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MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series E: General Alphabetical Files. 1960-1992

Box 78, Folder 4, American Jewish Committee - National  
Executive Council meeting, 7-10 November 1985.

A G E N D A  
 STEERING COMMITTEE  
 OF THE  
 COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
 Thursday, November 7, 10:30 a.m.  
 Miami, Florida  
 Leo Nevas, Chairman, Presiding

- ✓ 1. Leadership Mission to South Africa (October 9-18): Programmatic Implications  
 Howard Friedman 10:30-11:15 a.m.
- ✓ 2. Israel and the Middle East: The Current State of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process  
 Al Moses *B. Ruver* 11:15-11:40 a.m.
- ✓ 3. Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev Meeting  
 Richard Maass 11:40-11:50 a.m.
- ✓ 4. International Catholic-Jewish Dialogue: Report on AJC-Sponsored Conferences in Venezuela (October 2-4) and Brazil (November 2-5) and Meetings in the Vatican (October 28-29)  
 Marc Tanenbaum 11:50-12:05 p.m.
- ✓ 5. The Mexican Jewish Community after the Earthquake  
 Sergio Nudelstejer 12:05-12:15 p.m.
- 6. Steering Committee: Plans for the 1985-86 Program Year  
 Leo Nevas 12:15-12:30 p.m.

- Topics:
- a) Sub-committee on terrorism
  - b) Committee on hosting foreign diplomats— *Dusan G. Helsen*
  - c) Center for Pluralism in Israel *boris ellenski*
  - d) Mission to the Soviet Union (April 10-21, 1986) *Ben Hertzman*
  - e) Monthly Global Perspectives luncheon at AJC *Carol T. Markin*  
 headquarters, with leading diplomatic/foreign figures *Peter Strous ?*  
*Carol Siegler*

*Institute of Human Relations*  
*Ed. Elson*





# The American Jewish Committee

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

November 6, 1985

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
c/o Hyatt Regency Hotel  
400 SE Second Avenue  
Miami, Florida 33131-2197

Dear Marc:

Welcome to Miami! Judging from today's New York Times story, the meeting in Brazil must have been very successful and I look forward to hearing about it from you.

There are a few remaining items concerning the NEC that I want to bring to your attention before the meetings begin tomorrow:

- 1) All the material from our Department, including the kits for the Steering Committee, has already been shipped to the hotel and should have arrived by today. The only exceptions are the "Newsbriefs" and copies of the Times story on Brazil, both of which are being hand-carried today and should be made available at the Steering Committee meeting tomorrow.
- 2) Further to literature, I have asked Mario Nunez to arrange for a literature table to display our materials for the following meetings: a) Steering Committee, b) Board of Governors, c) Middle East plenary session (Friday afternoon), and d) Central American plenary session (Sunday morning).
- 3) I have shared with Leo an outline of our Department's work, seeking to place it within a conceptual framework. A copy is enclosed for you. It may be of some help in preparing Leo's remarks for the Board of Governors.
- 4) I have also given Leo information, with copy enclosed, on a possible itinerary for our visit to the Soviet Union in the spring. I would like to identify those to be invited and lock in the dates, if possible.
- 5) The Central American Jewish representatives should all be arriving by tomorrow and staying until Sunday. There have been two changes: Abraham Weisleder, and not Gustavo Prifer, will be representing Costa Rica, and John Claude Kahn of El Salvador is unable to attend. Ernesto Freund will speak for the Salvadoran community.
- 6) The Panamanian ambassador, David Samudio, Jr., will be arriving with his wife on Friday. The Costa Rican ambassador, Fernando Berrocal, and his wife will be arriving on Saturday morning. Both couples will stay at the hotel

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Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
November 6, 1985  
Page 2

until Monday. ~~The consuls general of Panama and Costa Rica in Miami have both been invited to the Saturday dinner and Sunday morning session. (Note: The Costa Rican consul general is the mother-in-law of Ambassador Berrocal and the wife of a local Miami politician.)~~

7) Barton Udell has agreed to chair the Saturday morning breakfast with the Central American Jewish representatives. Bill Gralnick has invited about ten chapter members interested in Central America, and I have also asked Leo to invite the members of the Steering Committee to attend. Obviously, staff should also be encouraged to attend.

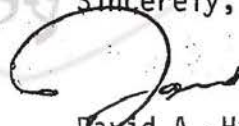
8) Mohammed Talbi of Tunisia has indicated that he will not attend the NEC and participate in the session on the Middle East. Having just received the letter of invitation at the conference in Philadelphia, he noted that he is not prepared to participate in a public session and to take a stance on Middle East policies. He would be prepared, at a different time, to engage quietly in inter-religious dialogue.

9) Phil Wilcox, in charge of Arab-Israeli affairs at the State Department, will be joining Ambassador Richard Murphy in Washington and will attend the off-the-record session on Saturday afternoon.

10) Ed Elson is chairing the session on Central America. I have sent him both chairman's notes and talking points, and, in addition, Sergio has spoken with him by phone and is planning to talk with him further about the session in the next day or two.

I hope that you will have at least a brief chance to rest today before the meetings begin. Best of luck, and please be in touch if I can be of any help.

Sincerely,



David A. Harris

DAH/DG





# The American Jewish Committee

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

November 5, 1985

Mr. Leo Nevas  
246 Post Road East  
Westport, CT 06880

Dear Leo,

I enclose the kit of materials that will be distributed at the Steering Committee meeting on November 7th, together with an agenda indicating the kick-off speakers for each topic and the allotted time for the subject.

It is important that you make an announcement at some point during the meeting that there will be an off-the-record breakfast with the representatives of the Central American Jewish communities to which all Steering Committee members (not attending the Board of Trustees meeting) are invited. It will take place on Saturday morning, November 9th, in the Lantana Room on level three in the hotel, beginning at 8 a.m. and concluding in time for the Shabbat service. Barton Udell will chair the session. Our special guests include Marcel Ruff, president of the Federation of Central American Jewish Communities, Yosef Harari of Panama, Mario Permut of Guatemala, Ernesto Freund of El Salvador and Abraham Weisleder of Costa Rica.

Also, please follow up, if the opportunity presents itself, our discussion on the visit to the Soviet Union in April, with Richie Maass, Howard Friedman, Ted Ellenoff and Marc. We need to clarify who is to be invited. The tentative dates are April 10-21 with visits to Moscow, Leningrad and Kishinev, and it might be possible for us to add on brief stopovers in Bucharest and Budapest, making a total of two weeks. The purpose of Bucharest would be to re-enforce the position of the Jewish community and to engage in high-level talks with the Ceaucescu Government re the Middle East, U.S.S.R., emigration and Romanian-American ties. A brief visit to Hungary would permit needed follow-up to February's AJC Mission and more active pursuit of the Hungarian-Israeli connection.

Best wishes for a successful NEC.

Sincerely,

David A. Harris  
Deputy Director  
International Relations Department

DAH:CH  
Enclosure cc: Marc Tanenbaum

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# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE

**aje**

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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.

**ANNUAL MEETING  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
NOVEMBER 7-10, 1985  
HYATT REGENCY MIAMI  
400 S.E. SECOND AVENUE  
MIAMI, FLA. 33131-2197  
(305) 358-1234**

**CONTACT:**

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**Press - Joyce Kaplan**

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**PRESS ROOMS: AZALEA A & B  
(LEVEL ONE - ONE  
FLOOR BELOW LOBBY)**

**ALERT TO EDITORS AND BROADCASTERS**

**YOUR COVERAGE IS INVITED**

**WHAT: AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING**

**WHEN: THURSDAY, NOV. 7 - SUNDAY, NOV. 10**

**WHERE: HYATT REGENCY MIAMI, 400 S.E. SECOND AVE., MIAMI**

- HIGHLIGHTS:**
1. Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, on the latest developments in the Mideast, Saturday, Nov. 9, following 7:30 p.m. dinner.
  2. Charles E. Silberman, author, on the issues explored in his controversial new best-seller, A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today. Saturday, Nov. 9, following 12:30 p.m. luncheon.
  3. Ray Marshall, former U.S. Secretary of Labor, and Virginia Lamp, Labor Relations Attorney, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, on pay equity for women. Friday, Nov. 8, 8:15 a.m.
  4. Egon Mayer, professor of sociology, Brooklyn College, on the findings of "Intermarriage and Conversion," the most recent in AJC's groundbreaking series of studies on intermarriage. This latest study focuses on what factors seem to lead to conversion. Friday, Nov. 8, 8:15 a.m.
  5. Professor Harvey Cox, Harvard Divinity School, and Dr. David M. Gordis, AJC Executive Vice President, on religious pluralism in America and among world Jewry. Thursday, Nov. 7, 4:30 p.m.
  6. Mayor Federico Pena of Denver on "Acculturation of Immigrants: The New Challenge." Sunday, Nov. 10, 8 a.m.
  7. Rev. John Pawlikowski, Catholic Theological Union, and Rev. William Lewers, U.S. Catholic Conference, on Catholic-Jewish relations in the 20th anniversary year of Vatican Council II. Friday, Nov. 8, 10:15 a.m.
  8. Howard I. Friedman, AJC national president, will give the presidential address. Saturday, Nov. 9, following 7:30 p.m. dinner.

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees;

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1707



### FEATURE OPPORTUNITIES

In addition to the specific sessions mentioned in this alert, also available are interviews with experts on the following current issues with which AJC is concerned:

Terrorism, particularly in the wake of recent Middle East events such as the hijacking of the Achille Lauro and the murder of Leon Klinghoffer.

South Africa — A high level AJC delegation has just returned from a fact-finding trip to South Africa that included meetings with the Jewish community there.

Black Jewish relations, with particular reference to the controversies surrounding Minister Louis Farrakhan's recent appearances around the country.

Anti-Semitism, including the growth of right-wing extremist groups that prey on the fears of economically strapped farmers by scapegoating Jews for the rural economic crisis.

The United Nations, including the 10th anniversary of the Zionism/racism resolution, how Jews feel about the world organization 40 years after its creation, and the problems stemming from Third-World dominance of the UN.

Immigration, including such detailed issues as the controversy over asylum and sanctuary, and pending legislation regarding refugees, undocumented aliens, temporary workers, overall U.S. immigration policy, and the like.

The Jews of Mexico and Central America

Church/State relationships, including the continuing conflicts over such issues as school prayer, equal access, and religious displays on public property.

\* \* \* \* \*

**Thursday, Nov. 7**

**4:30 p.m.**

Brickell & Flagler  
Rooms

**OPENING PLENARY SESSION:** Two aspects of one of the most heated issues in American and Jewish life today -- religious pluralism — will be dealt with, as AJC Executive Vice President Dr. David M. Gordis addresses "World Jewry Between Polarization and Pluralism," and the prominent religious scholar Professor Harvey Cox of Harvard Divinity School speaks on "Religious Pluralism: Renewing the Commitment."

**Friday, Nov. 8**

Concurrent sessions:

**8:15 a.m.**

Orchid B,C,&D

Professor Egon Mayer of Brooklyn College, one of the country's leading authorities on intermarriage and author of two pioneering AJC studies on this controversial subject, will give a pre-publication report on the third study — "Intermarriage and Conversion: Identities in Transition" — which promises to stir as much nationwide discussion as did the earlier surveys.

Orange Blossom  
Room

What do we mean by "pay equity" and "comparable worth"? Are they good for women? Bad for business? Good or bad for the country? Ray Marshall, former U.S. Secretary of Labor, and Virginia Lamp, Labor Relations Attorney, U.S. Chamber of Commerce — two highly knowledgeable experts with very different opinions — may well set sparks flying as they discuss "Pay Equity: The 80s Social Justice Issue?"

— more —

10:15 a.m.  
Jasmine Room

PLENARY SESSION: "Catholic-Jewish Relations: Perspectives and Prospectives" As the 20th anniversary of Vatican Council II draws near, concerned Catholics and Jews worldwide ask: How far-reaching were the changes in Catholic-Jewish relations set in motion by that momentous Council? What rifts still remain to be healed? What about the controversy aroused by the present Pope's recent "Notes" on Vatican Council II? What can we expect from the forthcoming Bishops' Synod, which will review the changes brought about by the Council? Giving their views will be four of the world's most noted figures in this area: Rev. John Pawlikowski, Professor of Ethics, Catholic Theological Union; Rev. William M. Lewers, Director, Office of International Justice and Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC director of international affairs, and Rabbi A. James Rudin, AJC director of interreligious affairs.

12:15 p.m.

"ACTION WHERE YOU ARE": Four concurrent luncheon workshops at which AJC leaders from all parts of the U.S. will discuss the actions being taken in their own communities to deal with key intergroup-relations issues affecting Jews, non-Jews, blacks, and whites — in short, all of us.

Brickell North "Anti-Semitism and Extremism: New Manifestations, New Tactics"

Brickell Center "Black/Jewish Relations: Current Issues and Strategies"

Brickell South "Reaching Out to Intermarrieds"

Orchid B & C "New Directions in Interreligious Dialogues"

2 p.m.  
Jasmine Room

PLENARY SESSION: "Toward Peace in the Middle East" In an area where conflict seems to mark virtually every relationship — between Israel and its allies, between Jew and Arab, and among the different factions within Israel itself — is there any hope of harmony anywhere? Examining three aspects of this question will be Wolf Blitzer, longtime Washington correspondent of the Jerusalem Post, speaking on "U.S./Israel Relationships"; Ehud Sprinzak, senior lecturer in political science, Hebrew University, on "Radical Fundamentalism and Extremism in Israel," and Mohammed Talbi, professor of Islamic Studies, University of Tunis, on "Islamic Fundamentalism."

Saturday, Nov. 9

10 a.m.  
Jasmine Room

Sabbath services will be devoted to Jewish pluralism, and will focus on the Jews of Central America

At the Oneg Shabbat following the services, a videotape featuring Arthur Hertzberg, former rabbi of Temple Emanu-El in Englewood, N.J., and visiting professor of religion at Dartmouth College, and Dr. David M. Gordis, AJC executive vice president, will explore "How Judaism Differs."

12:30 p.m.  
Brickell & Flagler Rooms

PLENARY LUNCHEON: "Jews as Americans: A Dream Fulfilled?" Featured will be author Charles E. Silberman, whose just-published A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today, has, ironically enough, aroused a whirlwind of controversy because it looks at such issues as intermarriage, assimilation, anti-Semitism, and the Jewish birth rate and sees them as being far less dangerous to American Jewry than do many other critics.



5 p.m.

Jasmine Room

Reception honoring David Fleeman, prominent Miami builder, civic leader, and philanthropist. Mr. Fleeman — chairman of the Florida commission on ethics, trustee of Florida International University, president of Jewish Federation Housing, Inc., past president of AJC's Miami Chapter, past president of the Greater Miami Jewish Federation, and past president of the Home Builders Association of South Florida — will be feted at a cocktail reception benefiting the Appeal for Human Relations.

7:30 p.m.**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DINNER**Tuttle, Monroe,  
and Flagler Rooms

Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, will report on the the latest developments in the long move toward Mideast peace, and other breaking news involving Israel and its neighbors.

Alan Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State-designate and former U.S. Ambassador to the UN Economic and Social Council, and Dame Nita Barrow, convenor of Forum '85, the international nongovernmental women's conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, in July 1985, will be given awards for their contributions to the Nairobi conferences. In response they will talk on the achievements of the just-completed UN Decade for Women, and on the still unmet needs of many of the world's women.

Howard I. Friedman, AJC National President, will give the presidential address.

Sunday, Nov. 108 a.m.Tuttle and Monroe  
Rooms

PLENARY BREAKFAST: Mayor Fredrico Pena of Denver will talk on "Acculturation of Immigrants: The New Challenge." Because of his own Hispanic background as well as his governmental experience, Mayor Pena is uniquely qualified to examine the problems and opportunities now facing our pluralistic society — and the immigrants themselves — in the wake of the new immigrations that have added to the nation's diversity.

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# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

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**CONTACT: Press - Joyce Kaplan**

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FLOOR BELOW LOBBY)**

**AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES** FOR RELEASE AFTER 12 NOON  
FRIDAY, NOV. 8, 1985

MIAMI, Nov. 8 ... A prominent American Jewish sociologist reported today that two principal factors determine whether a non-Jew who is planning to marry or is married to a Jew will convert or not.

Addressing the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee's top policy-making body, the National Executive Council, at the Hyatt Regency Miami Hotel, Dr. Egon Mayer, Professor of Sociology at Brooklyn College and President of the Association for the Sociological Study of Jewry, identified these factors:

- \* The innate "religiousness" of the individual;
- \* The desire of the Jewish partner in the marriage to have his or her spouse convert.

"Failure to convert rarely implies a rejection of Jews or Jewishness," Dr. Mayer stated. "Converts report themselves to be much more religious than non-converts, more interested in spiritual matters, and more eager to belong to a religious community."

Dr. Mayer added: "Converts are much more likely than non-converts to have been asked to convert by their spouses. Many non-Jewish spouses do not convert because the Jewish partner is indifferent to Jewishness."

He observed that:

- \* Even the most effective "outreach" programs seeking to effect conversions among the intermarried cannot stimulate innate religiousness where it does not already exist.
- \* Outreach would enjoy greater success if it paid more attention to deepening the Jewish commitment of the Jewish spouse.

Dr. Mayer's report was based on a study on intermarriage, entitled Inter-marriage and Conversion, that he has prepared for the American Jewish Committee

-more-

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees.

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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and that is scheduled for publication within the next few months. It will be the third in a series on intermarriage sponsored by the American Jewish Committee's Jewish Communal Affairs Department.

The first, in 1979, entitled Intermarriage and the Jewish Future, focussed on the question, "Who are the intermarriers?" The second, in 1983, entitled Children of Intermarriage, dealt with the Jewish identification of children who were reared in intermarried families.

Both showed that conversion of the non-Jewish spouse to Judaism greatly enhanced the chances of Judaism in the home. This suggested that conversion could very well offset the potential losses that intermarriage might inflict on the American Jewish population.

Discussing his survey at the National Executive Council meeting, Dr. Mayer noted that "the great danger to the numerical integrity of the Jewish community is posed by intermarriage precisely because most intermarriages remain 'mixed marriages', and in most such marriages the resulting children do not identify as Jews."

The great question that faces American Jewry concerning intermarriage, he pointed out, is: "Will enough of them become 'conversionary marriages' and raise Jewish children so as to offset the expected demographic losses from mixed marriages as well as from assimilation in general?"

At the same National Executive Council session, Yehuda Rosenman, Director of the Jewish Communal Affairs Department, foresaw complications as well as opportunities for the Jewish community in some aspects of intermarriage.

"Since converts may express their Jewishness more actively in religious behavior than in feelings of responsibility for Israel or Jews elsewhere," Mr. Rosenman said, "the differences between the nature of the Jewishness of converts and that of born-Jews may be a source of personal strain as well as strain in the community."

"In the long run these differences may also place strain upon the capability of the established Jewish organizations," he said, "since the populations they hope to serve might increasingly lack consensus over the fundamental issues of Jewish self-definition and the Jewish mission in the world in general."

Thus, he noted, the increasing incidence of intermarriage and conversions raises not only the numerical question of how many Jews will there be in the next and subsequent generations, but also the more thorny question of what kind of Jews will comprise the Jewish community of the future.

Mr. Rosenman suggested that rabbis who take part in the instruction of prospective converts broaden the scope of such instruction to include material on Jewish history and ethnicity, Jews in other countries, Jewish customs, etc.

"New ways have to be found to relate these people to the broader aspects of the Jewish community," he said. "All our studies, including the present one, indicate that even when there is conversion to Judaism the sense of Jewish identification is frequently weak, except in the strictly religious sense, when it may be stronger than that of the Jewish spouse. In fact our 'outreach' should often be directed principally at the Jewish spouse."

Mr. Rosenman also recommended the organization of visits to Israel and greater efforts to strengthen the bond between the convert and the general Jewish community.

