Assistant Secretary to the State of Israel for negotiations. He has not returned his Ambassador. We have gone indirectly in requesting that of Mubarcic at the very highest levels of our government, and we have not been successful seeking to do so. The fact that the Egyptians have not, in the Israelie view, been as forthcoming as their commitment, obliging them to, has made no more for those within Israel who look for an

opportunity to negotiate an overall settlement, to be able to be effective in persuading to those who adhere to a more hard line view, and adopt the argument that a piece of paper is only that, and after it is signed and the Israelies withdraw from the West Bank, and parts of Guzza, will be back to a situation of no war/no peace. The Psychological impact within Israel of Egypts action has had negative consequences for the hope for peace within Israel. In terms of where Egypt is likely to go, I will give the predictions. Not mine, but it is President Carters. His view and he speaks with some frequency with Mubaric as he does with Hassad, and to the Israles. His understanding from Mubaric is, that the peace will hold, the treaty will be adhered to if not in all respects, certainly in its most essential parts, unless the Israelies were to move with regard to the West Bank and Gazza. That ^{would} / produce an Egyptian revocation of the peace treaty.

~~Elmer~~ Elmer *W. Winter*

↳ I would like to take a moment if I may, to follow up on Al's very good presentation on the economic problems facing Israel. As you perhaps know, there is a group of us who are very heavily involved in trying to expand the business relations between the U.S. and Israel. I think as Howard said tonight, in Jewish life there is bad news and there is good news. I think Al very ably presented the situation as existed up until late November. I think these two very significant events taken place. We have to keep in mind as part of the good news, #1, as Fordy referred the November 29th discussions and the agreement between Shamir and our President. Growing out of

those agreements, will be a great number of goodies, really for Israel, in terms of the grants, instead of loans. The repair of American ships in Israel, coproduction of planes and a whole number of things including the free trade area which I think is a great significance if that comes about. Some of us may be testifying on the free trade area before Senator Gold's Committee in another week or two. I think we have that very important event on those agreements to keep in front of us, something that will be very constructive and very helpful to Israel. Secondly, Al mentioned on Mr. Abbadore the Finance Minister, and the problems that he created for Israel. Abbadore resigned. There is a new man in there now, a man in name of Cohen or God (orgad). That happens to be the initials of his grandchildren that help distinguish from another Y. Cohen in Israel. Keep in mind that Mr. Y. Cohen/Orgad is very well received in the business community in Israel. I was there, he was just begin brought into government. I talked to the heads of manufacturing Association for example, have great confidence in this man. He has a determination which exports of Israel at least expands 10-15% a year. Cut back on the imports to reduce the high deficits which they have in the balance of payments which runs 4-5 billion dollars a year. That, obviously is terribly hard for the Israelies to absorb. Now, he recognizes, and I think we all have to recognize that Israel has a 21 billion dollar debt, a tremendous amount for a little county. I think again we have to put that in proper perspective. 75% of that debt is in friendly hands. The hands of the U.S. Government, and the

German Government, with a very small part of it being in the hands of bankers. The bankers are not knocking on the doors of Israel to collect money. This is not Brazil, not Argentina, not Poland. I think we have got to, what's coming into the press quite often, and I think we have got to stand up and say-"this is not the true story for Israel". Why? Cohen Ogad has brought in some very important changes, we have to keep in mind the Israelis as a result of that have bitten the economic bullet. I think the standard of living will decline by 10%, but I think the Israelis, if you talk to them as I have, are expecting that to happen, can see that it can happen without seriously effecting their standard of living. The subsidies in Israel have been cut by 50%-Y. Cohn Ogad is saying "we have got to cut the budget". He started with a billion, now its down to 600 million. He has the same problems that we have in this country, with cutting the defense for example. But I am confidant that they will make the cuts in the budget, they simply have to make the cuts. He will do it because he is the type of person, I think, that can gain support of business and the government. So, when you hear the horror stories coming out in the press room relating to Israel's economic mess, it called, whatever, these descriptions are, keep in mind if you will that the infrastructure of the country is stron. There are 20,000 scientist and engineers at work. There are 150 American Companies at work in Israel making money. They wouldn't be there unless they were making money. When you go to Jerusalem, go visit the new plant that has been put up by Intel. Intel is one of the American leading electronic

manufacturers. They make the silicon wafers. They put this 140 million dollar factory, and I am sure it will do well because of the opportunities that exist for them in Israel. So, I am just asking you when you hear these stories, for example, on inflation; keep in mind that the inflation is offset by the linkage in the salaries that people get. There are adjustments that are made, in the salaries to correspond with inflation. Keep in mind that the American companies over there, and other foreign companies are getting the advantage of a 30% devaluation in the shekkel. Every time now that the shekkel is devalued further, and there is an offsetting and compensating adjustment in the dollar value for these American companies. That's all.

I have a certain degree of optimism for what I see ahead for the Israelie economy. Yes, it is going through this turmoil, going through the readjustment. I think the infra structure of this country is strong. There are groups of us who are saying expressed tonight that Israel has to get to a point where she can stand on her own two feet. It is dangerous for Israel today, everything is fine, our government, I don't recall a time mentioned that the relationship has been as good or better Israel and the US, but I don't know what will happen next year, the following year, depending on the political problem. But we to, it seems to me, to do our very best to help Israel become financially independent. It may take 5, 6 or 10 years, but I think we in this organization some day will talk a little more about it and play a roll in helping Israel reach this independence.

Other organization now Federations are joining with us. Young leaderships, The U.J.A. is joining with us, Beni Brith, and I think you will find that today these organizations want to add another dimension to what they are doing. Charitable contributions, fine, they are needed today, but long term, the Israelies are going to have to stand on their own feet. So I think where ever we can, talking to people in the business community, I think we can help Israel by trying to interest investors to go over to Israel, by trying to expand the exports in Israel in exchange for technology. I hope that you will leave the meeting with a little better about the future of the economy that I think the Israelies are going to pull out.

~~PA: Audience Respondent~~

Richard Schiff I would like to comment to Al's observation that it is difficult to be a counselor to the prince, and it is very nice to be able to take the high road. Unfortunately, I don't know of many nations in the world that have been formed and survived by taking the high road. Most nations have been formed and survived by bloodshed. Israel itself, from the day of its formation has only survived from its creation up to the present day by shedding blood. It has to rely on itself. The treaties that have been made were treaties in most cases of convenience. Whether it was Eisenhower's agreement to not allow Egypt to block the straits, or the pressures for Israel to make the Egyptian deal today. The survival of Israel in the long term is a question of its own strength and its ability to make, what I would call unfortunately, alliances of convenience. Its an old apperism in

international politics, there are no long term alliances. There are really short term interest, and in the crudest way I would like to ask Al and Gordy; At the present time there is a political environment in the United States where perhaps Israel can make an accommodation in connection with the withdrawal of the marines. How would you recommend that Israel go about participating perhaps and effectuating this result?

~~DA:~~

Gordon Lucks I'd like to suggest that if the United States would concluded an agreement quickly on strategic cooperation with Israel. That included repositioning of equipment in Israel. That included joint military exercises publicly in Israel. That the message would be sent clearly and decisively to the entire region. That the United States is not abandoning its interest in the region, and in the context of that kind of an environment, I believe with dignity and grace, the American marines could be withdrawn to the ships, and then from the ships, ultimately brought home.

Al Morse Gordy, I don't quarrel with that. That a big "if", those things do not come about so quickly, --So that it would be accomplished within the next 6, 8, 10 months. It will be good if paper agreements are arrived at in that time frame to actually pre positioning to have joint military maneuvers with over flights of F-15's, ships of Israel Naval Vessels, and U.S. Naval Vessels in coordinated exercises. A show of strength in the area is not likely to occur in any significant way. Certainly within a period of months. I don't know therefore the answer.

~~PA: Norman~~

41.

As to whether this time the Israelies can facilitate the excidus of the marines by supplying the factors that are missing in terms of showing an ongoing U.S. committment to defend its vital interest in the region, despite its withdrawal of marines without receiving something in return. That is INAUDIBLE I don't know an answer to it, I don't think our government does at his point. Richard Schiffter, I don't think our government does at this point either. Pardon me Richard Schifter pointed out to me after I last spoke, that I may have made clear Mubaric's view. It isn't simply and Israel move to regard to the west bank and Guzza. That terms are too indefinite and could lead to a misunderstanding. What I was seeking to imply by use of the term move would be if the Israelies would incorporate the West Bank and Gazza.

~~PA: Tom~~ Bob

Robert hoodkirk Al, the subject is the West Bank and I did not want to rise and talk about it, and as I have been debating whether to rise or not. Im really struck by what Rita said last night, That we are really weary. It seems to me that this Board is weary. That nobody has risen to really question what were for me, somewhat astonishing statements coming from you at the end of your talk, regarding the West Bank. I have this feeling that despite the fact that you were so eloquent in opposition to Norman the other night, that you might have been ? INAUDIBLE
As I recall last yeager Al, its no secret that you were a leader

~~PA: Bob~~

42.

among the officers, I am busy about a revival from spaces or paralysis in this Committee to lead us and this Board, and the committee, to a principal statement on the West Bank. Of which I was most proud. Now, tonight one year later or even less than a year later, it seems to me that you have renounced that. You say, if I understood you correctly, and I want you to clarify hopefully, you'll assuage my feelings. You seem to be saying that we can no longer take that principal position, and that you anticipate that and this committee will be forced to take the position of the Israelie Government which by definition of our statement last year is unprincipaled position, and I would really like you to clarify your ambiguous statements at the end, and indicate if indeed I am right that you have changed your position? What has taken place?

~~PA: AL~~

AL Moses Fair question Bob and I foresaw some vagueness in my remarks despite my efforts to be clearer. My position is that the statement that we adopted last year was right. It was right in March of 1983. It is right in January of 1984. In 1977 I stood before this Board and asked that this Board adopt a policy of opposing the settlement of the loan Mored which had no military significance whatsoever, but, was a test case with regards to whether the Israelies could expropriate private Arab property in the interest of settlement without a security connection. I couldn't get this Board to act at that time. I signed partition. I spoke to the Israelies. I thought it was a mistake cause I thought it was sending Israels in a direction

which would lead where I see, Israel going in the future. What I foresee for the next period ahead of us, Bob whether it occurs next year or the year behind is one where the United States government position and the Israel government position will defer on this issue and if the Israees will in one form or another be asserting claims to sovernty with regards to the West Ban and they will be justifying those claims on the basis of Israel security interests and the Israeli government will by and large support that position, whether it be labor or LeCord, and what I foresee is that this body like other Jewish organizations in the United States, will under the circumstances have a difficult choice presented at the time, not a broad policy statement but having to decide basically whether we're going to have to support Israel, in Israel's claims to continuing sovernty with some concessions orwhether we're going to stick to the American government position of terrotory for peace which means there is no political presence on the part of the Israelis government beyond a line where there's 67 border or something else. That we're going to come down closer to the Israel side then the American side. I foresee that because were not going to have in the term used before. The luxury to make everything come out right. The statement that we adopted last year was in the right statement. It does embody in my view making everything come out right. We are in that statement confidence of providence. But, when push comes to shove, Bob you and I are going to have to decide in our heart of hearts when the issue is right there on the table and the United States government is the point

that is appealing to the United States public, and the Congress for support and the Israelies are screaming that this is going to effect the future security fo the State of Israel. It's going to be a very difficult choice and what I'm suggesting is--A) We should be prepared for it and, B) Even those such as myself who have opposed the settle-ment policy in respect that previously mentioned will probably under those circumstances find that my sympathies lie more with the Israelies position, given my concerns with security wellbeing of the State of Israel.

~~PA: Gordy~~

Gordon Lacks I have to rise to protest the use of the words in principal in characterizing the policies of the government of Israel. I don't think that was incorporated in our statement and I don't think that is an accurate reflection of the debate. Secondly, relative to the West Bank and the ultimate disposition of it. I wish that in my heart of hearts, I could invision the kind of circumstances that in fact would bring that kind of tension over that issue to the fourth. I don't see any high probability of Hussein moving forward to negotiate on behalf of the Palastinians, and in the absence of Hussein doing it, I don't see any effort on the part of the Israelies or the part of the United States to encourage an endeginous alternative West Bank Arab leadership to emerge and come forward to advance the interest of the Palastinians, and serve as a alternative negotiating party. In the absence of one of the two events, I don't see movement. Now, one thing that Al said in his remarks, is the two people who had the greatest impact

on where we are today in Israel. Are Aaridare and Sharom. Its interesting because in the meeting that we had with Perez, Perez made an observation that the tragedy of the Palestinians is that they have not had a Weitzman or a Ben Gurion. That Weitzman had the greatness to compromise space, and the tragedy of the Palestinian people in that they haven't had a leader willing to compromise with time or with space. The problem is not readiness, willingness of the government of Israel, which ever that government will be. The problem is the absence of a negotiating partner who's willing to come forward and negotiate on the issue of time and space.

~~PA: Bill~~

Phil Hoffman Despite what Gordy just said, I would like to call attention to an attitude which I think provides this meeting, and even its INAUDIBLE that we have not seen anything like before, and ask whether or not I am correct in my sensing of this. I think that up until this 1982 ^{3 M.E. Statement} paper was it, at least up until that time, our attitude was do nothing. Pro Israel don't deal with any of Israele's enemies. Don't provide the Saudis with AWACS. Don't do this, that or the other thing stay put. Don't ask Israel to give anything away with respect to the West Bank. Ask it to stop perhaps, continued settlement for the time being. Now, I see an attitude, it seem to me to prevade this audience to take changes. To perhpas send the Jordanians with the Rapid Deployment Army to send it to them, probably let them use under of course, very controlled circumstances from our point of view. To keep the marines where they are, as long as they are

able to produce attitudes on the sides of the Arabs and the Syrians etc. That may work towards peace. To do that with respect to the West Bank, which may in general produce a give away of part of the West Bank in exchange for peace. God knows if we more of those things and we always known this, but we haven't known what to do. God knows if we do some of these things or something like them. There will never be peace, I mean Israel may annex the West Bank for nothing, which just might prove to be the worse horrible thing for its own sake, that Israel ever did/ But it wouldn't bring peace. Nothing will bring peace, except some sort of alliance, some sort of working in concert with the more moderate, perhaps, I know a very, very awful term to use, and for a more moderate of Israel enemies, such as the Saudis. Such as the Jordanians, and I sense a movement, a consensus of a movement and feeling towards a willingness to take that kind of a risk rather than that kind of a risk that we have taken in the past. Am I wrong in this consensus?

~~PA: ? Response from Audience~~

Al Moses Bill, I agree with your analysis. Israel's ultimate security depends upon its finding a place in the military equation. The balance of power in the middle, that's how Israel survived for a 1000 years in Biblical times, Sometimes, it bet on the wrong horse. It bet on the Egyptians and the Babylonians captured Jerusalem, and Jeremiah went into exile into Egypt. It bet on the wrong horse. If it were possible, to bring about an Egyptian, Jordanian, Saudi access in which Israel fit against a more radical confederation or grouping

of states such as Syria, Iraq, etc., that would be a possible conventional way in which Israel could exist in that part of the world. Just as European, western European countries existed under similarly turbulent times, for some 300-400 years, in the treaty its west failure through World War II. There were alliances and more skillful effective foreign ministers and chancellors, the persons such as Bismarck knew that and effected such kinds of alliances.

Israel has not had that luxury, because no Arab government up until now, Egypt included, have been willing to come forward and ally with Israel against any other country in the Arabworld. So until that occurs, Israel peace, Israel's security remains fragile. In terms of the other part of your question, the Rapid Deployment Force, I see that and I think Gordy does too, as being largely extraneous to the Arab/Israelie equasion and certainly U.S. policy makers do. They see the Rapid Deployment Force in terms of having an effective means within the Arab world to respond to a limited military incursion with a limited military response. It does not involve the use of U.S. forces.

~~PA: Speaker #2~~

Gordon Lucks I would just like to make two observations, No. 1, that the moderate Arabs including Egypt, with whom Israel negotiated a treaty, if they want to forward Egypt has to live by the treaty. You can't expect Israel to give up the land, and give up the oil, give up the air basis and then get nothing substantial against what was expected in the return, and expect her to move forward with more risk.

in other areas where her security is more vulnerable. #2, It seems to me, in my here and now circumstances, I mean of my assessment of the circumstances in the middle east, that Israel going forward can avoid war through strength. That the key to Sadat moving forward was Israel's strength. The absence of that strength, Sadat would never have made the move to make peace. That sometime sooner or later, hopefully somebody else will come forward and say the only way to make some kind of accommodation in this region is to recognize that Israel is here. Now in the absence of that happening and I don't see another negotiating partner on the horizon, in the foreseeable future, in the absence of that happening, my concern for Israel's wellbeing and health, happens to be with the internal concerns that Al talked about both economic, spiritual in terms of attitude and feelings about itself, and its purpose. Even Jordan as a remote possibility, I don't see, I hope and pray that the King wakes up one morning and sees that his interests are in crossing that bridge. So far, I see no indication, I see a lot of movements but no progress.

PA: Rita

Rita Hausen I was going to forebare saying anything because I really confess being weary of this, but I have to say that I think this latter 10 minutes or so has been not very productive, and not a good way to go for this agency. First of all, Al, I can't see how anybody can predict any abstract where we are going to come out, in the event this or that happens, because this is not going to be this and that, is not going to be that. The current situation is one in which no one can make any kind of prediction as to the development in the area,

with any degree of sanguinary. If the United States pulls out, and much as I would like to see that not happen for the sake of the stability of the region, I am convinced that by June the marines will be gone under one pretext or another, whatever it may be. The chaos that will unfold in the region is going to give forth all kinds of things that we not yet predictionable here. Everybody knows it, without knowing specifically what those events will be. If Syria manages to really take control of Lebanon as I think is somewhat inevitable if the marines pull out and the Israelies pull out. Then the next target is quite clearly King Hussein and we may be meeting here again to talk about not whether the King comes to the table, but, whether there is a King, and if there is no King Hussein, who replaces him and what set of circumstances and what movements and developments. The Iranian/Iraq war could take a very tumultuous turn. The Iranians revolution is here to stay despite what we would all like to see otherwise. There are too many complexities. I know Gordy you try to simplify a very complex Arab picture. But infinitely more complex than you presented, and its adacrucible now. This whole thing of currents and cross-currents and over currents, and under currents and having spent a lot of time with all sorts of people who study this continuously, I don't know anybody who has an estimate as to where we go. So I think what we have to do as an organization is to stick with the principal position that we took, my only regret is that we took it so late. We took it probably when the facts had been decided. The current thinking in sophisticated quarters about eh west Bank of

whether anybody will be interested in it. Is what's called share condominium. They don't discuss sovereignty. The Israelis know, that if nothing happens on the West Bank and they stay there, they won't absorb the West Bank literally. They won't take it over. They won't annex it because the consequences are too severe to do that, both at home and externally. But, they park there, for the indeterminate future, and they will talk about sharing a condominium, or sharing sovereignty and they will come forth with the idea that the Jordanians, if there is a Jordanian Parliament, and the Israelis can vote in the Knesset and they won't be so refined as to figure out who exactly owns the area. It is a very nebulous position, and that's the one, the more sophisticated thinkers are going. I don't know that we can say, and I don't even think we should entertain the idea of where we would be in the event there was a frontal conflict between the United States and Israel, because I doubt that it's going to come out in that light. I think everybody in here is really troubled at the way events have unfolded and for me if there's anything it teaches me again, that we ought to have been braver and truer and more honest to ourselves than we were in the past. But now in the moment of truth is coming, it's all going to be too late.

PA: AI

I was urging the statement long ago when I was seeking support from you and others, and I'm delighted that we are now in concurrence on this issue. I also agree Rita with your observation which really doesn't originate with you. It was that

great Jewish Punden, Sam Goldwyn, that all predictions are risky particularly those which deal with the future. I have no more predictions than you, and I think your predictions are as good as mine. I did as you know, write a piece about a year ago, before Dan Alazzar and Shamael came out with their share of sovereignty, which was very much along those lines, and it was my view that the ideal solution to the problem was one of putting aside sovereignty. Let the Arabs claim Jordanian citizenry, if they wished, and vote in the Jordanian Parliament and the Israelies would have right to vote in the Knesset and there would be areas where the Israelies could settle. The settlement would continue but there would be no further settlement achieved. Israelies could live where ever they want. But the recognition would be that Israelies would not be moving into areas that are heavily populated by the Arabs, unless it was through expropriation and the Israelies would continue to have the right to expropriation. They would continue to have a military presence in the West Bank and no other sovereignty power could have forces on the west bank. Shaval and Alazzar come up with much the same theory, which just goes to prove that everyone is inventing the electric light bulb at the same time. If that comes about Hallavare, I hope it does and I agree with you in general observations Rita, that we can not now predict what position we should take, and to discuss a certain feeling of onwe, but I want this group, to at least know my feeling, that this issue can well come to the floor, whether it does or not, none of us knows, and if it does, we may be in a position in which many of us, will be uncomfortable.

But it may be inevitable, and I share the discomfort that Bob Goodkind expressed and I know you feel also Rita, you being of a one mind on this.

PA: Speaker-Chairman

Any other Questions please? Mel..

PA: MEL *Melians*

Gordy, you were talking about the possible solution to the movement of the marines out of Lebanon, by a very quick action from the new point of the United States placing arms and munitions in Israel, and also Israele-American manuveres that means, American troops going into Israel and performing a set of manuveres there. You didn't speak about the possible continued presence of American troops, and my question is A) American troops in Israel 1) Is it good for Americans? 2) Is it good for Israel? and, 3) Is it good for Amreican Jews?

PA: Gordy

My opinion, the answer to all three questions is basically, No. That I don't think the Israelies had ever asked for, nor do they want American troops permanently present inside of Israel. Nor have they asked for, nor do they want American troops fighting alongside of Israele troops in the event that there is a war. What they are talking about, is the kind of operation that the Americans conducted under the Bright Star, which was simply joint manuveres that take place in time and place and then the Americans withdraw. But, it is contingency plans that are then implemented and tested under the

the joint command of Americans and Egyptians, and that what we are talking about now, is American-Israel, and Israel probably coordinated out of the 6th fleet. But, I think that would be good and that would be healthy. The thing that is on the agenda of the Americans and the Israelies political military talks right now, were/^aseries of contingency plans, that the Americans brought in, and that the Israelies brought in. As to what place under which there would be the need for joint action between America and Israel, and they are trying to refine what those would be, and then plan together, and then position equipment that would make it possible for certain things to happen together and then manuvres that would take place and the manuveres that are being done are not manuveres that would be in suport of America coming to Israel's aid in an Arab Israel kind of war. The kinds of things that they will be talking about one thing that involves the Russians. Where America would be taking action in support of Americans interest against the threat of something that is happening with the Russian. Thats what Bright Star was about. That's what this would be about.

H. Friedman PA: Speaker: I think we reached a point where we can ask Al and Gordy to give us about 5 minutes, summary and if there... I was asked to say something at the end. But it seems to me that there are two concurrent things going on right now. However, slim and however modest the movement that we are seeing on the part of the Jordanians, even the Egyptians a little bit, and even the West Bank people through there continued expressions of support for Arafat, are at least modestly hopeful. They suggest at least the possibility of doing that which we had always said is the corner stone

of what it is, we are supporting, namely calling for an open negotiation, and I don't share Al's pessimism that if that should occur, the Israelis would not be forthcoming. The stakes are so much higher for the Israelis. The passion for getting this thing resolved is a life and death struggle for them, and I can not believe that there would not be serious forthcoming posture on the part of the Israelis. In any event, we in order to be true to our own positions, should be welcoming that potential and we should take whatever modest kind of hope we can in those movements. But, in the same time, the other thing is happening, that is happening in Lebanon. Where there has been an enormous and serious shift in the balance of power. Very much the kind that I think Rita accurately described, which has truly gargantuan and potent consequences. What is at stake in these two concurrently occurring trends, is that with the Jordanians end of it, there is a continuation or at least a beginning of a response to the notion that the ultimate solution is negotiation, and in the other end in Lebanon. What is at stake, is precisely the opposite. Because what is really going on there is the insistence on the part of the Syrians that negotiations are not to be taken place with the Israelis. That the May 17th agreement must be forfeited. That the area its own sphere of control influences and I think Rita is absolutely right, that the consequences of a Syrian victory in the area are to be a threat against Jordan, and then who knows what's next? But the whole trend in that area has escalated to the point where now this country has a major stake. I don't see how we can avoid since we have always insisted in our support for the first

option of the negotiations and the notion that strength is required to produce negotiations and then negotiate, take place and the parties negotiated. I don't see how we can depart from the notion that we have a stake in upholding the notion of negotiation, and that we have a stake in seeing that the Syrians with Russian support do not accomplish their ends in Lebanon. And, if that means that the maintenance and I agree with Al on this, and that 1800 marines or twice that number, or ten times that number, that's what a marine is for. That's what the arm forces of a country are for, and for us to make the kind of withdrawal that is now being pressed upon our government, I believe is another forfeiture on the part of the United States which will have truly historic adverse consequences to our ability to conduct effective foreign affairs anywhere both in the middle east and elsewhere. So, I think we are going to have to face up, what it is we say about what's happening in Lebanon. I don't know whether Al's right? Two years down the pole, I have indicated that I believe the Israelies will not make it necessary to have the kind of choice that Al is talking about. But what I do know is that what we are facing right now, and will be facing for the next few weeks, and months. The most serious challenge to our own ability to maintain our notion and traditional stants. There is an American interest in this region. That it is that American interest that requires the support of Israel. That it is the support of the concept of negotiations resulting from the strength of Israel, that is what is today at stake here, and what's going to happen with the marines, if it happens the way Rita says it

will, and she may well be right. I think its important that we be standing up, and be counted. That we support basically where we are right now in Lebanon. That is to say with the necessary challenge. That calls for the withdrawal themselves, will be the most self-fulfilling prophecy of all. Because there's no reason in the world for either the Soviets or for the Syrians to do anything. If they know that Americans will is already collapsing with respect to that. Let me just close by reminding you of something that INAUDIBLE said many years ago, and which Henry Jackson used to quote all the time. "There has never been a scheme of justice in history, which did not have a balance of power at its foundation. If the Democratic nations fail, this failure must be partly attributed to the faulty strategy of idealist who have too many illusions when they face realist who have too little conscience", and there is precisely that which is at stake, we are witnessing a change in the balance of power of terribly serious consequences, and we must have the kind of realism both as Americans, and as supporters of Israel. That is designed to counter that.

Thank you very much. It's been a good evening.

END: 1/28/84

Miss Foy
707-0496

2/10/84

Tentative Agenda for Officers' Trip to France
Sat., Feb. 25--Friday, March 2

Sunday afternoon or evening--meet with French Jewish community leaders. Dinner, possibly.

MONDAY AND TUESDAY IN PARIS

Monday morning--A 2-hr. talk, "France Today," by Mr. Jacques Atelier, Chief Advisor to Pres. Mitterand mostly on domestic policy
Mar 2 ←

Monday afternoon--visit to U.S. Embassy

Meet with (unspecified day & time):

- ✓ Mme. Cresson, Minister of Trade Relations (former Minister of Agriculture) Possibly lunch on Monday.
- ✓ Mr. Lauren Fabius, Minister of Industry & Research
or
Mr. Fabius' cabinet director, Mr. Schweitzer
- ✓ Robert Badinter, Minister of Justice

~~Mr. Robert Banatier--individuals' human rights~~

Phillip Guerin, Dir., OECD →

not in Paris

~~Mr. Pisani, European Commission for Developing Countries
or
Mr. Pisani's chief advisor in Paris~~

- ✓ Mr. Charles Salzmann, chief advisor for foreign policy and high technology to Pres. Mitterand.
Meet with him at Elysee Palace

India

Mr. Louis Mermez, Pres. of National Assembly. member of Socialist party.

President of Franco-American assn.

President of France-Israel Assn.

Mr. Claude Cheysson, Minister of Foreign Affairs (deals with East-West relationships, foreign policy, Middle East, Africa)

Two French journalists: Mr. Jean Daniel, Ed.-in-Chief, Nouvel-Observiter, weekly magazine

Mr. Paul Balta, Ed.-in-Chief, Middle East sec. Le Monde, daily newspaper

Cardinal Lustiger

WEDNESDAY & THURSDAY IN MARSEILLES

Go there by train, return by plane

Stop off in Avignon Wednesday, visit to the oldest synagogue in France.

Meet in Marseilles:

✓ Mr. Gaston Defferre, Minister of the Interior (he's also Mayor of Marseilles) (the group may meet him here or in Paris)

~~Cardinal Etchegaray~~ *→ Paris*

Jewish community leaders

RETURN TO PARIS THURSDAY

Friday afternoon go to Grand Synagogue in Paris

Thursday afternoon visit Israel embassy



FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE

83/61



FRANCE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

"France is among the few countries that, through their positions, their influence in history, their friendships and their interests have for many years been designated as the traditional interlocutors of the peoples of the Middle East."

*President François Mitterrand
address to the Knesset, March 4, 1982*

"France is not offering to act as either arbiter or mediator. It has friendships on both sides and hopes to pool its efforts with those of a few others in order to bring about a state of peace."

*François Mitterrand, interview for
Austrian Broadcasting Company;
June 14, 1982*

PRESENCE - BALANCE - PEACE

"France's policy is one of presence, balance and peace.

"It is a policy of presence because France has had privileged relations in this part of the world for centuries, because our country is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and because we have been enriched by a great history and have special responsibilities that I intend to fulfill.

"It is a policy of balance based on three principles: the right of the people of Israel to live in peace, within the secure borders of a state that is recognized and respected by all; the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland and to set up the institutions of their choice; the right of the Lebanese people to regain the unity and independence that are being flouted today.

"It is a policy of peace because I believe that the only way to arrive at these ends is to choose negotiation over war. I seek peace because I believe the principles I have just mentioned will become reality only if we pursue this path."

*François Mitterrand, interview
on French TV, August 19, 1982*

A SINGLE OBJECTIVE: PEACE

"The right of the Middle East states to live in peace and security, and the right of the peoples of that area, as elsewhere, to self-determination are the simple creed of a policy that is stated everywhere in the same terms.

"It does not please everyone simultaneously. But I am sure that it is the way for France to earn or recover the respect and ultimately the friendship of all parties."

*François Mitterrand, interview in
Le Monde, November 26, 1982*

"None of us can forget what the Jewish people have undergone. But we want a return to peace in the Middle East; we want to see peace worked out by the countries and the peoples of this region among themselves, not dictated by the superpowers in the light of their own interests."

*Claude Cheysson, Minister of External
Relations, interview in the weekly
L'Unité, September 12, 1981*

"We have become 'activists' for peace. Each time we make a move or say something in a country the critics immediately start firing, not to say attacking, but we shall continue. Believing as we do in the possibility of peace in the Middle East, we are not going to be satisfied with saying this in a corner of our office every three months and for everything else do business with those who are willing to do so. No, we will go and say on the spot what we have to say.

"I have met with chairman Arafat and I have been to Jerusalem. More importantly, the French President will be going to Jerusalem one day. He has been to Saudi Arabia and he plans other visits. We will be 'activists.' Being 'activists' means that each time countries in the region, forces in the region, think we can play a useful role we will go provided they are the ones who ask for our services. If they ask the European Community, we will urge our partners to go."

*Claude Cheysson, interview on
Egyptian TV, January 1, 1982*

THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES - THE RIGHT OF STATES

• The Principles of a Settlement

"The right of all peoples in the region, including the Palestinian people, to express themselves through self-determination and to constitute their state.

"The right of all states, including Israel and the future Palestinian state, to develop in peace within internationally recognized borders.

"The need to deal with the problems through a negotiation that encompasses all the interested countries and peoples, and in this instance the representative of the Palestinian people is in our view the PLO.

"Lastly, the refusal to accept any unilateral change, any change by force, of an international decision and in particular a decision by the United Nations."

*Claude Cheysson, press conference
Riyadh, May 30, 1982*

"Dialogue implies that each party can pursue its rights to their logical conclusion. For the Palestinians, as for the others, this may eventually mean a state."

*François Mitterrand, address to
the Knesset, March 4, 1982*

"When speaking of security, it is appropriate to speak of the security of all the states in the area since this is also a concern in Syria and Jordan. In my view, the technical responses-- in the form of international guarantees, an international presence, the presence of allies--should be very similar in order to deal with Israel's security and, separately of course, the security of Jordan and Syria."

Claude Cheysson, interview in the weekly Tribune Juive, November 5, 1982

"We want to see peace worked out by the countries and the peoples of this region among themselves, not dictated by the superpowers in the light of their own interests."

Claude Cheysson, interview in L'Unité, September 12, 1981

"No one can decide on the borders or conditions that will apply on the basis of United Nations Resolution 242, to the parties in question. This is an issue for the negotiators and the negotiators alone."

François Mitterrand, address to the Knesset, March 4, 1982

SPEAKING THE SAME LANGUAGE TO ALL

"Another principle which itself comes close to being a method: It appears to me very difficult to be able to make progress without prior and mutual recognition on the part of those who are fighting each other, those who ignore each other. We are well aware that we are still far from this since the interested parties, whose decision is of the first importance, I refer to Israel and the representatives of the Palestinians, mutually reject any such recognition.

"Everything must be encouraged to make dialogue possible, based on intentions which should be spelled out. Such a dialogue, if undertaken, would lead to this mutual recognition. I want to say that as a preliminary someone has to speak. We fervently hope

that not only the PLO, but also all the Arab countries, will recognize Israel's right to exist. And we hope that Israel will recognize the Palestinians' right to self-determination."

François Mitterrand, press conference, Cairo, November 25, 1982

"I have kept to the same language everywhere. In Algiers, alongside President Boumedienne, speaking live on television, I told the Algerians that nothing would be possible until they recognized Israel's right to exist. I said the same thing in Cairo, to Sadat, before the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. Similarly, every time I have been in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem I have always told my Israeli friends that they should allow the Palestinians the possibility of having a homeland. So I have spoken the same language to one and all. I am a friend of Israel, and I shall do nothing to endanger Israel's existence or its means to exist but I do not think that it is realistic to pretend that the Palestinian problem does not exist."

François Mitterrand, interview in The New York Times, June 4, 1981

LEBANON

"Let us think about Lebanon, as a nation, as a state, whose independence, integrity, unity and sovereignty are, to our eyes, sacred and must be defended and supported whatever happens."

"1. We hope to see Lebanon's sovereignty, integrity and unity reestablished in concrete form.

"2. We ask that Security Council resolutions 508 and 509 on the cease-fire and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory be respected, and likewise we hope that all foreign armies will leave Lebanon, excepting a decision to the contrary from the international community with the agreement of the legitimate government of Lebanon.

"3. We ask that the safeguard and the protection of the Lebanese and Palestinian populations be assured and that help to the victims of the recent events reach them without delay:

"4. We appeal for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to be recognized and respected.

"5. We ask that the internationally recognized borders of each country in the region be respected and guaranteed.

"The two governments will act in accordance with these principles."

*Joint Franco-Austrian Declaration
on Lebanon, Vienna, June 17, 1982*

"Each time the Lebanese government asked for French participation France was willing to help, first in security efforts to contain the effects of war, then to deploy a force of interposition, and lastly to bring about the desired situation, that is, independence and unity once again. France is prominent in the force of interposition and even provided the first contingents present on Lebanese soil."

*François Mitterrand, press
conference, Cairo, November 25, 1982*

ISRAEL

"French policy on the Middle East is the same as that which I defined when I was a candidate and I have had no reason to change it since I was elected president. Israel has the right to exist and to have the means and guarantees to do so. In a book published at the end of 1980, I wrote: 'Two peoples for the same land. Two peoples and centuries that testify for them. Is a person an extremist just because he wants a homeland?' The Jewish people have won the right to live on a land on which their ancestors left an ineradicable impression over the ages, a land that continues to prosper in their care. But others have lived, worked, suffered and hoped in this narrow area of the world: I am thinking of the Palestinians. It is impossible to deny them their right to

a homeland. No one has yet been able to solve this problem and it would be tragic to leave its solution to the hazards of relations of force."

*François Mitterrand, interview in
the monthly L'Arche, February 24, 1982*

"The Israeli government is convinced that we are friends because the principles we have enunciated from the start have remained unchanged. These principles include Israel's right to live in peace under normal conditions--something it has not been allowed to do since its existence. We are totally committed on this point--our commitment might entail the most serious consequences, one day, if Israel were threatened. So in this respect there is not the slightest ambiguity. The Israelis know that they can count on France's support."

*Claude Cheysson, interview in
Paris Match, July 8, 1982*

"I don't agree that Israel should be regarded as a country not to be visited, a people to be ignored. They are a great people and it is admirable the way they have built up their country which deserves protection and security. The state of insecurity in which they find themselves has led to an internal policy whose external projections I often refuse to accept and at times condemn. That's the real state of affairs."

*François Mitterrand, press conference
Paris, June 9, 1982*

"Each time I have met an Arab head of state--and I have met many-- I have advised him to recognize the state of Israel, as I have advised the Palestinian representatives I have had the occasion to meet. My policy is inspired by respect for Israel, by a rejection of all discrimination toward that country, but also by freedom of action for France whenever the balance in this region of the world might be threatened by a unilateral act."

*François Mitterrand, interview on
French TV, August 17, 1982*

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

"I tell the Israelis in reference to the Palestinian people: 'Even if you have refused to recognize this people since they were put in camps, defeated, they have nonetheless proved their existence as a people and even confirmed the fact of their nationhood.' There is nothing like resistance, war, struggle and suffering to confirm the existence of a people. This people exists. Denying them recognition makes peace in the Middle East impossible. We have always said this. We will continue to do so."

Claude Cheysson, remarks to the Arab press, December 14, 1982

"As President Mitterrand said well before he was elected--if the right of a people to a homeland is recognized, what is going to become of this right? The people are going to want to have their own state. So let us say it--let us say the words, Palestinian state."

Claude Cheysson, on Egyptian TV

"I don't decide the perimeter of a future Palestinian state. I have no idea what it will be. It will be up to the negotiators to determine the frontiers and into the bargain the guarantee for those frontiers."

"By contrast, I have always said that if the question arose, it would do so first of all in the West Bank and Gaza and that while it was impossible for me to define the contours, I can nevertheless foresee its center."

François Mitterrand, press conference, Paris, June 9, 1982

THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

"We consider the PLO the representative of the Palestinian struggle. This is the same expression the French President used during his official visit to Saudi Arabia. By contrast, we do not think that there can be one representative of the Palestinian people so long as this people has not attained its full rights--that

is acquired a state. I would like to point out that this position is shared by all the European countries. The PLO, representing as it does the Palestinian struggle, is an essential partner to the negotiations. There cannot be peace if the Palestinians are not at the table, and at the table it is the PLO that represents the struggle."

*Claude Cheysson, press conference,
Abu Dhabi, June 20, 1982*

"The mission of French troops in Lebanon was to ensure the departure of Palestinian fighters from West Beirut in security and dignity. The aim was to save the leadership of the PLO which, among other things, was threatened with actual elimination. By doing so we sought to preserve the chances for a political dialogue with the PLO in accordance with the position France has consistently maintained. Since the start of the Israeli invasion, France has continued to advocate that Palestinian renunciation of the military path should be met with recognition of this organization's major political role."

*Pierre Mauroy, address to the
National Assembly, September 12, 1982*

SUPPORTING EFFORTS FOR PEACE

"France will greet dialogue or an approach to dialogue with approval, as it will view with concern any unilateral action on either side that delays the advent of peace."

*François Mitterrand, address to
the Knesset, March 4, 1982*

• The Peace Between Egypt and Israel

"I think it is a good thing that Egypt and Israel have made peace. I have often said that two countries that are at war certainly have the right to make peace between themselves. A comprehensive settlement would be desirable but it has not succeeded. A partial settlement is perhaps not enough but it has succeeded. So let us be practical. For my own part, I prefer the Israelis and the Egyptians to be at peace rather than at war. Moreover, I am very concerned about Israel's security. It is important for Israel to have an accord with Egypt."

*François Mitterrand, interview in
The Washington Post, June 18, 1981*

④ The Franco-Egyptian Plan

"The Franco-Egyptian plan, or put another way, Europe's position, since the Egyptian plan repeats the June 29 Declaration of the European Council almost word for word, seems to us more complete than the two others. As the foreign affairs ministers of the Ten said at their last meeting, we believe that the Franco-Egyptian plan constitutes a preliminary outline for an eventual settlement."

*Claude Cheysson, press conference,
New York, September 27, 1982*

④ President Reagan's Speech at Burbank

"The address is very interesting because it represents an overture that might make it possible for negotiations to begin and for this reason it deserves to be supported in our view. But it represents only one overture and the negotiations would obviously have to go beyond what is explicitly stated in President Reagan's address."

*Claude Cheysson, interview with the
Kuwait News Agency, November 8, 1982*

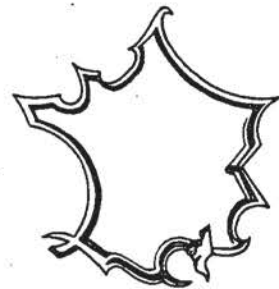
④ The Fez Declaration

"The Arab countries meeting in Fez made other proposals. Some of them repeated the proposals of the then Prince Fahd who has since become the King of Saudi Arabia. As I said at the time, in Saudi Arabia at Taif, in the presence of Prince Fahd, we considered this plan--these proposals--a good way to open dialogue even though we reserved our opinion as to the stated goals and conditions, some of which we believe would be difficult to achieve. But in any case the mere fact of beginning talks, by taking into account the existence of the other, would be a step forward. We have to look at all the progress that has been made. The move at Fez takes its inspiration from this, even if the emphasis placed on the various conditions differs in one or two places. France's position remains the same: reservations with regard to certain objectives, endorsement of the method."

*François Mitterrand, press conference,
Cairo, November 25, 1982*

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION DIVISION



CLAUDE CHEYSSON

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS

AMERICAN JEWISH

Claude Cheysson, a career diplomat and member of the Commission of the European Communities, was named French Minister of External Relations on May 22, 1981 and reappointed on June 23 of that year. Mr. Cheysson was reconfirmed in his position in the third cabinet of Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, March 22, 1983.

Mr. Cheysson began his career in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1948. He represented his government at the German constituent assembly in Bonn in 1948 and 1949, and from 1949 to 1952 headed the French liaison office with the new Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1952 he served as adviser to the president of the Vietnamese government. He was appointed to head the staff of Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Mendès France in 1954; in 1956 Mr. Cheysson became technical adviser to the staff of Alain Savary, secretary of state in charge of Moroccan and Tunisian affairs, beginning a long period of involvement with African affairs. He served as secretary general of the Commission on Technical Cooperation in Africa from 1957 to 1962 and later was chief administrator of the Saharan Organization from 1962 to 1965. Named minister plenipotentiary in 1965, Mr. Cheysson returned to the Far East as ambassador to Indonesia in 1966 and served there until 1969.

Between 1970 and 1973 Mr. Cheysson was president of the board of directors of *Entreprise Minière et Chimique* and has been affiliated since 1968 with the company that publishes the Paris daily, *Le Monde*.

Mr. Cheysson was a member of the European Commission from 1973 to May 1981. Entrusted with Community relations with the developing nations, he was responsible for drawing up the Lomé agreements, a comprehensive trade and aid arrangement between the EEC and nearly 60 African, Caribbean and Pacific nations.

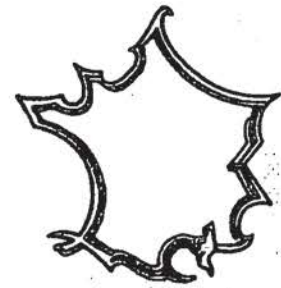
Chaude Cheysson was born on April 13, 1920 in Paris. A graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, he took part in the liberation of France as an officer of General Leclerc's armored division. He is an officer of the Legion of Honor and holds the Croix de Guerre with three citations.

5/83



FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE



JACQUES ATTALI

SPECIAL ADVISER TO PRESIDENT MITTERRAND

Jacques Attali, an economist and senior official of the Council of State, is special adviser to President François Mitterrand. Mr. Attali's connection with Mr. Mitterrand dates from 1976 when the then First Secretary of the Socialist party appointed him adviser. Mr. Attali became a member of the party's steering committee the following year and in 1979 was named special assistant to Mr. Mitterrand. Mr. Attali headed the Mitterrand election team during the 1981 successful presidential campaign. He was appointed special adviser to the President on May 23, 1981.

A graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique, the Institut d'Etudes Politiques and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA), Mr. Attali is a professor of economics at the Ecole Polytechnique and lectures at the University of Paris. He has been Director of Seminars at ENA since 1974.

In addition to teaching, Mr. Attali is head of the series "Economie en liberté" published by the Presses universitaires de France (PUF). He sits on the executive board of the quarterly, *Autrement*, and on the editorial board of the periodical, *Socialisme et Economie*.

Mr. Attali is active in several organizations including the National Council of the United Jewish Social Fund and the International Action Committee Against Hunger.

Mr. Attali is a prolific writer and has published the following works: *Analyse économique de la vie politique*, 1972; *Modèles politiques*, 1972; *L'Anti-économique*, 1974; *La Parole et l'outil*, 1975; *Libertés, libertés*, in collaboration, 1976; *Bruits*, 1977; *La Nouvelle économie française*, 1977; *L'Ordre cannibale*, 1979; *Les Trois mondes*, 1981; *Histoire du temps*, 1982.

Jacques Attali was born in 1943 in Algiers. He is married and has one son.

2/84

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE



LOUIS MERMAZ

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Louis Mermaz, Socialist deputy from the department of Isère, was a member of the National Assembly from 1967 to 1968 and again from 1973 on, winning election in 1973, 1978 and 1981. He was elected president of the National Assembly in 1981.

He served as Minister of Equipment and Transportation in the first Mauroy cabinet (May 22-June 23, 1981).

Within the Socialist party, Mr. Mermaz has been a member of the steering committee since 1971 and the executive committee since 1975. From 1975 to 1979 he was the party's national secretary. During the 1981 presidential elections he was a delegate for Mr. Mitterrand.

In addition to his functions at the national level, Mr. Mermaz is active in local government. He is mayor of Vienne (pop. 26,000) in the Isère department, winning election in 1971, 1977 and 1983. He also chairs the Isère departmental general council (since 1976) and is a member of the regional council of the Rhône-Alpes (since 1973).

Louis Mermaz was born August 20, 1931 in Paris. He earned a doctoral degree in history and subsequently taught modern history at the university of Clermont-Ferrand. He has published three books: *Madame de Maintenon*, *Madame Sabatier* and *La Dynastie des Hohenzollern*.

Mr. Mermaz is married and has three children.

2/84

82/38

GASTON DEFFERRE

MINISTER OF STATE, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR AND OF DECENTRALIZATION

Gaston Defferre, mayor of Marseilles, was named Minister of State, Minister of the Interior and of Decentralization on May 22, 1981 in the first cabinet of Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and reappointed to that position in the second cabinet on June 23, 1981.

Mr. Defferre, a lawyer by profession, has served continuously as mayor of Marseilles since 1953 and also held the post briefly after the Liberation. A Socialist party member, he was either a deputy or senator from the Marseilles area (Bouches-du-Rhône department) from 1946 until he assumed his ministerial duties.

A veteran politician, Mr. Defferre, 70, has been Secretary of State to the Presidency of the Council, in charge of information (1946); Undersecretary of State for France Overseas (1946-1947); and Minister of the Merchant Marine (1950-1951). In 1956-1957, as Minister for France Overseas, he drafted legislation that was to grant autonomy to French overseas territories in Africa and to Madagascar.

Mr. Defferre became active in French Socialist politics during World War II, when he was a member of the party's clandestine executive bureau. Since then he has many times served as a representative of the Socialists or of the political left in local, regional and international bodies. He was president of the Socialist group in the National Assembly in 1962 and 1969. In 1974 he was named to the steering committee of the Socialist party and one year later to the party's executive bureau. In 1969 Mr. Defferre ran unsuccessfully against Georges Pompidou as the Socialist candidate for president.

During the war, as head of a Resistance network in the south of France, Mr. Defferre met with General de Gaulle on special missions to Algiers and London. He was also partially responsible for the publication of the first underground newspaper in southern France. After the war Mr. Defferre managed the daily newspaper *Le Provençal* in Marseilles, which gained popularity under his editorship.

Mr. Defferre holds a degree in law and a diploma for advanced studies in political science. He is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and was awarded the Croix de Guerre (1939-1945) and the Medal of the Resistance for his wartime activities. Born on September 14, 1910 in Marsillargues (southern France), Mr. Defferre has been married three times, currently to the former Edmondè Charles-Roux.

Mr. Defferre is the author of two books: *A New Horizon* (Gallimard, 1965) and *If Tomorrow the Left...* (Laffont, 1977).



Mr. Braunshvig, Mr. Levy and myself were very interested in your letter of January 17.

You know with what interest we followed your proposals during the visit that you made to us at the Alliance last Jan. 13th. We have been able to consider the value of the useful actions that you undertake in the various areas of your activity and to look with favor on the ideas of cooperation between our two organizations in areas of particular delicacy.

We will remain in close touch and in the hope of further meetings. Best wishes.



ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE
ALLISRUN-PARIS

TÉLÉPHONE : 280 35-00

C.C.P. PARIS N° 5616-22 P

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RÉFÉRENCE A RAPPELER
DANS VOTRE RÉPONSE :

GI/AG
RP/5608

PARIS, LE 27 janvier 1984

Chers amis,

Monsieur le Président Jules BRAUNSCHVIG, M. Jacques LEVY et moi-même avons été particulièrement sensibles à votre lettre du 17 janvier.

Vous savez avec quel intérêt nous avons suivi vos propos lors de la visite que vous avez bien voulu nous rendre à l'Alliance le 13 janvier dernier. Nous avons pu prendre la mesure des actions utiles que vous entreprenez dans les différents domaines de votre activité et relever avec sympathie des perspectives de coopération entre nos deux organisations dans des domaines particulièrement délicats.

Nous resterons donc en rapport et dans l'espoir de prochaines rencontres, je vous prie de croire, chers amis, à mes sentiments dévoués.



Gérard ISRAEL
Conseiller du Président

Messieurs le Rabbin Marc H. TANENBAUM
et William S. TROSTEN

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56 Street
NEW YORK CITY N.Y. 10022

----- (U.S.A.)

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE MISSION TO PARIS

February 27 - March 2, 1984

(A few Notes on French Officials)

ATTALI, Jacques

4 Born in Algiers 1943, of Jewish parents. Wife converted to Judaism; Vice President FSJU, suspended his participation when appointed Special Adviser to the President. His office is next to President Mitterrand's and all visitors must go through it to reach the President; personal friend of Mitterrand, who calls him his "living encyclopedia." Jacques Attali is somewhat of a renaissance man: he has written nine books, most on economics and political science, but also on music and time. Graduated from the two most prestigious 'grandes écoles' (access by competitive exams of already very selected students, with some 30 of 3,000 applicants received), Polytechnique and ENA. Before appointment as Special Adviser to Mitterrand was Maitre de Conférences at Polytechnique.

Organized Versailles summit meeting (President Reagan and European heads of state came to it.) For obvious reasons tries to keep aloof from day to day Jewish community matters, though keeps tabs on cultural and educational ones.

Has a twin brother, Bernard, equally brilliant and presently Director of Datar (Planning Equipment and Regional Action French Territory).

BADINTER, Robert

56 Born 1928 in Paris, of Jewish parents (furriers, deported, Yiddishists). Second marriage to Elizabeth Bleustein-Blanchet (father owns Publicis, Drugstores, very affluent). Lawyer, fought for abolition of the death penalty and put this through when appointed Minister of Justice in Mitterrand government. Also abolished secret security courts and carrying out other judicial reforms. Was Vice President of FSJU but resigned when appointed Minister. Wife Elizabeth was a member of CRIF Political Commission but also left when Badinter appointment to ministry came through. She is a historian, author of several books.

Badinter is perhaps the most attacked for his Jewishness -- the son of furrier and the rich girl; as well as for his position on death penalty and penal reforms by all who are convinced that death and harsh conditions are the antidote for crime and lawlessness.

CHEYSSON, Claude

64 Born 1920, graduate Polytechnique. Headed for several years the EEC Brussels Commission in charge of developing countries; became Minister of External Affairs in 1981. Definite pro-third world sympathies. Comes through as the one who tests public reaction by dropping little phrases that go much beyond the actual government thinking. Has met several times with PLO representatives, as well as with Arafat.

CHIRAC, Jacques

52 Born 1932, graduate ENA (also attended Harvard summer school and wrote thesis in 1954 on the port of New Orleans). Served in several ministry cabinets during Pompidou regime. Appointed Minister of Agriculture (1971-72) and for just two months Minister of Interior in 1974. Was then Prime Minister during Giscard regime until he resigned in 1976 in disagreements with Giscard policies. Founded RPR Party (Ressemblement pour la Republique) so-called Gaullist ideology and was a candidate for the presidency in 1981, with a campaign that was aimed more against Giscard than Mitterrand. It was during his time as Prime Minister under Giscard that he negotiated the sale of a nuclear power plant to Irak (Osirak). Since then he has maintained excellent relations with the Iraqi government and is said to be very friendly with Saddam Hussein. (Totally unconfirmed rumors even say that Iraq helped to finance his presidential campaign.) Elected Mayor of Paris in October 1977 (a very good one at that) still RPR chief and positioning himself for next presidential elections. Reacted strongly against annexation of Golan Heights and never visited Israel. On the other hand did invite Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek (as mayor to mayor) who returned the courtesy but so far did not get a chance to put it into effect.

As mayor of Paris his attitude and behavior toward Jewish community has been beyond reproach: he has helped finance community buildings, schools, synagogues; handed out more medals and given more receptions for Jews than any other in memory. Though his party leaders have made declarations about alliances and co-existence with National Front Party, he has recently shifted from being evasive or ambiguous on this score and publicly declared against it.

CRESSON, Edith

Age 49, HEC diploma (top business school in France). Ran for elective office several times but never made it until appointed Minister of Agriculture in 1981, where she stayed until 1983. Now Minister of External Commerce and Tourism. A fighter, apparently doing well, no involvement in Jewish matters.

DEFERRE, Gaston

Age 73. Mayor of Marseilles for many years; now only Deputy Mayor and Minister of Interior since 1981. Very good friend of Jewish community, with which he maintains close and sincere ties. (First wife was Jewish.) Now on third marriage (since 1973) with Edmonde Charles-Roux (journalist Elle, Vogue) also novelist. Gaston Deferre is a lawyer by training, was chief of a large Resistance network, is also owner of a newspaper in Marseilles.

SALZMANN, Charles

57 Born in Paris, 1927, of Jewish parents. Master of Science Columbia University. Also member of Operations Research Society of America and Institute of Management Sciences. Adviser to President Mitterrand on computer science, but also and especially the adviser on Jewish affairs and boycott matters. He is described as a charming gentleman and 'the' Jewish community contact par excellence.

DANIEL, Jean

Born in Algeria, 1920, both parents Jewish. Raised and finished university studies in Algeria and this is why he claims a "double culture" (Jewish and Arab); also because he lived in Arab quarter and close to Arab roots for many years. Prof. of philosophy, but became Chief Editor of L'Express (weekly) in 1955 and until 1964, when he moved to Nouvel Observateur (Soc. weekly). Very involved in Jewish issues, close to President Mitterrand, works toward rapprochement of Israel and Palestinians (has introduced some West Bank intellectuals to Pt. Mitterrand). Was active in his rapprochement efforts with Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mendes France and Peace Now. Lately (probably since Issam Sartawi's assassination and PLO claims for terrorist acts against Israel) he has distanced himself from the PLO -- but not from Palestinians.

BALTA, Paul

Journalist with Le Figaro for years, moved out after change of ownership of paper and now with Le Monde. In his forties, a specialist on Maghreb region and Middle East. His sympathies are with the Arabs. Rumored by some to be Jewish, from Egypt, but this is totally unconfirmed.





The American Jewish C

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522

Rabbi
Marc
TANENBAUM

Bristol - 112 Faubourg, St. Honore
75008 Paris
Tel - 266-91-45

February 24, 1984

Dear Marc:

Enclosed are folders with program, notes, etc. that I would appreciate your distributing to everyone.

Made last additions by hand, could not be helped.

My telephone, just in case, is 707.0496. Call if you need anything; and if I don't hear from you, shall be at the Bristol on Sunday, 4:00 p.m.

All the very best,

Mina

P.S. One set separated for Howard Friedman - since he has arrived.

[start]

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Feb. 22, 1984 (Int. Herald Tribune)

Lebanon: France Lowers Its Sights in Frustration

By Dominique Moïsi

PARIS — As the power of President Amin Gemayel evaporates, significant differences are emerging between France and the United States over Lebanon.

Although troops from the two countries have worked and died together in Beirut, French and American solutions to the crisis differ. The French advocate a United Nations force to replace the multinational peacekeepers. They do this partly to retain some dignity and credibility on their way out, but also as a calculated gamble vis-à-vis Moscow.

Washington has given ambivalent signals about accepting a new UN force, since it would implicitly favor the Soviet position in the region.

For the Reagan administration, the Lebanon mudpit is part of the global East-West confrontation. What is at stake is not so much the future of Lebanon as the spread of Soviet influence in the region. For the French, Lebanon represents a strictly regional conflict. What is at stake is not superpower credibility but historical responsibility. This reasoning is reinforced by France's historical ties to its former mandate.

These differences help explain France's ardent quest for diplomatic alternatives to what have proved to be military non-solutions. For Paris, the best device to ensure what French officials describe as a withdrawal "with panache" is the replacement of a multinational force by a UN force. The French are not seeking to reintroduce the Soviet Union into regional power calculations; rather, they believe that no realistic solution can be found without Soviet cooperation.

In the French view, it may be time to return to the situation of shared superpower influence that prevailed in 1977 at the time of the Vance-Gromyko dialogue on the Middle East, and before Anwar Sadat's historic trip to Jerusalem.

France's wager starts with the assumption that the Soviet Union is willing to play a positive role in the

Middle East in exchange for recognition that it has a "legitimate right" to a diplomatic presence in the region.

The Soviet Union has already benefited from the vacillation of U.S. policy in the Middle East, just as the United States benefited in the Euro-missile quarrel from Moscow's blunders — ironic confirmation that in the superpower confrontation, each side's gains are mainly the product of the other's losses.

But while the Soviet presence might be necessary to ratify any regional solution, it could also be a mistake to bring the Russians in too soon and thus allow them to block crucial negotiations.

Meanwhile, French diplomacy in the Middle East is characterized by a growing sense of resignation. The fear of a spread of Islamic militancy, linked to disillusion with the Gemayel government, has reduced French expectations in the region.

A policy of increased military presence is no longer a valid option for the Western powers. The Israelis, frustrated by Lebanese Christian behavior, are unwilling to do the Americans' bidding and serve as the West's gendarmes, even if they are willing to deter some Syrian-led actions.

The West has fewer and fewer alternatives in the region. Recognition of a de facto domination of Lebanon by Syria is perceived by many as a lesser evil than the continuation of a destabilizing civil war and a de facto partition of Lebanon. In such a context, the identity of the man in charge in Beirut matters little, given that the real decisions are made in Damascus. It could even be Amin Gemayel.

The paradox today is that the French, who still have troops in Beirut, are more willing to leave Lebanon than the Americans, whose forces are being placed on ships.

The writer is associate director of the Institut Français des Relations Internationales. He contributed this article to the International Herald Tribune.

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The American Jewish Committee

European Office - 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris - Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

February 9, 1984

FEB 15 1984

Dear Marc:

To put on paper the results of the last telephone conversations about the AJC delegation arrangements made on this side of the ocean:

Hotels -- Bristol, Paris, reserved as follows:

Mr. and Mrs. Friedman, February 23
Mr. and Mrs. Jacobs and Zacks; Messers. Moses, Trosten,
Tanenbaum, February 25
Mr. and Mrs. Ellenoff, February 26
Mr. and Mrs. Elson, February 27
for all, through night February 28.

For one night, February 29, three singles and 5 doubles reserved at Sofitel Vieux Port, 36 Bd. Ch. Livon, Marseilles.

Everyone back at Bristol Paris, for night of March 1.

Travel -- Reservations for 13 made for return Marseilles-Paris, on UTA flight 408, departure 11:20 arrival Paris Roissy 12:40. (Note: check-in by 10:50)

Questions so far: 1) Let us know of any hotel changes, arrivals and departures in Paris; 2) Reservations flight Marseilles-Paris made on assumption members of delegation have tickets; if not please notify whether we should get here.

A separate small dining room was reserved at Bristol for breakfast meeting with community leaders February 27, 8:30 a.m. The guests will be CRIF's Theo Klein, European Council Nicole Goldman, FSJU's Director David Saada, who have all accepted. David de Rothschild is not in town, but Saada thought he will come unless he has an engagement elsewhere, and promised to let me know next week.

To solve the problem of Jean Paul Elkann: I thought you might want to invite him for dinner one of the evenings in Paris, and since on Monday you will see Attali and perhaps President Mitterrand, combine a pre-de-briefing session in this fashion.

If you agree, let me know whether I should arrange it or if you prefer writing or phoning directly...the last might be good notion.

Finally, the "à titre de confrère" lunch invitation from Klèin to Howard Friedman. It came up as I was making arrangements for either Sunday or the Monday breakfast meeting, explaining the very tight and impressive schedule as well as the dispersed manner of arrivals. He asked the names and functions of the delegation members, and when I told him Howard Friedman was a lawyer and here first, proposed the lunch at his office. I think the interest is more professional than AJC. At any rate, I told him I would propose and confirm. But it is very hard to hit a common awake time between LA and Paris with a 10 hour lag, and so I would appreciate your helping on this and letting me know.

A reminder about Jean Kahn, who will be in New York from the afternoon of February 21 and leaving morning of 24th. Have transmitted your tentative proposal of afternoon February 23, but need your confirmation and exact time.

I believe this covers everything as of now.

With very best regards,

As ever,



Nives Fox

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

PREPARATION D'UN ACCORD DE LIBRE ECHANGE ISRAELO-AMERICAIN

Relations commerciales triangulaires avec la C.E.E.

Washington, 7 fév. (David Friedman et Helen Silver). Le projet de création d'une zone de libre échange entre Israël et les Etats-Unis, qui fait partie des accords de coopération économique et militaire récemment conclus, a fait l'objet d'interventions devant la commission financière du Sénat américain.

Plusieurs personnalités américaines amies d'Israël sont venues témoigner. M. Elmer Winter, président du Comité pour les relations économiques avec Israël et ancien président de l'American Jewish Committee, et M.

Thomas Dine, directeur du Comité des affaires publiques israélo-américaines (A.I.P.A.C.), ont insisté sur les besoins urgents d'Israël et sur les bénéfices qu'une aide américaine accrue procurerait aux deux pays.

Le principe de la création d'une zone commerciale de libre échange avait été acquis lors du sommet Reagan-Shamir de novembre dernier.

Les détails sont mis au point par des commissions conjointes. La première de ces réunions de travail s'est tenue le mois dernier, et, selon M. Doral Cooper, haut fonctionnaire du ministère du Commerce, les grandes lignes de l'accord ont été dégagées. Une nouvelle réunion est prévue le 28 février, lors d'une rencontre entre l'ambassadeur américain, M. William Brock, et le ministre israélien du Commerce, M. Gideon Patt. L'accord de libre échange devra être approuvé par le Congrès et la Chambre des représentants.

Devant la commission financière du Sénat, M. Winter a fait valoir que cette zone de libre échange ouvrira de nouveaux domaines d'exportation pour les industriels américains et de nouveaux champs de recherches et de développement pour les laboratoires industriels américains. Il a souligné aussi que, grâce aux accords de libre échange dont bénéficie Israël dans la Communauté économique européenne (C.E.E.), les industries américaines pourront se montrer compétitives en Europe après avoir fait fabriquer et compléter leurs produits en Israël. Cela permettrait parallèlement à Israël d'exporter plus, de réduire le déficit de sa balance des paiements, et donc d'être plus indépendant.



NOV 8 1983

The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

November 3, 1983

To: International Relations Department
From: Nives Fox
Subj: France-Middle East Attitude

MHT, DG, GG

The Jewish community in France is not very pleased about President Mitterrand's recent declarations during his visit in Tunisia and has lost no time reacting to them, as well as to criticism of Israel voiced by Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy in the French National Assembly.

Jewish dismay was caused by Mitterrand's ~~judos~~ ^{judos} to Yasser Arafat and his position that the PLO was the most representative force of the Palestinian people, the last in an interview with a Tunisian journalist even before he left for Tunisia. There, on the local television, the President reiterated his profound conviction in the "rights of Palestinians to a fatherland -- like all other peoples and just as the people of Israel -- who must not be left to wander and in despair." Still in Tunisia, with a luncheon toast on October 27, President Mitterrand again deplored the fact that Palestinians and Israelis "contested their respective fundamental right to a fatherland," Adding that the wisest course was to follow UN recommendations, he warned "those who failed to understand in time and risked finding themselves eliminated by history."

Basically President Mitterrand has been saying this for years, repeating that his and France's position remained unchanged and was an even handed and balanced one. What jars today is his continued support of Arafat and the PLO, in spite of falling fortunes for both in the last 18 months and ~~to appreciate through~~ ^{granting} all possible understanding to the fact that he was visiting an Arab land and ~~the~~ ^{the} one housing the Arab League. Nor were Mitterrand's repeated contacts with the PLO representative in Tunisia, Mr. Hakam Halaoui, much appreciated: at the airport, included as a member of the diplomatic corps; later as part of the Arab League delegation; finally as a guest at the big dinner offered by President Bourguiba. (There had been talk about Arafat himself finding a way to Tunisia if only President Mitterrand accepted to see him.)

It should be noted that rumors about a meeting with Arafat or at least a positive gesture from France go back to the difficult

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JOHN H. STEINHART, San Francisco ■

negotiations between the PLO and France to persuade the PLO not to hold the UN Conference on Palestine in Paris. The press -- especially the opposition one -- is making this point now, implying that the meeting with Arafat had been planned then and the occasion set for the President's visit to Tunisia. While diplomatic circles admit to negotiating an accord at the time, ~~however~~ nobody goes so far as to claim that such a promise came from Mitterrand himself. You will remember, too, that part of the bargain, publicly known, included French participation at the Palestine Conference provided it took place in Geneva.

Prime Minister Mauroy's declarations were made at the National Assembly on October 26, just a few days after the murderous attack against the US and French forces in Beirut. He criticized the Israel-Lebanon accord and the unilateral retreat of Israeli troops to the Awali river, accusing Israel of being in favor of a partition of Lebanon. Pierre Mauroy also spoke of "regional hegemony ambitions and the refusal of peoples' rights being the basis of the maneuvers and initiatives of past months in Lebanon, leading to renewed fighting and the present precarious situation." Mr. Mauroy also charged that the accord between Israel and Lebanon was signed under the aegis of the US, but ignored the regional role of Syria and legitimized the presence of Israeli forces in the South of Lebanon; and that the unilateral retreat of Israel's army to the Awali river permitted renewal of the fighting between Druse and Phalange. Though he did point to some Syrian responsibility as well, he accused it and Israel of "settling too comfortably into making permanent what already is a de facto partition of Lebanon."

At the Foreign Ministers meeting of the four countries participating in the multinational force gathered here to examine the consequences of the Beirut attacks and the future of these forces, French Minister Claude Cheysson used the occasion to declare that France, as its European partners, believes that a global solution of the Middle East conflict must include settling the Palestinian problem, ~~and~~ that Palestinians must be represented and therefore the PLO must be admitted to the negotiating table to speak for them.

Capping these various pronouncements, and during the same week, there was another drop in the fairly full Jewish cup with a television documentary film "Special Lebanon" giving slanted and incorrect information: the number of dead at Sabra and Shatila was given as 2,000, and Israel's complicity in the tragedy pointed up, with barely a mention of preceding bloody history in Lebanon.

CRIF and its President Théo Klein reacted with a public statement. Me. Klein wondered about the context upon which the President of the Republic founded his praise for Yasser Arafat and the PLO, or the Prime Minister's comments about the Israel-Lebanon accords, or a long history of massacres in Lebanon centering only on Sabra and Shatila. "We would wish France not to be as tardy about

recognizing a peace agreement as it was for Camp David (note: the previous government never did; only Mitterrand, as head of Socialist Party always supported it) and that public opinion not be abused with efforts to efface the many massacres preceding and following Sabra and Shatila." Adding that the last were the work of the Phalange and not the Israelis, "one is still waiting for an investigation Commission in a country other than Israel to find the truth about attacks in Lebanon and elsewhere." Other organizations echoed the protest, with the France-Israel Alliance commenting that President Mitterrand's declarations in Tunis were tantamount to a legitimization of Arab passions against Israel; LICRA (League against Racism and anti-Semitism) protesting against the television film ~~wxxxxxxx~~ to the director of the chain involved; and Renouveau Juif, which qualified Mitterrand's praise of Arafat during an official visit in Tunisia as "improper and indecent," as well as vigorously decrying the Prime Minister's declarations: "French diplomacy takes the wrong road once more, betting on the PLO to solve the Israeli Palestinian conflict...the French Prime Minister seems to forget that Israel is ready to leave Lebanon and it is Syria who refuses all initiatives to withdraw its troops..."