The session was chaired by Howard Gilbert, Chairman of AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Commission.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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# NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL MEETING  
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CONTACT: Press - Joyce Kaplan

Broadcasting - Haina Just

PRESS ROOMS: AZALEA A & B  
(LEVEL ONE - ONE  
FLOOR BELOW LOBBY)

FOR RELEASE AFTER 8 P.M.,  
SATURDAY, NOV. 9, 1985

MIAMI, Nov. 9 ... Ambassador Alan Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State-designate for International Organization Affairs, today sharply denounced the "Zionism is racism" resolution adopted by the United Nations 10 years ago, saying it was harmful not only to Israel but also to the United States and to the UN itself.

Ambassador Keyes spoke at the major dinner session of the American Jewish Committee's Annual National Executive Council Meeting, which has been taking place at the Hyatt Regency Miami Hotel here since Thursday and is due to conclude tomorrow. Mr. Keyes, who was a U.S. delegate to the recent United Nations Women's Conference in Nairobi, received a citation from the AJC for his contributions to the conference.

At the same dinner session, AJC presented a similar citation to Dame Nita Barrow, convenor of the nongovernmental women's-issues forum that ran approximately side-by-side with the official UN conference.

Ambassador Keyes, who was U.S. Representative to the UN Economic and Social Council, helped lead American efforts to prevent "Zionism is racism" language from being included in the final Nairobi Conference document.

"By trying to harm U.S.-Israeli relations and to deligitimize Israel," said Ambassador Keyes at tonight's dinner, "the purveyors of 'Zionism is racism' are also trying to undermine U.S. policy -- the ability to further peace in the Middle East."

Moreover, said Mr. Keyes, the Zionism-racism resolution -- which was adopted 10 years ago tomorrow -- "is downright harmful to the UN itself, since the basic UN goal is peacekeeping, and the injection of these contentious

-more-

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees;

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CSAE 1707



political issues into that effort undermines that goal." He added: "It undermines the credibility of the UN, and it undermines respect for the UN in the United States and among reasonable nations everywhere."

Discussing the way the "Zionism is racism" issue was handled at the nongovernmental women's forum in Nairobi, Dame Nita said that "there were 13,503 women there -- women concerned with development, peace, equality, health, employment, education, and other vital issues -- and because there were so many issues of deep concern, and so many women from different backgrounds, there was no time for one contentious issue to dominate."

Turning to what was the real purpose of the conference -- women's issues -- Dame Nita said that one great benefit of the conference was that "so many international contacts were made, and so much groundwork for future networking was laid."

"I sense from the letters I've received since the conference," said Dame Nita, who is from Barbados and is an official of the World Conference of Churches, "the beginnings of a global women's movement, a feeling that women will foster the links forged at the conference, continue to intensify them, and continue to carry the issues forward."

Dame Nita noted also that the special youth sessions at the conference --for women under 30 -- "had a great impact, for these young women attended all regular sessions but also met separately to discuss issues as they affect youth, and their emphasis, which was strongly felt at the regular sessions, was: 'We are present.'"

The AJC citation to Ambassador Keyes, presented by Suzanne Elson, chair of AJC's National Committee on Women's Issues, said: "In grateful recognition of your vigorous and eloquent articulation of America's commitment to the ideals of the United Nations Charter -- universality, tolerance, and peace -- at the United Nations Decade for Women Conference."

The citation to Dame Nita, presented by Mimi Alperin, chair of AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission, said: "In grateful recognition of your successful stewardship of the NGO Forum at the United Nations Decade for Women Conference, which helped make it a vehicle of positive dialogue and constructive cooperation."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

\* \* \*

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# 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

ANNUAL MEETING  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
NOVEMBER 7-10, 1985  
HYATT REGENCY MIAMI  
400 S.E. SECOND AVENUE  
MIAMI, FLA. 33131-2197  
(305) 358-1234

CONTACT: Press - Joyce Kaplan

Broadcasting - Haina Just

PRESS ROOMS: AZALEA A & B  
(LEVEL ONE - ONE  
FLOOR BELOW LOBBY)

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

FOR RELEASE AFTER 4:30 P.M.  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1985

MIAMI, Nov. 7...The executive head of the American Jewish Committee today urged that terrorism be declared "an international crime" no matter what the political agenda behind it.

Speaking to the agency's National Executive Council, which continues its annual meeting through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Miami Hotel here, Dr. David M. Gordis asserted that "we guarantee success to the terrorists" when the world gives "center stage" to their political agenda rather than to their murderous deeds.

In underlining his warning, Dr. Gordis, AJC's Executive Vice President, pointed to two recent events: the Achille Lauro hijacking and Israel's strike against a terrorist attack by hitting PLO headquarters in Tunis.

On the Achille Lauro affair: "The world proclaims its opposition to terrorism. How then to explain the eagerness of the two governments most directly involved -- Italy, whose record of internal terrorism has been so good; and Egypt, a friend of the U.S. and at peace with Israel -- to return perpetrators of that piracy and murder to their terrorist masters and free the architect of the entire plot? And then the ultimate absurdity -- to demand apologies from the U.S. for finally taking strong, resolute action against terrorism!"

On Israel's attack on PLO headquarters in Tunis: "The PLO states its goal to be the destruction of the State of Israel, and declares its right to attack all Jews and Zionists anywhere in the world. But when Israel strikes back against a terrorist attack by hitting the PLO headquarters in Tunis, it is

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Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees.  
David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1707

condemned for that strike, even by its friends, who argue that the attack violates Tunisian sovereignty."

"Such responses," Dr. Gordis went on, "are dangerous not only because they egg the terrorists on to greater and greater outrages, but because they shift the precarious center and drive the moderates and would-be moderates in the direction of extremism."

Dr. Gordis placed his appeal for terrorism to be declared "an international crime" within the context of recent events, where we are experiencing "the ascendancy of mindlessness and extremism, a hardening of positions, a toughening of attitudes, a driving apart of those who should be partners, both within the Jewish community and between the Jewish community and groups in our larger society."

He explained that "the sense of economic and social vulnerability" had grown among the disadvantaged: blacks, Hispanics, women, the elderly, the family farmers -- and that this had emboldened "those who always exploit such vulnerability" to preach hatred and foment violence.

"In recent months," he went on, "we have seen these hatemongers make common cause with religious extremists to scapegoat Jews and the 'Eastern establishment' and enlist new support for a campaign to 'Christianize America.' Couple this with the renewed political assertiveness on the part of religious ideologues, and we have a blueprint for polarization and increasing difficulty in maintaining the liveable middle ground essential to the functioning of a pluralist society."

Nor is the Jewish community immune, he continued, pointing out that it contains those "who make excuses for bigotry, and even for the terrorism of extreme Orthodox fundamentalism," an extremism reinforced by "the monopoly of legitimacy granted by the Jewish State of Israel to a single group in Jewish life."

"Part of the price Israel pays for the Orthodox monopoly," he continued, "is its inability to nurture a synthesis of Jewish and democratic values in a pluralist Israeli environment."

Dr. Gordis challenged the members of AJC's National Executive Council, who were gathered from all over the country, "to communicate another vision than that projected by extremists, non-Jewish and Jewish," becoming "the focus for those who affirm the centrality of democratic values and their compatibility with Judaism."

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# NEWS

FROM THE

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AMERICAN JEWISH

FOR RELEASE AFTER 2 P.M.  
FRIDAY, NOV. 8, 1985

MIAMI, Nov. 8 ... Two rabbis and two Roman Catholic priests -- all prominent activists in intergroup relations -- agreed today that in the last 20 years the centuries-old chasm of misunderstanding dividing Catholics and Jews has narrowed markedly and even closed in several key areas.

But they also agreed that gaps remained -- the anti-Semitism in many versions of the Passion Play was cited as one example -- and they called fervently on both faith communities to seek to understand each other's beliefs, pains, and priorities, and to join in battling injustices abhorrent to both traditions.

Speaking at a plenary session of the Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee's National Executive Council Meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Miami Hotel here, were Rev. John Pawlikowski, professor of ethics, Catholic Theological Union; Rev. William M. Lewers, director, Office of International Justice and Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference; Rabbi A. James Rudin, AJC director of interreligious affairs, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC director of international affairs. The meeting was chaired by Robert S. Jacobs of Chicago, chair of AJC's Board of Trustees.

The session at which the four spoke took as its starting point the current worldwide 20th-anniversary commemoration of Vatican Council II. Among the many groundbreaking documents issued by the Council was Nostra Aetate ("In Our Time"), which paved the way for vast changes in Catholic-Jewish relations. Said Father Pawlikowski in comment on this:

"As we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Vatican Declaration on the Church and the Jewish people, I believe we have made significant progress in many areas of the dialogue. We have taken major steps to obliterate in the

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Catholic Church and in mainline Christianity generally the historic decide charge, which caused so much pain, suffering, and death for the Jewish people throughout the centuries."

"Another area where there has been real progress on the Catholic side," continued Father Pawlikowski, "is the rethinking of the theological relationship between Christianity and the Jewish people. Though we are still in a very early stage here, an increasing number of Catholic theologians, bishops, and the Pope himself have spoken of a positive enduring bond between Judaism and Christianity that must be presented as an integral part of Christian theology and education.... Yes, there have been some troublesome statements, but the overall impact leaves the definite impression that the Catholic community has irreversibly changed its theology regarding the continuing role of the Jewish people in the history of salvation, and Christians and Jews are now definitely viewed as partners, necessary partners, in the redemption of humankind."

On the negative side, Father Pawlikowski pointed to the Passion Play, "both the historic one in Oberammergau and the several held here in this country, all of which tend in one way or another to perpetuate the old decide charge."

However, he said, "there have been some improvements projected in the one Passion Play under Catholic auspices -- a version presented by a parish in New Jersey -- and that is a sign of hope."

Father Pawlikowski then stressed that "our new encounter would remain incomplete if it did not include a strengthened commitment to peace and justice," adding: "Christians and Jews must collaborate in bringing justice to people deprived of religious, political, and economic rights in various parts of the world, and we must support each other in those causes that are of special significance to our respective communities, such as the security and well-being of Israel, the plight of Soviet Jews, the struggle of the Catholic Church for religious freedom throughout Eastern Europe, and, in a special way, the struggle of the Catholic Churches in Poland and Latin America to bring human dignity and improve social conditions for their people."

Sounding a similar theme, Reverend Lewers said that the Catholic and Jewish communities in the United States "must work together in defense of human rights in this country and throughout the world, and we must, moreover, not do this for tactical reasons -- i.e., that we will help you defend your interests if you will help us defend our interests -- for such a tactical reason would be unworthy of either community."

Rather, stressed Reverend Lewers, "we must work together in defense of human rights because we share the fundamental belief that each man, woman and child on the face of this earth is made in the image and likeness of God."

Citing the plight of Soviet Jewry as one grave human-rights issue, Reverend Lewers said, "In the view of the U.S. Catholic Conference, the treatment by the Soviet Government of Jews in the Soviet Union violates basic human rights, human rights repeatedly recognized by international law. We have protested and will



continue to protest to members and representatives of the Soviet Government the treatment accorded by that Government to members of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union."

"In our world today," concluded Reverend Lewers, "to commit oneself to work for justice, to work for human rights, is to commit oneself to small victories and large frustrations. But if members of the Jewish community and the Catholic community are to be true to their faith, they can do no other."

Summarizing what he saw as the overall picture, Rabbi Rudin said, "The enormous advances in Catholic-Jewish relations throughout the world since 1965 form one of the great success stories in human history. Because of Nostra Aetate, the way was opened for our two great faith communities actively and systematically to repair the damage of the past 1,900 years. The most difficult thing to achieve in life has actually taken place: human attitudes and beliefs have been changed for the better."

"Of course," Rabbi Rudin continued, "some serious problems still remain between Catholics and Jews, but after two decades of real progress I am convinced that those problems can be jointly addressed in ways that were not possible before 1965: in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding. Without being the least bit Pollyanish, the poet's words are true vis-a-vis Catholic-Jewish relations: 'Grow old along with me, the best is yet to be.'"

Rabbi Tanenbaum described last week's meetings in Rome of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC) with Pope John Paul II and members of the Vatican Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish Relations, and earlier this week in Sao Paulo, Brazil, with Brazilian Catholic Bishops.

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\* \* \* \* \*

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# NEWS

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# COMMITTEE



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AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

**FOR RELEASE AFTER 2 P.M.  
FRIDAY, NOV. 8, 1985**

MIAMI, Nov. 8 ... Three experts on various aspects of the Middle East and its complexities reported today on the impact of Israel's radical right, the changing U.S.-Israeli alliance, and Moslem fundamentalism on Israel's security and well-being.

The three -- Wolf Blitzer, Washington Bureau Chief of the Jerusalem Post and author of the new book "Between Washington & Jerusalem"; Ehud Sprinzak, senior lecturer in political science at the Hebrew University, and Mohammed Talbi, professor of Islamic Studies at the University of Tunis -- spoke at a plenary session of the American Jewish Committee's National Executive Council meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Miami Hotel here.

"The number and power of forces in Israel that are hostile to the peace process are far greater than is known in the U. S.," Mr. Sprinzak explained, adding that these forces stem from the increasingly powerful role of the radical right, which separated from the traditional right after the Camp David Accords. These forces, he went on, urge that there be no negotiations with the Palestinians and they resent any peace moves with Egypt. He said:

"These people were loyal to Menahem Begin, believing he could preserve the entire land of Israel. When they learned to their dismay that Begin was ready to give Sinai back to the Egyptians, they were shocked."

On the present growth of Kach and "Kahanism," Mr. Sprinzak commented: "Meir Kahane, about whom the media here makes a big fuss, is just the tip of the iceberg. Many Israelis on the radical right think like Kahane but will not admit it for reasons of political prudence."

Professor Sprinzak went on to point out, however, that significant elements within Israel's democratic society were mobilizing their efforts to counteract

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CSAE 1707



Kahane and the radical right. He added that should Prime Minister Shimon Peres's bold offer of direct peace negotiations with Jordan and moderate Palestinians be accepted by King Hussein, there would be vigorous debate within Israel, but that the forces for moderation and compromise would prevail.

Mr. Blitzer, citing recent shifts between Israel and the United States, said: "What appears to be developing, slowly but surely, is a radical new American-Israeli defense alliance, a partnership that most likely will result eventually in Israel's playing an increasingly important strategic role for the United States."

Such an alliance, he added, is based on what he called "limited military cooperation," and he suggested that an American-Israeli defense pact was "very much a possibility down the road."

Commenting on the relationship between the U.S. Congress and Israel, Mr. Blitzer said: "Officials in Israel certainly recognize that Israel's policies on sensitive diplomatic negotiations and other controversial matters, such as the settlements on the West Bank, have a direct impact on American attitudes. And Israel's vulnerability to the displeasure of U.S. policy-makers has become a built-in feature on the relationships between Washington and Jerusalem."

He listed these as examples of the strengthened U.S.-Israel "alliance": the relationship between the CIA and Israel's Mossad (intelligence operation), which he called "quite good," and the fact that State Department experts are more supportive of Israel today than they were during the 1950s, when there seemed to be much more anti-Israel sentiment.

Referring to President Reagan, Mr. Blitzer commented: "Ronald Reagan's relationship with Israel is defined by its contradictions. Despite the fact that he found himself, during his first term, in more direct conflicts with the Israeli Government than had any previous president, there is little doubt that his gut instincts are extremely pro-Israel."

In a ringing plea for religious liberty, Professor Talbi called on Moslem theologians to denounce all forms of discrimination as "crimes strictly and explicitly condemned by the Koran's basic teachings."

He asserted that religious liberty, which he called "a fundamental right of everyone," was not "an act of charity or a latent concession toward misled persons." Rather, from a Moslem perspective and on the basis of the Koran, "whose letter and spirit we have tried to deduce," he added, "religious liberty is ultimately an act of respect for God's sovereignty and the mystery of God's plan for humanity."

Chairing the meeting where the three spoke was Alfred H. Moses, Chairman of AJC's National Executive Council.

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# NEWS

FROM THE

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AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

**FOR RELEASE AFTER 6 P.M.  
SATURDAY, NOV. 9, 1985**

MIAMI, NOV. 9...Howard I. Friedman, president of the American Jewish Committee, today warned that terrorism constituted the most perilous threat to civilized society.

Delivering his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Committee's National Executive Council at the Hyatt Regency Miami Hotel, Mr. Friedman demanded a new cooperative effort to rid the world of terrorism. He praised the U.S. government for its "courageous and steadfast action" after the seizure of the Achille Lauro by Arab terrorists.

Alfred H. Moses, Chairman of the National Executive Council, presided at the meeting.

Branding efforts to portray terrorists as freedom fighters, Mr. Friedman stated that "freedom fighters do not shoot and kill paralyzed tourists in wheelchairs; terrorists and murderers do," adding that those who bombed the Santa Ana (California) headquarters of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee and killed the group's regional director were also terrorists and murderers, not freedom fighters.

In a wide-ranging analysis of current domestic and international problems, Mr. Friedman called for vigilance against "efforts of far-right political and religious extremists to exploit the tragic conditions of America's farmers by charging that Jewish bankers and the Eastern establishment are conspiring to appropriate the land of hard-pressed family farmers."

Another focus of bigotry, Mr. Friedman declared, has been the "gutter anti-Semitism" of the Black propagandist, Louis Farrakhan. "In speeches before large Black audiences, Farrakhan coupled that anti-Semitism with appeals to Black separatism and Black hostility to whites unprecedented in recent times," Mr. Friedman stated.

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees.

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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The moderate leaders of most respected farm groups and Black groups have forthrightly rejected these appeals, said Mr. Friedman, adding that despite occasional tensions, Blacks and Jews share the goal of making the promise of America real for all.

While stressing the American Jewish Committee's opposition to quotas, Mr. Friedman underscored his belief that "valid affirmative action is needed to make sure that victims of historic deprivation are not denied the mobility inherent in the American system."

Noting that "a sense that values are deteriorating fuels much of the effort to impair the separation of church and state," Mr. Friedman announced that the American Jewish Committee recently established the Skirball Institute on Human Values in order to identify core values that public and private institutions can help support and propagate on the American scene.

A concern with values is not the exclusive property of those on the religious right, Mr. Friedman said, "It is inherent in the Jewish tradition and lies at the core of our own concerns today."

Turning to the foreign scene, Mr. Friedman called for steadfast American determination to protect and maintain the balance of power in the world, and to stand as a guardian for free societies wherever they exist. He noted that:

- \* Peace in the Middle East involves accepting the legitimacy of Israel, and engagement in direct face-to-face negotiation with her regarding boundaries and Palestinian identity.
- \* There is a possibility of peace between Israel and Jordan without the participation of the PLO on the basis of "territorial compromise."

Commenting on the imminent Summit Conference in Geneva, Mr. Friedman expressed hope for progress. However, he added: "When Mr. Gorbachev says that the Jews of the Soviet Union are better off than Jews in any other society, he reveals the darkened insulation from reality that has characterized the Soviet Union throughout its modern history."

"Our own country," Mr. Friedman stated, "is truly the most remarkable surrounding culture in which Jews have ever lived. It is a surrounding culture which reflects values totally consonant with the Jewish experience in history. And above all, it is an environment which encourages each group in its midst, to bring to bear upon the society itself its own perspectives and experience."

Also on the program at which Mr. Friedman spoke, tributes were paid to Ambassador Allan Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State (Designate), and to Dame Nita Barrow, Convenor of the Nairobi Forum marking the end of the Decade for Women. Ambassador Keyes and Dame Barrow were honored for their accomplishments in Nairobi where, in Mr. Friedman's words, "they led the fight in the various forums, official and unofficial, to prevent the subversion of the conference designed to improve the lot of women the world over, and pointed the way to the restoration of the UN to its constructive goals."

At a reception prior to the meeting, the Committee bestowed its National Distinguished Service Award on David B. Fleeman, a prominent Miami builder, civic leader, and philanthropist, for his many community services, "mirroring the Committee's own emphasis on the future of a stable and harmonious society."

# NEWS

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**FOR RELEASE AFTER 4:30 P.M.,  
THURSDAY, NOV. 7, 1985**

MIAMI, Nov. 7 . . . One of America's foremost theologians today called for an "active affirmation" of interreligious dialogue as a way of avoiding "religious imperialism" and the threat of a monolithic future.

Speaking at the opening session of the American Jewish Committee's National Executive Council meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Hotel here, Prof. Harvey Cox added that a greater acceptance of religious pluralism was necessary to offset the fear of the escalating power of Christian fundamentalism.

Professor Cox, who is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Divinity at the Harvard University Divinity School, asserted:

"Christian fundamentalism is misleading, and not a healthy basis for interreligious dialogue. It is a relationship based on a theology that forces one group against the other."

Professor Cox, a Baptist minister and well-known author of many books and articles on religious topics, told the audience of Jewish leaders from the U.S. and Central America and it was imperative to encourage dialogue at religious and theological levels and that to avoid talking about divisive topics was not constructive. He continued:

"In order to get past imperialism, we must look toward the spiritual integrity of the other, which does not have to be based on agreement. It is a Providential gift that we be different. We are at a stage in history where there is more of a religious and spiritual basis needed, where we must strive toward the active nurturance of a religiously pluralistic situation."

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CSAE 1702



This historic stage, he went on, stems from "the unexpected rate of artificial intelligence, combined with a world headed for homogeneity. We face what might be called a man-made single truth. My colleagues at M.I.T. talk of 'world digitalization,' in which we would be dependent on information that can be coded by computers. That would leave the human spirit in danger, when we would face the fear of excluding the nuances and the variety of human life."

"Christians and Jews must go beyond mere toleration," he asserted. "We must accept and respect the rights of others. By rereading religious texts, we find a celebration of the diversity of pluralism."

"But an Armageddon scenario is a theologically unsound basis for Jewish-Christian reciprocity because it is another example of Christian imperialism, where Jews are typecast to fit a particular role."

Chairing the session was Leo Nevas, Chairman of AJC's International Affairs Commission.

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*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

ANNUAL MEETING  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
HYATT REGENCY MIAMI  
NOVEMBER 7-10, 1985  
400 S.E. SECOND AVENUE  
MIAMI, FLA. 33131-2197  
(305) 358-1234

CONTACT: Press - Joyce Kaplan

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(LEVEL ONE - ONE  
FLOOR BELOW LOBBY)

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
FOR RELEASE AFTER 8:30 A.M.  
FRIDAY, NOV. 8, 1985

MIAMI, Nov. 8....Two nationally prominent labor specialists clashed today over "comparable worth," one holding that it would seriously disrupt markets, be impossible to carry out, and help women little if at all, the other arguing that implementation of the concept would help remedy sex-based wage inequities and be economically feasible.

The thinking underlying "comparable worth" is that jobs traditionally held by women are usually paid less than those traditionally held by men; that a portion of this differential stems from sex-based wage discrimination and not from real differences in the worth of the jobs, and that jobs should be re-evaluated to determine their "comparable worth" to the individual employers. Thus, if an evaluation found that a bookkeeping job had the same "worth" as a truck-driving job to an individual employer but carried lower wages, under this theory the pay scale should be changed to bring about equity.

Discussing the concept at a session of the American Jewish Committee's National Executive Council Meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Miami Hotel here, were former U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall, who spoke in favor of comparable worth, and Virginia Lamp, Labor Attorney, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, who spoke against it. Said Ms. Lamp:

"While the U.S. Chamber of Commerce supports the concept of pay equity, it opposes any effort to implement into the work force by government mandate the concept of 'comparable worth,' which would unnecessarily disrupt the labor market. Such job evaluation processes cannot be successfully implemented, and as a proposed remedy to the wage gap, comparable worth is ill-conceived, unworkable, expensive and, in all likelihood, counterproductive in the long run to the multiple interests affected, including the interests of female workers."

-more-

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees;

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel  
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CSAE 1707



In a sharp rebuttal, Secretary Marshall, who is now a professor of economics and public affairs at the University of Texas, said that the argument that wage differentials between men and women reflect market supply-and-demand forces rather than discrimination "assumes a model of the labor market that is at variance with the way it actually works: according to the laws of economics we're not supposed to get discrimination, but in the world we live in we get it."

"Regardless of what the critics of 'comparable worth' say," continued Secretary Marshall, "our society does have discrimination, it does have ideas about what men ought to do and be paid, and about what women ought to do and be paid, and most of these ideas assign lower pay to 'women's jobs' only because they are 'women's jobs.'

"Most critics of comparable worth assume discrimination to be a matter of specific, overt acts, and they ignore these ingrained, institutional patterns of discrimination."

Turning to the frequently voiced criticism that job evaluations are imprecise, Mr. Marshall said that "all compensations are inherently judgmental, some evaluation always has to be used to fix wages, it is an established technique, and comparable-worth evaluations would involve no more judgment than ordinarily is involved in wage and salary administration."

"Being an imprecise art at best, a value-laden rationalization process at worst," countered Ms. Lamp, "job evaluations are incapable of scientifically and objectively discovering the fairest wage. Worth is an elusive concept subject to changes based on competition, consumer preferences, individual merit or experience, new technology or other market forces. Two jobs may have comparable characteristics, but they do not necessarily have comparable value. Our rewards typically are determined by the community's valuation of what we produce."

Moreover, said Ms. Lamp, "existing laws already provide comprehensive protection against sex-based wage discrimination, and under present law, women cannot be denied a job because they are women, cannot be denied equal pay for equal work, cannot be intentionally paid less than men because of their sex, cannot be intentionally segregated into 'women's jobs,' and cannot be denied training, transfers, promotions or any other job opportunities because of their sex."

Also, Ms. Lamp maintained, "only to the extent that the market reflects societal attitudes and biases that may influence employee choice in selecting and performing a job can the market be said to be discriminating."

Addressing the argument that implementation of comparable worth would be disruptive, Mr. Marshall said, "My own view is that the conflict between efficiency and equity is a false dichotomy, and in the long run, a just society is an efficient society. And as to whether it would be disruptive, the obvious answer is that in any given case, the amount of disruption would be directly proportional to the amount of discrimination you proved."

"Whether or not there is pay discrimination," concluded Secretary Marshall, "must be determined based on the facts in each case. A remedy for pay discrimination does not require that wages be equalized for men and women, but only

that jobs be valued on a non-discriminatory basis. This does not lead to centralized planning or government wage fixing: the government does not have to fix wages to eliminate discrimination against women any more than it's had to fix wages to eliminate discrimination against blacks."

Commenting on the debate, Linda Greenman, coordinator of women's-issues programs for AJC, said: "The magnitude and persistence of the earnings gap between men and women is a vital concern to working women, both Jewish and non-Jewish, who make up the majority of women in America today. Most women work out of economic need, and women have assumed a significant role in the economic support of themselves and their families.

"The issue of pay equity is at an important crossroads. The American Jewish Committee can now make an important contribution to this debate by taking account of today's economic and political realities and recommending coordinated strategies to resolve this issue and defuse tensions that have arisen around it."

Added Irving Levine, AJC director of national affairs, "Achieving pay equity between men and women promises to be one of the most difficult but also one of the most important social achievements of the last decades of this century. Polarizing the debate between those who are callously dismissive of the comparable worth concept and those who have a wide-eyed view of it as a panacea can do great damage to achievable goals of forging equality in the marketplace."

"Let us launch a drive," concluded Mr. Levine, "that cuts many paths toward pay equity, and let us not dismiss any out of hand."

Richard Maass, co-chair with Charlotte Holstein of AJC's Task Force on Pay Equity, presided over the session, and Ms. Holstein was moderator. Sholom Comay, chairman of AJC's National Affairs Commission, gave the summation.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

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# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

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AMERICAN JEWISH

**FOR RELEASE AFTER 6 P.M.  
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1985**

MIAMI, Nov. 7 . . . The Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee today presented special medallions to the Mayors of eight municipalities that passed the AJC social club anti-discrimination ordinance.

Gerald Katcher, representing the Chapter, made the presentations at a reception at Vizcaya Museum during the Committee's annual National Executive Committee meeting, continuing here through Sunday. Those honored were Mayor Martin Shapiro, of Bar Harbor Islands; Mayor Dorothy Thomson, of Coral Gables; Mayor Stephen Clark, of Dade County; Mayor Raul Martinez, of Hialeah; Mayor Daniel Riccio, of Hialeah Gardens; Mayor Maurice Ferre, of Miami; Mayor Malcolm Fromberg, of Miami Beach, and Mayor Armando A. Penedo, of Sweetwater.

A special award was presented to Commissioner Barry Schreiber, of Dade County, "for his initiative prohibiting County money going to groups using discriminatory clubs."

In making the presentations, Mr. Katcher, a member of the law firm of Katcher, Scharlin & Lanzetta, hailed the passage of the ordinance as "a victory where ethics triumphed over vested interest and convention."

Calling attention to the medallion with its Biblical quotation, "As my parents planted for me, so I plant for my children," Mr. Katcher observed:

"This victory had its ripple effects. Nine publically elected bodies became aware that social clubs are the last legal bastion of discrimination in this country, and that without membership one's progress up the corporate ladder is limited." He added:

"The first Cuban elected to the city commission of Coral Gables carried the coals to his commission. A four-group coalition of Jews, Blacks, and Hispanics -- one a women's group -- stood together on the issue."

The Chapter announced it would present a special media award to The Miami Herald for its series, "Private Clubs -- A World Apart," at a ceremony Saturday.

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Howard T. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees;

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CSAE 1707

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** October 18, 1985  
**to** Marc H. Tanenbaum  
**from** David A. Harris  
**subject** Meeting with Italian Ambassador Rinaldo Petrignani,  
October 18, 1985

### AJC DELEGATION

Alfred Moses, Chairman  
Andrew Baker  
Hyman Bookbinder

David Harris  
Stephen Kurzman  
Betty Sachs

(Note: Marjorie Sonnenfeldt joined us for the pre-meeting briefing but, due to a doctor's appointment, was unable to attend the meeting itself.)

Ambassador Petrignani, joined by his senior political officer, Counsellor Catalano, met with us from 10:30 to 11:15 a.m. before having to go to the State Department, but asked if we could meet again from 12:30-1 p.m., which we did, in fact, do. Thus, despite a particularly busy schedule, the Ambassador spent well more than an hour with us.

The Ambassador began by expressing his personal pain at the sudden chill in Italian-American relations, and his genuine gratitude to us for the opportunity to meet. He offered official and personal condolences for the "brutal murder" of Leon Klinghoffer -- "human folly at its worst," a tragedy that "shocked and revolted us." He cited his many Jewish friends and the hope that these relations would not be affected by misinterpretation of recent events. Finally, he referred to the "dark clouds" in Italian-American ties, a fact that caused him the deepest anguish, and stressed the need to "dissipate these clouds at the earliest possible moment."

Al Moses voiced appreciation for the Ambassador's initial remarks and noted AJC's close relationship with Italy, including a February 1985 Board of Governors Mission during which meetings were held with Foreign Minister Andreotti, Defense Minister Spadolini and other key officials. Mr. Moses also referred to the strong NATO, economic and cultural links between Italy and the U.S., and specifically mentioned AJC's excellent relations with the Italian-Jewish community. In addition, Mr. Moses noted Italy's own difficult but successful struggle with terrorism.

At the same time, however, said Mr. Moses, the Italian Government and AJC have differing views on the P.L.O. "In our view, the P.L.O. is the number one

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threat...and not a constructive factor," explained Mr. Moses, "and the case of Abbas only underscores this fact." Mr. Moses urged the Italian Government to consider appropriate action -- possibly to reconsider the size of the official P.L.O. presence in Italy -- to demonstrate its displeasure with the terrorist policies pursued by the P.L.O. in the Achille Lauro affair.

The ambassador responded by addressing three issues:

- 1) The Italian position on terrorism -- "Our record is clear. We have suffered more than any other European country. We have lost lives. We have overcome the threat by courage, determination and the rule of law. This last point is very important to us -- we never lost our soul; we want to remain a democracy."

Concerning international terrorism, the Italians have also responded and "gone to the necessary extremes...Never have we vacillated, not in the Achille Lauro case either. We were prepared, together with the U.S., to use force as an extreme resort...though it would have meant risking Italian and other lives."

- 2) The Abbas affair -- "When the ship was hijacked, the Italian Government requested the assistance of the 'good offices of the P.L.O.' The PLO agreed and sent two men -- as it turned out one of them was Abbas -- to Cairo to mediate under the supervision of Egyptian President Mubarak. For a moment, it seemed there could be a good ending to the story, but our agreement on safe passage for the four terrorists was based on one condition, namely, that there be no casualties on the ship. The Egyptians were subsequently in charge of the ship for several hours yet there was no word of casualties. As soon as we learned of the murder of Klinghoffer and understood that the Egyptians had not been telling the truth, our diplomats contacted the Egyptian Foreign Ministry."

The situation became more complicated when President Mubarak put Abbas on an official Egyptian plane as a "guest of the Egyptian Government." Once the plane was diverted to Sicily, President Reagan and Prime Minister Craxi spoke by phone and there might have been a misunderstanding. The President thought that the four terrorists plus Abbas and the other P.L.O. representative would be held, whereas the Italians could not hold the other two unless there was justifiable cause. A legal controversy arose with the U.S. urging preventive detention until the filing of a formal extradition request and the presentation of evidence, whereas, under Italian law, preventive detention was not possible because of insufficient evidence in the view of those Italian legal experts who weighed the U.S. information. "This is not a pretext but a fact," asserted the Ambassador.

Further, there were overriding political concerns. On an off-the-record basis, the Ambassador noted that to have jailed Abbas would have led to "explosive relations with Egypt....like slapping Mubarak twice." Also, "it would have led American-Egyptian ties to the breaking point. As it is, we haven't seen the end of the story in Egypt. Let us remember, the alternative, possibly a Khomeini-like figure, could be much worse. This is the



bottom line of our decision, though again not underestimating our legal stance."

- 3) The P.L.O. -- In the Italian view, a distinction must be made between various elements of the P.L.O. The February 11th agreement between King Hussein and Arafat could be a "doorway" to re-activation of the peace process, and "we are convinced that Arafat could play a useful role since we need all parties to sit down when the 'famous conditions' are met. We feel that Arafat himself is committed to the peace process....If the peace process fails, Arafat is finished."

Hyman Bookbinder asked whether this view of the P.L.O. ruled out consideration of Mr. Moses' suggestion, to wit, that the Italian Government express its dissatisfaction with the actions of the P.L.O. and the duplicitous role of Arafat in this (and previous) terrorist incidents.

The Ambassador, having asked his political counselor to take note, indicated that he would report our discussion to the Foreign Minister, but hastily added that, with the collapse of the coalition government, there is at the moment "great confusion in Rome."

At this point, the first part of the meeting ended, to resume an hour later with the AJC delegation consisting of Messrs. Moses, Kurzman, Baker and Harris.

Mr. Moses expressed the view that the February 11th agreement was little more than "shrewd political maneuvering by Arafat" and cited the refusal of the two P.L.O. representatives in London to sign the joint statement explicitly acknowledging Israel's right to exist as evidence of the true nature of the P.L.O. In our view, continued Mr. Moses, the P.L.O. is responsible for terrorist acts and it is impossible to attempt to draw a distinction between the P.L.O. and its terrorist operations. Arafat must, therefore, once and for all, make a decision -- he cannot have it both ways -- and the Italian Government can play a role in seeking to persuade him to renounce terrorism.

The Ambassador responded that he felt Arafat "should be helped to come to the negotiating table....and that he is now in a crossfire and trying to navigate." The first priority of the Italian Government, however, must be to restore relations with Washington. As things now stand, it is not yet clear whether Prime Minister Craxi will even attend the seven-nation Western summit in Washington next week, though the ambassador voiced the personal hope Craxi would come. The Prime Minister made a strong speech in Parliament on October 17th referring, in part, to such troubling issues as U.S. violations of Italian air space in the Abbas affair. Thus, every effort must be directed at clearing up bilateral differences.

Once this done, we will be able to turn our attention to other pressing matters. In any case, there can be no doubt that the issues raised by us will also be an issue in the negotiating between the Republicans and other parties in the course of seeking to establish a new government and political platform.



Mr. Moses voiced the hope that the Italians would consider a position similar to that of Prime Minister Thatcher on the P.L.O. -- explicit recognition of Israel and renunciation of terror. The February 11th agreement may be an opening though it is still far from a statement of "clear intention."

Ambassador Petrignani noted that this is one of the principal reasons to seek a reactivation of the peace process. "If Arafat has to walk this path, he'll have to show where he stands." But, added the Ambassador, the outcome of any peace process will depend not only on Arafat and P.L.O. but also on Israel.

Mr. Moses reported on a speech given by Prime Minister Peres that morning in which the Israeli leader cited the need not for more overall peace formulae but for first steps to get the process off the ground. Israel is prepared to take a first step, but with whom?

Further, addressing the terrorism issue, the difficulty is that the West has for too long "temporized with terrorism." Should not Arafat have to "pay the price" for his pursuance of terrorism? Should not the Italian Government find an appropriate and concrete way of displaying its displeasure with the P.L.O.?

The Ambassador assured Mr. Moses that these views would be conveyed to Rome.

Mr. Kurzman added that there was an absurd quality to the P.L.O.'s ability to inject itself into mediating roles in crises such as the Achille Lauro affair "as if they were totally independent of them" and then to emerge as "statesmen" for helping resolve tragic events of their own making.

Time being short, Mr. Harris cited this and previous meetings between AJC and Ambassador Petrignani and stated that, as soon as the current pressures on the Ambassador abate, the AJC would like to extend him an invitation to meet with a larger segment of our leadership and continue the constructive dialogue.

The Ambassador immediately accepted the invitation.

The meeting ended at 1 p.m.

DAH:ls

cc: Andrew Baker	Stephen Kurzman
Hyman Bookbinder	Alfred Moses
Theodore Ellenoff	Leo Nevas
Nives Fox	Robert Rifkind
Howard Friedman	Betty Sachs
David Geller	Marjorie Sonnenfeldt
David Gordis	William Trosten
George Gruen	Tullia Zevi

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# The Farrakhan phenomenon

## Sharing the ideology of Khomeini, Khaddafy

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

The real danger posed by the recent, highly publicized speeches of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, I believe, is that he is beginning to be treated as big-time media entertainment.

Audiences appear intrigued by the Farrakhan psychodrama — the bizarre scene of frowning bodyguards in bow ties, the bravura rhetoric and its outrageous apocalyptic imagery, the mindless, uncritical excitement of the media over another circus happening. The danger is that mesmerized preoccupation with the theater obscures the content of what Farrakhan is really preaching — his precise ideology, his geopolitical world view, his propaganda warfare.

A study of Farrakhan's speeches and writings since the 1960s discloses that he has a coherent world view that at its core is rabidly anti-white, anti-American, anti-Semitic and anti-Israel.

Defenders of American democracy and certainly the Jewish community cannot afford to dismiss Farrakhan as if he were some minstrel act. Should he continue to gain large audiences and increased media exposure — and should the PLO and Libya's Khaddafy continue to pour added millions of dollars into his coffers — Farrakhan might well become a significant source of poisonous pollution of the wells of American democracy. And he could certainly become a rallying point, especially among young blacks, for vicious anti-Semitic and anti-Israel hatred.

### His attacks seek to demonize Jews, Judaism and Israel as deserving destruction

At the core of Farrakhan's ideology is a "white devil theory." First propounded by Elijah Muhammad, "prophet" and founder of the Black Muslim movement, this myth tells of an evil scientist named Yakub who worked some 600 years in his laboratory on the lonely fortress island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea. After innumerable experiments and many generations of selective breeding of light-skinned blacks, Yakub created an entirely new race of man — "the degenerate white devil," who is the enemy and who must be violently destroyed.

In the 1950s, early in his career in the Black Muslim movement when Farrakhan was known as Louis X. Wolcott, he wrote and recorded a song that became a smash hit among black nationalists. Its title: "A White Man's Heaven Is a Black Man's Hell." Farrakhan was a loyal and dedicated disciple of Elijah Muhammad, unswervingly committed to his black nationalist-separatist policies.

When Elijah Muhammad died, his son Warid D. (Wallace) Muhammad took over the movement and radically changed its outlook. He abandoned the nationalist-separatist ideology; he invited Caucasians, previously vilified and barred from membership, to join the renamed American Muslim Mission, and he urged the faithful to support actively the American democratic system. He also advocated dialogue between Black Muslims and Jews.