Much more positive and welcome was the large participation of Israel's Labor Party and Mapam delegations at the Socialist National Party Congress and, for the first time, the presence of the Israel Ambassador to France, Mr. Ovadia Soffer, at such a gathering. An impressive number of French Jewish groups also attended (CRIF, Circle Bernard Lazare, Identity and Dialogue, Socialism and Judaism, Renouveau Juif, Federation of Jews of France), and these used the occasion to submit a petition to free Yossif Begun to the French and Soviet Communist Party delegates at the Congress.

The Middle East conflict was one of the subjects at the gathering, and a couple of little phrases (French political life is famous for them) were pronounced: Pierre Mauroy's was "Is it not the French contingent's mission in Lebanon to fight against the physical elimination of the Palestinian fighters?"

Ilan Halevi, the Israeli of vaguely French-Turkish-Algerian origins was one of the PLO representatives at the Congress. Obviously no Israelis or French Jews talked to him (far from the attitude taken when Sartawi represented the PLO at the Valence Socialist Party Congress two years ago). ~~xxxxxx~~ His presence was judged inappropriate by a number of French delegates, who realize that in the eyes of the Israelis he is considered a traitor; ~~but~~ one hears, also, ~~that~~ ^{that} some ~~were~~ ^{are} ~~convinced~~ ^{convinced} that his presence ~~was~~ ^{is} a sign of weakness ~~in~~ and PLO inability today to find others to represent them.

The Socialist Party position, as stated by its Secretary General Lionel Jospin, is one of definite Franco-Israeli friendship, very much along the lines often stated by President Mitterrand -- but always tied to a just and equitable solution for the Palestinian problem. As one unnamed Socialist leader put it: "It is a balanced position with a little extra favoring Israel, and this is fundamental, and must be understood. The rest is incidental."

There is no question that Israel and Jews have a better and sincere friend in President Mitterrand than with any of his predecessors, and that this is manifested often and warmly. The 'incidentals' however, also count, for if at times they are necessary and understandable, at others they anger, surprise, and are quite obscure, as just now, with the laudatory buildup of Arafat and the PLO. One explanation probably is that the French position has always been one of caution and warning against excessive desire and relief to be rid of Arafat, lest his place will be taken by someone much more unmanageable and extreme. Given the Syrian blockage and its virtually full control of the PLO now, time will soon tell whether the French are not indeed the wiser.

P.S.

F-100

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES





The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

TO: International Relations Department
FROM: Nives E. Fox
SUBJECT: France - Middle East Attitude

The Jewish community in France is not very pleased about President Mitterrand's recent declarations during his visit in Tunisia, and has lost no time reacting to them, as well as to criticism of Israel voiced by Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy in the French National Assembly.

Jewish dismay was caused by Mitterrand's kudos to Yasser Arafat and his reiteration that the PLO was the most representative body of the Palestinian people...the last in an interview with a Tunisian journalist even before he left for Tunisia. There, on local television, Mitterrand restated his profound conviction in the "rights of Palestinians to a fatherland -- like all other peoples, including Israel -- who must not be left to wander and in despair." Still in Tunisia, on October 27th during a luncheon toast, President Mitterrand again deplored the fact that Palestinians and Israelis "contested their respective fundamental right to a fatherland," adding that the wisest course was to follow UN recommendations. He warned "those who fail to understand in time, risk finding themselves eliminated by history."

Basically President Mitterrand has been saying this for years, asserting that his and France's position has remained unchanged and was an even-handed and balanced one. Granted that he was visiting an Arab land, one housing the Arab League, what jars is his continued support of Arafat and the PLO despite their falling fortunes in the last 18 months. Nor were Mitterrand's repeated contacts with the PLO representative in Tunisia, Hakam Halaoui, much appreciated - initially at the airport where he was included as a member of the diplomatic corps, later as part of the Arab League delegation, finally as a guest at the big dinner offered by President Bourguiba.

There had been talk about Arafat himself finding a way to Tunisia if only President Mitterrand agreed to see him. It should be noted that rumors about a meeting with Arafat or at least a positive gesture from France goes back to the difficult negotiations between the PLO and France in an attempt to persuade the PLO not to hold the UN Conference on Palestine in

Paris. The press -- especially the opposition one -- is making this point now, implying that the meeting with Arafat had been planned then and the occasion set for the President's visit to Tunisia. While diplomatic circles admit to negotiating an accord at the time, nobody goes so far as to claim that such a promise came from Mitterrand himself. You will remember, too, that part of the bargain, publicly known, included French participation at the Palestine Conference, provided it took place in Geneva.

Prime Minister Mauroy's declarations were made at the National Assembly on October 26th, just a few days after the murderous attack against the U.S. and French forces in Beirut. He criticized the Israel-Lebanon accord and the unilateral retreat of Israeli troops to the Awali River, accusing Israel of being in favor of a partition of Lebanon. Pierre Mauroy also spoke of "regional hegemony ambitions and the refusal of people's rights being the basis of the maneuvers and initiatives of past months in Lebanon, leading to renewed fighting and the present precarious situation." Mr. Mauroy also charged that the accord between Israel and Lebanon was signed under the aegis of the U.S., but ignored the regional role of Syria and legitimized the presence of Israeli forces in the South of Lebanon; and that the unilateral retreat of Israel's army to the Awali River permitted renewal of the fighting between Druse and Phalange. Though he did point to some Syrian responsibility as well, he accused it and Israel of "settling too comfortably into making permanent what already is a de facto partition of Lebanon."

At the Foreign Ministers meeting of the four countries participating in the multinational force gathered here to examine the consequences of the Beirut attacks and the future of these forces, French Minister Claude Cheysson used the occasion to declare that France, as its European partners, believes that a global solution of the Middle East conflict must include settling the Palestinian problem, that Palestinians must be represented and therefore the PLO must be admitted to the negotiating table to speak for them.

Capping these various pronouncements, and during the same week, there was another drop in the fairly full Jewish cup with a television documentary film, "Special Lebanon," giving slanted and incorrect information: the number of dead at Sabra and Shatila was given as 2,000 and Israel's complicity in the tragedy pointed up, with barely a mention of the preceding bloody history in Lebanon.

CRIF and its President Theo Klein reacted with a public statement. Mr. Klein wondered about the basis upon which the President of the Republic founded his praise for Yasser Arafat and the PLO, or the Prime Minister's comments about the Israel-Lebanon accords, ignoring the long history of massacre in Lebanon focusing only on Sabra and Shatila. "We would wish France not to be as tardy about recognizing a peace agreement (in Lebanon) as it was for Camp David (Note: the previous government never recognized the Camp David accords; Mitterrand, as head of the Socialist Party, always supported it) and that public opinion not be abused with efforts to efface the many massacres preceding and following Sabra and Shatila." Furthermore,

the aforementioned Sabra and Shatila massacres were the work of the Phalange and not the Israelis, and "one is still waiting for an investigatory Commission in a country other than Israel to find the truth about attacks in Lebanon and elsewhere." Other organizations echoed the protest, with the France-Israel Alliance commenting that President Mitterrand's declarations in Tunis were tantamount to a legitimization of Arab passions against Israel; LICRA (League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism) protesting against the television film to the director of the chain involved; and Renouveau Juif, which qualified Mitterrand's praise of Arafat as "improper and indecent," as well as vigorously decrying the Prime Minister's declarations: "French diplomacy takes the wrong road once more, betting on the PLO to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict...the French Prime Minister seems to forget that Israel is ready to leave Lebanon and it is Syria who refuses all initiatives to withdraw its troops..."

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The Middle East conflict was one of the subjects at the gathering, and one of the little phrases (French political life is famous for them) which caught the attention of the press was that uttered by Pierre Mauroy who said, "Is it not the French contingent's mission in Lebanon to fight against the physical elimination of the Palestinian fighters?"

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November 3, 1983





The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

FEB 15 1984

February 9, 1984

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for all, through night February 28.

For one night, February 29, three singles and 5 doubles reserved at Sofitel Vieux Port, 36 Bd. Ch. Livon, Marseilles.

Everyone back at Bristol Paris, for night of March 1.

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MAYNARD I. WISNER, President ■ DONALD FELDSTEIN, Executive Vice-President
HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, Chairman, Board of Governors ■ THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chairman, National Executive Council ■ ROBERT L. PELZ, Chairman, Board of Trustees ■
E. ROBERT GOODKIND, Treasurer ■ MERVIN H. RISEMAN, Secretary ■ ELAINE PETSCHKE, Associate Treasurer ■ ALFRED H. MOSES, Chairman, Executive Committee ■
Honorary Presidents: MORRIS B. ABRAM, ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, RICHARD MAASS, ELMER L. WINTER ■ Honorary Vice-Presidents: NATHAN APPLEMAN, MARTIN GANG,
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Cleveland; RITA E. HAUSER, New York; HARRIS L. KEMPNER, JR., Galveston; JOHN D. LEVY, St. Louis; HAMILTON M. LOEB, JR., New York; LEON RABIN, Dallas; GORDON S. ROSENBLUM, Denver;
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Finally, the "à titre de confrère" lunch invitation from Klèin to Howard Friedman. It came up as I was making arrangements for either Sunday or the Monday breakfast meeting, explaining the very tight and impressive schedule as well as the dispersed manner of arrivals. He asked the names and functions of the delegation members, and when I told him Howard Friedman was a lawyer and here first, proposed the lunch at his office. I think the interest is more professional than AJC. At any rate, I told him I would propose and confirm. But it is very hard to hit a common awake time between LA and Paris with a 10 hour lag, and so I would appreciate your helping on this and letting me know.

A reminder about Jean Kahn, who will be in New York from the afternoon of February 21 and leaving morning of 24th. Have transmitted your tentative proposal of afternoon February 23, but need your confirmation and exact time.

I believe this covers everything as of now.

With very best regards,

As ever,



Nives Fox

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

PREPARATION D'UN ACCORD DE LIBRE ECHANGE ISRAELO-AMERICAIN

Relations commerciales triangulaires avec la C.E.E.

Washington, 7 fév. (David Friedman et Helen Silver). Le projet de création d'une zone de libre échange entre Israël et les Etats-Unis, qui fait partie des accords de coopération économique et militaire récemment conclus, a fait l'objet d'interventions devant la commission financière du Sénat américain.

Plusieurs personnalités américaines amies d'Israël sont venues témoigner. M. Elmer Winter, président du Comité pour les relations économiques avec Israël et ancien président de l'American Jewish Committee, et M.

Thomas Dine, directeur du Comité des affaires publiques israélo-américaines (A.I.P.A.C.), ont insisté sur les besoins urgents d'Israël et sur les bénéfices qu'une aide américaine accrue procurerait aux deux pays.

Le principe de la création d'une zone commerciale de libre échange avait été acquis lors du sommet Reagan-Shamir de novembre dernier.

Les détails sont mis au point par des commissions conjointes. La première de ces réunions de travail s'est tenue le mois dernier, et, selon M. Doral Cooper, haut fonctionnaire du ministère du Commerce, les grandes lignes de l'accord ont été dégagées. Une nouvelle réunion est prévue le 28 février, lors d'une rencontre entre l'ambassadeur américain, M. William Brock, et le ministre israélien du Commerce, M. Gideon Patt. L'accord de libre échange devra être approuvé par le Congrès et la Chambre des représentants.

Devant la commission financière du Sénat, M. Winter a fait valoir que cette zone de libre échange ouvrira de nouveaux domaines d'exportation pour les industriels américains et de nouveaux champs de recherches et de développement pour les laboratoires industriels américains. Il a souligné aussi que, grâce aux accords de libre échange dont bénéficie Israël dans la Communauté économique européenne (C.E.E.), les industries américaines pourront se montrer compétitives en Europe après avoir fait fabriquer et compléter leurs produits en Israël. Cela permettrait parallèlement à Israël d'exporter plus, de réduire le déficit de sa balance des paiements, et donc d'être plus indépendant.



The American Jewish Committee

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MISSION TO FRANCE

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PURPOSE - This mission was conceived as an extension of the geo-political approach of the American Jewish Committee to major developments in current international relations. The assumptions underlying this mission were several⁷fold in keeping with the "bi-focal" universalist-particularist stance of AJC toward developing an integrated American democratic and Jewish view and program in foreign relations:

(a) Next to the United States and the Soviet Union, France is a genuine global power with interests in almost every part of the world. While France is passing through stressful economic and political trials internally, as a "mini-superpower" France is positioned to play a vital role in a broad range of international relationships - East-West, European Economic Community, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean (and Central and Latin America.)

(b) There are some 700,000 Jews in France, making them the fourth largest Jewish community in the world. For a variety of reasons, among them, the growth of the Sephardic community from North Africa, French Jewry has become in recent years a vital society increasingly assertive in the internal political, economic, and cultural affairs of their country. French Jewry is impacting on the domestic and foreign affairs policies of their government and their political scene, as France is impacting on the specific concerns of French and world Jewry - relations between Israel and her Arab neighbors, Israel and third world nations (especially Africa), Soviet Jewry, Jews in Arab countries, the EEC and Israel and European Jewish communities, terrorism, anti-Semitic movements, and human rights.

(c) As was demonstrated repeatedly during our mission, French government and political leaders perceive American Jewry, and in particular the American Jewish Committee, as playing an influential role on all levels of American society - politics, economics and finance, the media, culture, inter alia. In arranging their schedule of visits for the AJC leaders' delegation, French authorities clearly saw this mission as an opportunity for strengthening Franco-American relations, and indirectly, the Western democratic alliance.

PREPARATION FOR MISSION - Out of respect for the autonomy and primacy of jurisdiction of French Jewish leaders and their organizations, AJC wrote to all the key Jewish spokespersons setting forth the purposes of the mission and inviting their cooperation. In mid-January, William Trosten, AJC's acting director, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of international relations, went to Paris and met with the presidents of all the major French Jewish groups - Theo Klein of CRIF; David de Rothschild of FSJU (the CJFWF of France); Jean-Paul Elkann of Consistoire; Nicole Goldmann of FSJU and the European Council of Jewish Organizations; and Chief Rabbi Sirat. After extensive conversation, they expressed their support of the mission and offered their cooperation.

To prepare ourselves fully for the mission and the issues to be discussed, in early February Howard Friedman, AJC's president and chairman of the delegation; Hyman Bookbinder, AJC's Washington representative; and Marc Tanenbaum held meetings in Washington with French Embassy officials, the French desk of the U.S. State Department, and representatives of the Israel Embassy. A background kit covering all aspects of French policies and the French Jewish community was prepared including background materials provided by the French Embassy and by AJC's international relations department. Each member of the AJC delegation was given such a kit. (Attached is a list of the members of the AJC Leaders' Delegation.)

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS IN FRANCE - As a sign of the importance that the French Government attached to this mission, a full and tight schedule of meetings were arranged with the highest authorities of the French government. These included meetings with President Mitterand and his two closest aides, Jacques Attali and Charles Salzman, at the Elysee Palace; Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson at the Quai d'Orsay; Commerce Minister Edith Cresson; Interior Minister Gaston Defferre (who is also mayor of Marseilles); Minister of Justice Robert Badinter; Director of ~~the~~ the Ministry of Industry and Research, Louis Schweitzer; the Mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac (who also heads the opposition Gaullist party, RPR); and the President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly, Claude Estier.

In addition, at our request, we held meetings with the U.S. Ambassador

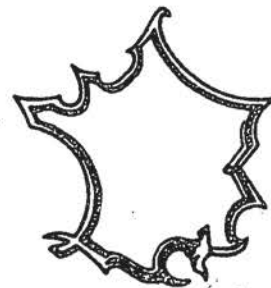
to France, Evan Galbraith, and U.S.½ political counselor, Robert Curran; Israel's Ambassador, Ovadia Soffer; Deputy Delegate of the U.S. Mission to UNESCO, Robert Aherne; Chief Economist of the Organization of Cooperation and Economic Development (OECD), Mr. Llwellyn; and two prominent journalists specializing in Middle East affairs, Jean Daniel, editor of the *Nouvel Observateur*, and Paul Balta, editor of the Middle East section of *Le Monde*. We also had meetings with Beate and Serge Klarsfeld with whom we discussed cooperation on the Klaus Barbie, Walter Rauff (Chile), and Josef Mengele (Paraguay) cases; His Eminence Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger, Archbishop of Paris, and the Rev. Bernard du Puys, chairman of the French Catholic Bishops Commission on Catholic-Jewish relations; and two youthful leader of the Jewish Renewal Movement, Henri Hajdenberg and David Buk. We held a debriefing session with Theo Klein, president of CRIF. Our mission was climaxed by attendance at Friday night services at the Grand Synagogue where we met with Chief Rabbi Sirat of France, and the Chief Rabbi of Paris, Dr. Goldman. (Attached is the schedule of our meetings.)



FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE

84/6



ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

AT A LUNCHEON OFFERED BY THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

THE HAGUE, FEBRUARY 7, 1984

I should have liked at the close of this luncheon, to describe all my feelings on this the second day of our stay in the Netherlands. I could speak of the charm of the hospitality that you have shown us, Madame; the interest that I have taken in our conversations, Mr. Prime Minister; the tenor of your remarks just now, my feelings as I listened to you and all the reasons I would have to speak of the relations between your country and mine; relations nurtured by hope and rich in ideas. But I thought it was an opportune moment for me to address a specific issue, one that is very topical. I refer to the Europe of which we are both a part and which we must now construct or at least build up on the foundations that were laid down a long time ago.

So I shall be talking about this issue, especially as from this city, I wish to address the public opinion of the ten countries of Europe at the same time. You will forgive me then if I do not linger on the necessary courtesies or simply again on the pleasure that I should have in expressing my joy at coming to know the Netherlands in this way.

It was nearly 36 years ago, May 7-8, 1948 in this city, and in this very chamber where I have the honor of addressing you today, that I witnessed the birth of a great design. With Winston Churchill presiding and in the presence of Princess Juliana 800 delegates from 25 countries, assembled for the European congress. The war was barely over that had left Europe gasping, as if in its death throes, 20 years after another war which had killed off the youth and the hope of the century. For the first time men and women, still bruised, battered, bereaved and bloodied by the recent fighting, pledged to build together, better still, to invent, a reconciled Europe. Yes, I was one of them. In that beautiful spring, life began again.

I recall that assembly not only to celebrate what I believe was a decisive event for the future, but also to pay tribute to the role played by the Netherlands at that time, and at other times, for our common history.

From 1948 until the failure of the proposed European Defense Community in 1954, Europe's beginnings were almost without hindrance. Ambition was there and the rest followed. You will remember the major landmarks: the creation of the Council of Europe in 1949, Robert Schuman's declaration in 1950, the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) the following year. After a period of uncertainty, Europe found momentum again with the signing of the Treaty of Rome and the creation of the Common Market in 1957. From then on the integration of our economies accelerated, the free movement of persons and goods became a reality and the common agricultural policy gave the Europe of the Six its proper place in world agriculture. The name of one of your countrymen, Sicco Mansholt, remains linked to that achievement.

Admittedly, throughout this movement toward unity, controversy persisted between the proponents of two clearly opposed visions. For the advocates of integration the "Europe of peoples" had to transcend the constraints of national states. Some of them called for a federal approach with a view to creating a "United States of Europe." For others, the "Europe of nations" could not disregard the national factor and should confine itself to a "confederal" approach--respecting states--which could, when the time came, be organized into a union.

The crisis that broke out on June 30, 1965 over the issue of unanimity in voting, on matters other than those provided for by the Treaty, marked the culmination of a debate that was resolved by the Luxembourg Compromise. From that time onward there was a shift in the original direction. The Community took on another look without, however, abandoning its identity.

It was again at The Hague, at the European summit meeting December 1-2, 1969, that three important decisions were taken: establishment of the Community's own resources, the economic and monetary union, and the enlargement of the Community.

At this point in its development Europe could think that it was on the way to success. Having become the world's foremost commercial power, it had regained its place in the world's decision-making centers and had proved that, despite Yalta, it existed in its own way, a way which was neither that of the United States nor of the Soviet Union.

But not really having formulated a political plan during the years of prosperity it was ill-prepared to confront adversity. This came with the first oil shock. In 1973-74 the Europe of the Nine hesitated and equivocated and when recession replaced the uninterrupted economic growth that had sustained it, doubt set in.

Despite initiatives such as those that led to the establishment of the European Council, the election of the European Parliament by direct suffrage, and the admission of the U.K., Ireland, Denmark and then Greece, the difficulties that in other circumstances would have strengthened the common will gradually weakened it.

Disputes among experts increased. Public opinion grew discouraged. Every government spent its energies defending the gains that had been achieved, and making claims of its own and computations based strictly on the books.

Europe began to resemble an abandoned construction site. This brief summary of its history underscores the fact that the present situation is not the result of chance but is due to the slow sapping of Europe's will. It is this process over the past ten years which has led to the accumulation of disagreements which the ten heads of state and government took stock of in Stuttgart. The broad compromise which they outlined in Athens, based on the very wise document proposed by Mr. Andreas Papandreou, could not make up for the sum of misunderstandings. The European Council meeting in Brussels set for March constitutes the next deadline, and it would be advisable to prepare for it.

Accordingly, I have organized my remarks around three questions. How to settle the disputes? What kind of fresh start? In what direction? These questions are linked. By considering them as a whole and from every aspect--technical, commercial, economic, social, cultural and political--one answer becomes quite clear. Since any agreement is bound to include mutual concessions, sacrifices from every one, the main issue is to see that these are shared equitably and that everyone understands fully the end to which they serve.

How to Settle Disputes?

Let us start with one self-evident fact: the Community's financial resources are limited and we must manage them in the best possible way. In point of fact financing has not always been used in a rational way and in the absence of specific guidelines some policies have been the victims of their own success. I am thinking of the

agricultural policy. Thanks to the treaty which gave it, and rightly so, a prominent place, this policy assured the survival and development of a sector important for our economies, the equilibrium of our societies, and Europe's power and influence in the world.

But nowhere is it written that agricultural production shall be allowed to increase without concern for markets. And yet this is precisely what is happening. The result is that there are too many surpluses interfering with the Community's machinery. There is no way of finessing on that, even by asking why so many European products have no guarantees, why the export potential of the Ten cannot be realized. After all, the Community is still running a global deficit in terms of agro-food consumption.

Anyone analyzing these contradictions and seeking to resolve them is naturally led to define the rules without which Europe will continue to go astray. The first rule is control of budget growth. Article 203 of the Treaty of Rome defines the maximum growth rate for non-mandatory expenditures according to parameters fixed from one year to the next. Imposing this discipline, with due respect for the rights of Parliament and the Commission, and extending it to encompass the entire budget will enable us to tackle the problems now pending in a quite different spirit. Among these are the questions of the British contribution to the Community and the full participation of each state in covering expenditures.

The second rule is that the necessary increase in the Community's own resources must be accompanied by more rigorous management of its existing resources.

Thus we can deal in a constructive way with such problems as the gradual elimination of agricultural surpluses and the extension of Community guarantees to Mediterranean produce. Similarly we can evaluate then the cost of new policies and the enlargement of the Community to 12 members.

The third rule, on which European construction itself depends, would not need to be restated had we not grown accustomed to doing without it--I refer to market unity and its partner, Community preference.

Compliance with this rule will facilitate the speedy dismantling of the monetary compensation amounts (MCA's). These distort the natural movements of trade and unjustly condemn hundreds of thousands of farmers to distress and insecurity. It is frankly insupportable when the MCA's affect livestock productions not subject to Community intervention and

*Controlling
Community Budget
Growth*

*Better Financial
Management*

*Market Unity
and
Preference*

which depend exclusively on "substitute products," an elegant way of designating American feedstuffs that enter the Community in large quantities tax free. The fixing of farm prices for the coming season will logically entail a start on dismantling the MCA's, and we should prepare for this now.

*Community
Enlargement*

To return to Community enlargement to 12. I hope that Europe will welcome Spain and Portugal and will so notify them without delay. No one has the right to turn his back on history.

A serious decision, one that makes due allowance for the interests at stake--and I hope I will be forgiven for mentioning the concerns of France's numerous producers--will avoid the sham solutions from which the Community suffered when it was enlarged in the past. You will readily understand that in carrying out my duties as president of the Community and President of the French Republic, I shall give this matter special attention.

I have begun to submit these suggestions to our partners and shall continue to do so so that we can arrive at solutions consistent with our common interest between now and March 19. I shall be making these proposals in the various capitals and I shall be more than happy to meet with those of our partners who wish to talk about them with me in Paris. During this same period the work of the Council of Ministers and the specialized councils will be taking place as scheduled. My role will have been to prepare for the decisions which remain the province of the heads of state and government meeting in plenary assembly.

I cannot insist too strongly, even now, on the urgent need for an agreement. That there is no more money available in the common fund is certainly disturbing. More serious, in my view, is the fact that the very spirit of Europe is fading. When no one believes in this spirit any longer, it will be more than time to assess the magnitude of what will look like a major offense against the values of our civilization. I am glad for the chance to discuss this with you. Here, as in other places, I perceive the reawakening of European hope. Let us be convinced of one thing: The settlement of disputes is within our grasp.

What Kind of Fresh Start?

The Common Market came into being and prospered during the final stages of the second industrial revolution but it has not yet taken advantage of the third.

To do so Europe needs vigorous intellectual stimulus, a revamped industrial structure and the support of forward-looking and creative companies. All initiatives deserve to be tried, if necessary among three or four or ten countries among those that are interested.

The stake is an enormous one. Will our continent, the cradle of the technological civilization, be able to absorb the shock of returning to its own inventions and taking the initiative again? We have the means to do so but these are poorly coordinated. Each of us pursues his own objective, all too often giving precedence to cooperation with Europe's main competitors whereas Community preference is, or rather should be, the golden rule of our association.

*Strategy for
Industry and
Research*

Let us devise a strategy for each of the major sectors of the future-- data processing, telecommunications, biotechnology, mass transit. Let us promote agreements among European companies on the model of the "Esprit" program. Let us open up public markets; increase exchanges among researchers. Let us move against the protectionism of other great industrial powers. In short, let us create a "European domain of industry and research." If we manage to do this we will in the space of a few months make considerable progress, as Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet did before us. The challenge is of the same magnitude.

Our Europe, which began with the Coal and Steel Community will have a new point of departure with electronics and biology. Our peoples will understand. They already sense that our existence as a civilization depends on this.

*Sustained
Attack on
Unemployment*

But this is not all. Nothing durable can be achieved in this domain without the active participation of labor and providing Europe is willing to make a sustained attack on unemployment. As I said in Bonn last year before the Bundestag and say again now with the same conviction, Europe has no future if its youth has no hope. Europe will only succeed if its millions and millions of unemployed workers regain the dignity and the reality of work. A European "social space" will further this enormously with a few simple ideas: the coordinated planning of the length of the work-week; the acceleration and generalization of occupational training; increased social protection and the status of European workers.

But Europe is not a factory. Although the possibilities for exchange and creation have never been so great, although the power of the media is changing our ways of living, imagining and feeling, will we accept a flood of images from other countries without reacting? This question deserves to be asked at a time when video-cassettes, satellites

A European
"Cultural
Space"

and cable networks are going to multiply tenfold the means of communication between people. It is high time to organize a European "cultural space" in which common productions may be increased.

Numerous are the voices rising up today more or less everywhere in favor of a common defense organization. The excess of power of the two superpowers, the failure of their disarmament negotiations, the ensuing tensions, the fact that there are five nuclear-weapon states, the effacement of Europe as a force capable of autonomous plans--all these things have revived a sense of nostalgia and created a need, the extent of which we cannot underestimate. This need seems to me well-founded. The accompanying ambition reflects an intuitive view of the future.

European
Defense

But an honest examination of the question leads to the following observations. In the present state of affairs, Europe remains torn between the security that actually exists and the security for which it hopes. Its choice of the former is unquestionable. The Atlantic Alliance is nowhere near being supplanted by a European alliance. This follows from the fact that no military force is able to take the place of the American arsenal. France, in any case, will not use its nuclear capability other than for its own strategy of deterrence, and Europe as a whole will not take the risk of finding itself unprotected. Certainly, Franco-German military relations (in application of the Elysée Treaty), which remained a dead letter on this point for more than 20 years, have taken a new turn. We exchange information; we have joint discussions; we harmonize our moves. Likewise with the U.K.

But France has made no secret of the fact vis-à-vis its allies that beyond the protection of its national sanctuary and the vital interests that go with it, it cannot take responsibility for the security of Europe. For strategic reasons and reasons of international policy that result from the last war, the decision to use France's nuclear weapons cannot be shared.

There is still a wide field in which we will be able to provide more and more for our security. Not only through conventional arms but also through the new means that will be coming onto the world scene. We must already look beyond nuclear weapons if we do not wish to be left behind in a future that is closer than one might think. I will mention only one example: the conquest of space. For Europe to be capable of launching into space a manned station enabling it to observe and transmit information and therefore counter any eventual threat would be a major step toward its own defense. Not to mention the progress in electronic calculation and artificial memory and with it the capability, which is

already known, to fire projectiles that would travel at the speed of light. A European "space community" would, in my opinion, be the most appropriate answer to the military realities of the future.

In What Direction?

This is the third and last question that I ask myself even as I put it to you. It is my profound conviction that the disputes will not be resolved and that there will be no fresh start if Europe neglects or is afraid to give itself a political aim. This is where my question of a common defense assumes its fullest meaning. Can one conceive of military power--and what power--independent of a political power?

The time has come to give our institutions the coherence they lack. Thus the Council of Ministers would be inspired to spare the heads of state and government from having to deal with the motley assortment of day-to-day decisions. Also the overloaded agendas that have damaged the summit meetings of these past few years could thus be avoided. The experts, who it was thought had been removed from the final deliberations, come in through the back door, victoriously claim their files and have the last word. To prevent agencies proliferating, efforts being dispersed and responsibilities rotating improperly, I should also welcome it if the Ten were to set up a permanent secretariat along the lines proposed by Chancellor Kohl at the European Council meeting in Stuttgart. Active involvement of the assembly and the Council of Ministers in the area of international policy, with the assistance of the Commission where appropriate, would also be welcome.

But I will stop here. Since it has been in existence the Community has many times adopted worthy resolutions on such subjects as human rights, the ECSC, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Central America, southern Africa, East-West relations and the developing countries. Who would deny that the Lomé agreements are one of its greatest successes? A political consciousness is gradually taking shape, but it has to develop further. We should now expect Europe to help us give meaning to this world of ours. Europe that has known so many discoveries, inventions and achievements but that has also been ravaged and rent apart can aspire to bring us, and others with us, a message of reason and hope in man's ability to organize his future.

Foreign Affairs Department Backgrounder

JEWISH INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY FLOWERS IN FRANCE

An AJC Office Review of Jewish Cultural Life in
Eight West European Countries

Nives E. Fox, European Representative

Jewish cultural, spiritual and intellectual life is surging forward in France on a scale and intensity unimaginable only a decade ago and shows signs of positive ferment in several other West European communities as well.

Given the fact that well over half of West Europe's 1,200,000 Jews dwell in France and that several other communities are either holding their own or making some gains, the overall picture is today an optimistic one, for all that there are other lands where questions about cultural identity and spiritual development elicit rather grimmer responses.

Here is a bird's eye review of eight West European lands, based on a series of interviews with communal leaders by the European Office of the American Jewish Committee.

THE JEWISH CULTURAL EXPLOSION IN FRANCE

France, the fourth largest Jewish community in the world with approximately 700,000 Jews, has the richest vein of Jewish cultural life in Europe today. What is happening here is described as an explosion, an incredible flowering. The extent of Jewish cultural revival on every level is seen as nothing short of a marvel and is a constant source of happy astonishment.

One of its most striking aspects is the interest in Judaism taking place among the non-religious and those heretofore unattached. This interest has sprung up particularly among the 25-40 generation, much of which was formerly marginal and detached from anything Jewish. The non-formalistic approach is overriding. When ritual is practiced by this element -- which it is at times -- it is seen as form, not content, a symbolic act for transmission of tradition. What is sought is religious knowledge: for years now there has been a mushrooming of well-attended Bible and Talmud study groups. Small groups of friends gather to discuss, to search, to learn, prodded by a need to find their roots and identify, to understand what it means to be a Jew, what is the Jewish patrimony, to discover fundamental sources.

These groups are formed outside any organized community pattern precisely because the last is considered suffocating by them rather than liberating, and of little value. Many among those participating are former "1968 revolution" militants: Maoists, Trotskyists, ex-members of a variety of leftist grouplets, feminists, etc. Some trace their Jewish awareness to the murder of writer Pierre Goldman in the fall of 1979 -- Goldman being considered the marginal of marginals, a symbolic figure of 1968, yet one who spoke, wrote and died as a Jew. This return to Jewish fundamentals also is a reaction to the disillusionment that set in with many of the 1968 'isms', channeling the need for attachment and belonging elsewhere.

Only once -- in commitment to the existence of Israel but disagreement with certain of its positions -- did these many disparate groups unite, to launch the Peace Now movement in France. (This, incidentally, also found an echo in Belgium.) By plan, however, the movement was not to be a permanent

one and was dissolved...scheduled to re-emerge as the need for such action is felt again.

A NEW FORCE: THE JEWISH RADIOS

Another major and completely new factor in the French scene in recent years, giving unusual resonance to things Jewish, has been the appearance in France of "free" radio stations, known before the Socialist came to power as "pirate" radios.

Almost overnight four Jewish stations could be heard on the airwaves, adding to the effervescence: Radio Community, run by the Fonds Social Juif Unifié, the fund raising arm of the community; Radio "J" started by the anti-establishment Jewish Renewal group; and Radio Shalom, an arm of the Jewish Federation of France, the association formed by businessmen and traders after the Copernic synagogue was bombed October 1980. The fourth, and admittedly best, is "Radio Judaiques," the most intellectually oriented, ideologically to the Left, described by some as being "the submarine of the Socialist Party" but, in fact, setting out as its loftier aim "to scan the universe with a Jewish eye, without blinkers."