In 1978, Farrakhan left the American Muslim Mission, strongly opposing Wallace Muhammad's integrationist views. He formed the Nation of Islam and advocated a return to the separatist, self-help policies of Elijah Muhammad's call for violent retribution against whites, "our mortal enemy."

Thus, Farrakhan shares the ideological vision of other Islamic fanatics, notably Ayatollah Khomeini and Libya's Muammar Khaddafy. Like them, he believes there will be an inevitable confrontation between the "children of light" (fundamentalist Muslims) and "the children of darkness" (the white devilish Western world, termed by Khomeini and Khaddafy as "the Great Satan").

*Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, international relations director of the American Jewish Committee, served 25 years as the committee's national interreligious affairs director.*

Farrakhan has translated that cosmic vision of Armageddon into concrete political programs studded with appeals to violence. In an address before the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee March 17, 1984, he stated that the Palestinians and black people in America were "oppressed" and they should take matters into their own hands with violence.

A chief obstacle to Farrakhan's vision of Islamic triumph at Armageddon is that for some 3,000 years there has existed another "children of light," namely, "the chosen people of Israel." For years — much before his meteoric rise to prominence through association with Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign — Farrakhan devoted time and energy trying to displace Jews as "the chosen people" and to replace them with blacks as the carriers of history.

His most recent version of that "new Israel" theory was expressed in his Los Angeles sermon Sept. 15, in which Farrakhan proclaimed: "I am declaring to the world that they (the Jews) are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the black people of America and the Western Hemisphere, are the chosen people."

That combative, hostile concept is a version of what the late psychoanalyst, Dr. Erich Fromm, described as "group narcissism." In that intergroup dynamic, a group attributes to itself all virtue and denies to the outside group any value, ascribing to the outgroup devilish qualities. Fromm terms such group narcissism a "semipathological phenomenon" that is "one of the most important sources of human aggression" and massacres.

Farrakhan's theological views are a vital reinforcement for the PLO and Arab rejectionist political ideology toward Zionism and Israel. If he succeeds in persuading his followers and fellow travelers that God's Covenant with the Jewish people is no longer valid, then by extension God's Covenant with Israel's promised land is equally invalid. Farrakhan makes precisely that connection between theology and politics:

"Now that nation called Israel," he said June 28, 1984, in Chicago, "never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name.

"The people of this earth will never again be deceived by those who come in the name of God, cloaking themselves in the robes of God, but are in fact members of the synagogue of Satan."

Ironically, while Farrakhan's racism is both anti-white and anti-Christian, he has in fact appropriated the medieval Christian mythology and apocalyptic rhetoric depicting the Jews as the anti-Christ, the very incarnation of evil, the devil's creature.

Farrakhan expressed that demonic view of Jews July 31, 1984, in a ferocious speech before the National Press Club in which he stated: "Israel and Jews will prove to be the destruction of the Western world."

In that perspective, his admiring description of Hitler as "a great man . . . wickedly great" was not a casual comment.

All of Farrakhan's attacks on Jews, Judaism and Israel are concentrated on one single purpose. He is obsessively seeking to demonize Jews and Israel as the enemies of mankind who deserve violent destruction if mankind is to be saved. His attacks on alleged Jewish control of the mass media, of banks and industry and of politicians, are violent expressions of that coherent theology and political ideology.

Farrakhan's notoriety contributes immeasurably to his being welcomed as a comrade-in-arms by the PLO and Libya's Khaddafy. For the past decade, they have spearheaded the infamous "Zionism is racism" crusade against Israel and Jews. Their purposes are identical with those of Farrakhan — the delegitimation of the Jewish people and the state of Israel. Together they are seeking to inflict on Israel and Jews what they condemn the South Africans for doing to the blacks — making the Jews the victims of apartheid on the world scene.

Awareness of the nature of Farrakhan's ideology is essential as Jewish agencies and their allies consider strategies to counter this latest bigot's assault on the American democratic traditions of tolerance, mutual respect and pluralistic coexistence.



## BEHIND THE HEADLINES: FARRAKHAN, THE DEVIL, AND THE JEWS

By Marc Tanenbaum

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Audiences appear to be intrigued by the Farrakhan psychodrama — the bizarre scene of frowning bodyguards in bow-ties; the bravura rhetoric and its outrageous apocalyptic imagery; the wholesale frisking of an entire audience; the mindless, uncritical excitement of the media over another circus "happening."

The danger is that mesmerized preoccupation with the theater obscures or diminishes the content of what Farrakhan is really preaching — his precise ideology, his geo-political world-view, his propaganda warfare.

A study of Farrakhan's speeches and writings since the 1950's discloses that he has a coherent world-view, that at its core is rabidly anti-white, anti-American, anti-Semitic and anti-Israel. Defenders of American democracy, and certainly the Jewish community, cannot afford to dismiss Farrakhan as if he were some minstrel act.

Should he continue to gain large audiences and increased media exposure — and should the PLO and Libya's Muammar Qaddafi continue to pour added millions of dollars into his coffers — Farrakhan might well become a significant source of poisonous pollution of the wells of American democracy. And he could certainly become a focal rallying point, especially among young Blacks, for vicious anti-Semitic and anti-Israel hatred in the United States and abroad.

### The Core Of Farrakhan's Ideology

At the core of Farrakhan's ideology is a "white devil theory." First propounded by Elijah Muhammad, "prophet" and founder of the Black Muslim movement, this myth tells of an evil scientist named "Yakub" who worked for some 600 years in his laboratory on the lonely fortress island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea. After innumerable experiments and many generations of selective breeding of light-skinned Blacks, Yakub created an entirely new race of man — "the degenerate white devil" who is the enemy and who must be violently destroyed.

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In 1978, Farrakhan left the American Muslim Mission, strongly opposing Wallace Muhammad's integrationist views. He then formed the Nation of Islam and advocated a return to separatist, self-help policies of Elijah Muhammad. In his subsequent

sermons, Farrakhan impassionedly called for the liberation of Black people throughout the world, and renewed Elijah Muhammad's call for violent retribution against whites: "The white man is our mortal enemy."

### Shares Vision With Islamic Fanatics

Thus, the first key to understanding the real Farrakhan is that he shares the ideological vision of other Islamic fanatics, notably Ayatollah Khomeini and Qaddafi. Like them, he believes there will be an inevitable confrontation between the "children of light" (fundamentalist Muslims) and "the children of darkness" (the white devilish Western world, termed by Khomeini and Qaddafi as "the Great Satan.")

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His most recent version of that "new Israel" theory was expressed in his Los Angeles sermon of September 15 in which Farrakhan proclaimed, "I am declaring to the world today that they (the Jews) are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the Black people of America and the Western Hemisphere, are the chosen people."

Farrakhan's theological views are a vital reinforcement for the PLO and Arab rejectionist political ideology toward Zionism and Israel. If he succeeds in persuading his followers and fellow-travelers that God's covenant with the Jewish people is no longer valid, then by extension God's covenant with Israel's promised land is equally invalid. Farrakhan makes precisely that connection between theology and politics:

"Now that nation called Israel," he said on June 28, 1984, in Chicago, "never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous names." He added, "The people of this earth will never again be deceived by those who come in the name of God, cloaking themselves in the robes of God, but are in fact members of the synagogue of Satan."

Ironically, while Farrakhan's racism is both anti-white and anti-Christian, he has in fact appropriated the medieval Christian mythology and apocalyptic rhetoric depicting the Jews as anti-Christ, the very incarnation of evil. Farrakhan expressed that demonic view of Jews on July 31, 1984, in a ferocious speech before the National Press Club in which he stated, "Israel and Jews will prove to be the destruction of the Western world."

Farrakhan's notoriety, and the attention he is receiving in the media, contribute immeasurably to his being welcomed as a comrade-in-arms by the PLO and Qaddafi. For the past decade, they have spearheaded the infamous "Zionism is racism" crusade against Israel and Jews. Their purposes are identical with those of Farrakhan — the delegitimization of the Jewish people and the State of Israel.



CHAIRMAN'S NOTES:  
Central American Session  
National Executive Council  
Miami, Florida  
November 10, 1985

- \* The plenary session will take place on Sunday, November 10th beginning at 10:30 a.m. in the Tuttle Monroe Room, which is located on Level One in the Hyatt Regency. The meeting is scheduled to conclude at 1 p.m.
- \* The principal speakers are Ambassador Fernando Berrocal, Permanent Representative of Costa Rica to the United Nations, and Ambassador David Samudio, Jr, Permanent Representative of Panama to the United Nations. Their biographies are attached. Each has been asked to speak for 15 minutes, offering a Central American perspective of Central America today and future prospects for regional stability and political and economic development.
- \* Costa Rica and Panama both have excellent bilateral relations with Israel and have demonstrated consistent support for Israel at the United Nations. In the case of Costa Rica, it should be further noted that Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge (pronounced Mon-hay) has returned from a week-long state visit to Israel only last month, and, of special significance, that Costa Rica was the first country to move its embassy back to Jerusalem, in May 1982, a fact of special appreciation among Jews everywhere.
- \* In both cases, as will be discussed later in the session, there are active and thriving Jewish communities which live in an environment of respect for pluralism and religious tolerance.
- \* The third speaker, who will be asked to offer a Central American perspective on the condition of the Jewish communities, is Marcel Ruff, president of the Federation of Central American Jewish Communities (more commonly referred to by its acronym FEDECO). AJC has enjoyed very close relations with FEDECO since the latter's founding some 20 years ago. Most recently, several AJC lay and staff members attended the FEDECO bi-annual meeting in Guatemala in 1984, and, subsequently we were honored to have Moises Sabbaj, vice-president of FEDECO, address our Annual Meeting in May 1984 in New York. Sergio Nudelstejer is preparing biographical notes on Mr. Ruff, who has been asked to speak for 10 minutes.
- \* Completing the dais will be Sergio Nudelstejer, AJC's Director of the Mexican and Central American Office, located in Mexico City. Sergio, who has been the director since the Office's founding 20 years ago, is a leading figure in the Mexican Jewish community and enjoys very close relations with leading governmental figures, including President de la Madrid and Foreign Minister Sepulveda. He has travelled extensively in the Central American region and maintains frequent contact with the representatives of the Jewish communities, seeking, where possible, to assist in the strengthening of programming. In July, he, together with Sidney Liskofsky, director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, attended a Blaustein-sponsored conference on human rights education that attracted government officials from more than a dozen Latin American countries, held at the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights in San Jose, Costa Rica.



Most recently, Sergio, after contending with the destructive Mexican earthquake in September and its aftermath, organized, together with the Venezuelan Jewish community, a major Catholic-Jewish dialogue, marking the 20th anniversary of Nostra Aetate, Vatican Council II's Declaration on the Jews, at which Marc Tanenbaum spoke, and which attracted considerable public and media attention. This conference took place in Caracas in early October (1985).

Sergio has also written important books on Franz Kafka and Albert Einstein, which received extensive praise in the Spanish-speaking world, and he is a regular journalist and literary critic for a leading Mexican newspaper and magazine.

- \* Sergio's purpose on the panel is to act as a resource and as AJC's expert on Central America. Although he has no formal part on the agenda, please feel free to call on him for comment, clarification, questions or summary.
- \* Additionally, there will be representatives of four Central American Jewish communities seated together for the session. They are: Gustavo Prifer of Costa Rica; Yosef Harari of Panama; Mario Permut of Guatemala; and John Claude Kahn and Ernesto Freund of El Salvador. Sergio is preparing brief biographies of each of the five to permit you to introduce them. We are not inviting them to make formal statements but would like to encourage them to both raise and respond to questions after the first part of the program is concluded.
- \* Sergio Nudelstejer is also preparing several questions for your use to facilitate discussion in the second half of the program.

David Harris  
November 1, 1985



# SHIRU Ladonai sing unto God

**A Shabbat Service of Prayer & Song**  
Devoted to Unity and Pluralism in Jewish Life

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Hyatt Regency Hotel

Miami, Florida

November 9, 1985

Cheshvan 11, 5746

Compiled by

Dr. Steven Bayme





Congregation:

Sing a new song to Adonai!  
Sing to Adonai, all the earth!  
Let the earth ring out in song to God.  
Sing to Adonai a new song!  
Break forth, sing aloud, shout praise!  
Sing to Adonai, all the earth!  
Let the heavens be glad and the earth rejoice  
Let the sea roar, and all that fills it.  
Let the field exult, and all its creatures.  
Let the trees of the forest sing for joy.  
Sing to Adonai all the earth!  
Sing to Adonai a new song!  
Let the rivers clap hands.  
Let the mountains sing for joy.  
Sing to Adonai, all the earth!  
Break forth, sing aloud, shout praise!

Behold how good and how  
pleasant it is for brothers  
and sisters to dwell together  
in unity.

הגה מה טוב

הגה מה טוב  
ימה נעים  
שבת אחים  
גם יחד

Hiney ma tov u-ma-nayim  
Shevet achim gam-yachad



Rabbi:

Once the Baal Shem stopped on the threshold of a House of Prayer and refused to go in. I cannot enter, he said. It is crowded with teachings and prayers from wall to wall and from floor to ceiling. How could there be room for me? When he saw that those around him were staring, unable to understand, he added: The words of those whose teaching and praying does not come from hearts lifted to heaven, cannot rise to heaven; instead their words fill the house from wall to wall and from floor to ceiling.

Responsive:

There are days  
when we seek things for ourselves  
and measure failure by what we do not gain.

On the Sabbath  
we seek not to acquire, but to share.

There are days  
when we exploit nature as if it were  
a horn of plenty that can never be exhausted.

On the Sabbath  
we stand in wonder before the mystery of creation.

There are days  
when we act as if we cared nothing  
for the rights of others.

On the Sabbath  
we are reminded that justice is our duty  
and a better world our goal.

Therefore we welcome the Shabbat -

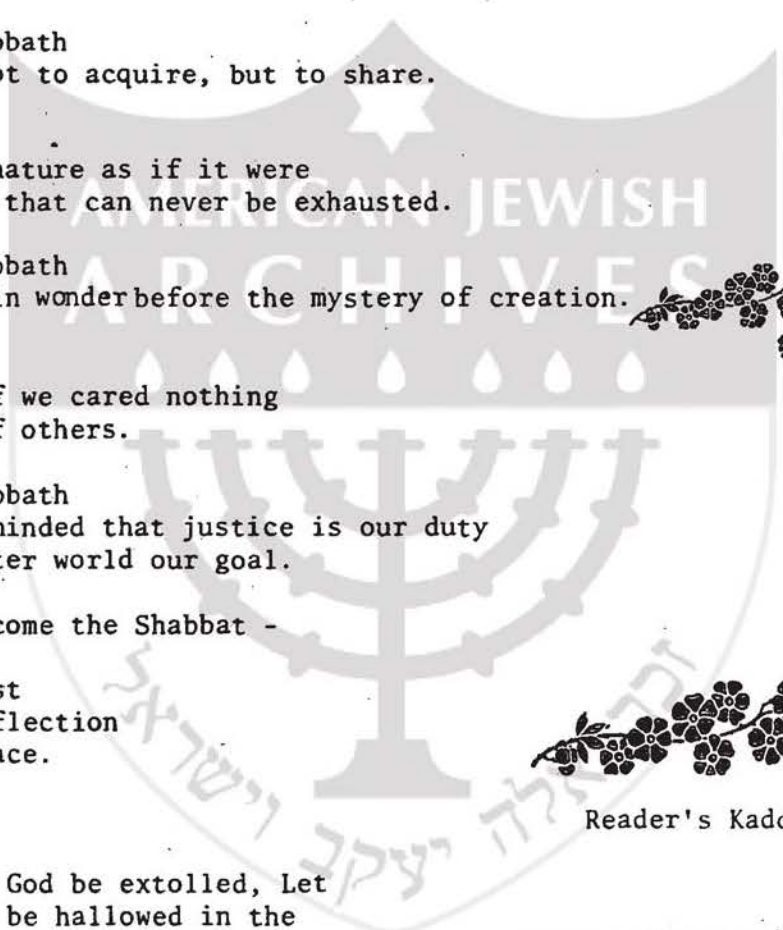
day of rest  
day of reflection  
day of peace.

Rabbi:

Let the glory of God be extolled, Let  
God's great name be hallowed in the  
world whose creation God willed. May  
God's kingdom soon prevail, in our own  
day, our own lives, and the life of all  
Israel, and let us say: Amen

Let God's great name be blessed for ever  
and ever.

Let the name of the Holy One, the Blessed One,  
be glorified, exalted, and  
honored, though God is beyond all the  
praises, songs, and adorations that  
we can utter, and let us say: Amen.



Reader's Kaddish

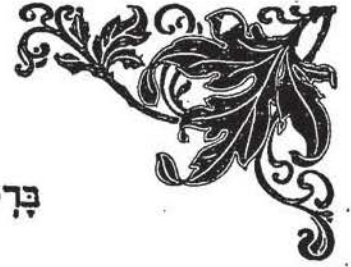
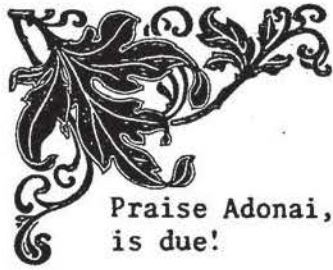
חצי קריש

וְתִגְדַּל וְתִקְרַשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא בְּעֻלְמָא דִּי־בְרָא כְרַעוּתָהּ,  
וְתִמְלִיךְ מַלְכוּתָהּ בְּתַיִכּוֹן וּבְיוֹמֵיכּוֹן וּבְחַיֵּי דְקַלְבֵּיית  
יִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּעֻלְמָא וּבְזַמַּן קָרִיב, וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

יְהֵא שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעָלְמָא וּלְעָלְמֵי עָלְמֵיָא.

וְתִבְרַךְ וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח וְיִתְפָּאֵר וְיִתְרוֹמַם וְיִתְנַשֵּׂא, וְיִתְהַדָּר  
וְיִתְעַלֶּה וְיִתְהַלָּל שְׁמֵהּ דְקוּדְשָׁא, בְּרִידָה הוּא, לְעֵלְמָא מִן  
כָּל־בְּרַכְתָּא וְשִׁדְתָּא, תְּשַׁבַּחְתָּא וְתִתְמַתָּא דְאִמְרֵי בְּעֻלְמָא,  
וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.





All Rise

שמע וברכותיה

Praise Adonai, to whom our praise is due!

בְּרַחוּ אֱתֵי הַמְּבָרָךְ!

Praised be Adonai, to whom our praise is due, now and for ever!

בְּרוּךְ יי הַמְּבָרָךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד!

(Congregation is seated)

FOR MORNING SUN

יוצר

We thank You, O God, for this new day, for morning sun and evening star, for flowering tree and flowing tide, for life-giving rains and cooling breezes, for the earth's patient turning, the seasons' alternation, the cycle of growth and decay, of life and death.

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ, מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, יוֹצֵר אוֹר וּבוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ, עֹשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם וּבוֹרֵא אֶת־הַכֹּל. הַמְאִיר לְאֶרֶץ וְלְדָרִים עָלֶיהָ בְּרַחֲמִים, וּבְטוֹבוֹ מְחַדֵּשׁ בְּכָל־יוֹם תְּמִיד מַעֲשֵׂה בְּרָאשִׁית.

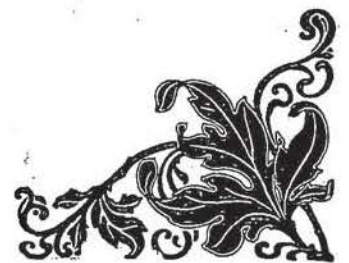
When our eyes behold the world, when we feel its beauty and grandeur, we come to see the wisdom and goodness of its Creator.

מִזֶּה רַבּוֹ מַעֲשֵׂיךָ, יי! כָּלֵם בְּחַכְמָה עֲשִׂיתָ, מְלֹאָה הָאֶרֶץ קִינּוּךְ.