During a year of operation these stations have attracted virtually every segment of the Jewish population in Paris, approximately one half of the national total. "When I want to have news of the world I read Le Monde; but if I want to know what is happening in Jewish life I listen to the Jewish radio programs." It should be noted that this proliferation of private radios may not last, for the government is in the process of establishing some limitations. Four Jewish stations in Paris alone are perceived as a bit too many, and there is official reluctance to accept the dictum "two Jews make for three opinions...." But, one or perhaps two probably will remain at least. Meanwhile, during the past year of total freedom, all four radio stations contributed much to a sense of Jewish unity and identification, with newscasts, interviews, music, literary criticism and the furnishing of immediate information about Jewish activities -- not to speak of their spurring of larger attendance at all Jewish events. Radio "Judaiques" is manned only by volunteers. With no organizational funds available, it was nonetheless able to attract the help of professionals and very able non-professionals so as to become the most interesting of the four. So great is the general popularity of this new dimension in Jewish life, says one observer, that many Jews visiting the capital from the provinces spend a good deal of time just listening while here. There are plans for stations in Nice, Strasbourg and other centers with reasonably large Jewish populations.

Activity simmers on many fronts. One can no longer count the number of books, articles, colloquies and lectures on Jewish subjects. Here, too, the authors and speakers often are those who partake in the small study groups, the returnees or newcomers to Judaism. One cannot insist enough on their rejection of communal boundaries, on how they operate as individuals, in solitary search, a few converging and making ripples. New young writers like Alain Finkelkraut, Schmuël Trigano, Marco Koskas, Katia Rubinstein, Claudia Vegh, Paula Darmon, Henri Raczynow, and Guy Konopnicki have appeared on the scene alongside better-known ones like Andre Glucksman, Henri-Bernard Levy, E. Jabes, Rachel Ertel, Benni Levy (formerly Sartre's secretary)...and many, many more. They are so numerous indeed, that the question is posed whether one ought speak of a "French Jewish School."

Part of this surge of renewed Jewish vitality is the unexpected interest in Yiddish as a language and literature. This surprise development (bolstered by the sudden fame of Isaac Balashevis Singer) first manifested itself over two years ago, when a few days devoted to Yiddish culture were organized at the Pompidou Center. Three times as many persons showed up as could be accommodated.

Since then other similar manifestations have taken place, and Yiddish courses have multiplied. Not only are they offered formally, but also are undertaken in gatherings of small groups of friends, often overlapping those studying Bible and Talmud.

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Publicly organized festivals of Jewish culture continue, as for example, last year at the famous Cartoucherie in Vincennes or, recently, a fortnight of Jewish cinema. The Jewish imprint is also strongly visible in this medium. Not only the Jewish radio stations and press announce and comment on these events. They now are featured by the French radio, television and press as well.

THE RISE IN JEWISH RESEARCH AND STUDIES

Along with the quantity of books, articles, courses, lectures, discussions, festivals, exhibits to satisfy this hunger for things Jewish, one finds still another factor: a quantity and quality of higher Jewish teaching that is simply phenomenal. Even a partial listing cannot fail to impress.

In Paris alone there are thirteen academic, university-level institutions for Jewish studies and research. Not all reach the highest State Doctorate diploma level, but all fall within the end of the first, second or third cycles in higher education. There are eight faculties of the University of Paris with such chairs in addition to those at the College de France, the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, the Ecole Pratique des Sciences Sociales, the Institute of Oriental Studies and the National Center for Scientific Research. There are another ten university centers offering Jewish studies in major cities like Lyons, Tours, Montpellier, etc. Yiddish at university level is taught at one of the Paris faculties and at the Institute of Oriental Languages.

All this study and research has generated several high-level periodicals -- The Review of Jewish Archives (Jewish Archives are part of the French Commission of Archives); the Review of Jewish Studies (put out by the Society of the same name); Yod, a publication of the University Press. And this is far from a complete list which should certainly also include the Cahiers of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, a less than a year old Jewish literary journal (run by Benni Levy) called Trace, and some good community journals and institutional organs. Publishing houses putting out special Jewish series are more than doubled in the last few years. The first two were Albin Michel and Calman Levy; later Stock and Jean-Claude Lattes, and very recently Verdier, which issues Jewish philosophical texts. Long-standing, of course, is the popular Jewish monthly magazine, L'Arche.

Certainly, nobody doubts that very positive changes have taken place. After years of routine Talmud Torah and Sunday schools came a strong shift to Jewish day schools which combined general and Jewish education and, now, the solidly based, academic program covering all aspects of Judaism.

In this connection, it was heartwarming to hear that the American Jewish Committee's survey some ten years ago of university theses on Jewish subjects in France had not been forgotten: "You were the pathfinders at that time..." An up-to-date listing of current theses comes to 400-450. The FSJU University Commission, founded two years ago and presided by Jacques Attali, presently is working on a new, full listing of all available Jewish studies, possibly with the number of students attending. This will also include those sponsored by the Consistory and FSJU -- theological seminars, Yeshivot, etc. Further testifying to this exciting and stimulating state of Jewish cultural affairs is the fact that Attali, in spite of his busy job with French President Mitterrand, retains the Commission presidency.

Not to be overlooked, too, are signs of the revitalization of religious groups, evidenced by greater observance of orthodoxy and expanded religious teaching. A remarkable job is being done in some of the French Yeshiva schools, particularly that in Aix-Les-Bains, being carried out with a modesty and abnegation that are truly admirable, one is told. Yeshiva teaching for girls also is on the upsurge, to form future teachers. And Yeshiva couples have large families -- always good news in a Jewish world bemoaning the low birth rate. One hears, too, that a number of the young men at these Yeshivot have abandoned successful careers 'outside' to devote themselves completely to study and teaching in Yeshiva schools.

Also attracting more young people is the Lubavitcher group, whose joyous approach to Judaism pleases yet another part of French youth. Finally, in no other year to date have there been so many applicants (some 70 to 80 this year), more and more orthodox in leaning, applying to work as future rabbis and teachers.

It would take many more pages to describe this intense and growing development in France. What is so very extraordinary is that so far it has been constant, of high caliber, producing scholars and spreading apace. Dare one talk of a Jewish renaissance? An exaggeration, perhaps, yet one can still say that the necessary elements are there. As someone put it: "The trees are blooming. We still have to see the quality of the fruits. But they look very promising indeed."

Why all this Jewish vividness in France just now nobody can say. Some of the reasons ventured: the stimulus of a generally lively French intellectual climate; the tripling of the Jewish community in the last two decades; the meeting and fusion of two cultures, one virtually straight out of a mellah-ghetto situation (North Africa and other Middle East countries) avidly using new freedoms, and bringing fresh energies to the postwar French generations. It remains to be seen how profound and lasting will be this phenomenon, but it is a pleasure to behold.

BELGIUM: A CONTRAST IN COMMUNITIES

Inevitably, what is happening in France today tends to overshadow the situation in other lands, perhaps more than may be warranted. Partially, the French scene is reflected in Belgium, at least in its French-speaking sector. "There is a certain effervescence around Jewish identity and Jewish memory," as one Brussels leader puts it, "and moderate optimism for the future."

Most of the Belgian Jews live in the two cities of Antwerp (some 14,000) and Brussels (18-20,000). However, the difference of Jewish life in these two cities is enormous. In a way, Antwerp can be compared to a pre-war Jewish community in Poland: its Jews are very well organized, live together, work together, worship together. Jewish activities are developed on strictly religious and traditional bases, and some 90% of the children go to Jewish schools. It is this very rich traditional and religious life that compensates the very poor cultural one. Formal religious Judaism is transmitted well, but without evolution or creativity; and the result is somewhat sterile and sleepy. The battle of separate regions in Belgium between Walloons and Flemish has brought yet further contrast between the two Jewish communities. Though French still often prevails in Jewish Antwerp homes, the Jewish population now is bilingual -- and community Board meetings are held in Flemish.

Jewish life in Brussels is almost exactly opposite. The city had no Jewish schools before the war. Its Jewish population swelled in the 1930s with East European immigrants who were generally more politically laic in style and inclined to the left. The first school was established after the war with a classic, traditional type of teaching. In the 1960s a second school came into being, patterned on Israel's teaching system. Divergences in the community led to the establishment of still a third school, which is more progressive. Some 10-20% of the Jewish children in Brussels go to these schools, comparable to Jewish education proportions in other countries.

The Martin Buber Institute (part of the National Center for Higher Jewish Studies) is well implanted, dynamic and frequented by the youth, mostly as a result of many years of effort and devotion given to its programs by Professor Willy Bok. It offers almost daily activities as well as some 10-12 more formal lecture-courses a year. But the only Jewish Studies Chair in Belgium is at the Catholic University of Louvain, held by a Catholic priest. It is at Louvain, too, that work on theses of Jewish content is done, though not always by Jewish students: a young Indian is doing one about the French Jewish philosopher, Emmanuel Levinas, for example. There are about a dozen such theses now in course.

Three community centers provide the rest of Brussels' adult cultural activities. Two of them are traditional, one more than the other. Quite different, especially since it was revamped in 1976, is the third center with emphasis on the lay as opposed to the religious approach, as symbolized by its very name, Community Center for Lay Jews, whose prime supporters are businessman David

Susskind and his wife Simone. Flocking to it are those who seek a more progressive view, and more controversial and less conformist activities and discussions. The excitement generated by this new approach has done much to arouse competitive strains in the other two centers as well.

One basic divergence between the lay and other centers stems from positions toward the Middle East conflict. The Lay Center people talk about peace with the Palestinians, dialogue with anyone who is ready to recognize Israel and argue that Zionism and/or religiosity are not absolute prerequisites for Jewish identification. The difference in political stance is reflected, too, in discussion and study about Jewish philosophy and morals. This makes for an atmosphere that, albeit on a smaller scale, resembles the liveliness and content of some French activities. It attracts the same type of formerly unattached and uninterested youth as well as more mature individuals who heretofore saw no basis for ties with Jewish circles and who rejected the limited scope of organized community programs. They are now returning to a Jewish fold because a place is available that permits expression of a different view. Though Belgium has produced no local Jewish literary star, no grand artistic endeavor, the CCLJ does attract Belgian intelligentsia and, by extension, visiting French intelligentsia.

BRITISH JEWRY'S TRADITIONAL WAYS

British Jewry, the second in size in Western Europe (some 350,000) manifests itself in totally different ways. It may be because England's Jews lived the Hitler years differently or that it never has had any special penchant for politicization like the French, so that its youth had less reason to question past allegiances and are less disillusioned. Or that there was no major influx of immigration, like that of the North Africans into France. Basically, Judaism maintains its very own mode of expression in Great Britain: an attachment pretty much limited to a conservative concentration around the synagogue as the form most suitable for the Anglo-Jewish personality. And, in keeping with this, Jewish intellectual leadership comes primarily though not exclusively from the rabbinate. There are signs, though, that synagogue membership, the hallmark of British Jews' association with Jewish identity, is falling away, with the conservative bloc of synagogues paying much of the toll.

One reason for this shift in pattern is a rising level of interest in religiosity among the younger generation that leads to departure from mainstream synagogues to join smaller ones. Some set up small communities with forms of intense Jewish practice and study; others go to Yeshivas in England or in Israel or join Lubavitcher groups. One is told, for example, that a Lubavitcher symposium on mysticism a year ago was attended by more people than any similar gathering this year.

But if those who tend to stricter religiosity are finding an outlet others who question are in more difficult straits. There is no forum for intellectual Jews seeking identity outside the religious mode, it is argued, and the existing institutions are incapable of adapting to changes in Jewish consciousness. The result is something of a vacuum and there is a question of whether there ever will be anything. So, many are "turned off and the Anglo-Jewish personality has become unviable," as one observer put it.

The poverty of Jewish publications and general lack of writing about Jewish subjects gives credence this view. The major publication, the weekly Jewish Chronicle, remains widely popular and diffuses a sense of Jewish belonging among its subscribers, but also reflects, critics say, a "low denominator pastiche." Jewish writers -- mostly playwrights -- have not generated any following among Jewish youth. An Arnold Wesker, Bernard Kops, Jack Rosenthal, even a Harold Pinter, though deeply Jewish in feeling and occasionally writing about Jewish matters, aim for wider readership and success and have little relative impact. More is made by someone like Martin Gilbert, the historian who has done good work not only academically but with more popular productions under community auspices, such as his booklet on the Holocaust.

Actually, if anything can be said to provoke strong interest it is the Holocaust and writing about it as most prominently represented, perhaps, by the work of Professor George Steiner, who has written extensively on the subject.

Inquiries as to whether anything like the Jewish experience in France is taking place evokes a blank or a peripheral response. One is told of two socio-political Jewish groups recently formed and having some resonance. One is Jonah, organized to fight against nuclear armament and trying to apply Jewish teaching in this debate; the other is the Jewish Social Responsibility Council, whose aim is to work on relations with minority groups. However excellent as to their purpose they are hardly the stuff that makes for a Jewish renaissance.

Cultural activities are of the standard sort, e.g., events at the Ben Uri art gallery or the Institute of Jewish Music. There is now a project for setting up a Center of Jewish Cultural Events in the renovated Covent Garden area, but this is a plan still in search of sponsors. Jewish culture has acquired some added visibility thanks both to the BBC and the Independent chain, over and above a regular Sunday morning Jewish television program. But after one adds this all up one still comes to the conclusion that "Anglo-Jewry's cultural contribution is proportionately very high -- but for the general society." This well expresses the basic attitude: An Englishman... and Jew.

Probably the most positive sign for the future, it was remarked, is the progress in Jewish day schools. Some 10-15% of Jewish children now attend, a testimony of a basic sentiment among English parents for the need to transmit Jewish feelings and roots to their children.

Jewish studies on a university level are carried out at the University College of London, where a separate department was established years ago with the aid of the Memorial Foundation. It was hoped at the time that this initiative would be extended to other universities; but this has not happened. For the rest, there is little Jewish scholarship other than that imported from Israel or the United States.

Many British universities do have Hebrew studies. These, though, are seldom attended by Jewish students and really are meant for Christian theologians. In Sussex there is a Genocide and History Institute. The more exciting place and the only potential launching pad for greater cultural development is the Oxford Center for Hebrew Studies directed by Professor David Patterson and now celebrating its 10th anniversary. Like all university bodies in Great Britain today, however, the Center suffers from financial problems. It now nonetheless hopes to expand and establish at least ten new posts; and the next twelve months will therefore be crucial to its success. For the moment the Center people feel reasonably confident that this expansion will take place. The American Jewish Committee sponsored the compilation of a Register of Theses on Jewish Subjects carried out by the Center some eight years ago. "It was a most useful and used publication," says Professor Patterson, "and it is time for a new survey now." But unless AJC takes this on, it is doubtful that it will be done.

One should not forget the Hillel movement, relatively strong in Great Britain. Where Hillel Centers exist, they offer off-campus opportunities to Jewish students for courses, lectures, etc. Finally, there are the Seminaries -- -- Jews College, the Leo Beck Institute and several Yeshivot. As mentioned, some of the last are especially well attended lately, and part of the trend toward greater religious adherence.

The general position, then, is one of a declining community in Great Britain with emphasis on traditional forms and little new in content, and a few scarce points of progress. One should not underestimate the strength still inherent in British Jewry's communal approach, given its numbers and the comfort British Jews derive from their own particular style. Nonetheless, the situation does not bode well for the future.

ITALY: A CASE OF "GENTLE ABSORPTION"

"Considering our numbers"-- says one of the approximately 40,000 Jews of Italy --"we react well enough. But that is the trouble. Everything is

reaction to specific events, never action; and this mostly relating to political situations, to defend Israel, to combat anti-Semitism. There is no underlying strength or spiritual leadership in sight providing serious hope of continuity and richness in Jewish life and tradition. Our rare best people go to Israel, as do part of our meager funds."

The Italian Jewish community does face large problems: its own proper functioning, supporting of its Jewish schools, the maintaining of its cultural patrimony, one of the most ancient in Europe. The system of communal taxation of its members is largely circumvented. Contributions are much lower than they should and could be. Efforts to improve cultural levels are sporadic and little of long-range nature is planned.

The outside environment, too, makes greater and greater inroads. Jews have turned to time-consuming professions that leave little room for attention to subjects of Jewish content and tradition. There is no Jewish personality on the horizon to evoke admiration, no creativeness, no new approaches to attract youth. Even the current lively sale of books of Jewish interest (always translations) have a proportionately larger non-Jewish public.

In Italy, predictions of "gentle absorption" losses through intermarriage and indifference seem well-founded. At the same time, though, there is here too a slight movement among the young toward greater and stricter religious orthodoxy; plus a small influx from North Africa of Libyan Jews who are strong for upholding tradition.

HOLLAND: SIGNS OF NEW VITALITY

In Holland, as in Belgium and France, what is more interesting is happening outside the established organized bodies. There is a Chair on Judaica at the University of Amsterdam held by a non-Jew, and another is expected to be set up at the University of Leyden. The three Catholic universities of Utrecht, Amsterdam and Tilburg (in the South) all have a Jewish studies section, one taught by Rabbi Aschkenazi.

A recent publication entitled "Christian Theology after Auschwitz" by Hans Jansen created quite a stir -- it is a devastating critique of Christian isolation vis-a-vis Jews and a direct accusation of Christian responsibility in the annihilation of Jewish life in Europe. The stream of books and studies about Judaism and Jewish subjects written by Christians has led many of the young Dutch Jews to meet in small informal groups to study the Bible, discuss current Jewish writing as well as more historical works and a general Jewish soul searching.

Several other experiences show that new vitality is flowing into the Jewish cultural activities. The Jewish Museum in Amsterdam is becoming a pole of attraction for youth. It is directed by three young Dutch Jews (one a rabbi) trying to run it on the concept that one can create an atmosphere that stresses past Jewish culture and tradition and yet show how Jewish survival through the ages is related to present Jewish life. Gripping theater audiences recently, and with sold-out notices daily, is a play by Judith Herzberg. Its major theme is the psychological problems of the present generation who, as children, suffered the insecurity of persecution and must face the question of how to be Jewish, after such a past, in the modern world. The effect is one of immense self-identification and catharsis among the Jewish viewers who have had this experience as children.

It should be noted that Holland is the country that most delved -- and with scientific methodology -- into the effects of the Holocaust on the second and third generation of survivors. Jews in Holland say of themselves that compared to the rest of the Western world they took longer both to search out roots and to express Jewishness in literature and personal application; but, they add, as a result "We feel it more deeply and lastingly."

In any case, known Jewish authors began to write about their Jewish experience a few years ago, and continue doing so, either in biographical or novel form. There is great interest displayed among non-Jews over growing indications of a Jewish revival, and this interest in turn generates new developments of a Jewish nature. One journalist made a survey by interviewing six Jewish writers: all said they were profoundly in need of their Jewish roots and Jewish expression, though some said they were religious and others expressed agnostic views.

Unique in Europe, there is also a group of Jewish homosexuals that has become quite vocal lately. After a Liberal rabbi pleaded that this group not be harrassed because of its particularism, the group turned to the Liberals for support. Rumor has it that this public action may have been one reason behind a law being proposed that would forbid discrimination toward teachers on grounds of sexual habits or marital status. The Church and Jewish organizations are protesting; but the Liberal rabbis defend the proposed law. By this action, too, the Liberal movement is perceived as a challenging communal force.

One cannot say that the rest of organized Jewish institutional life has been influenced by the creative ferment taking place outside it.

Given this ferment, a different atmosphere has developed in Holland around Jews. Those Dutch who viewed them with feelings of guilt or a sense of responsibility for the destruction of this religious minority see that its spirit is far from gone, that few as Jews may be they are still active, involved and in the forefront of new thought and ideas. Contributing to this is the fact that Jewish political figures also now speak and write about their Jewish roots and how, as their careers progressed, awareness of Jewishness was fundamental in shaping their attitudes. Jews have made impact on the general scene in other ways as well, as with their protests against the lack of reaction among leftist political parties in Holland to the Soviet treatment of the Jews or to synagogue bombings in Europe by terrorist groups; and with calls upon the Left not to neglect the dangers of anti-Semitism.

It is with some optimism that the Jews themselves view prospects of Jewish life in The Netherlands. Among the younger generation and up-to-the-forty-or-so age group one sees emerge a healthy combination of Jewish-tinged creativeness, social awareness and attachment.

SWITZERLAND: CALM CONTINUITY

Among the smaller but not smallest communities Switzerland (21-22,000) shows a calm, steady continuation of routine community life and Jewish attachment. The emphasis is not so much on religion as the keeping of traditions. Adult education courses and lectures take place regularly and "though the numbers of those attending varies depending on what else is happening or whether there is a good movie on television that night," there is a good following. There are Jewish schools; but the only university level studies of Judaism are carried out at the Lucerne Faculty, taught by a Catholic priest -- "a good man."

The Swiss Federation organized an excellent exhibit in Zurich on the history of Swiss Jewry just recently, which turned out to be most successful. It was displayed in a city museum, widely publicized and more than 30,000 persons came to view it. The attractive book issued for the exhibit also was virtually sold out.

The Swiss community is among the most scattered in Europe. Here, too, there is a language problem -- not everyone in Switzerland is trilingual and much of what is produced in France, for example, can be utilized only in the French-speaking areas. Another serious problem is that it is an aging community. But one can say that every effort is being made to provide a maximum of cultural programs and the very best of communal facilities.

In Switzerland too there is growing polarization. The conservative elements tend toward more emphasis on religion and the progressive elements

toward indifference. Sometimes, after marriage, if both persons are Jewish, there is a return to Judaism for the sake of the children. As everywhere, intermarriage is growing, posing the same problem of a "gentle disappearance" that menaces Jewish life in so many places.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

It is difficult to try to evaluate cultural development among the 30,000 Jews living in Germany today. Very few of them lived there before World War II. The refugees from Eastern Europe and other lands who make up the overwhelming bulk are still in a process of integration.

There are courses of Jewish studies in the faculties of Frankfurt and Cologne, taught by non-Jews; and a new Academy of Jewish Studies in Heidelberg, part of the Christian-Jewish friendship effort. Some theses of Jewish content, less than a dozen, probably, are being prepared in all these establishments, including those of non-Jewish students. An occasional jolt also takes place, usually concerning the Holocaust and the still very difficult identification as a Jew in Germany. A book by a young woman, Lea Fleishman, entitled "This Is Not My Land" made quite a brouhaha over a year ago.

Strangely enough, however, the possibility of spiritual and cultural development is not excluded by knowledgeable observers. One definite basis for it could be the quite impressive amount of excellent scholarly works published in Germany (and for many years now) on Jewish history, Germany and the Jews, Christian/Jewish relations in Germany, Israel, Zionism, teaching about the Nazi period, etc.

They are financed (and the generally well-filled coffers in Germany permitted lavish financing for such purposes) by the State, the Church and the Christian-Jewish Friendship Societies, or private publishing houses. This massive material is a reflection of the very special problem of Jews and Germany; and for the time being does not have an impact on Jewish community life. But its very availability is in itself a meaningful development that may play a more direct and stimulating role in the future.

The some 10,000-12,000 Jews in Austria also are newcomers in the majority, with a very high percentage of elderly. There are the usual activities, lectures, an occasional seminar, and, of course, synagogues and a Center are functioning. But it is all something of a holding operation, in spite of a very small movement toward greater religious commitment among the youth, who join some of the extreme orthodox groups established in the country.

#

In 1958 there appeared the first issue of Community magazine, jointly published in Paris by the American Jewish Committee together with the Alliance Israelite Universelle of France and the Anglo-Jewish Association to help foster Jewish religious and cultural life in Western Europe. The editors turned to Professor André Néher of Strasbourg, one of the continent's outstanding intellectuals, to write the keynote, introductory article in the magazine. His essay was an expression of faith in the revival of European Judaism.

"Paradoxical European Judaism!," Néher exclaimed, "In the van of world Judaism for centuries, creator of a culture, a literature, a folklore and of religious and spiritual ways of living that still nourish Jews throughout the world, whether they live in Asia, Africa or America, and yet now so atrophied, mutilated and disorganized that one asks whether its existence ought to be prolonged.....In all justice, the historian is entitled to see in European Judaism a sick, old, human community for which the only reasonable treatment is to help it disappear rapidly....Why, then, are we so unreasonable? Why, in grave and frequent deliberation, do we seek every means to help European Judaism live?"

European Jewry's sense of survival, Néher replied, had to begin with its wounds, with its deep thirst to give meaning to what had happened to it. "...The moral future of universal Judaism," he continued, "depends upon the existence of these few fanatics in Europe who deal in absolutes, who neither wish to, nor could, wipe the tragedy off the slate. We can be sure, too, that these fanatics will approach social and cultural problems with similar intensity; and that they will begin with the basic problem so few men have time to think about -- namely, knowledge of one's self....We have developed the will to think, see and act as Jews, to accept even the gravest difficulties in this, to run risks. The final result is our concern for Jewish authenticity..."

"European Judaism," he concluded, "knows that it must make a strength of its weakness: because of its very lack of structure, of national identity, it must consider its Jewishness as something yet to be developed in the future, as a promise yet to be realized. This striving for a far-off but lofty goal is the secret of our energy."

The search for authenticity that Professor Néher so presciently described does indeed appear to lie at the root of the new Jewish *energy* one sees in Western Europe today.

June 18, 1982

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CONFIDENTIAL

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date 1/17/84
to Howard Friedman, Ted Ellenoff, Al Moses, Bob Jacobs,
Gordon Zacks, Rita Hauser
from Marc Tanenbaum and Bill Trosten
subject Meetings with French Jewish leaders, Jan. 12-13, 1984

At the December 12, 1983 AJC Board of Governors meeting in Washington, D.C., Bob Jacobs reported on our proposed plans to undertake a mission to meet with French government officials and others, parallel to similar missions to Germany, Central and Latin America, and the Soviet Union, as well as to Israel.

Some serious questions were raised regarding the mission, especially in light of the fact that the large, proud French Jewish community is competent to interpret and defend its own interests. The Board adopted a motion in two parts: a) that the idea of the missions be first discussed with key French Jewish leaders; and b) if there is no objection, the AJC leaders' mission to France would be undertaken, probably toward the end of February 1984.

To implement this mandate, we wrote to the following Jewish leaders who head the major French Jewish organizations (sample letter attached):

David de Rothschild, President, Fonds Social Juif Unifie (French UJA-CJFWF);

Theo Klein (international lawyer), President, CRIF;

Jean Paul Elkann (Director General of Christian Dior), President of the French Consistoire;

Jules Braunschvig and Gerard Israel, Alliance Israelite Universelle;

Mme. Nicole Goldmann, Director of the European Council of Jewish Organizations and board member of FSJU;

Chief Rabbi Rene Sirat.

The following week we telephoned Theo Klein of CRIF, the most important political action arm of French Jewry. Klein said he was sympathetic to our proposed mission, but suggested that we meet to discuss the entire matter at length.

We agreed to come to Paris on Jan. 12th and 13th. At our request, Nives Fox then arranged appointments with each of the principal persons listed earlier. In addition to these French Jewish leaders, an appointment was also arranged with Israel's Ambassador Ovadia Soffer at the Israel Embassy (formerly attached to Israel's UN Mission). We also had dinner with Colette Avital, Counselor and Press Officer to the Israel Embassy.

Our meetings were gratifying beyond our most optimistic expectations. As indicated in the letter attached, we made clear that our mission's purpose would be to discuss Franco-American relations of a broad geo-political character (as we have on innumerable occasions discussed foreign policy issues with our government and other governments) and to explore their implications for Jewish concerns centering on Israel, Soviet Jewry, Latin American Jewry, Falashas, South African Jewry, etc.--from an American Jewish point of view. We also indicated our great respect for organized French Jewry and that we had no intention of interfering in their internal affairs nor in their relationship with the French government.

Without a single exception, each of the French Jewish leaders approved and supported our mission. Several of the most important and influential leaders spontaneously offered to speak to their high-level contacts in the French government encouraging them to arrange for our AJC mission to be received on the highest levels--i.e., Prime Minister Mitterand, Foreign Minister Cheysson, etc. (Those who volunteered included Baron de Rothschild, Theo Klein and Jean Paul Elkann. The latter, the impeccably elegant director of Christian Dior, is a close friend of Giscard d'Estaing, and he suggested--as did Klein--that we also meet with the heads of both political parties to assure the bi-partisan character of our talks, as we did in Germany. We agreed that this was an excellent idea and that we would warmly welcome their assistance.)

There were a number of other "plusses" that came out of these meetings:

- 1) They all agreed to take part--assuming their calendars allow for it--in a briefing-orientation session with our AJC leaders prior to our meetings with French authorities, as well as in de-briefing sessions afterward;

- 2) Theo Klein has been discussing with P.M. Mitterand his forthcoming trip to the Ivory Coast and other West African countries to encourage diplomatic and trade relations with Israel. Since, Klein said, African countries are desperately eager for American economic aid, it would help him in his mission if

the AJC President would send him a letter (in French) supporting his trip. We responded sympathetically, and Klein offered to send us a draft letter;

3) Mme. Goldmann, an attractive, articulate (in English and French) and impressive person, invited closer collaboration with AJC in the European Jewish Council's programs with Jewish communities in Eastern and Western Europe. We responded affirmatively, and also invited her to address a forthcoming AJC meeting when she is in New York; she replied that she would be happy to do so;

4) Gerard Israel of the Alliance Israelite is a Deputy of the RPR (Rassemblement pour la Republique) Gaullist party to the European Parliament and serves on its Political Affairs working party which deals with human rights issues (63 African and Asian states are related to this group). After we described some of the human rights projects of the AJC and the Blaustein Institute which Sidney Liskofsky is handling so ably, Mr. Israel invited our closer collaboration. He asked that we send him copies of our human rights studies and publications and offered to arrange meetings with AJC human rights specialists and the European Parliament people (including Lord Bethell Nicolas who heads Political Affairs in Strasbourg).

5) Mr. Braunschvig discussed with us internal Jewish political developments relating to the World Jewish Congress and CRIF. He said that the Alliance, which has long and cordial ties with AJC, identifies strongly with AJC's position on cooperating with other umbrella groups where appropriate but maintaining independence in support of diversity and pluralism. He welcomed better communication and cooperation between our two groups.

6) Chief Rabbi Sirat, who spoke with us in the Great Synagogue, expressed concern over the presence of the large Arab Muslim group in France. He said there was need for building positive relations with Muslims, and urged us to co-sponsor with him, the Consistoire and Muslim groups, a symposium on Judaism and Islam. We said we would take his suggestion under consideration.

7) Both Israeli Ambassador Soffer and Mr. Elkann said that France, in search of a renewed "grand mission," is identifying itself as a bridge to the Third World nations and therefore there will be continuous stresses with Israel, as they include the Arabs in their pro-Third World stance. Therefore, our AJC mission can only help bring another American point of view which French officials need to hear from American citizens.

8) All the French Jewish leaders asserted that the French government is very much concerned about its image in America and with improving their political and economic ties with the U.S. They also said that French officialdom looks upon American Jewry as a major influence in America and undoubtedly would be eager to meet with us.

9) Most of the Jewish leaders asked for an update on AJC's recent interventions on behalf of Soviet Jewry and with West Germany regarding her proposed sale of arms to Saudi Arabia.

All in all, it could not have gone better! In light of this, we are strongly recommending moving forward in arranging our AJC mission to the French government--and, in fact, we will be doing so. We will be in touch with you as soon as we have an outline of a meeting schedule and dates.

AMERICAN JEWISH
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זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

cc: E. Winter, R. Maass



The American Jewish Committee

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

December 20, 1983

Mr. Théo Klein, President
Council of Jewish Institutions in France
19 rue de Teheran
75008 Paris, France

Dear Mr. Klein,

Our mutual friend and my colleague, Yehuda Rosenman, has spoken warmly of his relationship with you and has asked that I express to you his best wishes.

My purpose in writing to you is to share with you a proposal and to request the benefit of your advice. Since the idea is somewhat complex, it might be helpful if we could arrange to meet together shortly, or at least discuss it over the telephone.

As you may know, for decades the American Jewish Committee has been deeply involved in a foreign affairs program that is dedicated to serving the causes of Israel, Soviet Jewry, and world Jewry generally and to promote good relationships between the U.S. and other countries devoted to the spirit of democracy and equality. We have sought to advance the interest of *klal Yisrael* through a prudent and judicious use of our influence in political and economic arenas of American foreign and domestic policy, as well as through the mobilization of the considerable resources of our leadership throughout the United States.

In this perspective, we have inaugurated in recent years a series of missions to heads of various governments, political parties, cultural and social forces. Our most recent successful experiences have involved discussion of American and U.S. Jewish foreign policy concerns with key elements of the Federal Republic of Germany, and most Latin American countries. In January we shall be meeting with the heads of all the Jewish communities in Central America in Guatemala, and then with government officials. We also maintain contact with government, political and other personalities in key areas in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

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In view of a number of problems in mutual perception which have arisen in relations between France and the United States, with obvious implications for Israel, Soviet Jewry, and Israel's role in French-speaking West Africa, our leadership has come to feel that it would be useful for the AJC to undertake a mission to France for a series of foreign policy discussions concentrating on Franco-American relations. Among the issues we plan to discuss are East-West relations, nuclear defense, terrorism, and relations with the Third World, particularly the stabilization of the Middle East, as it concerns Israel, the neighboring countries, the U.S. and France.

We have met with French Embassy officials in the United States recently on an informal basis and they have encouraged our undertaking such a mission to Paris, suggesting the end of February as a possible date.


Out of our deep regard for the autonomy and primacy of the French Jewish community, we felt that before we begin to organize our program with the French government, that we should seek your counsel and advice. We wish to make clear that we have no intention of dealing with internal French Jewish concerns, since your community leadership is clearly competent to represent its own interests. At the same time, since France is one of the major Jewish communities in the world today, we are very much interested in its welfare.

In planning our mission, our first desire would be to meet with you and the leadership of CRIF, as well as with other representative French Jewish bodies. Perhaps we might arrange to begin our mission with a luncheon or dinner with French Jewish leadership and have the benefit of your collective thinking before we proceed with our broader discussions with French government officialdom.

I would be most grateful if we could have the benefit of your views at your early convenience.

With warm good wishes, I am,

Cordially,



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations Department

MHT:RPR

cc: Nives Fox
bc: Bill Trosten

France interested in more joint projects with Israel

PARIS (JTA) — France is interested in expanding its industrial and economic cooperation with Israel and wants to pursue a policy of joint projects in technical and scientific fields. This was reported by the French minister for industry, Laurent Fabius, who stressed at a joint study group here that government is giving priority to such projects.

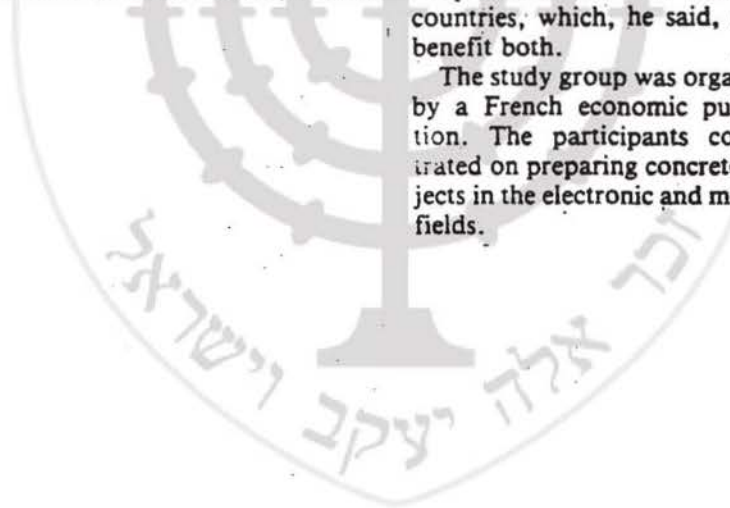
Fabius' declaration was read before the 200 assembled French and Israeli businessmen, bankers

and technicians by one of his aides. The minister was meeting with President Francois Mitterrand at the time.

Israel's new ambassador to France, Ovadia Soffer, also stressed the complementary nature of French and Israeli societies. He stressed Israel's high level of technical and scientific development which, he said, could benefit its West European partners. Senate president Alain Poher also called for increased cooperation between the two countries, which, he said, could benefit both.

The study group was organized by a French economic publication. The participants concentrated on preparing concrete projects in the electronic and medical fields.

Sentinel
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Unrest Poses Questions For French Possessions

By JOHN VINOGRU
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Dec. 3 — A recent series of bomb explosions on the island of Guadeloupe in the Caribbean has emphasized a touchy but unanimously accepted notion here: Things are not going well in France's overseas territories.

A recent National Assembly debate carried with it a sense of malaise about France's possessions, and pessimism about the Government's chances of finding remedies for their problems. In recent weeks, separatist bombs exploded in Guadeloupe, wounding 23 people; a strike closed down public services on the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the coast of Canada, and the tourist industry in Tahiti was severely affected by labor stoppages and Polynesian workers' battles with the police. In New Caledonia, announcement of a projected referendum on the Pacific island's status in 1989 seemed to satisfy neither separatists nor loyalists.

The traditional reflex of successive governments here in dealing with the problems of what is called Overseas France — offering more money — has run into the reality of President François Mitterrand's austerity program.

Two weeks ago the Government came up with a direct assistance package of about \$1.6 billion for the overseas territories in 1984, but found none of the parties in the National Assembly reacting favorably. The nominal increases over previous appropriations would be swallowed up by inflation, and the Socialist legislator who presented the bill, Maurice Ponschon, said "honesty and clarity oblige me to recognize that the credits suffer from" the Government's curbs on spending.

'You Don't Understand'

The parliamentary debate avoided the issue's central aspects — the advantages and drawbacks for France of having island possessions in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans — but it tacitly acknowledged that the Socialist Government had not brought enormous new light to the question. A Socialist legislator from Guadeloupe, Frédéric Jalton, addressing the Government, said: "We've got the impression you're not conscious of the particular difficulties of an underdeveloped country. We've fought for radical change, but it's as if you don't understand that we

wanted something different than what metropolitan France wanted."

Most of the attention has now turned to Guadeloupe, although great concern remains about the future of New Caledonia, the Pacific territory rich in nickel, where French policemen have been fired on, and a mood of confrontation has developed between white settlers and non-European groups.

Government officials in Paris describe the Guadeloupe situation as serious because it appears to involve a closely knit terrorist group with a strong ideological orientation. The group, which calls itself the Caribbean Revolutionary Alliance, is thought to have as few as 20 activists, but may possess a large stock of arms and explosives.

The group attacked for the first time in May, setting 17 bombs in Guadeloupe, on the neighboring island of Martinique, and in French Guiana on the northern coast of South America. In a statement after a car-bomb explosion in Guadeloupe on Nov. 18, the group said, "Our actions, in their present phase, involve harassment of French occupation troops," adding that subsequent attacks would be "more direct."

'For a Free Caribbean'

"We will encounter the French bandits face to face in the full light of day," the group went on. "We've chosen to devote ourselves to battle for the cause of independence, for a free Caribbean and the Grenadian brothers in particular, and against American expansionism."

Although French Government officials play down a Cuban connection, French Socialist Party specialists have told reporters privately that Cuban interest in Guadeloupe is suspiciously intense. An article in a recent issue of the left-wing magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*, which has good connections in the Government, described the Caribbean Revolutionary Alliance as "being in liaison with Moscow, and receiving support from Cuba."

The Government's concern about Guadeloupe has grown because a machine-gun attack on the home of a separatist leader followed the car-bomb explosion. It later sent police reinforcements whose job is apparently not only to discourage the terrorist group but to trying to head off a chain of reprisal attacks.

The Government regards support for an independence movement in Guadeloupe as extremely small — living conditions and yearly average income on the French Caribbean islands are superior to those of their neighbors — but it sees developing insecurity there as a domestic political liability over the long term. Coming in a year when there have been 338 bomb attacks on the island of Corsica, the opposition parties have attacked the Socialist Government as unable to maintain order, and accused it of providing the Caribbean Revolutionary Alliance with a nucleus of support by offering amnesty two years ago to members of the Guadeloupe Liberation Army Group, another separatist faction.

Conflicting Considerations

In dealing with tensions in so many areas, the Government is confronted with an extremely complex and daunting skein of loyalties, traditions, pres-



Police in Basse-Terre, Guadeloupe, inspecting the wreckage of a car destroyed by a bomb on Nov. 18.

ing considerations and strategic interests.

In some cases the possessions are relatively important factors in maintaining a significant global role for France. French Polynesia, an overseas territory, for example, contains the French nuclear weapons testing centers, and French Guiana, the French space and satellite launching center. On the other hand, islands such as St. Pierre and Miquelon, an overseas department with a population of 6,100, have little more holding them to France than sentiment and a sense of mutual obligation.

The economic situation of the possessions is uniformly poor. Prices for New Caledonia's nickel have fallen sharply, and in the case of Guadeloupe, unemployment has increased by 18 percent

in a year. The French Caribbean's bananas and sugar are increasingly non-competitive in world markets because labor costs on Martinique and Guadeloupe are estimated as being about five times higher than those on other islands in the region.

Socialist policy has led to the election of regional assemblies in some of the areas, but the complaints about them are essentially those heard in France about their counterparts here. Without sufficient funds, they are hindered in bringing much noticeable change or developing more control over local affairs.

Unable to develop a uniform policy toward the territories because of their varied characteristics, the Government has been faced with contradicting itself. The Socialist election platform

on the overseas possessions in 1981 said that "if the overseas people express the wish to accede to independence, the Socialist Party, in power, will let them have this possibility." Yet, once elected, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, speaking of French Guiana, said it is "a French department and will remain one."

In most cases the Government is hard pressed to satisfy anyone. Two weeks ago, in reply to the announcement of a referendum on New Guinea's status in 1989, the territory's independence movement said the plan really was an attempt to avoid all decisions by pushing the date for a choice beyond the next presidential elections in 1988, when new leadership in Paris could adopt completely different policies.

In Paris, Thousands March Against Racism

By FRANK J. PRIAL
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Dec. 3 — Tens of thousands of Parisians and three Government ministers joined today in the last segment of a march against racism that was begun nearly two months ago in Marseilles by 30 young people, most of them children of North African immigrants.

Soon after the march ended at the Montparnasse railroad station at 5 P.M., eight of the original 30 marchers were received by President François Mitterrand at Elysee Palace.

The 700-mile march, which began with almost no publicity on Oct. 15, took on political significance as religious and civic groups and finally the French Government itself came to its support.

Most opposition political groups ignored the march. The far right, which has criticized the country's immigration policies, denounced it.

Victims of Violence

The original marchers, who included some young French men and women, said they wanted to demonstrate against racism and for equality, and to publicize the fate of the many North

African immigrants and their families who have been victims of growing violence.

They say more than 200 immigrants, mainly from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, have met violent deaths in France in the last two years. There are about three million immigrant workers in France, most of them from North Africa. "We want to show that the French and immigrants can live together, in spite of their differences, in an integrated society," the marchers said in a statement.

The immigrants and their supporters say many of the deaths were a result of the unparalleled increase in racist sentiment in France in recent years. Much of the animosity stems from the competition for the dwindling number of jobs between native French workers and the immigrants. Many thousands of the so-called immigrants were actually born in France. They are children of North African workers, many of whom were welcomed here in better times to fill menial jobs that French workers would not take.

Among the Government leaders who joined the march from the Bastille, in the eastern part of the city, to Montparnasse, in the south, were Foreign

Minister Claude Cheysson and two Secretaries of State, Georgina Dufoux and Eugénie Bouchardou.

Labor leaders and members of Jewish and Catholic organizations also took part. The Archbishop of Paris, Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger, supported the march and took part in it briefly Friday before the group reached the city. The playwright Fernando Arrabal and the singer Enrico Macias, himself an Algerian, were also among the marchers.

Most of the 30 original participants came from Minguettes, an area of decayed housing projects and high crime near Lyons where battles between the police and the North Africans have been waged for several years.

The idea for the march is attributed to Toumi Djaidja, a young Algerian from Minguettes. He said the idea came to him as he lay in a hospital recovering from gunshot wounds received when he intervened in a fight at his housing project. The idea gained more momentum a month when Habib Grimzi, a 25-year-old Algerian vacationing in France, died Oct. 15 after being beaten and thrown alive from a speeding train by four youths, recruits on their way to begin training in the Foreign Legion.

'Anti-Semitism in France has backfired' says chief rabbi

NEW YORK (JTA) — Anti-Semitism in France appears to have backfired as a result of the solidarity French Christians have demonstrated with the Jewish population of France, Chief Rabbi Rene Sirat said here. That solidarity, he stated, has resulted in the increasing isolation of the anti-Semites instead of the isolation of French Jews, which had been the aim of the anti-Semites.

The chief rabbi made those observations at Yeshiva University where he was guest of honor

must take precautions, the government protection of synagogues during the recent High Holy Days was successful in averting acts of violence."

Sirat said there is a renewed commitment to Judaism in France. He noted that attendance in Jewish day schools has doubled in the past few years and now totals some 9000 students. One of his goals is to double that figure, he said. He also spoke of the growing baal t'shuva movement, particularly among Jewish in-

'French Christian solidarity has resulted in increasing isolation of the anti-Semites instead of isolation of the French Jews....'

recently at a reception hosted by university president Dr. Norman Lamm. During the reception, Sirat was presented with a two-volume study of Sephardic law and customs written by Dr. Herbert Dobrinsky, vice president for university affairs.

Sirat, the first Sephardi in nearly 200 years to hold the post of chief rabbi of France, told a press conference before the reception that there are a number of manifestations in France of the growing Christian-Jewish solidarity. He cited as an example the 300,000 people who marched to protest the terrorist attacks on the Rue Copernic Synagogue and Jo Goldenberg's restaurant in Paris.

"Before World War II such a demonstration would never have taken place," he said. "Although there still are tensions and Jews

tellectuals.

Sirat, who is the head of the department at the Sorbonne which includes Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino and Judaic-Arabic studies in language and literature called for the initiation of a Jewish-Moslem dialogue on a theological basis, similar to that which now exists between Jews and Christians. He lauded the recent pronouncement by Roger Cardinal Etchegarary, archbishop of Marseilles, who declared that Christians must beg forgiveness for their persecution of the Jews, a pronouncement the chief rabbi called "unique in Jewish Christian relations."

New Jewish center dedicated in old section of Paris

PARIS (JTA) — A new Jewish community center has been inaugurated in the old Paris Montmartre area. The center consists of some 40 double rooms to serve as an old people's home and a nursery which can take in 75 children on a day-care basis. It will also serve some 600 kosher meals a day.

Some two-thirds of the center's budget was provided by the City of Paris social services agency and part of the rest by an association comprising some of the veteran Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe or their descendants.

The president of the association, advertising tycoon Marcel Balustein-Blanchet, said that many of the early postwar Jewish immigrants landed in Montmartre where the center was originally opened in 1932 in two small rooms. Balustein-Blanchet said that the center will also cater to the needs of many of the area's non-Jewish old or needy.

November, 1983 Sentinel

Rightwingers accuse French Jews of 'colonizing' France

PARIS (JTA) — French Jews were accused of "colonizing" the country, controlling representatives of six extreme rightwing organizations at a recent meeting here attended by close to 8000 people. The gathering was dubbed "Friendship Day" by the organizers and was an effort by the extremist groups to try to unify their forces and strengthen their impact in the political arena.

Several of the speakers at the meeting said that two of the government's Jewish cabinet members, Transport Minister Charles Fitterman, a Communist, and Justice Minister Robert Badinter, a Socialist, "represent the two traditional poles of Jewish influence: Marxism and capitalism."

Arnoud de Lassus, representing an association of Catholic school parents, said "Badinter is the son-in-law of the king of French advertising and one of the country's riches men, Marcel Blaustein-Blanchet, while Fitterman headed the (Communist) party school for cadres. This is the first time that the two exponents of Jewish colonialism sit in the same government. It is as if Rothschild and (Karl) Marx had been ministers together in their days."

The extreme right has been deeply split since the end of the war and until last month had failed to play an active role in French politics both on the national and local level.

Last month, the center-right opposition parties for the first time concluded a formal alliance with the extreme right to contest the municipal elections in the city of Dreux. Their joint platform was based on their opposition to the presence in France of immigrant guest workers whose percentage is especially high in industrial Dreux, hard hit by unemployment.

Although many liberals opposed the deal, the opposition won a sweeping victory. Simone Veil, a prominent Gaullist leader and often mentioned as a possible presidential candidate in 1988, said she could not approve this sort of political alliances and stressed that she herself would have abstained had she had to choose between the government coalition and an opposition linked to the extreme right.

Some liberals within the Gaullist and Republican parties, led respectively by Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac and former President Valery Giscard D'Estaing,

privately continue to echo Veil's warnings.

Most commentators, nonetheless, believe that the center-right parties' campaign committees plan to continue, whenever useful, their alliance with the extreme right. Many campaign workers say the extreme right helps to mobilize votes on certain popular issues and yet "is not important enough to influence party lines."

Extreme rightwing spokesmen also generally deny, at least in public, any anti-Semitic policy or intentions and claim that their views are "badly misinterpreted and misrepresented by the media."

At the recent meeting, many of the speakers were not only openly anti-Semitic but also opposed the Protestant minority and to what some of the speakers said was "the growing influence of the Massonic lodges." Two non-Jewish ministers were singled out for attack: Agriculture Minister Michel Rocard, a Protestant, and Defense Minister Charles Hernu, a Mason.

The most violent attacks were directed, however, at the Jews and alleged Jewish influence on government decisions. One of the speakers, militant Catholic writer Romain Marie, accused Jews "of putting the interests of Judaism far above the interests of France." He added: "The Jews claim that we are anti-Semitic. We should retort that we are anti-Communist and that Communism is mainly Jewish. Jews still are a majority within the Communist International, an international of murder."

French Bishops Explain A-Arms Vote

By JOHN VINOCUR

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Nov. 11 — French Roman Catholic bishops, who agreed this week that nuclear deterrence is a legitimate defense, based their conclusion on what they described as the "aggressive and dominating character of Marxist-Leninist ideology."

Their conclusion was contained in a document issued Tuesday night on the threat of nuclear war. In the document, called "Win the Peace," they said deterrence was needed to dissuade aggressors. At the same time, they denounced the risks of disarmament by one side alone.

Constant pressure is being exerted on Western democracies to neutralize them, the bishops said, and Communist ideology considers that "everything, even the aspiration of people for peace, must be used for the conquest of the world."

The tone and approach of the document, approved by the bishops with two dissenting votes, was widely compared here with a document by American Roman Catholic bishops in May that called for a halt to production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons.

Support for Socialists

The French bishops' position represented tacit support for the Socialist Government's nuclear policies and was welcomed by all the major political parties with the exception of the Communists. Georges Marchais, the Communist Party's general secretary, said the statement "justified the arms race," and the leading French pacifist group called it "a very hard blow, a counteroffensive meant to trip up the pacifist movement."

Some individual voices, including a few from the left wing of the Socialist Party, also questioned the statement.

One of the document's authors, Msgr. Jacques Jullien, Bishop of Beauvais, explained the development of the bishops' support of nuclear deterrence this way: "We're dancing on the brink. In this situation of extreme distress, the choice is between nonwar and slavery — the gulag or Finlandization — and we are picking something better than nothing, the nuclear situation."

The document said that "the central question is the following: In the present geopolitical context, does a country whose life, freedom and identity is

menaced have the right to parry this radical threat with an effective, even nuclear, counterthreat?"

"Until now," it says, "while stressing the limits of this method and the enormous risk it contains, the Catholic Church has not condemned it."

'Attempts to Neutralize'

While accusing the West of being sick with materialism, the document stresses what it calls the injustice of placing the forces in the world on the same moral level, and it points to "con-

Ransom for Heineken Is Said to Be \$8 Million

AMSTERDAM, Nov. 11 (AP) — Dutch newspapers said today that the kidnapers of Alfred H. Heineken had demanded a ransom of at least \$8 million for him and his chauffeur.

The 60-year-old chairman of Heineken Breweries and his 37-year-old chauffeur, Ab Doderer, were kidnapped as they left the company's headquarters here Wednesday evening.

The country's largest daily, De Telegraaf, said the abductors were demanding the equivalent of \$8.1 million in ransom. Het Parool, Amsterdam's biggest evening newspaper, said the ransom was the equivalent of \$10 million. Neither newspaper identified the source of its information, and Dutch officials would not confirm any figure.

The police and the management of Heineken imposed a news blackout on the abduction at the demand of the kidnapers, who made their first contact in a written note Thursday.

De Telegraaf's account said the message called on the brewery to reply through an advertisement in the newspaper.

The police and brewery officials declined all comment on the reports and would not say whether the kidnapers had made further contact with the brewery.

Before the news blackout a Heineken spokesman said the brewery would pay a ransom "because the safety of both gentlemen is our first and foremost concern."

stant attempts to neutralize the Western democracies and bring them if possible into the sphere of influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology."

"In these conditions," it says, "doesn't the absolute condemnation of all war place peaceful peoples at the mercy of those inspired by an ideology of domination? To escape war, these peoples risk succumbing to other forms of violence and injustice: colonization, alienation, removal of their freedom and their identity. In an extreme sense, peace at any price leads a nation to every variety of surrender. Unilateral disarmament can even provoke aggressiveness in neighbors nourishing the temptation to seize a too easy prey."

The bishops acknowledged that there were considerable dangers in the logic of nuclear deterrence, but separated as moral unequals threats and actual use. Threats are in the nature of deterrence, they said, and this is "too often forgotten when threats are given the same moral classification as use."

For nuclear deterrence to be morally acceptable, the bishops asserted, it must involve only defense, avoid overarmament and take all possible precautions against errors. "The nation that accepts the risk of nuclear deterrence," they said, must "follow a constructive policy in favor of peace."

Vote of 83 to 2

Msgr. Jacques Gaillot, Bishop of Evreux, one of the two bishops who voted against the document — 83 were in favor and 2 abstained — described it as "too prudent, too reasonable and insufficiently prophetic."

"It's certain," he said, "that it will please a lot of people, principally the military, but I would have preferred that no statement be issued."

The bishops were accused by Georges Montaron, a pacifist and director of *Témoignage Chrétien*, a leftist Roman Catholic publication, of "aligning themselves with the military policy of the French Government."

"They even specifically designated an adversary, something we've never seen done by the episcopate," he said. "If our strike force can kill 20 million Soviets, well, then, as far as the bishops are concerned, you can use this blackmail."

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French Jewry Today

Except for a small number of pro-Palestinian militants, French Jews are united around the imperative issue of the survival of Israel. The ties that bind them to Israel are complex and eventually contradictory.

A Remarkable Revival

Dominique Schnapper

For European Jews, France has always played a special role. Throughout the 19th century and until 1940, France was the original country of emancipation, the first in Europe to grant legal equality and civil rights to Jews during the period of the French Revolution. It is not by chance that a Yiddish proverb uses the phrase "happy as God in France."

Until 1940, French Jews believed that, by some historical miracle, the France of the Revolution and the Rights of Man would incarnate the Jewish ideal. This belief helped them to reconcile their French patriotism in its universalist dimension with their Judaism.

However, by the end of the 19th century this image had greatly changed as a result of the Dreyfus affair, which sent shock waves through France, the Jewish communities of Europe and elsewhere in the world. For French Jews, it was more than a matter of anti-Semitism; rather it represented the eternal struggle—of justice against reasons of state. The Dreyfus episode also greatly influenced Theodore Herzl, who was in Paris at the time, and contributed to his conviction that Jews must have their own homeland.

In recent years, particularly in the United States, uncertainty about France with regard to its treatment of Jews has become increasingly sharp. The attitude of President Charles de Gaulle was criticized, and his sharp characterization of Jews as "a proud and domineering people" was widely resented. Two attacks in the past few years—one on the Copernic syn-



A butcher shop in Aix-en-Provence.

Dominique Schnapper is a professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. Her book, Jewish Identities in France: An Analysis of Contemporary French Jewry (University of Chicago Press), has just been published.

agogue in October 1980 and the other in the rue des Rosiers in August 1982—created violent reactions. To some Americans, France has lately appeared, unjustly, as the major center of anti-Semitism today. While for many decades France symbolized the country where Jews were freest and happiest, now in the eyes of some foreigners it seems to be a place Jews should leave.

Perhaps it is time to look at France and its Jews with an unjaundiced and realistic eye.

To begin with, the present French Jewish population is a very heterogeneous community, with a variety of geographic origins. Except for a small group, descendants of those who settled in France more than two centuries ago and are now largely assimilated into the non-Jewish population, they are members of two principal groups. First are the Ashkenazim, whose parents and grandparents emigrated from Eastern and Central Europe from the end of the 19th century onward, and especially between the two world wars. (They were originally known as "Poles," for the country which provided the greatest number of newcomers.) Second, in recent times, many Sephardim came from North Africa, seeking new homes in France after the colonies there attained independence. Though there were never the social problems between these two groups in France as there have been in Israel, basic differences do exist and the community has been much changed by the arrival of the North African Jews.

When World War II ended, French Jewry numbered half as many persons as before the Nazis sent some 90,000 to their deaths. To a large extent the survivors were middle class, many inclined toward assimilation, and they were somewhat shaken by the arrival of the first North African Jews in the 1960s. The large number of new immigrants eventually quadrupled the Jewish population, making the French Jewish community the largest in the free world, after the United States.

The dynamism, activism, Mediterranean life-style and knowledge of French culture acquired during the colonial period plus the religious dimensions of the traditional practices of these Jews of Algeria, Tunisia and

Morocco—all these factors have contributed to both the upheaval and the blossoming of French Judaism since they arrived. There were, of course, what might be called growing pains in older communities where the size of the group expanded, sometimes suddenly, to ten times what it had been earlier. There were occasional conflicts between groups which followed different forms of religious practice. But French Jewry also witnessed the resurrection of old communities, some moribund for many years, especially in such places as Avignon and Aix-en-Provence in the south of France. An interesting example of the kind of change that has taken place is the 18th-century synagogue of Carpentras—in southeast France, twelve miles northeast of Avignon—which had been transformed into a museum for more than a century and is now a center for North African Jews in the area.

Today the Sephardim make up the most religious and most active group in France with respect to their participation in religious, cultural and political associations; their enrollment in Jewish schools, and their observance of the Sabbath and adherence to dietary laws. Perhaps it is fitting, then, that the Grand Rabbi of France, René Sirat, a native of Algeria (who is also professor of Hebrew at the University of Paris), is in a real sense a reflection of the most religiously conscious and lively core of French Judaism.

Another effect of the Sephardi immigration is the change in the French Jewish population, which is now as varied as the population of France itself. The community incorporates middle class fifth- and sixth-generation French citizens, professionals and intellectuals, descendants of "Polish" shopkeepers, formerly Tunisian and Moroccan workers, shopkeepers and businessmen, and Algerian civil servants.

Through this "Sephardization," France—where Jewish assimilation once was widespread—is now witnessing a strong revival of Jewish eth-

nic consciousness. This is reflected in the massive growth of Hebrew studies at all levels, an increase in the number of students of Jewish culture and history, and the number of publications devoted to Jewish subjects. More and more Jews are regularly taking part in religious services and in public events relating to Jewish life. Even some of the formerly assimilated Jews are now involved in such activities; their grandparents would probably have observed this renewal of interest in Judaism (which in their time had been reduced to a family memory) with astonishment.

Among those who also have joined in are former leftists of the 1960s and 1970s now devoting themselves to study of the Talmud. In national community organizations, ex-communists have been given positions of responsibility. The journey back for some begins with an interest in Israel; they start to learn Hebrew and then join Zionist organizations. Some degree of religious observance follows, usually symbolic at first (for example, refusing to eat pork or shellfish, fasting on Yom Kippur) and later, somewhat stricter. A few end up by adhering to Orthodox Jewish tradition.

While no exact statistics are available, clearly the numbers who are becoming actively Jewish are still limited to a relatively small percentage of the Jewish population. For the majority, which tends toward assimilation, two features predominate. They have a common concern, Israel, and a common characteristic, an extreme sensitivity to anti-Semitism.

Except for a very small number of pro-Palestinian militants, French Jews are united around the imperative issue of the survival of Israel. The ties that bind them to Israel are complex and eventually contradictory. French *aliyah* has always been very limited; barely a few hundred Jews, mainly religious North Africans, leave France each year to settle there and only a few Jews of French or Ashkenazic origin depart. Unquestionably, the majority are comfortable in the French

Perhaps it is time to look at France and its Jews with an unjaundiced and realistic eye.

culture; their religious practices or ethnic consciousness find room for expression in this democratic society.

The significance of each person's ties to Israel depends upon the form of his or her Judaism, personal history and connections in the Jewish world. For religious Jews, Israel is the Promised Land. For nonreligious Jews, who have concentrated their Judaism on pro-Israel activities, the attachment has been transposed to a historical and political level. The latter see Israel not as the Promised Land, but as necessary for the survival of the Jewish people and the perpetuation of Judaism. All the same, even the most assimilated maintain a special relationship with Israel and would consider its disappearance a posthumous victory of Nazism—the Absolute Evil. Thus, during the Six Day War, considered a time of mortal danger for Israel, a sudden and surprising spirit of “belonging” was manifested among totally assimilated Jews, who had thought that they had lost all feelings of solidarity.

Since World War II, many Jews have ceased to believe that France is the country of miracles. The common destiny created at Auschwitz introduced a radical break. Going from one extreme to the other, the tendency now is to overestimate French anti-Semitism and to consider France the country of anti-Semitism.

It must, however, be remembered that this large and vibrant Jewish community expresses itself and conducts its activities with complete freedom. The Copernic and rue des Rosiers attacks that shocked Jewish opinion were not acts of anti-Semites but of international terrorists, and

were unanimously condemned by French political, religious and moral authorities. It is true that President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing gave the impression that he did not understand Jewish sensitivity, resulting from the fact that such incidents immediately reminded Jews of their parents' experiences—the indelible memory which makes any attack on a Jewish community the foreshadowing of a new deportation. However, while the former president demonstrated a lack of personal sensitivity, as a statesman he declared himself entirely on the side of the Jewish population.

Still, while charges of anti-Semitism in France should be weighed carefully, currently there are two other disturbing factors—which, sadly, are not peculiar to France alone, but rather to all of Western Europe. The first results from the so-called “balanced” policy between the Arabs and the Israelis that Europe seeks to develop in the Middle East—a policy which Jews find is tilted in the Arabs' favor. Many believe that President François Mitterrand, whose personal sympathies for the Jewish people are well known, supports a policy not very different from that of his predecessor.

The second factor, which also exists in other European countries, is the uneasiness which developed out of the attitude of the mass media toward Israel during the Lebanon war last year. Regardless of the validity of political or moral aspects of Israeli policy, many Jews found much evidence of unfairness among journalists whose articles were systematically unfavorable to Israel. The Israelis were accused of genocide, in spite of the fact that they were fighting an armed adversary—and of the mas-

sacre of people in the “ghetto” of Beirut, though they had urged the civilian population to leave the city. The unbridled partisan attitude of the mass media gave numerous French Jews the impression that anti-Semitism, forbidden by law and to a large extent socially unfashionable, was reawakening in a new anti-Zionist guise.

Still, it should be noted that even in Italy, unanimously recognized as the least anti-Semitic country in Europe—where even under fascism, Jews found a refuge—the mass media treated Israel's role in Lebanon in the same way. In both countries, the virulent attacks ended only with publication of the report of Israel's Kahan commission of inquiry.

We must keep our perspective. France is the country where the largest active Jewish community of Western Europe lives in freedom. In spite of the variety of its geographical and social origins, this community is now predominantly North African Sephardic. As a result, assimilation is no longer the rule, and a form of religious, or more often ethnic Jewish consciousness has come into being. The diversity of the community embraces certain common traits: concern for Israel and sensitivity to anti-Semitism linked to the ever-present memory of the Hitler genocide. Middle Eastern politics, international terrorist attacks, or the attitude of the mass media cannot slow the revival of the French Jewish community. □

The Sephardic Community of Paris

Jordan Elgrably

“As Sephardi Jews, we have a strong drive to hold on to our culture and our customs. They are a way of assuring that we and our children remain Jewish. It has been said,

Jordan Elgrably is a Paris-based writer who recently profiled the satirist Ephraim Kishon in Present Tense.

This large and vibrant Jewish community expresses itself and conducts its activities with complete freedom. The Copernic and rue des Rosiers attacks that shocked Jewish opinion were not acts of anti-Semites but of international terrorists, and were unanimously condemned by French political, religious and moral authorities.

however, that by reaffirming Sephardi traditions we are fragmenting the Jewish community. We believe that the richness of Judaism manifests itself in the diversity of Ashkenazi and Sephardi practice, and that, through a reciprocal recognition of our different cultures, we Sephardim and Ashkenazim—who are indeed brothers—will be able to live more cohesively.”

Albert Benatar, a Sephardi lawyer who emigrated to France from Rabat, Morocco in 1967 and is president of the Fédération Sépharade de France, was speaking about today's Jewish community in Paris. In that city, where now live more than half of France's 535,000 Jews (who constitute the fourth largest Jewish community in the world), the dynamic Sephardi Jews who arrived during the past few decades have changed the face of the entire group.

The Sephardi immigration from North Africa in the late 1950s and the 1960s, notably during the struggle for Moroccan independence and the war in Algeria, and immediately after the 1967 Six Day War, raised their proportion of the total French Jewish population to 65 percent—a number all the more remarkable for the fact that, overall, Sephardim represent a slim 15 percent of the world Jewish population.

The Sephardi integration into all strata of French society has been nothing less than astonishing. In contrast to the situation in Israel, Sephardi Jews are not waging a battle for equal status in France, but rather have launched themselves into key positions in government, education and the arts and sciences. This powerful upward mobility and the fact that they are an outspoken majority is reflected in their generally healthy relationship with the older and predominantly Ashkenazi community.

Albert Benatar—who is also secretary of the Bet Din, or religious court, in Paris and a Bet Din representative for three temples in the Paris suburbs—observes: “Our Ashkenazi brother, having suffered the Holocaust, was deeply embittered and disappointed. He had understandably lost faith because he had survived. Coming to France, the Sephardi Jew gave him renewed vigor and a desire to become Jewish once again—to pride himself on his Jewishness. That the Sephardi presence

The Sephardi integration into all strata of French society has been nothing less than astonishing. In contrast to the situation in Israel, Sephardi Jews are not waging a battle for equal status.



A street scene in the Belleville section of Paris with Arab and Jewish shops on the rue Rampeau.

in France has affected the Jewish spirit and way of life is evident in the synagogue. Two-thirds of the synagogues in and around Paris are headed by Sephardi rabbis.”

The Sephardi immigrant, originally from Spain and by extension (and expulsion) from North Africa, differs considerably from other Jews who left their host countries on *aliyah* to the United States, Canada and Israel. Imbued with the French language and culture in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, he came to France armed with more than a passport. And because the Sephardi Jew in North Africa was a practicing Jew, with explicit religious and cultural traditions—rabbinic law was so powerful, for ex-

ample, that no civil marriage was required—he was not in danger of losing his identity or assimilating a new one.

Prior to this concentrated influx of Sephardim, the French Jewish community was relatively inactive. It had suffered some 90,000 dead in the Holocaust and, in earlier years, a long history of anti-Semitism which exploded with the Dreyfus affair in 1894. “After its emancipation in the late 18th century,” wrote a renowned Sephardi sociologist, Claude Tapia. “French Jewry was increasingly assimilationist and for a period apolitical and even anti-Zionist.”

Evidences of major Sephardi influences are seen everywhere today.

While before 1960 there was a mere handful of kosher establishments and a dozen synagogues in the Paris area, today there are more than 60 temples, 35 in Paris alone, and nearly 150 kosher establishments in the city and its suburbs. Moreover, the Bet Din currently is supervising the construction of an additional two or three synagogues—both Sephardi and Ashkenazi—each year.

Enrollment in the Paris region's 36 Jewish primary and secondary schools and in its colleges has risen steadily since the late 1960s, with a Sephardi participation of 70 to 80 percent. In one school, the *Lycée Lucien de Hirsch* (a high school), pupil enrollment rose from 200 before 1970 to its present 820, and 400 children are on the waiting list.

Also, according to Doris Bensimon-Dorat, who heads the sociology of religions department of the National Center for Scientific Research, North African Jews—especially in the French provinces—exhibit a deeper attachment to religious ceremony than several generations of Central and Southern European Jews and Jews born in France. Yom Kippur is observed by more than 80 percent of the Sephardi population. Some 75 percent use matzoh at Passover, and half the group maintains kosher homes. Though no precise figures are available, about half the Sephardim and Ashkenazim marry one another, she points out—and intermarriage between Jew and gentile is lowest among Sephardim, accounting for about 11 percent of the world Sephardi population.