We awake, and behold! a new day. O Eternal One, renew us unto life. Teach us to recognize Your presence in creation. Grateful then for Your gifts, we will dedicate all our powers to Your service.

תְּחַבְּרֵךְ, יי אֱלֹהֵינוּ, עַל־שִׁבְחַת מַעֲשֵׂה יְדִיךָ, וְעַל־מְאֹרֵי־אוֹר שְׁעֵשִׂיתָ: יִפְאָרוּךְ. סְלָה.

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יי, יוֹצֵר הַמְּאֹרוֹת.



SHEMA:

Reader: In the scrolls of the Torah, where there are no vowels attached to the Hebrew words, multiple meaning pours out from every letter. When we chant the SHEMA YISRAEL, perhaps we see two words instead of one.

Yisrael: The Nation, People of Israel  
Yashar El: Straight to God...justice, righteousness, truth

Cong: Shema Yisrael  
Hear O Israel  
Shema Yashar El

Reader: Listen, hear, be aware of righteous godliness. Be aware that justice is godly, that uprightness is godly, that peace is godly.

Yisrael, listen, hear, heed the commandment...Yashar El.. straight to godliness.

Cong: Adonai Echad...

Reader: Unity and continuity, the oneness of godliness and the Jewish people.

As we sing and read the SHEMA, let us hear in a new way, and be aware of the music of our souls, and rejoice and delight in our love of this godliness.

(Congregation rises)

Hear, O Israel: Adonai is our God, Adonai is One!

שמע ישראל: יי אלהינו, יי אחדו

Blessed is God's glorious kingdom for ever and ever!

ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד

All are seated

You shall love Adonai your God with all your mind, with all your strength, with all your being. Set these words, which I command you this day, upon your heart. Teach them faithfully to your children; speak of them in your home and on your way, when you lie down and when you rise up.

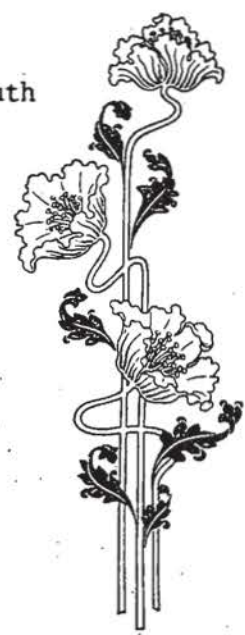
ואהבת את יי אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאריך. והיו הדברים האלה, אשר אנכי מצוה היום, על לבבך. ושננתם לבניך, ודברת בם בשבתך בביתך, ובליכתך בדרך, ובשכבך ובקומך.

Bind them as a sign upon your hand; let them be a symbol before your eyes; inscribe them on the doorposts of your house, and on your gates.

וקשרתם לאזת על ירך, והיו לטטפת בין עיניך, וכתבתם על-מזוזות ביתך, ובשעריך.

Be mindful of all My mitzvot, and do them: so shall you consecrate yourselves to your God. I, Adonai, am your God who led you out of Egypt to be your God; I, Adonai, am your God.

למען תזכרו ועשיתם את כל מצותי, והייתם קדשים לאלהיכם. אני יי אלהיכם, אשר הוצאתי אתכם מארץ מצרים להיות לכם לאלהים. אני יי אלהיכם.





READER:

When will redemption come?  
When we master the violence that fills our world.  
When we look upon others as we would have them  
look upon us.  
When we grant to every person the same rights we  
claim for ourselves.



The day will come when I will make for you a covenant with the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the insects of the ground; and I will remove the bow, the sword, and war from the earth, and I will give you a life of peace.

*Fear not, O land; be glad and rejoice, for the Lord is doing great things! Have no fear, you beasts of the field, for the pastures of the wilderness are green; the tree bears its fruit, the fig-tree and vine give their full yield.*

The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the lion shall feed together, with a little child to lead them. The cow and the bear shall feed; their young shall lie down together, and the lion eat straw like the ox. The infant shall play over the cobra's hole; the child shall reach into the adder's lair.

*They shall not hurt or destroy in all My holy mountain; for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the sea-bed is covered by water.*

וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ; בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא  
אֹתוֹ; זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם.

*God created us in His own image; in the image of God He created us; male and female He created us.*

Our tradition says that God created us through one human being to teach us that whoever destroys a single human soul has destroyed an entire world.

*And whoever sustains a single human soul has sustained an entire world.*

And a single human being was created for the sake of peace, that none might say: My lineage is greater than yours.

*I call heaven and earth to witness: Gentile or Jew, man or woman, manservant or maidservant — all according to our deeds does the spirit of God rest upon us.*



Eternal God of all peoples and races, may all Your children learn to live together in peace and friendship. Let the day come when oppression, discrimination, and prejudice will be forgotten, and all the world filled with Your spirit, as it has been said: "Turn to Me and be saved, all the ends of the earth!"



*May that day come soon, O Lord; the day foretold by our prophets and sages, the day for which we long, when all humanity will recognize that it is one family.*

Let the day come proclaimed by Your prophet: "In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom the Lord of Hosts has blessed, saying: Blessed be Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel My heritage."



Laugh, laugh at all my dreams!

What I dream shall yet come true!

Laugh at my belief in man,

At my belief in you.

Freedom still my soul demands,

Unbartered for a calf of gold.

For still I do believe in man,

And in his spirit, strong and bold.

And in the future I still believe -

Though it be distant, come it will -

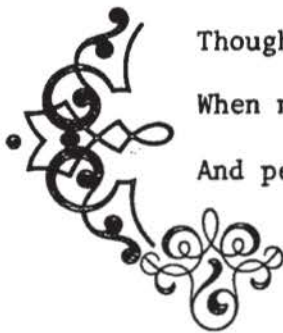
When nations shall each other bless,

And peace at last the earth shall fill.

שְׂחָקִי, שְׂחָקִי עַל הַחֲלוּמוֹת,  
זוֹ אֲנִי הַחֹלֵם שָׁח,  
שְׂחָקִי כִּי בְּאָדָם אֲאִמִּין,  
כִּי עוֹדֵנִי מֵאִמִּין בְּךָ.

כִּי עוֹד נִפְשֵׁי דְרוֹר שׁוֹאֲפֹת,  
לֹא מִכְרָתִיהָ לְעַגְל פֶּזוּ,  
כִּי עוֹד אֲאִמִּין נִם בְּאָדָם,  
נִם בְּרוּחוֹ, רְחוּם עוֹ.

אֲאִמִּינָה נִם בְּעֵתִיד,  
אִף אִם יִרְחַק זֶה הַיּוֹם.  
אֵךְ בֹּא יְבוֹא - יִשְׂאוּ שְׁלוֹם  
אֲזוּ וּבְרָכָה לְאִם מְלֵאָם.

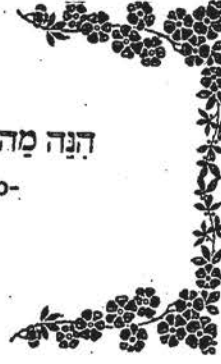
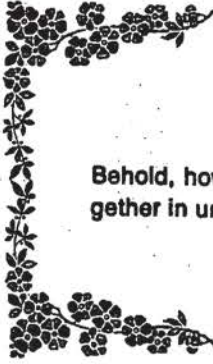


Lord God of test tube and blueprint,  
Who jointed molecules of dust and shook them till their name was Adam,  
Who taught worms and stars how they could live together,  
Appear now among the parliaments of conquerors and give instruction to their schemes;  
Measure out new liberties so none shall suffer from his father's color or the credo of his choice;  
Post proofs that brotherhood is not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it pretend;  
Sit at the treaty table and convoy the hopes of little people through expected straits.

And press into the final seal a sign that peace will come for longer than posterities can see ahead,  
That man unto his fellow man shall be a friend for ever.







הנה מהטוב ומהנעים שבת אחים נסייחד.

Behold, how good it is, and how pleasant, when brethren live together in unity.

To be a Jew in the twentieth century  
is to be offered a gift. If you refuse,  
Wishing to be invisible, you choose  
Death of the spirit, the stone insanity.  
Accepting, take full life, full agonies:  
Your evening deep in labyrinthine blood  
Of those who resist, fail, and resist; and God  
Reduced to a hostage among hostages.

The gift is torment. Not alone the still  
Torture, isolation; or torture of the flesh.  
That may come also. But the accepting wish,  
The whole and fertile spirit as guarantee  
For every human freedom, suffering to be free,  
Daring to live for the impossible.

How greatly we are blessed!

How good is our portion!

How pleasant our lot!

How beautiful our heritage!

אשרינו!

מהטוב חלקנו,

ומהנעים גורלנו,

ומהיפה ירשתנו!



READING OF THE TORAH

The Torah is taken from the Ark

For out of Zion shall go forth Torah,  
and the word of Adonai from  
Jerusalem.

כי מציון תצא תורה, ודבר יי מירושלים.  
ברוך שנתן תורה לעמו ישראל במקדשתו.

Praised be the One who in holi-  
ness has given the Torah to the  
people Israel.

Hear, O Israel: Adonai is our God,  
Adonai is One!

שמע ישראל: יי אלהינו, יי אחדו.

Our God is One; our God is great;  
holy is God's name.

אחד אלהינו, גדול אדונינו, קדוש שמו.

O magnify Adonai with me and  
together let us exalt God's name.

גדלו ליי אחי וגדוממה שמו יחדיו.

Yours, Adonai, is the greatness, the  
power, the glory, the victory, and  
the majesty; for all that is in  
heaven and earth is Yours. Yours is  
the kingdom, Adonai; You are  
supreme over all.

לך, יי, הגדלה והגבורה והתפארת והנצח וההוד, פי כל  
בשמים ובארץ, לך יי הממלכה והמחנשא לכל לראש.



Before the Reading

Praise Adonai, to whom our praise  
is due!

Praised be Adonai, to whom our  
praise is due, now and for ever!  
Blessed is Adonai, our God,  
Ruler of the universe, who has  
chosen us from all peoples by giv-  
ing us the Torah. Blessed is Adonai,  
Giver of the Torah.

ברכו את יי המברך

ברוך יי המברך לעולם ועד

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר בחר בנו מכל  
העמים ונתת לנו את תורתו. ברוך אתה, יי, נותן התורה.





GENESIS 23: 1-16 CHAYYE SARAH



CHAPTER XXIII

CAP. XXIII כג

ב ב ב ה 5

1. And the life of Sarah was a hundred and seven and twenty years; these were the years of the life of Sarah. 2. And Sarah died in Kiriath-arba—the same is Hebron—in the land of Canaan; and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her. 3. And Abraham rose up from before his dead, and spoke unto the children of Heth, saying: 4. 'I am a stranger and a sojourner with you; give me a possession of a burying-place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight.' 5. And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him: 6. 'Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us; in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead.' 7. And Abraham rose up, and bowed down to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth. 8. And he spoke with them, saying: 'If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight,

א כהו תה שרה מאה שנה ושנים שנה ושבע שנים  
 ב שני תה שרה: ותמת שרה בקרית ארבע הוא תברח  
 בארץ כנען ובה אברהם לספר לשנה ולבנותה:  
 ג היום אברהם מעל פני מתו ודבר אל בני חת לאמר:  
 ד גרתי אצל אנכי עמכם חת לי אהותי קבר עמכם ואקברה  
 ה מתו מלפני: היענו בני חת את אברהם לאמר לו: שמענו  
 וזאת נשיא אלוהים | אהוה בתולעו במסדה קברו קבר  
 אהותיך איש ממש את קברו לארצה מקוה מקבר  
 ז מתו: היום אברהם נשתחו לעסדתאין לבני חת:  
 ח ודבר אתם לאמר אדש את נפשכם לקבר את מתו

hear me, and entreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar. 9. that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field: for the full price let him give it to me in the midst of you for a possession of a burying-place.' 10. Now Ephron was sitting in the midst of the children of Heth; and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the hearing of the children of Heth, even of all that went in at the gate of his city, saying: 11. 'Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee: in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead.' 12. And Abraham bowed down before the people of the land. 13. And he spoke unto Ephron in the hearing of the people of the land, saying: 'But if thou wilt, I pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field: take it of me, and I will bury my dead there.' 14. And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him: 15. 'My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead.' 16. And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron: and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the hearing of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant."

ט מלפני שמעני ופגע לי בעפרון בדיחור: ותדלי את  
 מערת המכפלה אשר לו אשר בקנה שדה בלספה  
 י מלא ותנה לי בתוככם לאהותי קבר: ופרח שב בתוך  
 בני חת וצן עפרון החתי את אברהם באוני בני חת  
 יא לכל בא שער עירו לאמר: לא אדני שמעני השדה  
 נתתי לך והמערה אשר בו לך נתתה לעני בני עמי  
 יב נתתה לך קבר מתו: השתחו אברהם לפני עסדתאין:  
 יג ודבר אל עפרון באוני עסדתאין לאמר אך אסאתה  
 לי שמעני נתתי כסף השדה קח ממי ואקברה את  
 יד מתו שקמה: וצן עפרון את אברהם לאמר לו: אדני  
 שמעני ארץ ארבע מאת שקל כסף ביני ובינה מה  
 יו היא ואת מתך קבר: ושמע אברהם אל עפרון וישקל  
 אברהם לעפרון את הכסף אשר דבר באוני בני חת  
 ארבע מאת שקל כסף עבר לשחרו



After the Torah reading

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר נמן לנו תורה  
אמת וחי עולם נטע בתוכנו. ברוך אתה, יי, נוסן התורה

Blessed is the Lord our God,  
Ruler of the universe, Who has  
given us a Torah of truth, implanting  
within us eternal life. Blessed is  
the Lord, Giver of the Torah.

READING OF THE HAFTARAH

Before the Haftarah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God, Ruler  
of the universe, Who has chosen  
faithful prophets to speak  
words of truth. Blessed is the  
Lord, for the revelation of  
Torah, for Moses God's servant,  
and for the people Israel, and  
for prophets of truth and  
righteousness.

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר בחר בנביאים  
טובים ורצה בדבריהם הנאמרים באמת. ברוך אתה, יי,  
הבוחר בתורה ובמשה עבדו וכישראל עמו ובנביאי  
האמת וצדק.



I KINGS I, 1-31

CHAPTER I

CAP. I. א

1. Now king David was old and stricken  
in years; and they covered him with clothes,  
but he could get no heat. 2. Wherefore his  
servants said unto him: 'Let there be sought  
for my lord the king a young virgin; and  
let her stand before the king, and be a  
companion unto him; and let her lie in  
thy bosom, that my lord the king may get  
heat.' 3. So they sought for a fair damsel  
throughout all the borders of Israel, and  
found Abishag the Shunammite, and  
brought her to the king. 4. And the damsel  
was very fair; and she became a companion  
unto the king, and ministered to him; but  
the king knew her not. ¶ 5. Now Adonijah  
the son of Haggith exalted himself, saying:  
'I will be king'; and he prepared him  
chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run  
before him. 6. And his father had not  
grieved him all his life in saying: 'Why  
hast thou done so?' and he was also a very  
goodly man; and he was born after  
Absalom. 7. And he conferred with Joab  
the son of Zeruiah, and with Abiathar the  
priest; and they following Adonijah helped  
him. 8. But Zadok the priest, and Benaiah

א והמלך דוד זקן בא ביםים וקשוו בבגדים ולא הם לו:  
2 והאמרו לו עבדיו ויקשו לאדני המלך נערה בתולה  
ועמדה לפני המלך ותהרלו סכנת ושקבה בחיקך והם  
3 לאדני המלך: ויקשו נערה יפה בכל גבול ישראל  
4 ומצאו אחאבישג השונמית וקאו אתה למלך: והנערה  
יפה עד מאד ותהר למלך סכנת ותשרתהו המלך לא  
ה ידעה: ואדניה ברנניה מתנשא לאמר אני אמלך בעש  
6 לו רכב ופרשים ותמשים איש רצים לפניו: ולא יצטפו  
אביו ממנו לאמר מדוע עבד עשית תפדהא טובה מאד  
7 מאד ואתו ילדה אתרי אבשלום: והיה רביו עם האב  
8 בדרודה ועם אביתר הבן בקור אתרי אדניה: והזקן  
רובן ובניהו בדהודע ותתן הנביא ושמעו ורעי והגבורים





I KINGS I, 9

מלכים א א

the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei, and Rei, and the mighty men that belonged to David, were not with Adonijah. 9. And Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fatlings by the stone of Zoheleth, which is beside En-rogel; and he called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants: 10. but Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, and the mighty men, and Solomon his brother, he called not. ¶ 11. Then Nathan spoke unto Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon, saying: 'Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the son of Haggith doth reign, and David our lord knoweth it not? 12. Now therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel, that thou mayest save thine own life, and the life of thy son Solomon. 13. Go and get thee in unto king David, and say unto him: Didst not thou, my lord, O king, swear unto thy handmaid, saying: Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne? why then doth Adonijah reign? 14. Behold, while thou yet talkest there with the king, I also will come in after thee, and confirm thy words.' ¶ 15. And Bath-sheba went in unto the king into the chamber.—Now the king was very old; and Abishag the Shunammite ministered unto the king.—16. And Bath-sheba bowed, and prostrated herself unto the king. And the king said: 'What wouldest thou?' 17. And she said unto him: 'My lord, thou didst swear by the LORD thy God unto thy handmaid: Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne. 18. And now, behold, Adonijah reigneth: and thou, my lord the king, knowest it not. 19. And he hath slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the sons of the king, and

9 אשר לדוד לא היו עִם־אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ: וַיִּזְבַּח אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ צֹאן וּבָקָר  
וּמְרֵא עִם אֲבֹן הַזֹּהֶלֶת אֲשֶׁר־אֵצֶל עַין רֹגֵל וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־  
כָּל־אֶחָיו בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְלִבְל־אִשִּׁי הַדָּוָה עִבְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ:  
וְאֶת־נְתָן הַנָּבִיא וּבְנֵיָדוֹ וְאֶת־הַגִּבּוֹרִים וְאֶת־שְׁלֹמֹה אָחִיו  
11 לֹא קָרָא: וַיֹּאמֶר נְתָן אֶל־בַּת־שֶׁבַע אִם־שְׁלֹמֹה לֹא־מָדַע  
הֲלֹא שָׁמַעְתָּ כִּי קִלְקַל אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ בְּדַתְנִית וְאֲדֹנִיָּהוּ דָּוִד לֹא  
12 יָדָע: וְעַתָּה לְכִי אִיצְמָךְ נָא עֲנֵה וּמַלְּטִי אֶת־נַפְשִׁי וְאֶת־  
13 נַפְשׁ בְּנִי שְׁלֹמֹה: לְכִי וּבְאִי וְאֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו  
הֲלֹא־אָמַרְתָּ אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לְאִמְתְּךָ לֵאמֹר כִּי־שְׁלֹמֹה  
בְּנִי יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרָי וְהוּא יֵשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּאִי וּמָדַע בְּנִי  
14 אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ: הֲנֵה עֹרֵךְ מִדְּבַרְתָּ שֵׁם עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֲנִי אֲבֹא  
ס אַחֲרָי וּמִלֹּאֲתִי אֶתִּיד־בְּרִיךְ: וְהָבֵא בַת־שֶׁבַע אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ  
הַחֲדָדָה וְהַמֶּלֶךְ וְכֹן מֵאֵד וְאֲבִישָׁג הַשֻּׁנַמִּית מִשְׁרַת אֶת־  
16 הַמֶּלֶךְ: וְהִקְדֵּם בַּת־שֶׁבַע וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ לַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ  
17 מַה־לְּךָ: וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֲדֹנָי אַתָּה נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ  
לְאִמְתְּךָ כִּי־שְׁלֹמֹה בְּנִי יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרָי וְהוּא יֵשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּאִי:  
18 וְעַתָּה הֲנֵה אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ מְלֹךְ וְעַתָּה אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ לֹא יָדַעְתָּ:  
19 וְנִזְבַּח שׂוֹר וּמְרֵא־וְצֹאן לְרֹב וַיִּקְרָא לְכָל־בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ  
וְלְאֶבְתֵּיר הַכֹּהֵן וְלִיאָב עֹדֵד הַצֶּבֶא וְלִשְׁלֹמֹה עִבְדֵיךָ לֹא



Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host; but Solomon thy servant hath he not called. 20. And thou, my lord the king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou shouldst tell them who shall sit on the throne of my lord the king after him. 21. Otherwise it will come to pass, when my lord the king shall sleep with his fathers, that I and my son Solomon shall be counted offenders.' ¶ 22. And, lo, while she yet talked with the king, Nathan the prophet came in. 23. And they told the king, saying: 'Behold Nathan the prophet.' And when he was come in before the king, he bowed down before the king with his face to the ground. 24. And Nathan said: 'My lord, O king, hast thou said: Adonijah shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne?' 25. For he is gone down this day, and hath slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the king's sons, and the captains of the host, and Abiathar the priest; and, behold, they eat and drink before him, and say: Long live king Adonijah. 26. But me, even me thy servant, and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and thy servant Solomon, hath he not called. 27. Is this thing done by my lord the king, and thou hast not declared unto thy servant who should sit on the throne of my lord the king after him?' ¶ 28. Then king David answered and said: 'Call me Bath-sheba.' And she came into the king's presence, and stood before the king. 29. And the king swore and said: 'As the LORD liveth, who hath redeemed my soul out of all adversity, 30. verily as I swore unto thee by the LORD, the God of Israel, saying: Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my stead; verily so will I do this day.' 31. Then Bath-sheba bowed with her face to the earth, and prostrated herself to the king, and said: 'Let my lord king David live for ever.'