Janine Gdalia is director of the *Fédération Sépharade*. Born in Tunisia, she came to France in 1961, when she was 17, with a superior knowledge of French history and culture but with little or no understanding of either Tunisia or Israel. Her grandfather spoke Judeo-Arabic at home, though her parents and siblings did not. She did not learn Hebrew as a child, she says, because then only boys attended the private Jewish schools sponsored by the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Tunisia. She had studied literature at the Sorbonne, earned a Master of Arts degree and was about to go into French society and teach, when she experienced a larger awakening that changed the course of her life.

"I finally arrived at the conclusion," she explains, "that there was no perceptible shortage of literature professors in France and that I might be of more use in helping other Jews, Sephardim and Ashkenazim, younger and older generations alike, to rediscover their Judaism. During my university years, I was a substitute French teacher in Jewish secondary schools; I suppose that throughout this period I was coming to grips with my 'group of origin,' if you will.

"True, I realized when I came here that we were a minority. Paris is an enormous city which has undergone one population explosion after another with successive waves of immigration—a city where distance often renders life difficult. I realized that to be a Jew in this mass was to be part of a minority—yet I had not had this feeling growing up in Tunis.

"I found that Judaism as a culture had something to say about contemporary Jewish life. I came into contact with various Jewish youth movements and took on certain responsibilities, particularly in an organization called Jewish Writers of France.

"I had the good fortune to encounter Abraham Epstein, a great Talmudist who has since died. He was instrumental in helping me in my quest for an understanding of Judaism, which I had hardly known at all—for while I was totally immersed in the matter of Jewish identity, I wasn't familiar with the texts of the Bible, or any of the other traditional areas of Jewish learning. You see, in Tunisia, as in Eastern Europe, women rarely received a traditional Jewish education. Thanks to Abraham Epstein, my interest was sparked and I studied in areas where I'd previously been weak."

Gdalia's work with the *Fédération* maintains her high sense of involvement in the community. She and her assistant, Patricia Halimi, are constantly involved in a heavy schedule directly related to the organization's wide-ranging activities.

Major aspects of the *Fédération's* work include representing virtually all the Sephardim in France, facilitating their integration and providing assistance in such vital areas as housing and employment, and guidance on administrative procedures. In some cases, the *Fédération* also helps immigrants to acquire French nation-

ality. It aids Oriental and Sephardi Jews in emigrating from their countries to Israel or France. (A crucial issue has been the emigration of Falasha Jews from Ethiopia.) It supervises publication and distribution of *Le monde sépharade*, a bimonthly magazine, and is a centralized body serving as a common denominator for several smaller national Sephardi and Oriental organizations, including the Union of Jewish Egyptians, Association of Jews from Oran, Jews of Morocco Club, and the Association of Jews from Tunisia.

The *Fédération* organizes summer colloquiums and vacation conferences abroad to stimulate relations among world Sephardi communities. Recent Sephardi youth gatherings have been conducted in Madrid, Florence and Israel.

Janine Gdalia is also chief editor of a collection of Judaica published in Paris, and writes articles for such diverse journals as the French leftist daily *Le Matin* and *Nouveaux Cahiers*, a quarterly review of the Jewish humanities and social sciences. Further, she frequently lectures on the status and situation of Jewish women and Sephardi Jews at conferences in many Jewish community centers in Paris.

She summarizes her impressions of the French Jewish community's initial reaction to the Sephardi newcomers: "They were stunned by this Sephardi Judaism which was, and remains, quite exuberant. The Sephardim's strong convictions led the older Jewish community to rethink all its values. And whatever friction may have existed between the two groups in the early stages of this immigration, it did not discourage Jewish service organizations from helping newly arrived Jews to integrate, to find housing and work, and to get their children into schools.

"Certainly, the arrival of numerous Sephardim changed the Jewish landscape in this country and the Ashkenazim took this into account—simultaneously holding on to the reins of power. This is evident in political forums, such as the World Jewish Congress, where the equilibrium is different from that presented in the overall picture. On the board of directors of the CRIF (Representative Council of Jews in France), for example, there are only six Sephardim among thirty members—an indica-

tion that something is wrong there. In Paris, when political community representation is involved, the Ashkenazim are reluctant to have the Sephardim included. It is different in the French provinces, where Sephardim are acquiring power more rapidly. But this is a question of social hierarchy, and of the generation in question, for clearly when one group has sat in the directorial chair for a long time it is not about to cede such power easily."

Speaking of personal connections, Gdalia says: "Relations among Jewish youth who frequent the same university campuses and community centers are excellent. Sephardim and Ashkenazim sympathize with each other and study together."

Patricia Halimi, a Sephardi of Algerian origin who was born in France, says she is inextricably bound to her roots. "I feel Sephardi through the religious customs we observe at home and through our Judeo-Algerian cuisine. Also, there is our music. We understand the words because we've grown up listening to our parents speaking Judeo-Arabic. I don't think you can lose your identity when you live it every day. I went to a Jewish school in Paris—and I think you'll find there are now a lot more Sephardi children in such private Jewish schools because they feel there's nothing to be gained in a public school among non-Jews. Another Jew can bring you something of value in terms of your identity."

Europe's largest and most lively Jewish community center is the Centre Rachi-CUEJ (University Center for Jewish Studies), which, ironically, was inaugurated on Yom Kippur, 1973. Open every day, the center largely represents the Sephardi community, for 80 percent of the 30,000 participants in its program are of North African origin. Here one may take language courses in Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish and Judeo-Arabic, eat in an inexpensive kosher cafeteria, watch well-known entertainers (such as the Israeli singer, Shlomo Bar) in an auditorium seating 600, study in a library containing more than 16,000 works of Judaica, or visit art exhibits. Other activities include classes in yoga, karate and dance, round-table discussions, debates on important Jewish issues, film screenings and dinner soirees.

Rafi Marciano, the assistant director, who came from Morocco when he was eight years old, stresses that meetings between Sephardim and Ashkenazim are encouraged there. He speaks of the center proudly as the only Jewish institution of its kind in the diaspora.

"There is no such term for us now as 'intermarriage' between a Sephardi and an Ashkenazi Jew," offers Marciano. "We've gone beyond that notion in France. In Israel it has been a question of identity for the Sephardim, while here the integration was relatively swift. Only the first generation, my parents' generation, had to deal with the kinds of daily problems that Sephardim still encounter in Israel. My generation never poses the question of 'Sephardi and Ashkenazi, are we different?'"

Above all, the center is distinguished by its vitality as a source of higher learning for all age groups. Courses on all aspects of Jewish thought are given by university professors. No prerequisites are required to enroll in a course or seminar, and classes are taught at night as well as during the day. Whatever one's particular knowledge of a subject happens to be, Marciano declares, "You can catch the train for Jewish thought at any point along the way."

Beyond the center's importance as the hub of the Paris Jewish community, it has served as a meeting place for Jewish leaders and officials of the French government. Both Presidents Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and François Mitterand have participated in heated debates here, notably after the terrorist attacks in the rue Copernic and the rue des Rosiers.

It is generally agreed that, in spite of its occasional xenophobic outbursts, French society allows for substantial social mobility. This, coupled with the fact that Sephardi Jews faced few tangible language or cultural barriers when they emigrated to France, has made it possible for members of the Sephardic community to fit with comparative ease into both Jewish and gentile French society.

"Responsible community leaders, whether Ashkenazi or Sephardi," says sociologist Claude Tapia, in *Nouveaux Cahiers*, "are of one mind about the unequalled sheer rapidity with which the heterogeneous North African Jewish population has adapted

itself intellectually and socio-economically in France." Among numerous French notables of Sephardi origin are philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy, born in Algeria; Serge Moati, director of FR3, the French national television station, also originally Algerian; Raoul Toubiana, a pioneering cancer surgeon, born in Tunisia and sociologist and novelist Albert Memmi, whose book *The Pillar of Salt*—which describes the life of a Tunisian Jew growing up in a mixed working-class neighborhood in Tunis—is now a classic.

In addition, Sephardim are prominent in the French press, in film, the theater and the music world—many of them between the ages of 25 and 45. Sephardi writers are creating an entire new literature, many of their books making French best-seller lists. There is a growing number of Sephardi financiers in the petroleum, sugar and textile industries.

On the other side of this "elite" community, to be sure, one finds a less affluent population, but basically the full-view mirror reflects a dominant middle-class. Sephardi Jews live almost everywhere in Paris, for the fluctuating housing needs of immigrants and the uncertain housing situation have caused the community to spread out over the city's twenty *arrondissements* and into the suburbs. Examples are the Belleville district, where working-class Tunisian Jews and Arabs live side by side as they did in Tunis; the ninth *arrondissement* in the vicinity of the Faubourg Montmartre and the Faubourg Poissonnière, where Algerian Jews have opened a dozen kosher restaurants, and the Marais, the oldest Jewish quarter in Paris, formerly an exclusively Ashkenazi area, where many Sephardim live. Interestingly, Joe Goldenburg's restaurant (site of the August 1982 terrorist attack) presents a menu which includes such contrasting dishes as Polish gefilte fish and Tunisian couscous.

The Sephardi community of Paris is active, vocal and meticulously well-organized. It enjoys a healthy relationship not only with its Ashkenazi counterpart, but within the non-Jewish French framework. What few obstacles remain in terms of political representation in the unified Jewish community will, it is widely believed, certainly be surmounted before long. □

In Paris and outside of Israel, lute-player, dramatist and popular entertainer Simon Elbaz is one of Sephardim's leading cultural figures. Judeo-Arabic is his mother tongue, for he was born in Morocco on the eve of that country's independence. In 1955, his family emigrated to Beersheba. He went on to Paris to complete his studies in psychology and orthopedics, disciplines which complement his work in the theater.

Now a certified psychotherapist, a lute player and a singer in Arabic, Hebrew and French, Elbaz writes the lyrics for his lute performances in all three languages. He also creates traditional Moroccan drama from folklore, using dance, mime and storytelling. His music and his performances attempt to show how the Sephardi cultural heritage has survived transplantation to Israel and other countries.

What is at the root of his work? "I stem from a culture that has deeply influenced me in the arts," he explains. "I am interested in renewing and revitalizing what I have taken from this culture to avoid repeating the same folklore endlessly. Repetition kills culture."

"It's important for present generations to know that a particular language is not dead. As Sephardim, we are in a crucible of many languages. Therefore I am not restricted to expressing myself in only one—be it Hebrew, French or Arabic. Having these languages is an aspect of being Sephardi. For a long time in Israel, you know, North African and Oriental Jewry were ashamed to express themselves in Arabic."

"The Sephardi cultural heritage can grow, even outside its place of origin—in Paris, for example. The question is, how can we prompt people to know and recognize it? I feel that this is the work of the actor and the musician. He has to find a communicable rhythm, using instruments and movements that are not limited to the 'folkloric.'"

"I am for a plurality of cultures," he continues, "for I myself am a member of a Jewish community in Paris which is something of a symphony. Of course, it's composed of various melodies, so that the symphony is only harmonic and beautiful to the ear when these different cultural elements are interwoven. To a certain degree, this is beginning to

occur. "Since Moroccan independence and the Algerian War, the majority of artists and entertainers in our community and youth centers throughout France are Sephardi—which I hope will help to continue to enrich the community. Unfortunately, it is becoming harder to instill in some of the younger Sephardim who were born in France a sense of their cultural past and their ties to the language and the folklore of their parents. My theater and music efforts are often directed toward them."

With his lute (which he likes to think of as the "king of instruments") and *derbouka*, the Moroccan skin drum, Simon Elbaz traverses realms of fantasy, history and memory in his latest one-man performance, where strange characters from his native Moroccan village—such as the wandering blind man and the raconteur in the town square—project a strong sense of Sephardi identity and destiny. Out of his unique presentation he hopes to develop a program of music and entertainment that will bring his message to Israel and other parts of the world.

Jordan Elgrably

A Man Running Down the Lane

*Uncharted
is the sterile investigation
of what went wrong.*

*Its logic
is not compelled by the urge
to learn
the reason why*

*but rather
to justify the sigh
what if?*

*Vain consolation.
Unprincipled human weakness.*

*But what if
one day you discover
you've spent a lifetime
or more
under cover of the false pretences
of a forged identity
without knowing it?*

*And appearances
are so plausible
that even you are tempted
to believe in them?*

*After all,
a man running down the lane
might just as well be
a pursuer
as a fugitive*

or both.

Who can tell?

*So
I'm setting out
to look for myself.*

Where do I start?

—Charles Kormos

Charles Kormos, a poet living in Ramat Aviv, Israel, is preparing a volume of new poems.

France and Africa: Strain but Not Estrangement

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

Special to The New York Times

OUAGADOUGOU, Upper Volta — Along all the main boulevards in this capital are tall, leafy trees whose intermingling branches provide relief from the sun.

"Remarkable, aren't they?" said a forester attached to an international aid agency here. "They're called kayas. The French introduced them."

For years, he said, the French forced the capital's residents to water and care for them. That, he said, was why the residents "have such an ambiguous attitude toward the kayas now."

"They know trees are lovely," he said, "yet they despise them as symbols of colonialism."

Since gaining independence a generation ago, the nations that were once known as French Africa have harbored many complex and sometimes contradictory attitudes toward their former colonial ruler.

Twice as Many French Now

Part of the reason is that the French, unlike other European powers, did not depart at the end of the age of imperialism. On the contrary, there are now about twice as many French people in Africa as there were at independence, serving as businessmen, teachers, technicians, soldiers, advisers and government officials.

When François Mitterrand was elected President of France in 1981, there were widespread predictions that an era of even closer French-African relations was at hand.

But it now appears those predictions have failed to materialize. On the contrary, there have been increasing signs of strain in political, economic and cultural aspects of the French-African equation.

French sailors and merchants first appeared on West Africa's shores in the 1500's, but France did not establish a footing in Africa until a hundred years later. From that point on, French control and influence expanded at an uneven pace, with the greatest period of colonial expansion occurring only in the last half of the 19th century.

The French made a sustained effort to Gallicize the local populations. Marriages between French colonials and Africans were not uncommon, and when independence came for most of France's sub-Saharan possessions in the early 1960's, it came peacefully. Several of the most important leaders in newly independent West Africa, like Félix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Léopold S. Senghor of Senegal, had received their apprenticeships in statesmanship by serving in the French Parliament.

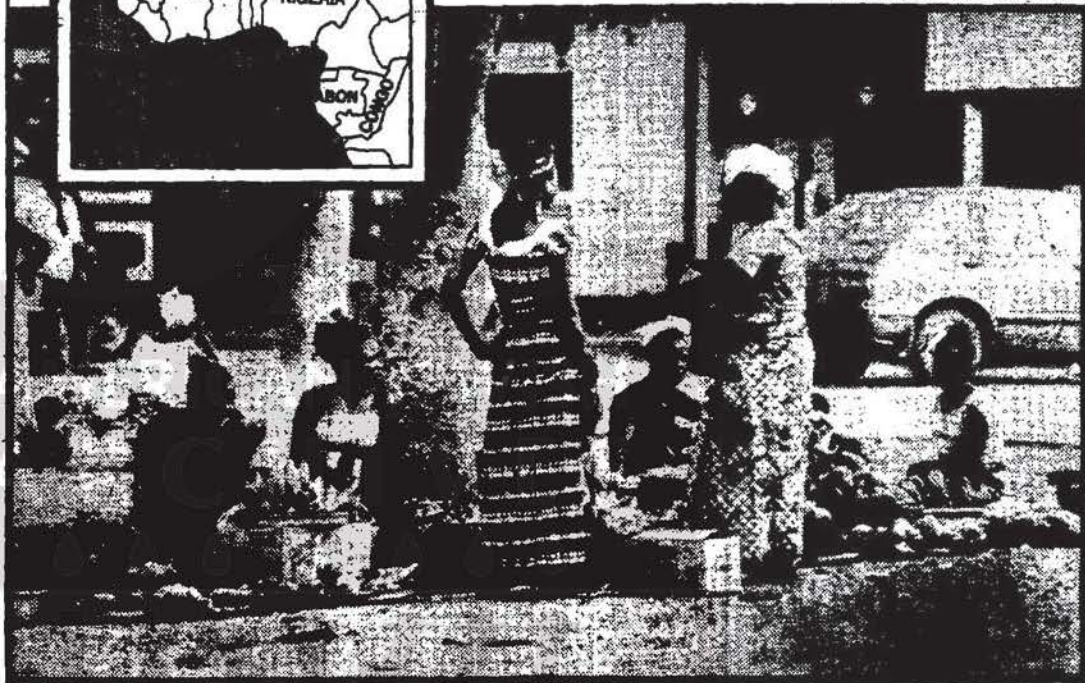
Benefits Seem to Be Eroding

In the last two decades, the French have remained a forceful presence in the region, and as a consequence France has reaped large benefits in terms of both prestige and commerce. It is precisely those benefits that now seem to be eroding.



At a street market in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, women sell produce in the shade of a kaya tree. The tall shade trees in the capital are a legacy of colonial rule by France, which is still a power in West Africa.

The New York Times/Clifford D. May



One of the strongest blows to French interests and influence was the August coup that installed a radical leftist regime in Upper Volta. The country's new leaders have cautiously refrained from naming the "imperialist exploiters" the revolution intends to combat, but the implication has been clear.

Asked in a recent interview if the United States was perceived to have neocolonialist interests in Upper Volta, Foreign Minister Hama Arba Diallo said he thought not. Asked if he would say the same about France, he replied, "French interests are something else again."

For the present, France appears to be making every effort to find a way to work with the new regime, much as it has managed to coexist, albeit somewhat uneasily, with strong Soviet, Cuban and Libyan presences in such other radical French-speaking nations as Benin and Congo.

In Chad, too, where French troops intervened this summer to stop a Libyan-supported rebellion, damage limitation is all Paris has so far been able to accomplish. Leftist French-speaking countries viewed the French intervention as a neocolonialist response by a leader who just a few months earlier had voiced firm opposition to the use of European soldiers on African soil.

At the same time, the region's more

conservative nations, like the Ivory Coast and Niger, were disturbed by France's reluctance to step in and by the fact that its intervention fell short of any attempt to expel the Libyan troops from Chad.

"It made a lot of West Africans stop and ask, 'Can the French really be relied upon?'" a senior Western diplomat said. "And the next logical question has to be, 'If they can't, then where do we turn?'"

The answer may be to other Western countries. Officials in the Ivory Coast, the nation that has long been France's closest African ally, acknowledge that building new bridges was a major goal of Mr. Houphouët-Boigny's visits to the United States and Britain this summer. And when the President of West Germany recently visited, he was received with an extraordinary display of enthusiasm, ceremony and coverage by the Government-controlled press.

"We are attempting to diversify our political relations," an Ivory Coast spokesman said. "We don't want to have close ties with only one nation."

The push to diversify politically follows a more longstanding effort to diversify economically. For example, whereas 65 percent of the Ivory Coast's imports came from France in the mid-1970's, today the French supply only about 35 percent of the nation's needs.

Many French-speaking African countries are simply shopping elsewhere. Japanese cars and trucks now outsell French motor vehicles in the Ivory Coast and are making inroads throughout much of the region. In Mauritania, a Brazilian company recently won out against a French company in competition for a \$250 million highway project. In Congo, an American company, Cities Service, is leading the search for new offshore oil.

Purchases by French-speaking Africa from other countries might have been even larger were it not for the fact that the French franc has been devalued 3 times in the last 17 months. Since most of France's former colonies have currencies linked to the franc, their purchasing power has dropped as the franc has declined.

Decreasing economic activity also contributed to a decline in the number of French people living in Africa, from some 350,000 a few years ago to fewer than 320,000 in 1982.

In the Ivory Coast, which still the largest French population on the continent, there are now about 40,000 French people, compared with more than 50,000 in the late 1970's. "It has not a mass exodus," a French Embassy spokesman said, "but there has a downward tendency."



Demonstrators in Nantes, France, marching last October in support of private schools.

Old Feud Over Schools Splits France

By FRANK J. PRIAL

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Dec. 20 — From Lille in the north to Marseilles in the south, thousands of people have taken to the streets in protest in recent weeks. But not, as in Britain and West Germany, against cruise missiles and Pershing 7s. A commentator here said, "It's just another battle in France's oldest war."

The argument, which goes back 200 years to the French Revolution, is over who should educate French children and how.

On Oct. 22, some 100,000 people marched in Nantes in support of private schools. A month later, in the same city, almost as many marched against private schools. In Paris, in Marseilles, in Toulouse, in Rodez, in Lille, the story has been the same.

The French are hoping, finally, for a showdown over national educational policy. They probably will be disappointed. "Ecole libre," or "Free school," has been a Socialist rallying cry since Jules Ferry, the founder of the modern French educational system and himself a Socialist, decreed in 1882 that primary education in France would henceforth be "free, nonclerical, and obligatory." It is a goal that has yet to be realized. The Roman Catholic Church and conservative groups have never permitted the private school system to disappear.

Just after the May 1981 elections, when the Socialists captured not only the presidency but also the National Assembly, it looked as if the old goal was finally within reach. But the Government of François Mitterrand put education on a back burner while it pursued economic goals.

Education Plan Published

A preliminary school plan was made public last December and a final version was published in October. Called the Savary project, after its author, Minister of Education Alain Savary, it is a long way from the fiery anticlerical talk of the summer of 1981.

For one thing, polls indicate that 71 percent of the French people support the dual educational system. For another, a series of local elections around the country in recent months have shown a strong movement away from the left. The Socialist Government's time for radical change may have passed.

Most notably, the Savary project in no way signals an end to the private school system. It talks instead of education being "national without being uniform," and proposes an extended program of changes in which the easiest problems, such as conflicting school calendars, will be solved first and fundamental differences, such as how teachers will be paid, will be left until 1986.

Bruno Frappet, writing in *Le Monde*, went so far as to say the plan "renounces the old ideal of one single school system."

The Savary project has pleased no one and has particularly irritated the strongest supporters of the public

school system, including two powerful teachers' organizations and various unions that have banded together under an umbrella group called the National Committee for Lay Action. They have accused the Government of backing off on its promise to nationalize the private education sector as forcefully and dramatically as it did the major banks.

Freedom From Control

The defenders of the dual system, principally the Catholic church, have adopted the "Ecole libre" slogan, but to them it means freedom from bureaucratic harassment and control.

This move brought a bitter response from Michel Boucharelissals, secretary general of the National Committee for Lay Action. For the private schools, he said, "free means that they are free to reject immigrants, free to refuse atheists and divorcees, free to dispose of public funds with no controls whatsoever."

The moderate tone of the Savary project has heartened the private schools considerably. The Rev. Paul Guilberteau, secretary general of the National Committee for Catholic Education, while noting that the text of the plan is "complex and ambiguous," acknowledged that it did provide grounds for discussion.

Millions in Private Schools

As of last fall, about one-sixth of France's student population, or just over two million students, were in private schools, from the preschool level through the French equivalent of high school. In general, they pay no tuition. Of the two million, about 83 percent were in Catholic schools. The rest are mostly in academically demanding secondary schools or in schools run by other religious denominations. There are, for instance, 50 Jewish schools in France with a total of about 13,000 students.

The reason most often advanced by parents for switching children to private school is much the same as that usually given in the United States: lower standards in the public schools.

The French Government pays salaries and benefits for all teachers, in both private and public schools. Teachers in private schools are paid under two formulas. Under the "simple contract," they work for the school; under the "contract of association," they work directly for the state, as do the

public school teachers. The contract of association applies to schools that fulfill "a recognized educational need," such as being the only school in a specific area.

The operational costs of private schools are borne by the schools themselves under the simple contract, although the local governments often contribute. Under the contract by association, the local governments pay operating costs for elementary schools and the national Government pays for secondary and vocational schools. The more exclusive private schools, which are not part of the system, pay their own way.

The system theoretically gives the Government wide powers in setting standards for teachers and the material they teach. In practice, opponents of the private schools say, public funds are turned over to the private institutions, mainly the Catholic church, with virtually no strings attached.

The Savary project would give the Government more say in appointing the directors of all schools, public and private, a system the private schools find unacceptable. "They have something similar to that in the Netherlands," a Jewish spokesman here said. "Consequently there are Jewish schools where the headmaster is not even Jewish."

The Savary project would provide for simple changes such as correlating the school calendars of public and private schools and for fundamental changes in the training and continuing education of private-school teachers. It would require that experiments and new methods being tried in public schools be tried out in private institutions as well.

All of which embitters the militant laicists, as the opponents of private schools are called. For them, the solution to France's educational problems is the end of all public support for private schools.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN FRANCE: UPDATE

Baldsee

by David Geller
Director, European Affairs, International Relations Department

According to the American Jewish Year Book 1983, the Jewish community in France numbers some 600,000, the overwhelming majority of whom are Sephardim. The Ashkenazim include a very small number of Jews who can trace their ancestry back many hundreds of years. Many of the Sephardi Jews came as refugees from Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and other North African countries with strong French influence. (It is important to remember, despite our disappointment with French policy in a number of areas, that France, as part of its traditional liberal immigration policy, opened its doors to hundreds of thousands of Jews.) Because of their knowledge of French language and culture, their integration and assimilation into French society was very easy. The Sephardi Jews brought new enthusiasm and activity to the Jewish community in France and their influence can be felt in many facets of French life. This is particularly evident in the political sphere and is exemplified in the aggressive way many Jews publicly express their disapproval of the policy of Giscard D'Estaing. Many authorities feel that this political activity helped in the election of Mitterrand.

In terms of its structure French Jewry is organized the way it has been since the 19th century. There is a central rabbinate -- the Consistoire -- which supervises some 200 synagogues, many day schools, afternoon Hebrew schools, kosher butcher shops and other Jewish institutions. There is also the Fond Social Juif Unifie (FSJU), somewhat similar to the Jewish Federation and Welfare

Funds in the U.S. There is also CRIF --The Consistoire Central Israelite de France -- the representative body of French Jewry similar to the Presidents' Conference. A new important organization is the Renouveau Juif (Jewish Renewal) which was founded by Henri Haidenberg, a young French lawyer. This group, with many Sephardi members, is very "activist" in style and in a sense acts as a goad to the more established groups. Other significant organizations include the Comite d'Initiative pour Israel (CII) which, like Renouveau, is a strong and active supporter of Israel. There is another organization called Identite et Dialogue which includes many wealthy Moroccan Jews who in association with left-wing Jewish intellectuals adopt an anti-Zionist position.

In terms of religion there have been some significant recent developments. Orthodoxy is growing, especially among the young, and it is in many ways similar to the so-called modern Orthodoxy in the United States. On the other hand, the Reform Movement is also growing and is split between a group which in philosophy is closer to the American Conservative Movement while another faction is modeled after the American Reform Movement. ← Norwithstanding the above, only a small percentage of French youth -- c.8% -- receive a Jewish education, and the inter-marriage rate is approaching 70%!

FRANCE - ISRAEL

The relationship between France and Israel has been a quite rocky one. Until the Six-Day War, the relationship was very warm and there were a great many cooperative, cultural and scientific projects. After the ^{Six-Day} ~~6-day~~ War and the decision by de Gaulle to tilt toward the Arabs, the relationship deteriorated drastically. Not only was there an almost unending series of government statements critical of Israel and the refusal to sell arms to Israel while at

the same time selling them to Arab countries, there was in addition the incident of the release of Abu Doud, a PLO terrorist who had been captured by French police. The government's decision to release Abu Doud in the face of strong pleas to the contrary from various parts of the world and the suspicion that the French Government had negotiated a deal with the PLO which would allow them to traverse France in complete freedom provided that they did not perpetrate any terrorist incident in France brought the relationship to a new low. ~~Article~~

~~Finally, and especially~~ During the tenure of Giscard D'Estaing, it seemed that it would be a very long time before the relationships would change in a positive way. The election of Mitterrand, a long time close friend of Israel, changed the perception, notwithstanding the fact that the policy of France did not change very much. It is important to remember that French governments in the past as well as the present have very close ties to countries in the Middle East. That fact and the economic problems which France has faced, in great measure due to its need for oil and petrodollar investment, have reinforced the position of those in the government who push for greater concessions from Israel and closer relationships with the Arabs. As for Arafat and the PLO, the French Government's official position is that they recognize the PLO as a representative of the Palestinian people and they recognize Arafat as head of the PLO. In the recent battle between the various factions of the PLO France supported Arafat and in fact French ships were used to save Arafat and the terrorists who were with him.

Another concern is the recent agreement by France to sell \$3 billion dollars worth of arms to Saudi Arabia, including the latest French ground-to-air missile which is reputed to be the world's most efficient. The Saudis have become an

important French client over the last few years and have purchased ground-to-air missiles, French AMX-30 tanks, 4 frigates, and 24 combat helicopters equipped with air-to-ground missiles. Not only the Saudis but other Moslem countries in the Middle East have been the beneficiaries of France's arms exports. In 1983, 62% of French arms exports were going to the Middle East (exclusive of Israel, of course). This year, given the recent weapons deal with the Saudis, the percentage may go back to the 83% which was the figure for 1982.

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

Anti-Semitism

The reverberations which followed the shocking bombing last August of the restaurant on the Rue des Rosiers have died down considerably but the concern of the Jewish community remains. The anti-Semitic campaign often disguised as anti-Zionism continues in a variety of forms. Graffiti, vandalism, threats and an occasional bombing indicate that the problem is still a very real and ~~threatening~~ one.

menacing

It should be noted that during ^{the} ~~this~~ current term, France serves as the President of the EEC.

The government has reacted in a variety of ways but some point out that following the synagogue bombing on the Rue Copernic, which was suspected of being the work of extreme Rightists, the government ~~announced~~ ^{mounted well publicized} a campaign against terrorism, while after the bombing of the restaurant, which was assumed to have been perpetrated by Arabs, there was much less of a reaction ^{and} the incident was projected as part of the Middle East conflict.

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

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

FRANCE / USSR

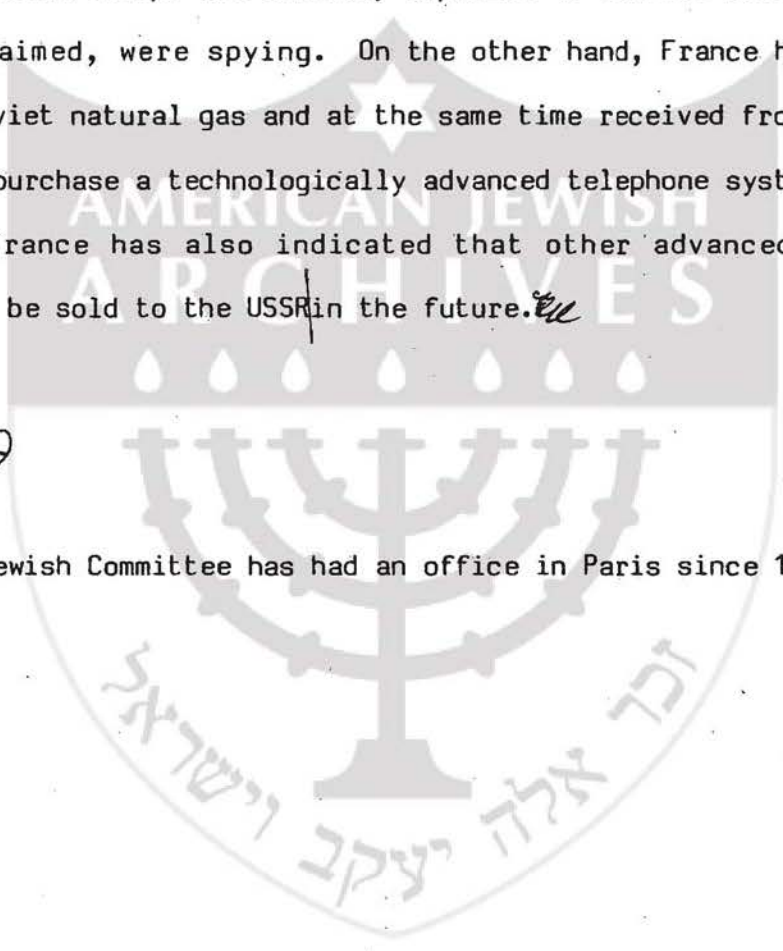
France has always considered its relationship with the USSR as a major element of its foreign policy. On the one hand, President Mitterrand has been tough on the Russians. For example, he has supported the recent NATO decision to deploy missiles in Western Europe and recently expelled 47 Soviet nationals who, the government claimed, were spying. On the other hand, France has increased its purchase of Soviet natural gas and at the same time received from the Soviets a commitment to purchase a technologically advanced telephone system (despite U.S. protests). France has also indicated that other advanced equipment and technology may be sold to the USSR in the future. *ll*

AJC + FRANCE / *ll*

The American Jewish Committee has had an office in Paris since 1949.

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FEB 14 1984

The American Jewish Committee

European Office · 4, rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris · Tel. 522-9243 and 387-3839

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

February 6, 1984

MEMORANDUM

To: Marc Tanenbaum

From: Nives Fox

Subj: France - Arab/Israel Conflict; General Relations with Israel

A followup to the memo of November 3, 1983 (copy enclosed) for general information and possible use of the AJC delegation to France.

The sense of unease about France's position and possible initiatives for a solution of the Israel-Arab conflict continues. As you know, French governments, past and present, believe they can, and want to, play a major role in the area. Invoked as mediation bonifides are France's ties and lasting friendships in Middle East lands and its even-handed attitude toward both Arabs and Israel.

For the last, by and large, President François Mitterrand has abided to this stance, though his declarations since he came to power emphasize the PLO/Arafat representativity and participation in negotiations more and more firmly. Less attention can be given to pronouncements by other members of his government, for it is the president alone who has the final say on foreign policy decisions. But it must be remembered that Mitterrand's so-called balanced attitude toward Israel-Arab affairs also must fit the complexities of political relations with Arab countries, and especially the framework of dire economic conditions in France, so that historical role or not, Israel may have very good reasons for worry.

What can be expected in the forthcoming weeks, and until March 19, when the European Community holds its summit under France's presidency? It is a tradition, by now, that whatever problems the European Community may be facing, and there are many, the summit of each presidency includes a statement -- very often it is the only declaration the ten can be unanimous about -- on the Middle East. So that in spite of other very serious problems (just now the agricultural accords are the most acute) to be discussed at the summit, one can depend on a Middle East 'initiative' again. Not only is this being urged upon France by the Arabs; one can probably count on the support by the ten, even more so than before, given the new independence displayed by Germany vis-a-vis both the US and Israel (vedy Chancellor Kohl's frequent references to the Venise declaration during his recent visit to Israel).

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What the initiative will consist of is not yet clear. But both Israelis here and the French community leaders are very much on the alert, and expect developments as one gets closer to the March 19 date. These may be: a combination of the Franco-Egyptian proposal to amend UN resolution 242 (changing the refugee status attributed to the Palestinians) support for Palestinian auto-determination, perhaps extending this support for Arafat as their sole legitimate representative; a mixture of the U.S. and Fez plans; a call for a UN Middle East peace Conference.

What are the more positive signs causing unease? A lot of visiting and exchanges:

-- January 26, Mr. Gutmann, Secretary General of External Relations Ministry, is sent on a mission to the Middle East -- Israel, Jordan, Syria;

-- France's full approbation of Arafat's 'historical' meeting with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt;

-- The subsequent visit of Butros Ghali, Egyptian Foreign Affairs Minister to Paris, January 9, to urge a French initiative with the European community;

-- The return of Egypt into the Arab fold at the Islamic Conference recently held in Morocco, and the formation of a block of so-called moderates (Jordan, Egypt, Arafat/PLO (and now one also speaks of a-reconciliation among all PLO factions) to which Saudi Arabia and Iraq also may rally;

-- France's attempt to go much further than her partners in Athens, last December, when it wished the declaration of the ten to have specific mention of the PLO and Arafat as necessary members of any eventual Middle East negotiation;

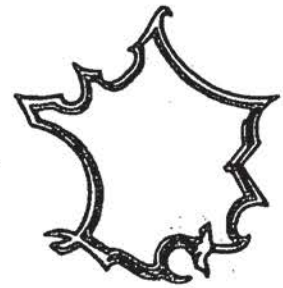
-- The meeting in Paris this last week-end (February 4) between President Mitterrand and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. Though the occasion included discussion of other important topics -- the Lebanese situation, the French-Saudi arms sale, Tchad, a large tour d'horizon was made on the Arab-Israel conflict. The Saudi King indeed asked France to launch, and get the acceptance of the Ten, a plan toward settling of the conflict which would take into account the principles outlined both in the Arab and US peace projects. Any formula arrived at must at least include the right to auto-determination, mutual recognition, perhaps another try of the Franco-Egyptian proposal. Spokesmen after the meeting of the two heads of state declared there had been "a large identity of views" between them.

To sum up, there is nothing ready now, or if there is it is very secret and with no leaks to date. But a plan will be ready for the March 19 summit. Meanwhile, everyone is on the 'qui vive'. The Israelis here are asking us to be very watchful too, and to be informed rapidly of any news surfacing on the other side of the ocean. More particularly, they ask that if unfavorable details of a Franco-European initiative become known in the US, what is hoped to be the unchanged US position be quickly transmitted to the French government through the highest levels of communication.

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE

83/55



PRESIDENT MITTERRAND ON THE ISSUE OF DEFENSE

NOVEMBER 16, 1983 *

Question: The current Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva are in stalemate. The Soviet missiles are already deployed. The American missiles are beginning to be deployed. What risks does this crisis entail? Is there a danger of matters getting out of control?

The President: Constitutionally and by the votes of the French, I am the guarantor of national independence and territorial integrity, and I fill the role of head of the armed forces.

*Deterrence
and...*

I would add that, since our strategy rests on deterrence, on possession of an atomic force capable of deterring anyone from thinking of attacking us, a whole range of questions arises--you have just asked some--on what this force consists of. And there's a risk of getting entangled in endless technical or mechanical explanations.

Determination

Right away, let me make something very clear: the key component of the deterrent strategy in France is the head of state, that is, myself; everything depends on what he determines. The rest is made up of inert materials, at any rate up to the point of decision, which has to be, precisely, to make sure that they are not used.

I now come to your question: the missiles. What are missiles? It is a rather obscure notion. I expect many of the French have watched satellite launches, they have seen a tremendous surge of power at the base--the firing--and a rocket taking off into space.

Well, a missile is a similar sort of thing. It is a self-firing instrument of war. A missile takes off. It has one or more warheads, which means that it has several devices for causing several explosions. These are known as nuclear charges. And they go to the designated target.

*Excerpts of the televised interview given by President François Mitterrand on Antenne 2.

972 FIFTH AVE, NEW YORK, NY 10021 TEL: 570-4400

There are various kinds of missiles or nuclear weapons.

There are what are known as tactical weapons, but let's not spend too much time on these. Although deadly, they don't go so far, they are a little old-fashioned though still used in the plans of chiefs-of-staff.

There are the so-called intermediate-range missiles. In the context of the current debate, they are simply missiles that don't cross the Atlantic.

The third category are the intercontinental missiles, known as strategic.

For specialists my description is rather over-summarized, but it's easier to understand. We shall take the intermediate missiles first. The SS-20's are in this category. The American Pershing II and Cruise missiles intended for deployment in Europe are--or will be--in it too....

I think French public opinion has very good reasons to be concerned [about the threat of war]. Very good reasons, because, after all, the Euromissiles crisis is the most serious the world has experienced since the Cuban and Berlin crises which, as you know, were critical moments, often dramatic ones, of the post-war period. But this is no reason for losing our composure, and French public opinion must keep cool. Things are not that bad. The previous crises were brought under control. This one must be brought under control in its turn. But for this a number of conditions must be fulfilled.

Basically, nobody wants war in either the East or the West. But the question confronting us is whether the situation, which is growing more serious day by day, won't get out of hand so that those with the real responsibility for making the decisions will lose control.

I won't list these conditions. I shall only say that, in my view, the first condition is a fundamental one: a balance of the opposing forces to prevent an outbreak of war.

Question: Your basic position on this issue calls for a balanced reduction of capabilities. And the first question the specialists have in

*Euromissiles
Crisis*

*A Balance
of Forces*

mind is this: Are capabilities balanced today or not? Your view, as far as the intermediate missiles are concerned, is that at this time they are not. Opinions differ on this point. Could you explain your position?

The President: Those are the missiles under discussion. They are the main subject of the negotiations in Geneva. It is about these missiles that sometimes the United States and sometimes the Soviet Union make so-called conciliatory or compromise proposals--they never have the desired effect. Or, how shall I put it, make Homeric appeals to each other: Try it and see-- a dangerous game.

What I am asking for is a balance of forces. A strategic balance of missiles that can cross the Atlantic, from Russia to America and vice-versa, has been more or less achieved, for the simple reason that both countries are capable of destroying the other.

So why did the Soviet Union decide, from 1977 onwards, to install in addition the missiles known as SS-20's?

Let me give you a brief description so that people understand.

The SS-20's are missiles that go far--4,500 kilometers--and have some degree of accuracy--300 meters.

How many are there? 360. There are some in Asia and 243 in Europe. Where would they go, since they can't cross the Atlantic? Toward Western Europe. They are in addition to the strategic balance which, I repeat, has already been established.

So why is the Soviet Union trying to achieve superiority when it already has it in conventional arms in Europe? Does it want to ensure unquestionable regional superiority? Why does it want to separate the defense reflex of the United States from that of Western Europe? These are questions to be put to the Soviets.

*Soviet
Superiority*

But I say this is too much. As a member of the Opposition I mounted the rostrum of the National Assembly in 1980 to say: Neither SS-20's nor Pershing II's.

I would add that the 360 SS-20's, 243 aimed at Europe, each have three warheads. So we have to multiply by three to know the fire power, that is the number of nuclear charges.

So naturally in 1979 the other camp, the United States and the integrated command of NATO--France is not in this so the decision was taken without us, and in fact there was no reason to consult us--decided in turn to deploy a number of missiles four years later. That's the situation today.

Question: Pershing II's, cruise missiles?

The President: Let's talk about those that are more comparable to the SS-20's. The cruise missile is very destructive but slower.

Question: It is a small pilotless plane.

The President: The SS-20 takes 15 minutes to reach its target, 2,000, 3,000, 4,000 kilometers away.

Question: The Pershing II takes less than ten minutes.

The President: I have not yet mentioned it, whereas the cruise missile takes several hours. It is a full-sized plane, as you said, which is not easy to hit because it flies low, and not easy to spot by detection apparatus, but it is something quite different. So to limit the conversation, let's talk about Pershing II's and SS-20's.

In 1979, therefore, NATO decided to deploy Pershing II's. What was said was: We shall try to negotiate, but we'll decide right now to deploy them. If the negotiations succeed, we won't deploy them. Hence the Geneva conference on Euromissiles, the so-called intermediate nuclear forces. Since then, the negotiations have not achieved a breakthrough.

What can the Pershing II do?

It doesn't have as long a range as the SS-20: 1,800 kilometers. Pershing II's deployed in Germany could not reach Moscow; they could not reach more than a tenth of the Soviet delivery vehicles.

Furthermore, they have only one warhead. when it's said there will be 108 Pershings--that's the number stated in the decision I mentioned just now, 108 and 464 cruise missiles--it means 108; when people talk of 360 SS-20's, it means three times more. Work it out: for 243, it should make 729.

The Pershing II is faster, as you said: less than ten minutes to reach its target, but the target is not so distant; the charge is not so powerful; on the other hand, it is more accurate and faster. The SS-20 scores on the other points.

You asked me why the Russians had embarked on this missile construction and deployment. And I answered you.

Question: They are seeking to gain the advantage in some respect?

The President: I think they are seeking to gain the advantage in Europe, perhaps to separate Europe from the United States. It was at the request of the Germans that the decision by NATO's integrated structure.....

Question: At Chancellor Schmidt's request?

The President: At Chancellor Schmidt's request that the "dual track decision" was taken, namely to acquire the weaponry and negotiate simultaneously. As a result of this decision which takes effect from 1983 on in Britain in the case of the cruise missiles, in Germany for the Pershing II's, and a little later for other cruise missiles, the two greatest powers are in a state of confrontation.

Question: This brings me to the other major question, namely the refusal to have the French nuclear force taken into account in the negotiations, and the British force too. But let's talk first about the French nuclear force.

*Refusal to
Include French
Missiles in
the Count*

The President: We are not at Geneva, we have not been invited and we haven't asked to be.

Consider the position of those two countries, Russia and the United States, just like that, face to face, taking into account the weapons of a country such as ours in our absence, exercising a power of decision over our armaments. And what are these armaments? This is a fundamental point in our talk and I should like us to dwell on it for a moment.

France has no intermediate force. At the most...there are 18 missiles, those on the Plateau d'Albion which, launched from French soil, could reach Soviet soil. We are not the Soviet Union's adversaries, we have not the slightest intention of firing anything at the Soviet Union. But still, it's a convenient figure of speech--and this in any case is how the Soviets are reasoning--those 18 missiles can indeed go from the one territory to the other. But the other forces are the nuclear submarines.

Question: Of which we have five at this time.

The President: We have five at this time and 80 charges, which, with the 18, makes 98 altogether. The British have 64, but on submarines. I mean by this that they can be carried anywhere underwater. The British submarines are in fact going to be developed to give the British a 7,000 kilometer-range of fire. These are strategic forces which exactly fit the definition the Russians and Americans have decided between themselves. The consequence of taking into account.....

Question: For purposes of comparison, Mr. President, how many weapons do the two superpowers have?

The President: I was coming to that now. The consequences of this Soviet request, which I have rejected, is that, if our submarine missiles, which currently have a range of 3,500 to 4,000 kilometers, were taken into account in the discussion on intermediate forces--which they are not--we would have the strange spectacle I have already noted: Two foreign countries exercising a power of decision over our own armaments, these submarine armaments, while not discussing their own submarines in the negotiations. The Soviet and American submarines are not being included in the discussion because they are strategic, like ours.

The result would be that our 98 nuclear charges would immediately be absorbed by this particular negotiation. Supposing they were "frozen," as people say, what would the United States be left with? About 9,000 nuclear charges. And the Soviet Union? About 9,000 nuclear charges. So the comparison between 9,000 on one side and 98 on the other implies the following answer: Before thinking of asking France to give up its defense autonomy, quite simply its defense--these weapons are the core of our defense, the country's security--the two great partners should really think of considerably reducing their weapons.

*France's
Nuclear Force*

Question: Regarding the French strike force, is this strategic nuclear force you have just described--our five submarines, the Plateau d'Albion and our aircraft--reserved exclusively for the defense of our national territory, or might it be used, for instance, for purposes of solidarity with neighboring European countries?

The President: The definition applied for nearly 25 years is simple. This force is intended for the defense of our territory, the country's survival and our national independence and, in addition, the defense of France's vital interests. This means that it is up to the President of the Republic to determine whether a given threat outside our territory directly threatens that territory.

You could say that this terminology, the last part of it, lacks specificity. It is the one adopted from the outset and from which we do not deviate because the President of the Republic has to have a certain mobility, a certain leeway, a certain freedom of decision.

Question: Which means certainty as far as the national territory is concerned and a question mark in the case of a war outside our frontiers?

The President: It can only be defensive, indeed it can only be of deterrent value. People must know that our force is capable of destroying a territory as large as ours. We do not intend to use it to attack anyone--that would be madness on our part. But we mean to preserve France, and I am sure that the others understand this, because they too are patriots.

But we did not quite finish what we were saying before. Viewers must understand that when I say I want a balance, I want one at the lowest possible level. I have told you that the

Soviet decision was taken in 1977 and the NATO and American one was taken in 1979. Now in 1979 Mr. Brezhnev said: "Let's talk, for a balance has now been established." So why add to it here and there? At the time there were 63 SS-20's in Europe. Why were more added?

Question: Therefore far fewer than now.

The President: So that, today, one can say that the only power to possess intermediate nuclear forces--which don't cross the Atlantic and do not target the United States--is the Soviet Union. The others don't have any. I simply reject the idea that one country should have a monopoly of a destructive weapon.

Question: What can now be done toward resuming negotiations and trying to achieve some stabilization, a balance, and then perhaps a reduction? What kind of initiative can be contemplated and what role can France play?

The President: May I remind you that France is not at Geneva.

Question: Not at this time.

The President: No. No, we're not there, and we don't intend to go there.

Question: There is a theory--and you will tell us whether it is conceivable or not--that if the current negotiation between the Americans and Soviets failed, there might in a later phase, for example, be a merger of several negotiations?

The President: That's another matter. Of course I'm going to answer the question since that is what I am here for. But I would like to point out that France, although not a party to the debate, takes an interest in it. It is in Europe, and France has allies who are affected.... It is not for France to make proposals. We are saying: Negotiate at the lowest possible level.

Nowadays, their discussions always seem to entail adding something. No. A reduction is what is needed. Up to what point should capabilities be reduced? I said this before the German Parliament and I have repeated it in other circumstances: Negotiate at the lowest possible arms level

*An Eventual
Role for
France*

consistent with your security, but while preserving your balance, because if there is no longer a balance between the two sides, then war will be at our gates.

That's my reasoning as an outsider, since we're not at Geneva and don't intend to go there. Preserve the balance in all circumstances. It's important to recognize that in the past few months the play between the two greatest powers has consisted in reducing their demands.

There are some very recent proposals to that effect. Even Mr. Andropov's latest proposals point the way to a calculation in which part of the British and French capabilities would not be taken into account. It proves to me that he has made a move.... A very real move. However, it is for the two partners to decide. A possible agreement is not yet in sight.

Now you are saying: Another negotiation, another conference? In other words: Could one deal all at once with the tactical forces, the so-called intermediate forces-- those that don't cross the Atlantic, which we have been talking about since the beginning of our conversation--plus those we have not said much about.....

Question: The intercontinental forces.

The President: 9,000 Soviet, 9,000 American, 98 French, 64 British and I don't know how many Chinese missiles. There are five countries in the world with a nuclear arms capability. France is one of those five great countries.

This is an eventuality I envisaged when I addressed the United Nations at the end of September. France will always be involved when it is a matter of seriously discussing disarmament. But I added that one has to discuss things that are comparable. The figures I have just quoted--twice 9,000 and 98--are enough to show that, before talking about our 18 missiles, the two greatest powers must considerably reduce their 9,000, whereas they are tending to carry on: 9,000, 10,000, 11,000, 12,000.... Where will it stop?

Already the Chinese have replied: When they have reduced these by 50%, talks will be possible. So be it. I wouldn't say the same thing, but I have set other conditions. I have said that the level of conventional arms--infantry, artillery, air force--must be reduced. In this respect the Soviet superiority is considerable.

*France Ready
to Participate
in Genuine
Disarmament*

Also needed is a mutually agreed ban on biological and chemical weapons. And there must be a stop to the quest for anti-submarine, anti-missile and anti-satellite weapons.

These are the conditions I have stipulated. They will be difficult, I admit, but they have to be met before France can think of entering into such a negotiation.

Question: Hearing you talk of the most serious crisis since Cuba and Berlin, I wondered whether all heads of state are not tempted at some point to dramatize the external situation to some extent in order to trigger a national reflex, to rally their people, to silence dissension or discontent. When all is said and done, isn't dramatization a means of governing?

The President: I don't believe you think that of me. Do you think I could speak to all the French, play on their nerves and speculate on their fears?

I said earlier that, although the situation was serious, the most serious in my view after Cuba in 1962 and Berlin in 1948--those two situations had been brought under control. We must succeed in bringing this one under control.

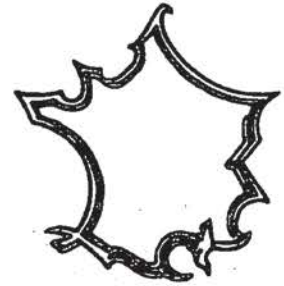
If the Geneva conference does not produce an agreement within the next few days--and it would really be very incautious to think of it not doing so--efforts to recover a capacity for dialogue must nevertheless be made. It is on this point that France can play a decisive part, for we have clearly said to both sides: That is what we don't want. But we're also capable of saying: That is what we want, on the understanding that the first thing we want is a resumption of the negotiation, dialogue. In short, we also want the doors to be opened to peace.

I deeply believe in this provided there is firmness and provided no one speculates on the weakness of one side or the other.

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE

83/61



FRANCE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

"France is among the few countries that, through their positions, their influence in history, their friendships and their interests have for many years been designated as the traditional interlocutors of the peoples of the Middle East."

*President François Mitterrand
address to the Knesset, March 4, 1982*

"France is not offering to act as either arbiter or mediator. It has friendships on both sides and hopes to pool its efforts with those of a few others in order to bring about a state of peace."

*François Mitterrand, interview for
Austrian Broadcasting Company,
June 14, 1982*

PRESENCE - BALANCE - PEACE

"France's policy is one of presence, balance and peace.

"It is a policy of presence because France has had privileged relations in this part of the world for centuries, because our country is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and because we have been enriched by a great history and have special responsibilities that I intend to fulfill.

"It is a policy of balance based on three principles: the right of the people of Israel to live in peace, within the secure borders of a state that is recognized and respected by all; the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland and to set up the institutions of their choice; the right of the Lebanese people to regain the unity and independence that are being flouted today.

"It is a policy of peace because I believe that the only way to arrive at these ends is to choose negotiation over war. I seek peace because I believe the principles I have just mentioned will become reality only if we pursue this path."

*François Mitterrand, interview
on French TV, August 19, 1982*

A SINGLE OBJECTIVE: PEACE

"The right of the Middle East states to live in peace and security, and the right of the peoples of that area, as elsewhere, to self-determination are the simple creed of a policy that is stated everywhere in the same terms.

"It does not please everyone simultaneously. But I am sure that it is the way for France to earn or recover the respect and ultimately the friendship of all parties."

*François Mitterrand, interview in
Le Monde, November 26, 1982*

"None of us can forget what the Jewish people have undergone. But we want a return to peace in the Middle East; we want to see peace worked out by the countries and the peoples of this region among themselves, not dictated by the superpowers in the light of their own interests."

*Claude Cheysson, Minister of External
Relations, interview in the weekly
L'Unité, September 12, 1981*

"We have become 'activists' for peace. Each time we make a move or say something in a country the critics immediately start firing, not to say attacking, but we shall continue. Believing as we do in the possibility of peace in the Middle East, we are not going to be satisfied with saying this in a corner of our office every three months and for everything else do business with those who are willing to do so. No, we will go and say on the spot what we have to say.

"I have met with chairman Arafat and I have been to Jerusalem. More importantly, the French President will be going to Jerusalem one day. He has been to Saudi Arabia and he plans other visits. We will be 'activists.' Being 'activists' means that each time countries in the region, forces in the region, think we can play a useful role we will go provided they are the ones who ask for our services. If they ask the European Community, we will urge our partners to go."

*Claude Cheysson, interview on
Egyptian TV, January 1, 1982*

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES - THE RIGHT OF STATES

• The Principles of a Settlement

"The right of all peoples in the region, including the Palestinian people, to express themselves through self-determination and to constitute their state.

"The right of all states, including Israel and the future Palestinian state, to develop in peace within internationally recognized borders.

"The need to deal with the problems through a negotiation that encompasses all the interested countries and peoples, and in this instance the representative of the Palestinian people is in our view the PLO.

"Lastly, the refusal to accept any unilateral change, any change by force, of an international decision and in particular a decision by the United Nations."

*Claude Cheysson, press conference
Riyadh, May 30, 1982*

"Dialogue implies that each party can pursue its rights to their logical conclusion. For the Palestinians, as for the others, this may eventually mean a state."

*Francois Mitterrand, address to
the Knesset, March 4, 1982*

"When speaking of security, it is appropriate to speak of the security of all the states in the area since this is also a concern in Syria and Jordan. In my view, the technical responses-- in the form of international guarantees, an international presence, the presence of allies--should be very similar in order to deal with Israel's security and, separately of course, the security of Jordan and Syria."

Claude Cheysson, interview in the weekly Tribune Juive, November 5, 1982

"We want to see peace worked out by the countries and the peoples of this region among themselves, not dictated by the superpowers in the light of their own interests."

Claude Cheysson, interview in L'Unité, September 12, 1981

"No one can decide on the borders or conditions that will apply on the basis of United Nations Resolution 242, to the parties in question. This is an issue for the negotiators and the negotiators alone."

François Mitterrand, address to the Knesset, March 4, 1982

SPEAKING THE SAME LANGUAGE TO ALL

"Another principle which itself comes close to being a method: It appears to me very difficult to be able to make progress without prior and mutual recognition on the part of those who are fighting each other, those who ignore each other. We are well aware that we are still far from this since the interested parties, whose decision is of the first importance, I refer to Israel and the representatives of the Palestinians, mutually reject any such recognition.

"Everything must be encouraged to make dialogue possible, based on intentions which should be spelled out. Such a dialogue, if undertaken, would lead to this mutual recognition. I want to say that as a preliminary someone has to speak. We fervently hope

that not only the PLO, but also all the Arab countries, will recognize Israel's right to exist. And we hope that Israel will recognize the Palestinians' right to self-determination."

François Mitterrand, press conference, Cairo, November 25, 1982

"I have kept to the same language everywhere. In Algiers, alongside President Boumedienne, speaking live on television, I told the Algerians that nothing would be possible until they recognized Israel's right to exist. I said the same thing in Cairo, to Sadat, before the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. Similarly, every time I have been in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem I have always told my Israeli friends that they should allow the Palestinians the possibility of having a homeland. So I have spoken the same language to one and all. I am a friend of Israel, and I shall do nothing to endanger Israel's existence or its means to exist but I do not think that it is realistic to pretend that the Palestinian problem does not exist."

François Mitterrand, interview in The New York Times, June 4, 1981

LEBANON

"Let us think about Lebanon, as a nation, as a state, whose independence, integrity, unity and sovereignty are, to our eyes, sacred and must be defended and supported whatever happens."

"1. We hope to see Lebanon's sovereignty, integrity and unity reestablished in concrete form.

"2. We ask that Security Council resolutions 508 and 509 on the cease-fire and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory be respected, and likewise we hope that all foreign armies will leave Lebanon, excepting a decision to the contrary from the international community with the agreement of the legitimate government of Lebanon.

"3. We ask that the safeguard and the protection of the Lebanese and Palestinian populations be assured and that help to the victims of the recent events reach them without delay.

"4. We appeal for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to be recognized and respected.

"5. We ask that the internationally recognized borders of each country in the region be respected and guaranteed.

"The two governments will act in accordance with these principles."

*Joint Franco-Austrian Declaration
on Lebanon, Vienna, June 17, 1982*

"Each time the Lebanese government asked for French participation France was willing to help, first in security efforts to contain the effects of war, then to deploy a force of interposition, and lastly to bring about the desired situation, that is, independence and unity once again. France is prominent in the force of interposition and even provided the first contingents present on Lebanese soil."

*François Mitterrand, press
conference, Cairo, November 25, 1982*

ISRAEL

"French policy on the Middle East is the same as that which I defined when I was a candidate and I have had no reason to change it since I was elected president. Israel has the right to exist and to have the means and guarantees to do so. In a book published at the end of 1980, I wrote: 'Two peoples for the same land. Two peoples and centuries that testify for them. Is a person an extremist just because he wants a homeland?' The Jewish people have won the right to live on a land on which their ancestors left an ineradicable impression over the ages, a land that continues to prosper in their care. But others have lived, worked, suffered and hoped in this narrow area of the world: I am thinking of the Palestinians. It is impossible to deny them their right to

a homeland. No one has yet been able to solve this problem and it would be tragic to leave its solution to the hazards of relations of force."

François Mitterrand, interview in the monthly L'Arche, February 24, 1982

"The Israeli government is convinced that we are friends because the principles we have enunciated from the start have remained unchanged. These principles include Israel's right to live in peace under normal conditions--something it has not been allowed to do since its existence. We are totally committed on this point--our commitment might entail the most serious consequences, one day, if Israel were threatened. So in this respect there is not the slightest ambiguity. The Israelis know that they can count on France's support."

Claude Cheysson, interview in Paris Match, July 8, 1982

"I don't agree that Israel should be regarded as a country not to be visited, a people to be ignored. They are a great people and it is admirable the way they have built up their country which deserves protection and security. The state of insecurity in which they find themselves has led to an internal policy whose external projections I often refuse to accept and at times condemn. That's the real state of affairs."

François Mitterrand, press conference Paris, June 9, 1982

"Each time I have met an Arab head of state--and I have met many-- I have advised him to recognize the state of Israel, as I have advised the Palestinian representatives I have had the occasion to meet. My policy is inspired by respect for Israel, by a rejection of all discrimination toward that country, but also by freedom of action for France whenever the balance in this region of the world might be threatened by a unilateral act."

François Mitterrand, interview on French TV, August 17, 1982

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

"I tell the Israelis in reference to the Palestinian people: 'Even if you have refused to recognize this people since they were put in camps, defeated, they have nonetheless proved their existence as a people and even confirmed the fact of their nationhood.' There is nothing like resistance, war, struggle and suffering to confirm the existence of a people. This people exists. Denying them recognition makes peace in the Middle East impossible. We have always said this. We will continue to do so."

Claude Cheysson, remarks to the Arab press, December 14, 1982

"As President Mitterrand said well before he was elected--if the right of a people to a homeland is recognized, what is going to become of this right? The people are going to want to have their own state. So let us say it--let us say the words, Palestinian state."

Claude Cheysson, on Egyptian TV

"I don't decide the perimeter of a future Palestinian state. I have no idea what it will be. It will be up to the negotiators to determine the frontiers and into the bargain the guarantee for those frontiers."

"By contrast, I have always said that if the question arose, it would do so first of all in the West Bank and Gaza and that while it was impossible for me to define the contours, I can nevertheless foresee its center."

François Mitterrand, press conference, Paris, June 9, 1982

THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

"We consider the PLO the representative of the Palestinian struggle. This is the same expression the French President used during his official visit to Saudi Arabia. By contrast, we do not think that there can be one representative of the Palestinian people so long as this people has not attained its full rights--that

is acquired a state. I would like to point out that this position is shared by all the European countries. The PLO, representing as it does the Palestinian struggle, is an essential partner to the negotiations. There cannot be peace if the Palestinians are not at the table, and at the table it is the PLO that represents the struggle."

*Claude Cheysson, press conference,
Abu Dhabi, June 20, 1982*

"The mission of French troops in Lebanon was to ensure the departure of Palestinian fighters from West Beirut in security and dignity. The aim was to save the leadership of the PLO which, among other things, was threatened with actual elimination. By doing so we sought to preserve the chances for a political dialogue with the PLO in accordance with the position France has consistently maintained. Since the start of the Israeli invasion, France has continued to advocate that Palestinian renunciation of the military path should be met with recognition of this organization's major political role."

*Pierre Mauroy, address to the
National Assembly, September 12, 1982*

SUPPORTING EFFORTS FOR PEACE

"France will greet dialogue or an approach to dialogue with approval, as it will view with concern any unilateral action on either side that delays the advent of peace."

*François Mitterrand, address to
the Knesset, March 4, 1982*

• The Peace Between Egypt and Israel

"I think it is a good thing that Egypt and Israel have made peace. I have often said that two countries that are at war certainly have the right to make peace between themselves. A comprehensive settlement would be desirable but it has not succeeded. A partial settlement is perhaps not enough but it has succeeded. So let us be practical. For my own part, I prefer the Israelis and the Egyptians to be at peace rather than at war. Moreover, I am very concerned about Israel's security. It is important for Israel to have an accord with Egypt."

*François Mitterrand, interview in
The Washington Post, June 18, 1981*

⑥ The Franco-Egyptian Plan

"The Franco-Egyptian plan, or put another way, Europe's position, since the Egyptian plan repeats the June 29 Declaration of the European Council almost word for word, seems to us more complete than the two others. As the foreign affairs ministers of the Ten said at their last meeting, we believe that the Franco-Egyptian plan constitutes a preliminary outline for an eventual settlement."

*Claude Cheysson, press conference,
New York, September 27, 1982*

⑥ President Reagan's Speech at Burbank

"The address is very interesting because it represents an overture that might make it possible for negotiations to begin and for this reason it deserves to be supported in our view. But it represents only one overture and the negotiations would obviously have to go beyond what is explicitly stated in President Reagan's address."

*Claude Cheysson, interview with the
Kuwait News Agency, November 8, 1982*

⑥ The Fez Declaration

"The Arab countries meeting in Fez made other proposals. Some of them repeated the proposals of the then Prince Fahd who has since become the King of Saudi Arabia. As I said at the time, in Saudi Arabia at Taif, in the presence of Prince Fahd, we considered this plan--these proposals--a good way to open dialogue even though we reserved our opinion as to the stated goals and conditions, some of which we believe would be difficult to achieve. But in any case the mere fact of beginning talks, by taking into account the existence of the other, would be a step forward. We have to look at all the progress that has been made. The move at Fez takes its inspiration from this, even if the emphasis placed on the various conditions differs in one or two places. France's position remains the same: reservations with regard to certain objectives, endorsement of the method."

*Francois Mitterrand, press conference,
Cairo, November 25, 1982*

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE

83/59



THE SITUATION IN CHAD

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

DURING A TELEVISED INTERVIEW (ANTENNE 2)

NOVEMBER 16, 1983

AMERICAN JEWISH

Question: From the start of the French intervention in Chad last August, some people have feared we might get bogged down. Are we bogged down at present? Or are there diplomatic moves, for instance, through which a solution to the Chadian problem could be contemplated?

The President: What is meant by getting bogged down? Under what conditions did France send troops to Chad?

France has lived through the most varied and contradictory experiences in Chad. From 1969 to 1972 we waged a war there, and our opponents were Goukouni and Hissène Habré. We waged war in open country and then, when we left three years later, the situation was the same--the same disorder, the same inter-clan rivalries, the same civil war fueled by external interests. We said: Enough of that.

A little later, in 1976, we signed a treaty with the Chadian government, saying: Really, we're no longer interested, we are going and we won't intervene anymore. Then we went back in 1978, at the request of the Chadian government, I think it was the same one, if not it was by and large the same people.

Then, in 1980, the Chadian head of government, Mr. Goukouni, called the Libyans to his aid and the Libyans came, and the French soldiers left on the orders of the then government which took the view that Chad's affairs were not their business. When I was elected President of the Republic the whole of Chad was in the hands of Libya,

which--under the authority of Mr. Qaddafi, the moving spirit, as you know, behind the Libyan state and the Libyan revolution--had thus become the neighbor of a number of Black African countries, with a capacity for penetration and destabilization throughout Black Africa.

When similar events occurred after I had obtained from Mr. Goukouni that the Libyans should leave, the civil war resumed. Goukouni had to go. Mr. Hissène Habré became the Chadian head of state after a military victory. Once again, Libya intervened and Chad faced renewed occupation by that country's troops. But I was approached by seven, eight, ten Black African countries who turned to France, saying: Some of us have defense agreements with you. It's a danger for us all. If ethnic considerations come back to the fore the whole African balance will explode, France has a duty.

Yes, France has a duty, and I decided to intervene in what I would call the "relevant" part of Chad in the current situation, that is the center and south, the Chad that borders on the Black African countries I have mentioned....

Question: Populated Chad?

The President: There are 4,300,000 inhabitants in that part of Chad controlled by French forces and 150,000 in the Chad occupied by Libyan forces. But, naturally, the purely military line of demarcation must be temporary, for the goal that is sought is Chad's integrity. On this point we have the unanimous support both of what are called the progressive countries--Ethiopia and Algeria--and those known as moderate--Ivory Coast, Gabon and Senegal--all of them.

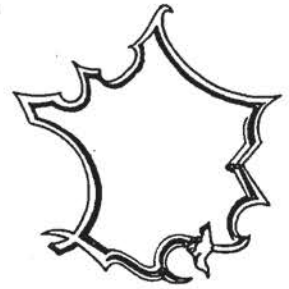
We maintain that this problem has to be settled by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). This is the organization concerned. All the countries we are talking about, all those political leaders, all those states, belong to the OAU. And for the time being, it is the president of the OAU--the Ethiopian president--and its secretary-general who are attending to this issue.

Naturally, we have not left it at that, and we are accelerating the pace--we did so in Vittel--so that Hissène Habré and the others can meet to decide their country's fate together, without any foreign armies, including ours, being present. I am only waiting for the time when this becomes possible, after Chad's territorial integrity has been secured by negotiation. The French troops will leave immediately, their task is not to get involved in any colonial adventure.