כ קרא: ואתה אדני המלך עיני כל ישראל עליך להגיד  
 21 להם מי ישב על כסא אדני המלך אחרי: והיה  
 בשכב אדני המלך עם אבותיו והייתי אני ובני שלמה  
 22 הנשאים: והנה עתה מדברת עם המלך ותנו הנביא  
 23 בא: בנידו למלך לאמר הנה נתן הנביא ונבא לפני  
 24 המלך והשתחו למלך על אפני ארצה: ואמר נתן  
 אדני המלך אתה אמרת אדנינו ימלך אחרי היום  
 כה ישב על כסא: כי יגד היום ונבא שור ומר אדנינו  
 לדב ויקרא לקל בני המלך ולשר העבא ולאבות  
 הפתח והנם אכלים ושתיים לפניו ואמרו הו המלך  
 26 אדנינו: ולו אנר עבדך ולצדק הפתח ולבנידו בד  
 27 הודיע ולשלמה עבדך לא קרא: אם מאת אדני המלך  
 נדה הדבר הנה ולא הודעת את עבדך מי ישב על  
 28 כסא אדני המלך אחרי: ונע המלך הו ואמר קרא  
 ל לבת שבע ותבא לפני המלך ותעמד לפני המלך:  
 29 ושבע המלך ואמר תידינה אשר פדה את נפשי  
 ל מקל צרה: כי כאשר נשבעתי לך ביהוה אלהי ישראל  
 לאמר כי שלמה בנך ימלך אחרי הוא ישב על כסא  
 31 תחת כי בן אעשה היום הנה: ותפל בת שבע אפים  
 ארץ ותשתחו למלך ותאמר הו אדני המלך דוד לעולם:

27. עבדך כרי



After the Haftarah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, Rock of all creation, Righteous One of all generations, the faithful God whose word is deed, whose every command is just and true.

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, צור כלהעולמים, צדיק בכל הדורות, האל הנאמן, האומר ועושה, המדבר ומקים, שקלד בריו אמת וצדק.

For the Torah, for the privilege of worship, for the prophets, and for this Shabbat that You, O God, have given us fo holiness and rest, for honor and glory, we thank and bless You. May Your name be blessed for ever by every living being. Blessed is the Lord, for the Shabbat and its holiness.

עליהתורה ועליהעבודה ועליהנביאים ועל-יום השבת הזה, שנתת לנו, יי אלהינו, לקדשה ולמנוחה, לכבוד ולתפארת, עליהכל, יי אלהינו, אנתנו מודים לך, ומברכים אותך. יתברך שמוך בפני כל יחי תמיד לעולם ועד.

ברוך אתה, יי מקדש השבת.





RETURNING THE TORAH TO THE ARK

God's splendor covers heaven and earth; God is the strength of Israel. making glorious the Lord's faithful ones, Israel is a people close to God. Halleluyah!

הודו על ארץ ושמים, וירם קרן לעמו, תהלה לכל חסידיו, לבני ישראל עם קרובו. הללויהו

The Torah is a tree of life to those who hold it fast, and all who cling to it find happiness. Its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace.

עצחיים היא למחזיקים בה, ותמכיה מאשר. דרכיה דרכינעים, וכל יתיבותיה שלום.

Help us to return to You, O Lord; then truly shall we return. Renew our days as in the past.

השיבנו יי אליה, ונשובה. חדש ימינו בקדם.


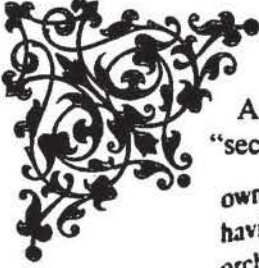
Now, let us praise the Lord of all, to ascribe greatness to God Who formed the world in the beginning, for God chose us to make known the Divine unity, and God has invested in us a portion like no others. We bow in reverence and thanksgiving before the Holy One of Israel.

עלינו לשבח לארון הכל לתת גדלה ליוצר בראשית שלא עשנו כגויי הארצות ולא שקמנו כמשפחות האדמה שלא שם חלקנו בהם ונגלנו ככל המונים:

ואנחנו כורעים ומשתחיים ומודים לפני מלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא.

(Congregation is seated)







A crowd of people represents, as it were, an assemblage of many individual "secrets." A person is never seen as a face lost in the crowd; each person has his or her own "secret". Jewish thought never perceived of all Israelites as having one face, nor of having one mind. The Jewish people as a whole was seen in a way as a symphonic orchestra, where each and every instrument adds its specific contribution to enhance the music. To draw the analogy further, in an orchestra each musician plays his own instrument, but is not entirely free to "do his own thing" while taking part in the performance. Thus while uniformity is detrimental, unity is essential and beneficial. This has been demonstrated by Jewish history and teaching throughout the ages. Diversity within unity has always been the Jewish ideal.

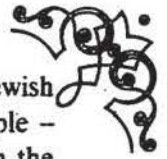
Twelve were the tribes of Israel as they came out of Egyptian bondage. Each tribe had its own leader and its own prescribed area, even while in the desert. Each tribe also had its own banner and ensign. They encamped in the desert land, we are told in the Bible (Numbers 2:2): "Every man with his own standard according to the ensigns."

The Midrash (Rabba: 2:7) elaborates: "Each had a flag and a different colour for every flag corresponding to the colour of the precious stones on the heart of Aaron... It was from these that states learned to provide themselves with flags of various colours. Reuben's stone was ruby, and the colour of his flag was red. Simeon's was topaz and his flag was green; the town of Shechem was embroidered thereon. Levi's was smargad and the colour of his flag was a third white, a third black, and a third red; embroidered thereon were the Urim and Thumim. Judah's was a carbuncle, and the colour of his flag was something like the heavens; embroidered on it was a lion. Issachar's was a sapphire, and the colour of the flag was black like stibium; embroidered thereon was the sun and the moon, alluding to the text, "... and the children of Issachar, men that had understanding of the times" ( I Chron. 12:33). Zebulun's was an emerald and the colour of his flag was white with a ship embroidered thereon... Dan's was Jacinth and the colour of his flag was similar sapphire, and embroidered on it was a serpent... Gad's was an agate and the colour of his flag was neither white nor black but a blend of black and white; on it was embroidered a camp... Naphtali's was an amethyst and the colour of his flag was like clarified wine of a not very deep red; on it was embroidered a hind... Asher's was a beryl and the colour of his flag was like the precious stone with which women adorn themselves; embroidered thereon was an olive-tree... Joseph's was an onyx and the colour of his flag was jet black; the embroidered design thereon for both princes, Ephraim and Menasseh, was Egypt. On the flag of Ephraim was embroidered a bullock, and on that of Menasseh a wild ox... Benjamin's was Jasper and the colour of his flag was a combination of all the twelve colours, embroidered thereon was a wolf".

One should make no mistake assuming that it was easy to assemble together the tribes of Israel, grouped under different banners, at the blast of a trumpet. The contrary is probably much closer to reality. There were always tensions between the tribes; however, there was no overriding tendency to overcome these tensions by blotting out individualistic characteristics and imposing a totalitarian view on all. Efforts were directed at trying to find and underscore the unifying rather than the divisive elements. If this did not always work (i.e. the secession of the Northern Kingdom and other such chisms) it did work much of the time, when the leadership and the people came to realize the supreme value within Judaism of both unity and freedom.







The creative tensions between those two values is reflected in many pages of Jewish history in the past – as well as, today. The verse from Hosea (4:17), for example – “Ephraim is joined to idols, leave him alone” – was interpreted by the Rabbis in the following way: Even if the tribe of Ephraim was to worship idols, they said, as long as he was joined together in unity, I would allow him to get away with it. The value of unity is put here above the most grievous transgression of idol worship. This is presumably because of the belief developed in subsequent moralistic literature, that as long as one is joined to the community he cannot wander off too far in his criminal actions.

The principle of acting in unison as one community was tested when there arose different schools of study of Tora which were not always in agreement with one another. We know, for instance, of the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai which flourished in the first and second centuries. While the opinions of both schools were duly recorded and respected, it required much intellectual effort and profound loyalty and commitment to the overall cause of Judaism for the Rabbis to put some issues up for a vote and decide on a unified course so that “the House of Israel should not be split in two.” Even when the controversy over opposing opinions between the Hillelites and the Shammaites was at its height, they made sure not to refrain from intermarrying with one another. When Rabbi Judah the Prince, himself a descendent of the line of Hillel, edited the code of Rabbinic law known as the Mishna at the end of the second century, he included the views of the Shammaites alongside those of the Hillelites. This became the rule since then – not to suppress or censor opposing opinions. All views equally deserve to be published, studied, and probed. No one side can claim to have an exclusive monopoly on the truth.

Similarly, there developed marked differences between the two major communities of the Diaspora in later centuries: the Sephardim of the South of Europe and the Orient, and the Ashkenazim of North, Eastern and Western Europe. Nevertheless, when it came to guarding the inner unity of the Jewish people, there were great rabbinic authorities who saw to it that the Jews remained one people, united around the Tora. Sephardim and Ashkenazim both studied and developed the Tora overcoming giant gaps of geography and of cultural mentalities. If varying modes of prayer sometimes served to divide among different Jewish communities, study of Tora served to unite them. Tora, as a unifying force, never recognizes boundaries of time and space.





Tora, the creative spinning together of authentic Jewish culture in its manifold expressions, can thus serve as a common bond for all Jews everywhere, provided there is mutual respect between one group and the next: between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, between Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, etc., and provided they recognize the one central focal point, which has always been the point towards which all Jewish aspirations are turned and from which they have always been nourished.

The Psalmist expressed it first when singing:

*"I rejoiced with those who said to me,  
'Let us go to the house of the Lord.'  
Our feet were standing in your gates,  
O Jerusalem.*

*Jerusalem is built like a city, joined together,  
That is where the tribes go up,  
the tribes of the Lord --  
Pray for the peace of Jerusalem  
May those who love you be secure  
May there be peace within your walls  
And security within your citadels."*

The Rabbis understood "a city joined together" to mean a city that makes all Jews join together as one people. Thus they ordained:

*"If one is standing outside Palestine, he should turn [when praying] towards Eretz Israel... If he stands in Eretz Israel, he should turn towards Jerusalem... If he is standing in Jerusalem he should turn towards the Sanctuary... If he is standing in the Sanctuary he should turn toward the Holy of Holies, etc... Consequently, if he is in the east he should turn his face to the west; in the west he should turn his face to the east, if in the south he should turn his face to the north; if in the north, he should turn his face to the south. In this way all Israel will be turning their heart towards one place." (Berakhot 38a)*

What the Rabbis are trying to tell us in this passage, which has guided the prescribed practice of prayer up to this day, is that wherever a Jew stands in prayer, it is not the direction one prefers over another that makes the difference. The directions towards which the praying person turns may vary, may even be diametrically opposed. They are correct, however, if they possess the same central focal point, the one holy-of-holies towards which all eyes are turned, Jerusalem.





KADDISH

Yit-ga-dal ve-yit ka-dash  
she-mei ra-ba be-al-ma  
di-ve-ra chi-re-u-tei,  
ve-yam-lich mal-chu-tei  
be-cha-yei-chon u-ve-yo-mei-chon  
u've-cha-yei de chol beit  
Yis-ra-eil, ba-a-ga-la  
u-vi-ze-man ka-riv,  
ve-i-me-ru, a-mein.

Ye-hei she-mei ra-ba me-va-rach  
le-a-lam u-le-al-mei  
al-ma-ya.

Yit-ba-rach ve-yish-ta-bach  
ve-yit-pa-ar ve-yit-romam  
ve-yit-na-sei, ve-yit-ha-dar  
ve-yit-a-leh ve-yit-ha-lal  
she-mei de ku-de-sha, be-rich  
hu, le-ei-la min kol bi-re-cha-ta  
ve-shi-ra-ta, tush-be-cha-ta ve-  
ne-che-ma-ta, da-a-mi-ran  
be-al-ma,  
ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

Ye-hei she-la-ma ra-ba  
min she-ma-ya ve-cha-yim  
a-lei-nu ve-al- kol Yis-ra-eil  
ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

O seh sha-lom bi-mero-mav  
hu ya-a-seh sha-lom a-lei-nu  
ve al-kol yis-ra-eil, ve-i-me-ru:  
A-mein.

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא  
בעלמא דירבא כרעותה;

וימליך מלכותה בחייכון וביומיכון,  
ובחיי דירכל בית ישראל, בעגלא ובזמן קריב,  
ואמרו אמן.

יהא שמה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.

יתברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרומם, ויתנשא ויתהדר,  
ויתעלה ויתהלל שמה דירקדשא, בריך הוא,  
לעלא (ולעלא) נזכל ברכתא ושירחא,  
תשבחתא ונחמתא, דיראמירן בעלמא,  
ואמרו אמן.

יהא שלמא רבא מךשמיא, וחיים,  
עלינו ועל כל ישראל,  
ואמרו אמן.

עשה שלום במרומוי, הוא יעשה שלום  
עלינו ועל כל ישראל,  
ואמרו אמן.



May God Who makes peace in  
high places, make peace  
for us, and for all Israel, as we  
say: AMEN!

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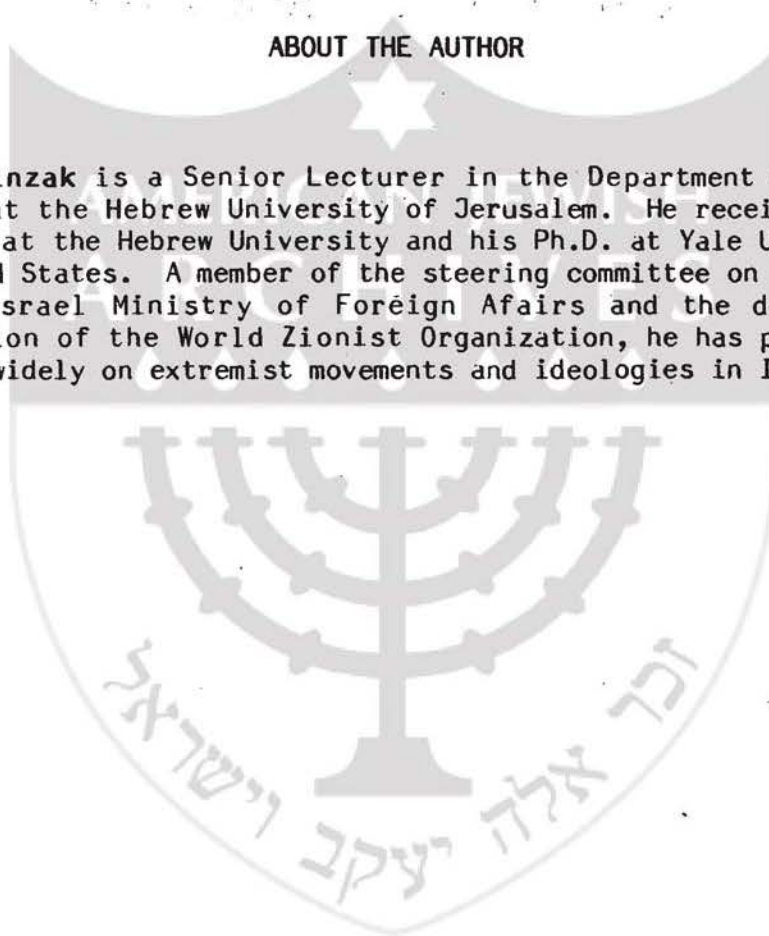


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## A NEW POLITICAL FORCE

On April 27, 1984, Kol Yisrael, the Israel broadcasting service, announced the discovery of a plot to blow up six Arab buses during a crowded rush hour. In the following week, more than 20 Israelis suspected of forming an anti-Arab terrorist network were arrested. It was soon disclosed that the suspects had been responsible for an attempt to assassinate the Arab mayors of three West Bank cities in 1980, a murderous attack on the Islamic College in Hebron in 1983, and a score of lesser acts of violence against Arabs. Moreover, they had developed an elaborate plan to blow up the mosques on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, a site sacred to Moslems and Jews alike.

What shocked many observers was not so much the existence of such a terrorist group as the identity of its members. They belonged to Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful), a group committed to establishing Jewish settlements in the West Bank (biblical Judea and Samaria). Though an aggressive (sometimes even illegal) settlement movement, Gush Emunim had never openly embraced an ideology of violence. Its orthodox leaders asserted a biblically based Jewish claim to Judea and Samaria, but they had never advocated deportation of the Arab population. Instead, they had professed the belief that peaceful and productive coexistence with the Arabs there was both possible and desirable. That any of these highly educated and responsible men, some of whom were ranking army officers and all of whom were heads of large families, would resort to terrorism was astonishing.

It now appears that earlier perceptions of Gush Emunim were seriously deficient. Gush Emunim, it is clear, has introduced into Israel's public life a radical mode of thinking, and a comprehensive and absolutist belief system capable of generating intense aspirations with the potential of extreme consequences. Because this system combines belief in the literal truth of the Bible and total commitment to the precepts of modern secular Zionism, it may be called Zionist fundamentalism.



Jewish fundamentalism, of course, is not new in Israel. It was there long before the establishment of the State. It was, however, always the exclusive province of ultra-orthodox, anti-Zionist sects.<sup>1</sup> As the Zionist enterprise advanced in Palestine, traditional fundamentalism became socially isolated, politically detached, and culturally marginal. Seeing Zionism as a religious affront, it secluded itself in a cultural, sometimes real, ghetto and played no part in public life. It stood, in principle, in direct opposition to pragmatic Zionism, including religious Zionism, which for many years was oriented toward "the art of the possible."

Gush Emunim has combined religious fundamentalism and secular Zionism to create a potent new political force. Because of the growing appeal of the fundamentalist cast of mind, there can be no doubt that Zionist fundamentalism will exert a profound influence on the future of the State, including such critical matters as national decisions on war and peace.



### THE EMERGENCE OF GUSH EMUNIM

Israeli occupation of the West Bank in the 1967 Six Day War aroused in many Israelis a passionate determination that these territories should be permanently joined to the State of Israel. Future members of Gush Emunim -- particularly its core group, Elon Moreh, whose founders first formulated the settlement ideology<sup>1</sup> -- became active in establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Not until after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, however, did they feel a need to organize politically. In the gloomy public mood occasioned by the first territorial concessions in the Sinai Peninsula (required by the disengagement agreement with Egypt), the founders of Gush Emunim determined to organize in order to oppose further territorial concessions and to promote the extension of Israeli sovereignty over the occupied territories.

The founding meeting of Gush Emunim took place in March 1974 at Kfar Etzion, a West Bank kibbutz that had been seized by the Arabs in the War of Independence and recovered by Israel in the Six Day War. This meeting had been preceded by informal discussions in which leading roles had been played by former students of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, then head of Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav. Among these were Rabbi Moshe Levinger (the leader of the Kiryat Arba settlers), Hanan Porat (one of the revivers of Jewish settlement in Gush Etzion), Rabbi Chayim Drukman (educator and one of the leaders of the Bnei Akiva religious youth movement, now a member of the Knesset), Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, and Rabbi Yohanan Fried.

At first, Gush Emunim was a faction within the National Religious Party (NRP), then a partner in the Labor coalition government. Distrustful of the NRP's position concerning the future of Judea and Samaria, the Gush people soon left the party and declared their movement's independence. Since then, they have refused to identify with any political party and have gained a unique political status.<sup>2</sup>

The Gush Emunim people -- mostly yeshiva graduates, rabbis, and teachers -- immediately launched a vigorous information campaign to



explain their position. They carried their campaign to all parts of the country through kaffeeklatsches, meetings in schools and yeshivot, and so on. At the same time they began organizing people who would inhabit the settlements they planned to set up in the West Bank. They did not require formal membership in Gush Emunim. Its people and supporters would not be called upon to carry out any task that would set them apart from the rest of the nation. People could participate in particular activities of Gush Emunim with which they sympathized without any obligation to support other activities or a broad platform. The absence of formal membership makes it impossible to confirm or refute Gush Emunim's claims regarding the size of its following.

During the Rabin government (1974-77) Gush Emunim pursued three types of activity: it protested the interim agreements with Egypt and Syria; it staged demonstrations in Judea and Samaria to underscore the Jewish attachment to those parts of Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel, or biblical Palestine); and it carried out settlement operations in the occupied territories.

Gush Emunim's protest activity began with active support of a hunger strike that leaders of the Greater Israel Movement started on Independence Day in May 1974 outside the Prime Minister's residence in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> There were repeated protests against U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger while he shuttled to and from Israel in his role of peacemaker after the Yom Kippur War. Participation in these demonstrations, which continued sporadically until the fall of 1975, ranged from the scores of people who blocked traffic on Ruppin Road in Jerusalem, thereby obstructing official motorcades, to the thousands who filled Jerusalem's Zion Square and clashed there with the police.

This activity reached a peak in October 1974 when a mass rally was held in Tel Aviv's Malkhei Yisrael Square to urge recognition of Judea and Samaria as inseparable parts of the country. After the interim agreement with Egypt and the end of Kissinger's visits, smaller protest demonstrations, opposite the Knesset building or the Prime Minister's office, reminded policymakers that the Gush had not abandoned this avenue of activity.

Gush-organized demonstrations stressing attachment to Judea and Samaria began with Operation Go-Around in October 1974. Some of an estimated 2,000 participants managed to get past army roadblocks and spread out across Judea and Samaria to points where the Gush maintained that settlements should be established.<sup>4</sup> Since the operation was meant for publicity purposes, the participants avoided serious collision with the army and left their occupation points when requested to do so. A similar action was conducted in December 1975, when many supporters of Gush Emunim spread out across mountain tops in Judea and Samaria in a Hanukkah candle-lighting ceremony. Passover in 1976 witnessed the first Eretz Yisrael Ramble, when some 20-30,000 people took part in a mass hike across Samaria.<sup>5</sup> The participants in this march, as in succeeding years, included such prominent figures as



Menachem Begin, Yigal Hurwitz, and Geula Cohen. Gush Emunim has always invested a tremendous effort in organizing these marches, for the extent of participation in them became the principal barometer for assessing public support of the movement. On the basis of participation in these marches, Gush Emunim claimed a mass following.<sup>6</sup>

The success of its protests and demonstrations never diverted Gush Emunim from its deep commitment to settlement beyond the Green Line, the border between Israel and the occupied territories. The government of Israel, being pragmatic and subject to pressures from all sides, was not enthusiastic about initiating settlement. Its hesitancy was most marked during the period of the negotiations on the interim agreements with Syria and Egypt, talks that were conducted under heavy American pressure applied by Kissinger. Gush Emunim, however, both behind the scenes and in public, continued to push for a settlement policy. In response, the government approved a settlement at Keshet on the Golan Heights, a military foothold at Tekoa, and another at Kochav ha-Shahar.<sup>7</sup> Minister of Defense Shimon Peres authorized a workers' camp at Ba'al Hazor, which later became Ofra, a civilian settlement in all respects, including families and children. Nevertheless, the government's fundamental objectives remained secure borders and minimal involvement with the Arab population in the West Bank.<sup>8</sup>

Gush Emunim, however, was determined to settle in all parts of Eretz Israel, including the very heart of the Palestinian population. Its core group, Elon Moreh, tried on seven occasions to settle in the Nablus-Sebastia region, but each time its attempt was thwarted and its settlement forcibly dismantled by the army. On its eighth attempt, during Hanukkah 1975, some 2,000 people, members of Elon Moreh and yeshiva students on holiday, settled near Sebastia. Some American Jewish leaders who were meeting in Jerusalem at the time were mobilized by Gush Emunim to express support for the settlement attempt. After two days of tense confrontation between the settlers and the army, the members of Elon Moreh agreed to leave the site "of their own accord," move to a military camp at Kadoum, and stay there until a decision was reached about their future location.<sup>9</sup>

The "Kadoum compromise" brought the series of confrontations between Gush Emunim and the Rabin government to a head. Afterward the group receded from public view, but its activity behind the scenes continued, increasingly geared to pressuring the government to establish new settlements and support existing ones. At the same time the Gush launched a vigorous public relations campaign. Important in this regard was the Ein Vered Conference, at which prominent figures in the Labor settlement movement proclaimed their support for the Gush.<sup>10</sup> Not only did the Gush thereby achieve cooperation between the religious and secular Zionist camps, but actually won support for its extralegal mode of action from an elite group within the Labor movement. After Kadoum and the formation of the Ein Vered Circle, it was clear to the government in general, and to Prime Minister Rabin in particular, that here was an opponent of substantial weight.



The Likud victory in the elections of May 1977 and the declaration of the prime minister designate, Menachem Begin, that "we will have many more Elon Morehs" induced Gush Emunim leaders to believe in all sincerity that their extralegal period was over.<sup>11</sup> And, indeed, the new regime accorded them full legitimacy. Gush Emunim was in fact never regarded by Menachem Begin as a deviant group. Its young members had always been his darlings and they now had easy access to the new Prime Minister. Many of them welcomed this official acceptance and were happy to shed their extremist image. They were pleased, too, that one of their leading members, Rabbi Chayim Drukman, had been placed second in the NRP list to the Ninth Knesset.<sup>12</sup>

Gush Emunim's rejoicing did not last long. Despite the Gush's expectations, the government did not come up with a large-scale settlement program. The constraints of daily policy-making, Begin's failing health, and especially American pressures began to leave their mark on the cabinet, and the impatient Gush soon felt that it was being given the runaround by the government and the Prime Minister. The government was still sympathetic -- Minister of Agriculture Ariel Sharon did not conceal his affection for Gush Emunim -- but it gradually became clear that even under a Likud administration it might have to use the extralegal tactics it had devised during the Rabin regime.

The Camp David accords leading to a peace treaty with Egypt, the autonomy plan, and the government's commitment to give up the Rafiah salient in the Sinai struck Gush Emunim like bolts from the blue. This was without doubt the lowest point in its short history.<sup>13</sup> Unable to organize an antigovernment front by themselves, they welcomed the help of other disaffected groups and individuals such as the Herut Loyalists Circle, Professor Yuval Ne'eman, members of the Greater Israel Movement, Knesset members Geula Cohen and Moshe Shamir, several former Rafi members, and others who together formed the Covenant of the Eretz Yisrael Faithful.<sup>14</sup> This new association committed itself to the original platform of the Greater Israel Movement. Later, it founded the Tehiya movement to oppose Begin's determination to carry out the Camp David accords.

In the months preceding April 28, 1982, the date set by the Israel-Egypt peace treaty for the final Israeli evacuation of Sinai, the settlers of the Rafiah salient organized to frustrate the government's policy.<sup>15</sup> Their movement was soon taken over by a group of Gush zealots. Hundreds of Gush settlers in Judea and Samaria moved to Yamit, the capital of the salient, and to its surrounding settlements, to block the retreat with their bodies. They came with their rabbis, their yeshivot, and even their families, fully convinced that they were heavenly ordained for the mission.<sup>16</sup> Several of them, the most extreme, seriously considered armed resistance, and only great caution by the army prevented the eruption of large-scale violence.<sup>17</sup>

The "treacherous" evacuation of Sinai provides the background for the activities of the terror network described in the first chapter of this essay. As early as 1980 the leaders of the group had concluded that the Begin government was not to be trusted. The Prime Minister, in their opinion, was ready to surrender Israeli territory in the south, and his defense minister, Ezer Weizman, was not sufficiently forceful in pursuing PLO terrorists in Judea and Samaria. Their response was the attempt to assassinate three Arab mayors considered to be the unofficial PLO leaders in the West Bank.<sup>18</sup> Later they developed their plan to blow up the mosques on Jerusalem's Temple Mount. In this instance their object was both tactical and millenarian. They believed that destruction of the mosques would nullify the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, with the result that the Sinai would remain in Israeli hands.<sup>19</sup> But they also cherished the dream of creating the conditions for the final redemption of the Jewish people.<sup>20</sup> It is not clear why this operation was not carried out at the time.

Despite the frustration felt by some Gush extremists, Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria multiplied after 1981. The Israeli cabinet after Begin's electoral success in 1981 was not the same cabinet that had signed the peace agreements. The dominant axis, composed of Begin, Sharon, and Shamir, was a hawkish one, quite different from the Begin, Dayan, and Weizman group responsible for the Camp David accords. The new axis was limited by the Camp David accords and the autonomy plan; nevertheless, it aggressively pursued Jewish settlement of Judea and Samaria. Ariel Sharon proceeded rapidly toward the realization of his own settlement plan.<sup>21</sup> He had always objected to the Allon Plan, which in one form or another had guided all the Labor governments. Sharon's plan was based on strategic control of all the dominant roads in the West Bank. By virtue of his stubbornness and aggressiveness he achieved more than either his friends or his opponents had thought possible. In spite of the difficult personal problems he encountered in the Likud government, he outlasted both Dayan and Weizman, the only ministers able to neutralize him. With Sharon as a dominant figure in the government, Gush Emunim had no need for noisy public activities.



## THE FUNDAMENTALIST IDEOLOGY OF GUSH EMUNIM

By overlooking the cultural milieu from which Gush Emunim emerged, most observers have perceived it primarily as a political movement seeking to extend Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank. Only recently have a few scholars -- prominent among them kibbutz intellectual Zvi Ranaan<sup>1</sup> and the late Professor Uriel Tal<sup>2</sup> -- recognized the totalistic and messianic character of the Gush ideology. Several cardinal points of this belief system warrant close scrutiny.

### Redemption

All of Gush Emunim's spiritual authorities and many of its leaders were educated in Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav, whose founder was Avraham Yitzhak ha-Cohen Kook, the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Eretz Yisrael. Kook believed that the era of redemption for the Jewish people had already begun with the rise of modern Zionism, the Balfour Declaration, and the growing Zionist enterprise in Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Like a classical kabbalist, Kook was equivocal on many issues, vague on others, and susceptible to different interpretations. His teaching was not a guide to earthly conduct.

Israel's victory in the Six Day War transformed the status of Kook's theology. Suddenly it became clear to his students that they were indeed living in the messianic age. Ordinary reality assumed a sacred aspect; every event possessed theological meaning and was part of the metahistorical process of redemption.<sup>4</sup> Though shared by many religious authorities, this view was most effectively expounded by Kook's son, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, who succeeded him as the head of Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav. The younger Kook defined the State of Israel as the halakhic Kingdom of Israel, and the Kingdom of Israel as the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. Every Jew living in Israel was holy; all phenomena, even the secular, were imbued with holiness.

The belief that they are living in the messianic age and that redemption is at hand has operational consequences for Gush members.

No longer is their theology expressed in esoteric kabbalistic language. It has become the practical guide to daily living. Conversation with Gush members is impossible without repeated references to national regeneration, the metahistorical meanings of ordinary events, the building of the Third Temple, and messianic redemption.<sup>5</sup> Almost all the biblical rules regarding the Kingdom of Israel are literally applicable, and strict halakhic instructions concerning national behavior in the messianic age are now valid.

### The Sanctity of the Land of Israel

According to the fundamentalists of Gush Emunim, the Land of Israel -- every grain of its soil -- is holy. "This holiness," writes Professor Tal,

does not replace the physical substance but inversely, the physical substance is itself becoming sacred until total holiness is achieved. Thus no individual can escape holiness and every place upon which a Jewish foot is set is holy. The historical symbols are transformed from mere symbols to a concrete substance. Not the single individual but the place is holy and not the place as a symbol for holiness, but the physical place: trees, stones, graves, walls and other places as well. They all are sacred in themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Since 1967, therefore, the issue of the borders of Israel has assumed an unprecedented seriousness. In countless religious symposia and learned essays the question has been discussed and debated.<sup>7</sup> While the secular proponents of the Greater Israel idea have surveyed the borders with a view to security considerations and historical claims, the proponents of the messianic idea have in mind only one consideration: the biblical covenant made by God with Abraham. They soon discovered that the territory so promised was not confined to the area taken by the Israeli army in the Six Day War but extended to the Euphrates on the northeast and to the Nile on the southwest. While no unanimity on the operational meaning of the biblical map has been reached, not a single fundamentalist authority is ready to alienate a square inch for either peace or security. Some even favor further territorial annexations. Rabbi Israel Ariel, the former head of the yeshiva at Yamit (the evacuated city in the Rafiah salient), is a typical fundamentalist. In an interview, he would not disclose his opinion whether this was the time for Israel to wage a war of conquest. Asked about current political constraints and diplomatic limitations, the rabbi replied that Joshua had far worse political constraints and limitations. When pressed further about potential casualties and national losses, the fundamentalist rabbi referred to a biblical ruling that in a holy war no question about casualties is legitimate until one fifth of the nation is extinct.<sup>8</sup>



Not all fundamentalist rabbis or members of Gush Emunim go as far as Rabbi Ariel; his is clearly a minority opinion.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, his view enjoys a measure of legitimacy. In 1976 Israel's Chief Rabbinate -- which has formally nothing to do with Gush Emunim -- issued an official halakhic ruling about the holiness of the Jewish territories and the consequent holiness of the political sovereignty over them. In 1979 the Rabbinate ruled that no part of the Holy Land could be alienated even in the context of a peace treaty. "According to our holy Torah and unequivocal and decisive halakhic rulings there exists a severe prohibition to pass to foreigners the ownership of any piece of the land of Israel since it was made sacred by the brit bein ha-betarim [Abraham's Covenant]."10

The uncompromising position of the fundamentalist members and supporters of Gush Emunim helps explain several events of the last decade. It explains, for example, the stubborn opposition to Israel's retreat from Sinai and the belief held by some until the last moments of April 28, 1982, that God was about to intervene directly to prevent Begin's "crime."<sup>11</sup> It also explains the welcome accorded by Gush Emunim to the Israeli conquest of Southern Lebanon. This territory belonged in biblical times to the tribes of Asher and Naftali, and the Gush saw no reason not to free it from the hostile Arabs and reclaim it forever.<sup>12</sup>

### The Revival of Zionism and Settlement

In an early document Gush Emunim calls itself a "movement for the renewal of Zionist fulfillment."

Our aim is to bring about a large movement of reawakening among the Jewish people for the fulfillment of the Zionist vision in its full scope, with the recognition that the source of the vision is Jewish tradition and roots and that its ultimate objective is the full redemption of the Jewish people and the entire world.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, although it appeared to many that Gush Emunim was established as a single-issue movement to promote the extension of Israeli sovereignty to Judea and Samaria (and, if possible, to all the occupied territories), it never actually confined itself to that issue alone. Taking into consideration the new totalistic definition of the Gush reality as well as the concrete operations of the movement, it is obvious that Gush Emunim sees itself as a movement of revival whose task is to revitalize the historic Zionism that died out in the Israel of the 1950s and 1960s. According to Gush's analysis, Israelis now live in a crisis born of the fatigue that followed the partial implementation of Zionism after the establishment of the State of Israel. This crisis has led to a weakening of the pioneering spirit, to an unwillingness to continue the struggle against the pressures of the outside world, especially against the continuing hostility of the Arabs, and to the establishment of a materialistic society in which

the private ego has superseded the national mission. Underscoring the gap between authentic Jewish culture and what they regard as "alienated" modern Western culture, the Gush's leaders propose to rejuvenate Zionism in keeping with authentic Jewish values.<sup>14</sup> They want to overcome the present decadence by restoring the pioneering and sacrificial spirit of the past. Gush people present themselves as the heirs of authentic Israeli Zionism, which actually built the Yishuv, guided by ideals of land settlement, manual labor, and personal sacrifice.

Gush settlements in the West Bank thus represent the purest Zionist activity in every sense of the term. Gush people are not socialists, but they are attached to the kibbutz ideal. It is not surprising that two of the most prominent leaders of Gush Emunim, Rabbi Moshe Levinger and Hanan Porat, were originally members of religious kibbutzim. Porat comes from Kfar Etzion, and Levinger was formerly the rabbi of Kibbutz Lavie.

### The Arabs

What role do the Gush Emunim fundamentalists accord the Palestinian Arabs in the age of Jewish redemption? What rights, if any, should they retain in the Holy Land of Israel? For years Gush spokesmen enumerated "three alternatives" to be presented to Israeli Arabs: acknowledge the legitimacy of the Zionist doctrine (Gush Emunim's version) and receive full civil rights, including the right to elect and be elected to the Knesset (and serve in the army); obey the laws of the state without formal recognition of Zionism and in return receive the rights of resident aliens (no political rights); emigrate to Arab countries with economic assistance provided by Israel.<sup>15</sup>

While not particularly liberal, the "three alternatives" at least make some political sense. In the context of a peace settlement and agreed-upon borders, they might even be appealing to some non-Gush Israelis. The problem is that the "three alternatives" do not exhaust the full range of fundamentalist views on the status of non-Jewish residents of Israel. As Professor Tal points out:

If time and space are two total existential categories, then no room can be left to foreigners. As we have seen, the question is not limited to a bunch of crazy prophets who lost control or to an unimportant marginal minority but pertains to a dogmatic and highly elaborated philosophy. This system leads to a policy which cannot coexist with civil and human rights and in the final analysis does not leave room for toleration.<sup>16</sup>

Following Tal, it is possible to identify in the fundamentalist school three positions on the status of non-Jews in Israel: limitation of



rights, denial of rights, and -- in the most extreme and improbable case -- extermination. Each position is anchored in an authoritative interpretation of Scripture. The first stems from the conviction that the notion of universal human rights is a foreign ideal that, like other European, non-Jewish values, has no meaning in the context of the Holy Land.<sup>17</sup> In the Bible, non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine were accorded the status of resident aliens, enjoying some privileges but never obtaining rights equal to those of the Jews. The Gush's "three alternatives" reflect this position and may be seen as its political translation.

The second position on the status of non-Jewish inhabitants amounts to a denial of all rights, since the very existence of the Jews in Israel depends on Arab emigration. The ruling regarding conquest of the land according to Rabbi Shlomo Aviner, in his essay "Messianic Realism," stands above "moral-human considerations of the national rights of the Gentiles in our Land."<sup>18</sup> The people of Israel, according to this view, were ordered to be sacred but not to be moral. Alien moral considerations do not obtain in the case of the Chosen People. One practical consequence of this view is that in time of war no distinction should be made between enemy soldiers and civilians since both are of the category of people who do not belong in the land.

The most extreme position, extermination, was expressed in an essay by Rabbi Israel Hess published in the official magazine of Bar Ilan University students under the title "The Genocide Ruling of Torah." Hess likens the Arabs to the biblical Amalekites, who were deservedly annihilated.<sup>19</sup> The historical Amalekites, according to Hess, were both socially and militarily treacherous and cruel. Their relation to the Jews was like the relation of darkness to light, that is, one of total contradiction. The Arabs who live today in the Land of Israel and who are constantly waging a terrorist and treacherous war against the Jews are direct descendants of the Amalekites, and the correct solution to the problem is extermination.