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION DIVISION

83/48



REFORMING THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM

"FIREMEN AND ARCHITECTS"

ARTICLE BY JACQUES DELORS, MINISTER OF THE ECONOMY, FINANCE AND BUDGET

PUBLISHED IN *LE MONDE*, SEPTEMBER 9, 1983

How difficult it is to start a public debate on world monetary and financial problems! As if the question were one for experts alone, to be dealt with in the intimacy of small groups when in fact high interest rates and erratic currency fluctuations are plunging the developing countries into ever-deeper trouble, upsetting economic calculations and strengthening the factors that make for political instability. Or as if it were merely a matter of finding excuses for one's own weaknesses, an argument that the opposition in France has been playing to the hilt, forgetting that back in the 1960's it was our country that criticized the undue advantages the United States enjoyed under the system at that time.

So let us dispense with the preliminaries if only to restore a sense of unity among the people of France and encourage a dialogue without heated argument.

It is true that our country is suffering from a serious illness in the form of inflation which is still too high as compared with that of our neighbors. It is true that our country failed to adjust to new factors in the world economy ten years ago, as a result, it is now handicapped by structural imbalances in its foreign trade, if only because our producers neglected their own market and that of the other industrialized nations, that is to say, areas in which it was essential to be innovative and competitive in terms of quality/price ratio. The French economy is now striving gradually to overcome these two handicaps. What

the people of France have to do, nobody can do for them. With this said, no one can honestly deny that the excessive rise in the dollar and in interest rates makes our indispensable efforts for recovery more difficult economically and more costly socially. Nonetheless our efforts to this end will be carried through and actually, they are well underway.

Others, playing on the paradox, could imagine the outbursts from Europeans if the scenario of 1978 were to be repeated: an excessively weak dollar and the stimulus this would give U.S. industry and agriculture. Add to this that the industrialists on the "old continent" are profiting from the record high dollar to increase their exports.

Certainly we should export more but without forgetting that trade surpluses by themselves will not stimulate the economy.

Let us say simply that any excess is a problem. The automatic mechanisms of the market economy are not in themselves able to bring about a relatively satisfactory balance and lasting growth in the world economy even after the many sacrifices required. Moreover, always from the same--the poor and poor countries.

Proof by Reductio Ad Absurdum

When France requested the establishment of a working group on exchange market intervention at the Versailles summit, and obtained that request, it was not seeking a fundamental solution to the instability of exchange markets in one fell swoop. It had the more modest hope that the advisability of concerted action by the central banks might be examined objectively in certain circumstances. A fairly exhaustive report based on indisputable scientific evidence corroborated the usefulness of such action, with the result that the finance ministers of the seven countries concerned, and the representatives of the European Economic Community (EEC) adopted a statement on April 29, 1983 regarding a line of conduct, an excerpt of which deserves to be recalled today:

"Under present circumstances, the role of intervention can only be limited. Intervention can be useful to counter disorderly market conditions and to reduce short-term volatility. Intervention may also, on occasion, express an attitude toward exchange markets."

Clearly, this has been the situation for several years. There have been interventions, yet they have not stopped the wave of speculation. Some have jumped to the conclusion that such coordinated action is useless and have sung the praises of irrepressible market forces.

A Greater Role for Europe

This, however, is to disregard a generally accepted idea that exchange rates must, over an average period of time, reflect the fundamental determinants of each economy. Who, except for electoral reasons, could seriously support the claim that this is the case of the dollar at this time?

It is also to disregard the conditions under which the interventions were made over the past few weeks. Who could justify the fact that the interventions of the country whose currency is the most widespread (the dollar) have been less in extent and in duration than those carried out by the central banks of Europe?

Had one wanted to make a proof by *reductio ad absurdum*, one would have approached it no differently. Under these conditions, I remain convinced that coordinated action is always useful, at certain times, "to calm the market" and to lessen the erratic changes in currencies.

Apart from the debate on interventions, the problem of a minimum of rules and order in monetary and financial transactions has continued for many years. In proposing an international monetary conference to the ministers of the OECD countries, the President of the Republic recalled the need for rules in the financial realm. At the same time, however, he stressed how difficult the task was and how gradual would be the implementation of the necessary corrective measures. The proposal for an international monetary conference was accepted by the seven heads of state attending the summit of industrialized countries at Williamsburg.

The method was defined thus. Each expert has in his own mind a concept of a complete system. Yet theoretical confrontations alone will not produce an answer. Everyone needs to be persuaded, once and for all, that the only chance for success lies in an approach accepted by all, and therefore by the United States. And even then it is important for the U.S. to find itself with determined partners, capable of common proposals.

A greater role for Europe, as I have said, in reacting to the sharp rise of the dollar. The basis exists in the European Monetary System (EMS). The EMS has been put to every test since its creation, and it has come through after a fashion--doing rather better, in fact, than badly. The European Community possesses a third of the world's reserves, almost a third of the International Monetary Fund's quotas and almost half of the world's gold reserves. European Currency Units (ECU) are utilized more and more in private exchanges by corporate treasurers and financial traders. As the "private" ECU develops, it is now necessary to give the "official" ECU a greater role. A status equivalent to that of other currencies, a daily quotation on the exchange markets, full and complete utilization by the central banks that are members of the EMS, increased possibilities of action from the European Monetary Cooperation Fund, including interventions vis-a-vis other currencies such as the dollar and the yen. Thus, there is reason for hope.

Yet objection surfaces quickly. Can monetary Europe advance if economic and social Europe stagnates? Certainly not. Yet, we must start somewhere. Today, events are pressuring us to go faster and further, in a context where each member country is endeavoring to fight inflation and to reestablish, where need be, its external equilibrium.

It goes without saying that monetary cooperation calls in its turn, for fresh stimulus to the Community, hence, the importance of the current work in the wake of the Stuttgart summit, to free Europe from the morass it is in over internal arguments regarding the British contribution, the difficulties of the Common Agricultural Policy, the refusal to engage in genuine dialogue with trade unions (European Trade Union Confederation [ETUC]), and the poor functioning of its institutions. Hence the determination to transcend these differences in providing fresh stimulus all round, and giving the industrial and technological fields more importance if we really want the European nations to be present in the world of tomorrow.

A Community, which speaks with a single voice, which is the world's foremost trading power, by virtue of its sensitivity and foreign-aid policy, has a pivotal place in North-South relations--this is the master trump card which we would be very wrong to ignore.

In this way the Community would become more sure of itself and stronger, and could then ask the United States and Japan three related questions--the answer to which will dictate future progress.

Reducing Indebtedness

First, indebtedness. The figures speak for themselves: \$610 billion. In the case of the developing, non-oil-producing countries, debt servicing alone accounts for one-quarter of export earnings. High interest rates constitute a burden equal to 40% of their external deficits. The soaring dollar feeds imported inflation, rendering useless the efforts in some of these countries to fight rising prices.

Faced with this situation, the wealthy nations are, in a way, playing firemen before a spreading fire: the growth of the Monetary Fund interventions, the financial relay of the Bank for International Settlements, coordination between the IMF and the private banks, the still useful role of the Club of Paris in rescheduling debts toward states. To judge from the various threats, the firemen have not finished their work. But what is most serious is that nothing has yet been done to rebuild an effective and equitable system. This must be shaped, it appears to me, by three guidelines to be developed:

1. The economic growth of the developing countries has once again to be higher than dominant real interest rates (those currently in effect on the American market). If not, and this has been the case for the last two years, these nations become poorer and are discouraged in their effort to improve their economy.

The key rests in lower interest rates and in the revival of world trade. The first will be a strong stimulus for the second.

2. Apart from the controversies concerning the advisable level of world liquidity, it would, in any case, be useful to reserve a distribution of special drawing rights (SDR) to the developing countries, so as to give them the essential means of balancing their economies. Is it necessary to recall that according to the amended articles of agreement of the IMF, SDR's are to be made the principle instrument of the world monetary reserve system. Without being quite so ambitious, we can, without harm, contribute to the enlarging of this role.

3. The mechanisms of financing the developing countries must be coordinated before tragedies arise. To this end, we might envisage adjustment and development plans covering a period of several years. These plans would be prepared by the leaders of the countries concerned but with the participation of the World Bank and the IMF, and would take into account bilateral public aid and restrict private credits so as to avoid all excess. Such an approach would doubtless avert many tragedies. In this regard one cannot neglect the warning of the recent resignation of Carlos Langoni, Governor of the Central Bank of Brazil. It emphasizes, to my mind, the constraints tied to the socio-political realities of debtor nations; I would also add the realism needed which consists in treating the structural causes of the difficulties encountered, and not just the "main equilibria" considered out of context.

Next, we have to move toward diversifying the instruments of reserve, so as not to ask too much of the dollar by itself. The United States demands too much of it because of the extent of the budget deficit whose financing weighs in part on other countries and forces the interest rates upward. It has been three years since the allies asked Washington to reduce the deficit. In vain. Now we are told that it is advisable to wait until after the presidential elections....

The Europeans should, as of now, propose diversifying the instruments of reserve: the SDR, the ECU, the yen, with the Japanese being invited to share in world responsibilities, in proportion to their economic power. This way pressure on the dollar would be relieved.

Interest Rates

Lastly, there is still the problem of interest rates. As there will necessarily be delays in expanding the use of SDR's and the ECU, the United States has a responsibility to act now on its interest rates. Even a gradual and slight drop in interest rates would be helpful to the recovery of the European economies, which would stimulate world trade and the earnings of the developing countries through their imports. Contrary to a contention that is purely dogmatic and not borne out by facts, the main impediment to foreign trade recovery is not protectionism at all, but the general absence of growth in all countries in the North and the

excessive indebtedness of the countries in the South. In attacking both these problems, the industrial nations would merely be doing their duty and would be committing the world to the only redeeming path worth following: economic expansion and the fight against injustices which in the Southern hemisphere translate into poverty, malnutrition and rebellion.

Once again these are only directions. They are only ideas that have been put forward from time to time in the past. But the time has come to move. France has taken the initiative through the voice of its President. Will Europe now take it up while there is still time, and affirm its will to survive and its sense of world responsibilities?

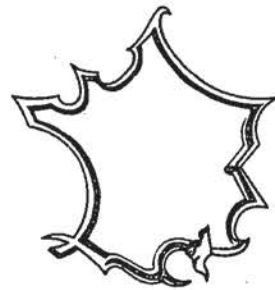
Even though the debt crisis continues and may actually be getting worse, even though the fires are continually flaring up in first one place and then another, the firemen, it must be acknowledged, are doing an effective job. But is this enough? Will there not come a time when the flames spread, when the structure threatens to collapse only to reveal the fragility of its foundations? Only then it will, unfortunately, be too late. Or, to put it another way: isn't it time for the architects to take over?



FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION DIVISION

83/44



THE REGION OF PROVENCE AND THE FRENCH RIVIERA

(PROVENCE-ALPES-COTE D'AZUR)

LOCATION

The region is located in southeastern France, bordered to the south by the Mediterranean, to the north by the French Alps. To the east lies the frontier with Italy. It covers an area of 12,120 square miles (31,400 sq. km.).

GEOGRAPHY

The geography of the region is highly varied. Much of the area is mountainous and includes part of the Alps, France's highest mountain chain, as well as lower ranges. It also encompasses the lower part of the Rhone river valley and the plains and cliffs of the Mediterranean coastline.

The Alpine part of the region is a tangle of wild, limestone mountains, generally dry, with bare rock or scrub vegetation. Closer to the coast there are older rounded mountain ranges; from west to east, Estaque, Sainte-Baume, Maures and Esterel.

The Rhone river, flowing from the north to the Mediterranean sea, forms a delta in the eastern part of the region; this is the Camargue, an area of salt marshes and sandy beaches.

Progressing eastward from the flat plains of the Rhone delta to the Var estuary the coastal region is indented with numerous bays. Between Marseilles and Toulon there are fjord-like inlets called *calanques*; they become more numerous and more deeply etched around the Bay of Toulon and the Bay of Villefranche near the border with Italy.

There a number of offshore islands: Porquerolles, Port-Cros, Levant (forming the Hyères group); Sainte-Marguerite and Saint-Honorat (Lérin Islands).

CLIMATE

The region is the sunniest in France with occasional heavy rainfall in spring and fall. With the exception of the Rhone valley, the climate is somewhat dry. The *Mistral*, a fierce, oppressive wind, blows mainly along the Rhone valley.

POPULATION

3,965,209 (1982 census) - density 327 inhabitants per square mile.

ADMINISTRATION

Under the monarchy France was divided into provinces. At the time of the Revolution (1789) they were reorganized into departments. The regions were formed in 1972 as administrative and economic units based on the existing departments. The Provence-French Riviera region comprises six departments: Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, Alpes-Maritimes, Hautes-Alpes, Bouches-du-Rhône, Var and Vaucluse.

HISTORY

Early inhabitants of the region are thought to have been the Ligurians, followed by the Greeks (including Phocaeans), who were attracted by the natural harbors along the coast. In the second century B.C. the Romans expelled the Greeks and proceeded to link the Rhone river with the Gulf of Fos by a canal. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the region was invaded by successive waves of barbarians. In the Middle Ages it was ruled by a number of counts, and from 1309 to 1377 the papal seat was moved from Rome to Avignon.

In 1815 Napoleon landed from Elba at Golfe-Juan with a small troop. To avoid the hostile Rhone area he reached Grenoble by way of Grasse, Sisteron and the Alps, a road that has since been called the "Route Napoléon."

During the Second World War, the French fleet was scuttled in Toulon (1942) and the region occupied by enemy troops. In August 1944, four days after the Allied forces had landed on the Maures coast, Toulon was liberated by French troops.

MONACO

The independent principality of Monaco forms an enclave surrounded by the Alpes-Maritimes department of France. It is situated between Nice and Menton.

ECONOMY

Agriculture: Concentrated in the Rhone valley, the region's products include wine (Côtes du Rhône and Côtes de Provence), melons, oranges, lemons, blackberries, olives and assorted vegetables. The coastal areas produce cork, rice and salt.

Flowers: Many varieties of flowers, both wild and cultivated, grow in abundance in the region. Perfumes represent a major industry, and the town of Grasse is the world perfume center.

Tourism: Nice and Menton have long been popular holiday resorts. Now smaller ports such as Saint-Tropez and Sainte-Maxime are drawing large numbers of vacationers. The yacht harbors at Cannes and Antibes and the beaches at Juan-les-Pins and Saint-Raphaël are additional attractions. Sightseeing tours in the region include the *calanques* (see p. 1), the red rocks in the Dalius Gorge and on the coast, the Verdon Gorges, the Vesubie Valley and the view of the Mediterranean from the mountains.

Industry: Most of the industry is located in the Marseilles area, there is a petro-chemical zone at Fos and the Etang de Berre. Toulon and Villefranche are important naval bases; Marseilles is France's largest merchant shipping center. Dams such as those on the Durance and Verdon rivers produce hydroelectric power.

GASTRONOMY

Provençal cooking incorporates many of the aromatic spices growing in the region: thyme, rosemary, savory, sage, basil, to name only a few. The regional specialty is seafood: *bouillabaisse*, stew containing a variety of seafood; *rougets au romarin*, red mullet with rosemary; *loup au fenouil*, sea bass with fennel. Cheeses are made mostly from goat's or ewe's milk: *Tomme de Banon*, *Tomme de Brousse*. Nice is famous for its salads with olives and anchovies. *Ratatouille*, tomatoes, green peppers and eggplant, is also a regional specialty.

Wines from the Côtes du Rhône and Côtes de Provence are ruby-red and robust: *Châteauneuf du Pape* (red), *Rasteau* (fortified red), *Tavel* (rosé). *Pastis*, a refreshing apéritif prepared from the essence of aniseed, is one of the region's most famous drinks.

ART

Trading in the Mediterranean has been carried on for thousands of years, spreading not only commerce but cultural influences as well. Among the ancient testaments to these foreign cultures are the amphorae, vases that can still be found in the wrecks of ships that foundered off the dangerous coastline. The amphorae held oil, wine and grain.

Roman Period: In the first century B.C. Arles became a major center of Roman art. It is built on a pattern common to many towns of Roman origin in the region and includes an arena, theater, forum, baths and a cemetery (the Alyscamps). Vaison-la-Romaine also contains important Roman remains--villas, theater, colonnades, portico. The Alpine Trophy at Turbie is the only one of its kind left in Europe. Fréjus also has an arena, arched gateways, theater and aqueduct.

Romanesque and Gothic: Originality, plainness and austerity mark the largely ecclesiastic architecture of these periods. The best examples are at Vaison-la-Romaine, strikingly contrasting the Roman remains; Avignon, the Palais des Papes; Aix, Saint-Sauveur Cloister; Arles, Saint-Trophime Cloister; Fréjus, cathedral, cloister and episcopal palace; Saint-Raphaël, Templars' Church; Saint-Maximin, basilica; Saint-Honorat, monastery.

16th and 17th Centuries: Many forts and citadels were built or expanded during this period: Sisteron, Gourdon, Cagnes, Arles (ramparts), etc. The sixteenth century saw the rise of the Provençal school of painting. The works of painters such as Bréa and Durandi may be seen in the churches of Nice, Cimiez, Lucéram, Gréolières, Biot, Antibes, Fréjus, Grasse, etc. The old Cathedral of Notre Dame in Grasse was restored during this period.

19th and 20th Centuries: The impressionist painters were attracted to the region by the quality of its light. Cézanne painted some of his finest works here, along with Renoir, Van Gogh, Dunoyer de Segonzac and Bonnard. Later painters included Picasso, Chagall, Braque, Modigliani and Dufy. The Rosary Chapel in Vence was wholly conceived and decorated by Matisse. There is a museum at Biot devoted to the works of Fernand Léger.

FAMOUS
PEOPLE
FROM THE
REGION

The painter Fragonard (1732-1806); Mirabeau, revolutionary orator and politician (1749-1791); the painter and caricaturist Daumier (1808-1879); Rouget de Lisle, author of "La Marseillaise," the French national anthem (1760-1836); and the poet Mistral (1830-1914).

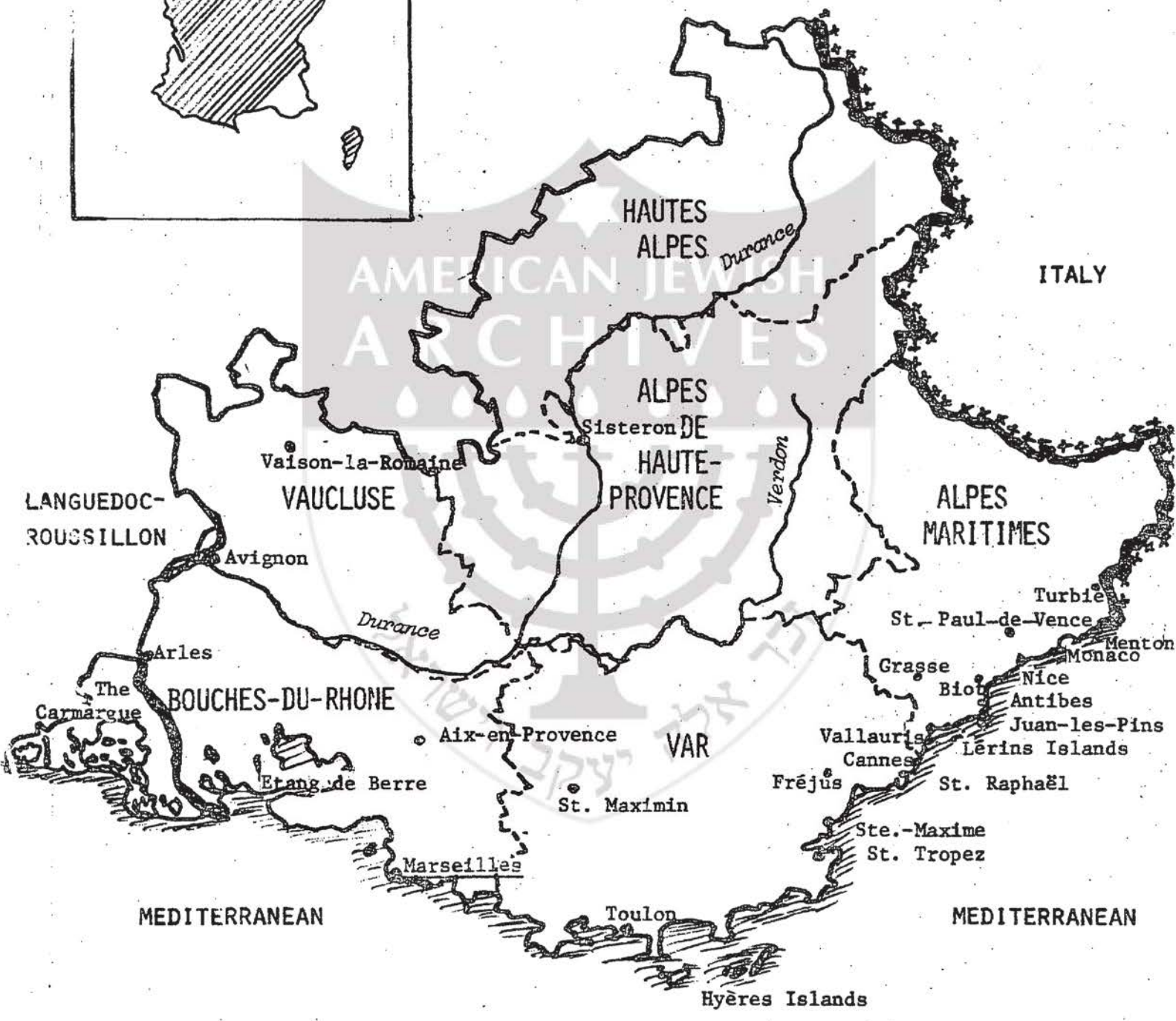
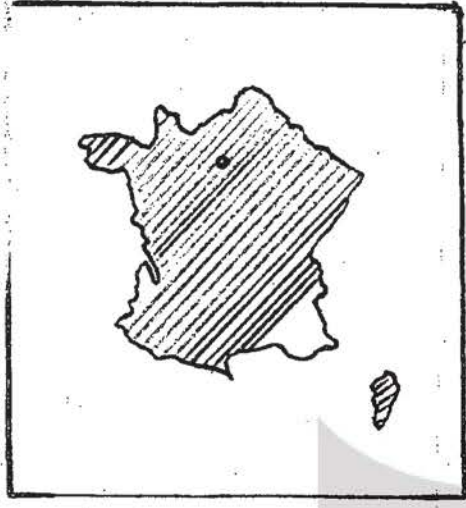
REGIONAL
CAPITAL:
MARSEILLES

The city is the second largest in France (population 879,000) and the biggest seaport. It was initially founded by Phocaeen traders and from 600 B.C. onward, the Greeks used it to rule their western Mediterranean trading posts. It subsequently passed to the Romans. (Archaeological remains of the Phocaeen and Roman towns were recently uncovered during construction of the subway system.) Marseilles benefited greatly from the increased trade and wealth brought by the Crusades of the 12th and 13th centuries. During the Middle Ages the town was looted by attacking barbarians several times and was finally united with the French crown in 1481. In 1660 it rebelled against Louis XIV and in 1720 was swept by a great plague which reduced the population by half.

With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1860, the port became the most important in France and the gateway to East Africa and the Far East. During World War II the city again suffered, this time from the German destruction of the Old Town and from Allied bombing. After the war rebuilding was undertaken. Le Corbusier, the pioneer of modern architecture, designed the *Cité Radieuse* on the outskirts of the city.

Principal Sights: The Vieux-Port or old harbor; the Canébière, a tree-lined avenue forming the city's main artery; the Basilica of Saint-Victor (12th and 13th century); the old La Major Cathedral (12th century); the Château d'If (17th century); the offshore island castle made famous in Dumas' story *The Count of Monte Cristo*; the 19th century church of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, surmounted by a steeple with a 30-ft.-high gilded statue of the Virgin.

PROVENCE AND THE FRENCH RIVIERA



LANGUEDOC-ROUSSILLON

Vaison-la-Romaine

VAUCLUSE

BOUCHES-DU-RHONE

Avignon

Arles

Aix-en-Provence

St. Maximin

Marseille

MEDITERRANEAN

HAUTES ALPES

ALPES DE HAUTE-PROVENCE

VAR

Toulon

Hyères Islands

ITALY

ALPES MARITIMES

Turbié

St. Paul-de-Vence

Menton

Monaco

Grasse

Biot

Nice

Antibes

Juan-les-Pins

Lérins Islands

St. Raphaël

Ste.-Maxime

St. Tropez

MEDITERRANEAN

The Carnarogue

Etang de Berre

Fréjus

Vallauris

Cannes

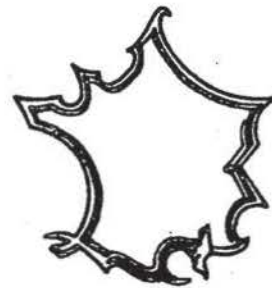
Durance

Durance

Verdon

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE



LAURENT FABIOUS

MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND RESEARCH

Laurent Fabius was named Minister of Industry and Research in the third cabinet of Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy on March 22, 1983. He was previously Minister Delegate to the Minister of Economy and Finance for the Budget in the first and second Mauroy cabinets (May 22 and June 23, 1981).

Mr. Fabius was elected deputy to the National Assembly on the Socialist ticket from the Seine-Maritime department (northwest France) in 1978 and again in 1981.

Laurent Fabius made his first bid for elective office in 1977 when he ran successfully for a seat on the local council of Grand-Quevilly (pop. 32,000) in Normandy. He was reelected on March 6, 1983. Mr. Fabius is deputy mayor of Grand-Quevilly and was elected president of the regional council of Upper Normandy in 1981.

Active in the Socialist party, he has been a member of the party's study committee for the charter of fundamental rights and liberties (1975-1976); secretary of the economic commission (1976); adviser to Mr. Mitterrand (1976-1978) when the latter was first secretary of the Socialist party; member of the party's steering committee (since 1977); member of the executive bureau (1979); party spokesman (1979); and served on Mr. Mitterrand's campaign team in the 1981 presidential elections.

The Minister began his career at the Council of State from which he is now on leave.

A graduate of the Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris, Mr. Fabius has earned a doctorate degree in letters. He also attended the Ecole Nationale d'Administration. Mr. Fabius has written two books: *La France Inégale* (1975) and *Liberté, Libertés* (1976, in collaboration).

Laurent Fabius was born on August 20, 1946 in Paris. He is married and has two sons.

October 1983



FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE



JACQUES ATTALI

SPECIAL ADVISER TO PRESIDENT MITTERRAND

Jacques Attali, an economist and senior official of the Council of State, is special adviser to President François Mitterrand. Mr. Attali's connection with Mr. Mitterrand dates from 1976 when the then First Secretary of the Socialist party appointed him adviser. Mr. Attali became a member of the party's steering committee the following year and in 1979 was named special assistant to Mr. Mitterrand. Mr. Attali headed the Mitterrand election team during the 1981 successful presidential campaign. He was appointed special adviser to the President on May 23, 1981.

A graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique, the Institut d'Etudes Politiques and the Ecole Nationale d'Administration (ENA), Mr. Attali is a professor of economics at the Ecole Polytechnique and lectures at the University of Paris. He has been Director of Seminars at ENA since 1974.

In addition to teaching, Mr. Attali is head of the series "Economie en liberté" published by the Presses universitaires de France (PUF). He sits on the executive board of the quarterly, *Autrement*, and on the editorial board of the periodical, *Socialisme et Economie*.

Mr. Attali is active in several organizations including the National Council of the United Jewish Social Fund and the International Action Committee Against Hunger.

Mr. Attali is a prolific writer and has published the following works: *Analyse économique de la vie politique*, 1972; *Modèles politiques*, 1972; *L'Anti-économique*, 1974; *La Parole et l'outil*, 1975; *Libertés, libertés*, in collaboration, 1976; *Bruits*, 1977; *La Nouvelle économie française*, 1977; *L'Ordre cannibale*, 1979; *Les Trois mondes*, 1981; *Histoire du temps*, 1982.

Jacques Attali was born in 1943 in Algiers. He is married and has one son.

2/84

FRENCH EMBASSY

PRESS & INFORMATION SERVICE



LOUIS MERMAZ

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Louis Mermaz, Socialist deputy from the department of Isère, was a member of the National Assembly from 1967 to 1968 and again from 1973 on, winning election in 1973, 1978 and 1981. He was elected president of the National Assembly in 1981.

He served as Minister of Equipment and Transportation in the first Mauroy cabinet (May 22-June 23, 1981).

Within the Socialist party, Mr. Mermaz has been a member of the steering committee since 1971 and the executive committee since 1975. From 1975 to 1979 he was the party's national secretary. During the 1981 presidential elections he was a delegate for Mr. Mitterrand.

In addition to his functions at the national level, Mr. Mermaz is active in local government. He is mayor of Vienne (pop. 26,000) in the Isère department, winning election in 1971, 1977 and 1983. He also chairs the Isère departmental general council (since 1976) and is a member of the regional council of the Rhône-Alpes (since 1973).

Louis Mermaz was born August 20, 1931 in Paris. He earned a doctoral degree in history and subsequently taught modern history at the university of Clermont-Ferrand. He has published three books: *Madame de Maintenon*, *Madame Sabatier* and *La Dynastie des Hohenzollern*.

Mr. Mermaz is married and has three children.

2/84

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, March 15....Leaders of the American Jewish Committee have been told by top French Government officials — including President Francois Mitterrand — that despite differences between France and Israel, the two countries have "good, friendly relations" with each other, and Israel's security is a "cornerstone" of France's Middle East policy.

The statements were made during a series of meetings, held in Paris February 27-March 2, at which leaders of AJC and the French Government discussed a wide range of issues of concern to the Jewish community.

During the same mission the AJC delegation met also with the United States and Israeli Ambassadors to France; the U.S. Deputy Delegate to UNESCO; the Archbishop of Paris; prominent newspaper editors, and leaders of the French Jewish community. The mission was organized by AJC's International Relations Department, whose director is Marc H. Tanenbaum.

Howard I. Friedman of Los Angeles, AJC national president, reported on the Paris trip at a meeting of AJC's Board of Governors, held this week at AJC national headquarters here.

A major theme of the discussions with Government officials, said Mr. Friedman, was voiced by President Mitterrand, who said that his country had "good, friendly relations and trust with Israel, even though it is not always easy."

Mr. Friedman related also that President Mitterrand stressed his own good relations with Jewish leaders and organizations in France, while French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson said: "France has a moral and political commitment to the

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Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees, William S. Trosten, Acting Director

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CSAE 1707

development of Israel as a state and people — she must enjoy the rights of all states and peoples — that is the cornerstone of our policy."

Commenting also that he was "responsible for the commitment of the European Economic Community to Israel," Mr. Cheysson added that during discussions of Spain's entry into the Common Market, "we have made it a precondition that Spain must have diplomatic relations with Israel in order to enter the E.E.C."

Describing the attitude of the French officials, Mr. Friedman said that "the French Government clearly attached importance to our mission and arranged an impressive series of meetings for us with the highest leadership in the Government: the President and his two closest aides; the Foreign Minister; the Minister of Commerce and Tourism; the Interior Minister; the Minister of Justice; the President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly, and the Director of the Cabinet of the Ministry of Industry and Research."

The themes that emerged from the meetings with Government leaders, continued Mr. Friedman, included these:

1) "Virtually every French Government authority we spoke with began with a spontaneous affirmation that France and the United States share a tradition of common values which link the two countries together in a common destiny."

2) A general conclusion was that "while we have different approaches to a number of...vital issues, we have shared values, and criticism should not overwhelm our basic commitments to Israel and to peace."

3) "France identified strongly with the American view that the Soviet Union in its aggressive, expansionist actions is a threat to democratic societies and a danger to human rights."

4) "France believes in the need for a strong defense to deter Soviet militaristic designs....At the same time, France will pursue a 'double-track' policy of seeking to improve relations with the U.S.S.R."

5) French officials said that their Government had "repeatedly informed the Palestine Liberation Organization that France would never recognize the PLO unless the PLO formally recognizes Israel under international law and accepts United Nations Resolution 242." They also noted that President Mitterrand would not meet the PLO's Yasir Arafat until he recognized the legitimacy of the State of Israel.

6) In response to concern expressed by AJC leaders over attacks on Jews and Israel at UN forums, a French official replied that "France does not go along with that" and "generally opposes those attacks on every international battlefield."

7) The Minister of Commerce and Tourism said that France's \$4 billion arms sales to Saudi Arabia were for defense against Soviet expansionism.

8) The AJC delegation expressed its appreciation for the role that France played at the Madrid Conference on human rights, particularly its support for the cause of Soviet Jewry, and it also acknowledged the vocal support that the French President and Foreign Minister have given to individual Soviet Jewish dissidents. "But the group felt that France could do more to support the general movement of Soviet Jewry and other dissidents whose rights have been denied."

Mr. Friedman announced that the French Government officials and the AJC leaders agreed to schedule a series of follow-up meetings in France and the United States.

Mr. Friedman reported also that the delegation had a "warm and friendly exchange" with Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger, Archbishop of Paris, and the Reverend Bernard du Puys, director of Catholic-Jewish Relations for the French Catholic bishops. The two Catholic leaders, said Mr. Friedman, "spoke affirmatively about the important progress that has been made in improving Catholic-Jewish relations in France and elsewhere," with Cardinal Lustiger adding: "The time has come for another step forward, and soon."

Moreover, continued the AJC president, Cardinal Lustiger, discussing the possibilities of establishing diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel, said "he believed the atmosphere had improved for such a development to take place."

Added Mr. Friedman:

"The Cardinal, who is a friend of Pope John Paul II, said he had written an article in a French journal supporting Vatican recognition of Israel 'as a dramatic step forward,' and had received a positive response when he showed it to the Pope."

Turning to another aspect of the Paris mission, Mr. Friedman said that the AJC leaders met with the United States Deputy Delegate to UNESCO, who "discussed in frank detail America's distress over UNESCO's politicization in an anti-West and anti-Israel manner."

....more

The UNESCO official, continued Mr. Friedman, "said the United States was serious about bringing changes....and asked our assistance in organizing a constituency in support of the U.S. position."

Members of the AJC mission, in addition to Mr. Friedman, were Theodore Ellenoff of New York, Chairman, AJC Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs of Chicago, Chairman, Board of Trustees; Edward E. Elson of Atlanta, Vice President; Gordon Zacks, of Columbus, Ohio, Chairman, International Relations Commission; Leo Nevas, of Westport, Connecticut, Chairman, Task Force on Soviet Jewry; Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director, International Relations Department, and Nives Fox, Director, AJC Paris Office.

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