Hess's position is an isolated one; even the denial of all rights is rarely mentioned. Nevertheless, it is significant that in current fundamentalist discourse none of these three approaches to the problem of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Israel is considered illegitimate or abhorrent. More important, none has so far been ruled out as erroneous by high religious authorities. It is not clear whether the silence of those authorities is evidence of disapproval or of political prudence.

Some indication that Gush Emunim is aware of the political sensitivity of its views on the Arab question is the present refusal of its leaders to discuss the future of the Arabs in Judea and Samaria following the "expected" annexation of the West Bank to Israel. Their standard comment is that their mission is not to solve the Arab question but the Jewish question.<sup>20</sup> When pressed, Gush spokesmen maintain that in due time Almighty God will provide the answer.



## Democracy and the Rule of Law

A key issue in understanding the politics of Gush Emunim is its attitude toward democracy and the rule of law. During its formative years, Gush Emunim set itself resolutely in opposition to the policies of the democratically elected government of Israel. More recently, in rejecting the peace treaty with Egypt, the Gush defied the Knesset, which had overwhelmingly approved it.

Moreover, the cultural milieu of the Gush's spiritual leaders is avowedly undemocratic. Its rabbis' fundamentalist interpretation of the Torah is totally alien to the spirit of modern democracy and legal positivism. Nowhere is their viewpoint better revealed than on the issue of the civil and human rights of the non-Jewish residents of Israel.

But is this the entire story? Do the illegalities of Gush settlers and the fundamentalism of their rabbis exhaust the subject? The leaders and theoreticians of Gush Emunim argue that they should not be judged in the context of the abstract notion of democracy but in the context of the Israeli political system, which is a democracy. They point out that they have always had great respect for the secular institutional expressions of Israel's sovereignty -- the government, the Knesset, and the army. Many of them, together with young members of the NRP, were active in launching the yeshivot hesder (academies combining religious study and military service). They played a major role in changing the NRP's orientation toward the institutions of government in Israel. Whereas they once considered the institutions of sovereignty merely instrumental, they now insist that these institutions are of great national importance and should be infused with truly Zionist content -- pioneering and self-sacrifice.<sup>21</sup>

The movement, it is true, does not have a formal antidemocratic ideology, and in the general Israeli context it has not displayed exceptionally undemocratic behavior.<sup>22</sup> On the issue that most concerns Gush Emunim -- namely, Eretz Yisrael -- the movement has adopted a rigidly doctrinaire stance. In Gush's view, the only legitimizing principle in whose name the State of Israel, its democratic regime, and its legal system were established is Zionism, which requires Jewish settlement in all parts of Eretz Israel. Democracy is acceptable as long as it exists within a truly Zionist polity. Should the two principles collide, Zionism must take precedence. If the Knesset passes legislation contrary to the requirements of Zionism (as understood by the Gush), that act is illegitimate and must be resisted.<sup>23</sup> Every Jew in Eretz Israel has the right -- indeed, the duty -- to oppose any compromise on the issue of settlement, even if it is supported by a majority of Israelis. When Gush Emunim people are asked how it is that they, who show so much respect for the state, are prepared to resist it, they reply that the existing government



coalition does not represent the true spirit of the state. According to Gush Emunim, government prohibitions of settlement may be legal but they are illegitimate. A government that prevents settlement undercuts its own legitimacy and places itself in the same position as the British mandatory government, which undermined its legitimacy by executing the policy of the infamous White Paper of 1939.<sup>24</sup> During the period of the White Paper, illegal acts of settlement by secular Zionists were altogether legitimate; the same principle applies today, believers argue, but that does not imply a general antidemocratic orientation.

A final judgment about Gush Emunim, democracy, and the rule of law should thus be held in abeyance. There exist many indications that their fundamentalist thinking and their limited commitment to democratic procedures would, under pressure, drive many members of Gush Emunim to confrontation with the democratic system. On the other hand, there are some indications that certain elements within the movement would avoid such a confrontation. These elements would put a high premium on the interpretation that the present State of Israel, despite all its follies, is both the halakhic Kingdom of Israel and the culmination of the Zionist dream.<sup>25</sup> As such, they say, its leaders should perhaps be strongly criticized but finally obeyed.



### THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ORIGINS OF GUSH EMUNIM

Many Israelis underestimate Gush Emunim as a political force because they continue to think of it as it appeared in the mid-1970s when it launched its first illegal settlements in the West Bank. Though successful in bringing down the Rabin government over the issue of settling Samaria, its leaders and members appeared to be unworldly idealists incapable of sustained, responsible action. Israelis who recall their own early pioneering youth movement regard Gush Emunim as a latter-day version. Many are convinced that, once the government resolves to compromise over Judea and Samaria, Gush Emunim will evaporate. As they see it, an unrealistic youth movement, all its virtues notwithstanding, cannot survive in the "grownup" world of practical politics.

Nothing could be more misleading than this obsolete image. Eleven years after its creation, Gush Emunim comprises a highly variegated social and institutional system, including a state-supported settlement organization, regional and municipal councils, and independent economic corporations. In addition, it possesses a highly cohesive spiritual leadership composed of distinguished rabbis and scholars. It would not be erroneous to speak today of the invisible kingdom of Gush Emunim, which is gradually acquiring the character of a state within the state.

A full understanding of this system must start not with the official establishment of Gush Emunim in 1974 but with its cultural and social roots in the 1950s and 1960s. It has already been noted that the Gush leadership emerged almost exclusively from the Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav and was influenced by the teachings of Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Kook as interpreted by his son, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. No less important is the fact that most of the Gush leadership came to Merkaz ha-Rav from the world of the so-called "knitted skullcaps" -- the Bnei Akiva youth movement, ha-Poel ha-Mizrahi, and adherents of Torah va-Avodah (Torah and Labor), the founders of the religious kibbutz movement. It is important to note the spiritual underpinnings of these roots because the process under consideration pertains not



only to Gush Emunim but also to one of the central transformations that has taken place in Israeli society and that has not yet been adequately studied. Although there was no outright Kulturkampf in the 1950s and 1960s, there was nevertheless a power play in which the victors were the religious educational system and the subculture of the ha-Poel ha-Mizrahi and the "knitted skullcaps."

In contrast to the other sectors of the Zionist educational system, which in the course of being nationalized lost their normative character and underwent an astonishing dilution, the religious Zionists developed an educational system that created norms of life and behavior of the highest order for a quarter of the school population. Thus the religious Zionist public was spared the general decline that beset the country's secular educational system and, indeed, may even have been consolidated by it.<sup>1</sup> Around that educational system complete life patterns were created for an entire public, which reinforced its religious life not only at home and in the synagogue but also (for its children) in the neighborhood kindergarten and in the ulpanah (religious academy for girls) and yeshiva (religious academy for men).

Simultaneously with the establishment of state-supported religious schools occurred the revival of Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav, which had fallen into decline after the death of its founder. At the end of the 1950s a new Bnei Akiva generation revitalized the old school. This new generation listened eagerly to Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook's interpretation of his father's teachings and infused it with nationalistic meaning. When the Six Day War broke out, these youngsters were ready to embrace a new religious Zionist ideology -- but not before witnessing a unique, seemingly miraculous event.

On the eve of Independence Day in 1967, graduates of the yeshiva met at Merkaz ha-Rav for an alumni reunion. As was his custom, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook delivered a festive sermon, in the midst of which his quiet voice suddenly rose and he bewailed the partition of historic Eretz Yisrael.<sup>2</sup> His faithful students were led to believe that this situation was intolerable and could not last. When three weeks later, in June 1967, they found themselves citizens of an enlarged State of Israel, the graduates of Merkaz ha-Rav were convinced that a genuine spirit of prophecy had come over their rabbi on that Independence Day.

At one stroke a flame had been lit and the conditions made ripe for imparting to the subculture of the "knitted skullcaps" the political ideology of a greater Eretz Yisrael. The disciples of Rabbi Kook became missionaries equipped with unshakable confidence in the divine authority of their cause. They soon transformed the "knitted skullcaps" from an isolated religious community into a radicalized political constituency. According to the new ideology, the entire historic Land of Israel must now pass into the hands of the Jewish people, whether by military action or by settlement and the extension of Israeli sovereignty.



Not all the religious public was affected by the new spirit. The religious kibbutz movement, for example, and its most prominent leaders have retained deep reservations about this revolution in thought. So too has the Oz ve-Shalom (Strength and Peace) movement of religious intellectuals, and presumably many others, including heads of yeshivot and rabbis. But it is clear today that between 1967 and 1973 most "knitted skullcaps" went through a process of "Eretz Yisraelization." This ideological transformation was not effected only by people from Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav. A sizable role was also played by the "young guard" of the NRP, as well as the Greater Israel Movement.

It is necessary to grasp the full magnitude of the cultural transformation of the national religious bloc to understand Gush Emunim's unprecedented impact on Israeli public life. Instead of an isolated group of religious fanatics who emerged from nowhere in the wake of the Yom Kippur War, Gush Emunim, like the tip of an iceberg, must be recognized as the visible portion of a submerged social and cultural system.<sup>3</sup> Despite their small number, Gush people could rely in time of need upon a large pool of reinforcements from the religious educational system, the Bnei Akiva yeshivot, and the yeshivot hesder, many of whose rabbis and teachers -- their spiritual authorities and role models -- had passed through Merkaz ha-Rav. Most of the youths did not participate in Gush operations as individuals. They came in organized groups, often on the explicit instructions of the directors of their yeshivot. It is no accident that the large Gush demonstrations and its settlement moves always took place during school holidays, when young people were free to attend.

The link with the educational institutions of the "knitted skullcap" culture and with organizational networks affiliated with it also explains Gush Emunim's financial resources. Opponents have questioned how a small and fanatical group could raise the considerable funds needed for its activities. It is now clear, for example, that most of the organized transport and equipment for the Gush's early operations was contributed by state-supported institutions such as yeshivot, youth centers, and settlements, which charged these expenses to their official budgets.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to relying on the human and financial resources of the "knitted skullcap" subculture, Gush Emunim activists relied heavily on its political resources. The young Bnei Akiva, for example, were an integral part of the NRP, a permanent senior partner in Israel's cabinet. Despite their extreme positions on settlement issues, Gush activists were always welcome in high political circles. Fully backed by the NRP, they could be sure that no decisive military action would be taken against them for fear of a general government crisis. They also enjoyed the support of the opposition leader at the time, Menachem Begin, and of the Greater Israel camp.<sup>5</sup> Regarded affectionately as idealistic pioneering youth, they became in fact effective politicians and lobbyists, firm in their objectives but



flexible in their tactics, willing to act within the system if possible and outside it if necessary.<sup>6</sup>



## THE INVISIBLE KINGDOM OF GUSH EMUNIM

Although its activities in the period 1974-77 were often extralegal, Gush Emunim aspired to public respectability and legal status. In 1978 it established Amana (Covenant) as its official settlement organization, recognized by the World Zionist Organization.<sup>1</sup> This occurred after Begin's rise to power and was one of several steps designed to regularize the movement. Another was establishment of the Yesha Council representing the Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. The creation of these two organs transformed the Gush from a loose association of like-minded individuals into a permanent movement with a formal organizational structure.

Although Gush Emunim developed the ideology for aggressive Jewish settlement in all parts of Eretz Yisrael, the framework for the settlements was developed by the Israeli government. Meron Benvenisti, who has followed the evolution of the West Bank under Israeli occupation, argues that the de facto Israeli annexation of the area (which in his opinion has already taken place) was achieved by an incremental process of parliamentary legislation, government ruling, and administrative regulation.<sup>2</sup> Benvenisti stresses, however, that there was a great difference between the policy of the Labor Alignment administration (1967-77) and that of the Likud (Begin's) administration (1977-84). While Labor wanted to keep open options regarding the future of Judea and Samaria and abstained from a nonselective settlement policy, the Likud was not so constrained. Even within the framework of the autonomy plan it was determined to prevent a "repartition of the Land of Israel" and was consequently ready to support large-scale, nonselective settlement and a strategic takeover of the whole West Bank.<sup>3</sup> Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon aggressively pursued a policy of "creeping annexation." New strategic roads were built, new settlements initiated, and new economic investments made in the area.

Had Gush Emunim been a secular settlement movement, it would have had no reason for displeasure with Begin, Sharon, and the Likud administration. No voluntary effort could have accomplished in Judea



and Samaria what the Likud government did. But Gush Emunim, because of its fundamentalist attachment to Eretz Yisrael, was never satisfied with Begin and Sharon, the lay politicians. Begin was always suspected of being a declarative Zionist, a man who talked about great national visions but was not capable of their realization. Sharon was mistrusted because of his personal ambition. Begin's refusal to officially annex Judea and Samaria and his part in the peace treaty with Egypt confirmed Gush Emunim's worst fears.<sup>4</sup> Sharon's support of Begin further added to the Gush's distrust. Gush Emunim could not forget that, despite advances in Jewish domination of the West Bank, the number of Jewish settlers there did not exceed 3 percent of the population. It could not ignore the fact that the holy cities of Hebron and Nablus were largely Judenrein. And it observed that demands for an eventual Israeli withdrawal came from inside Israel as well as from abroad. The Gush resolved to strengthen the Jewish position in Judea and Samaria to such an extent that under no circumstances would any Israeli government be able to surrender even a small portion of the area. Now that its people were key figures within the settler community, the most capable and motivated, this task was not very difficult.

On March 20, 1979, six days before the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt, in a gesture of great political consequence, the military government in the West Bank signed Order 783 establishing three regional councils in the area. Two more councils were added later.<sup>5</sup> The regulations governing the regional councils' powers and functions, defined in Order 783 as amended, are identical with those governing Israeli regional councils. In March 1981, five municipal councils were established in the West Bank by Order 982. That order largely duplicated the Israeli Municipal Ordinance with the result that the powers of West Bank municipalities are identical with those of Israeli municipalities except that, in addition to the right to levy taxes, supply municipal services, nominate officers and employ workers, the West Bank councils enjoy planning and building-licensing powers. The Israeli settlement areas were declared "planning areas," and the councils were designated "special planning commissions." The purpose of these acts initiated by the Begin government, apart from their administrative dimension, was to strengthen Jewish control of the area and ensure the permanence of the settlements. The key executive positions in the new councils were given to Gush members. Once illegal settlers, they suddenly became state officials with large budgets and great political powers and responsibilities.

Today, the councils, especially the regional ones controlled by Gush Emunim, are dynamic institutions. They have established business corporations, transportation services, and health and educational organizations. They employ hundreds of people and own considerable equipment and other assets. The Company for the Development of Samaria, for example, established by the Samaria regional council, owns 22 buses, trucks, bulldozers, and minibuses. It operates gasoline stations and soil works and plans, in cooperation with a



well-established Histadrut company, Even Vasid, to construct a cement factory and, with the big oil corporation, Paz, to produce gasoline by-products. The directors of the company are proud of their ability to finance new settlements without government assistance.<sup>6</sup> A recent article in Nekuda, the settlers' magazine, reports that the company is on its way to becoming an economic empire capable of acting independently in time of political trouble.<sup>7</sup>

What today distinguishes the Gush organizational structure is its semi-autonomous character. Thus its economic and social welfare system is largely independent of the Israeli system. All the Gush-dominated municipal councils are members of the Yesha Council, which operates political, financial, information, and security committees as well as a committee for external relations with other communities. Danny Rubinstein, the veteran West Bank correspondent of Davar, has observed that these committees look very much like state ministries in embryo.<sup>8</sup>

Of special significance to a full appreciation of the Gush's "invisible kingdom" is its defense organization. Almost from the beginning of the Israeli occupation, there were security problems in the West Bank. Because of anti-Jewish terrorist and guerrilla attacks, the settlements were designated "confrontation settlements," and special military orders authorized their guards to defend them with force.<sup>9</sup> Many Jewish residents of the West Bank are, in fact, soldiers "on extended leave," mainly religious students combining military service with rabbinical studies. In every settlement one settler is appointed "security officer" and receives a salary from the Ministry of Defense or from the Israeli police. The result is the direct involvement of the settler community in defense and security matters that were originally handled by the army and the military government.

In 1978 Israel's chief of staff, General Raphael Eitan, initiated a new policy under which the settler community in the West Bank was assigned complete responsibility for securing the area and defending itself. Hundreds of settlers were transferred from their regular army units to the West Bank, where, in addition to protecting their own settlements, they were to secure cultivated fields, access roads, and commercial and general community facilities. Every settlement was required to have an allotted number of fit combatants, including officers. These were to perform their active duty on a part-time basis while leading normal civilian lives. In addition, regional mobile forces equipped with armored personnel carriers were established to police the Palestinian population.<sup>10</sup>

The regional defense system was probably seen by the chief of staff as the best and most economical way to secure the settlements against Arab attacks. The concept of regional defense was familiar from prestate days in Palestine, when the border settlements and kibbutzim necessarily defended themselves. Nevertheless, the danger-



ous potential of a semi-independent armed force composed of Gush Emunim officers and soldiers cannot be ignored should strong disagreement with government policy arise. Reports of recent debates within the settler community about its future in case of major territorial concessions by the government concealed the opinions of the small minority who favored armed resistance. The fact that the settler-soldiers keep their personal arms with them and that heavier weapons are stored in the settlements' armories means that the settlements could serve as bases for independent military operations.

The potential for disorder is already evident in the settlers' vigilantism. Benvenisti observes:

The quasi-independence of ideologically motivated armed settlers, serving part-time under their own commanders, has led to various vigilante activities, including the smashing of cars and harassment of the Arab population. The degree of independence of the armed settlers and the lack of control over their activities were revealed by an Israeli official committee. The committee found that incidents of vigilantism (vandalizing of Arab property, opening fire, and harassment) had not been investigated "because of intervention of politicians, including senior members of the government coalition, who have halted investigations by intervening with authorities." A former chief of internal security who was responsible for investigating vigilante activity went even further by stating "There is a sympathetic political environment.... Those settlers who took the law into their hands and established illegal settlements have now become legitimate.... This proved to them that 'destroyers of fences' and law breakers have been right, that they have become strong and respectable."<sup>11</sup>

The warning quoted by Benvenisti regarding the settlers' vigilantism was made before the disclosure of the underground network responsible for the most extreme anti-Arab terrorism since 1980. A senior officer in the regional defense unit was among those arrested.<sup>12</sup>

Gush Emunim's drive for autonomy is not limited to organizational, economic, and military areas. It extends as well to the legal. The regional council in Mateh Binyamin has established a rabbinical court to resolve financial issues according to Halakhah. A little-noticed announcement of the court's establishment explained:

The revival of the Israeli nation means also the return of the Law in Israel and the management of financial issues between a man and his peers according to the Torah and not according to the law imagined by the Gentiles. It appears proper that settlements that are instituted by the Torah should follow this path for the law is from God.<sup>13</sup>

Since the death of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook in 1982, the Gush "invisible kingdom" has lacked a single spiritual authority. Nevertheless the system has functioned smoothly since Rabbi Kook's students have themselves become admired authorities. Among them, Rabbi Moshe Levinger from Hebron, Rabbi Eliezer Waldman from Kiryat Arba, and Rabbi Yisrael Ariel from Yamit have achieved national reputations. There are, moreover, dozens of young rabbis trained at Merkaz ha-Rav who disseminate its fundamentalist, messianic doctrine. Every Gush settlement has its own rabbi, and in many there exists a yeshiva as well. By indoctrinating hundreds of young students every year, Gush Emunim perpetuates itself and preserves its religious zeal. The number of new Gush adherents may not be large, but as reinforcement of an elite group it is more than adequate. Gush Emunim is by far the most dynamic social and cultural force in Israel today.





## GUSH EMUNIM AND ISRAELI POLITICS

A cultural and organizational analysis of Gush Emunim cannot account for the movement's great political influence. This can be understood only in the general context of Israeli politics. Most observers agree that on the territorial question the Israeli public is today evenly divided between doves and hawks. While about half of the citizens are ready to trade part of Judea and Samaria for a real peace with a Jordanian-Palestinian entity, nearly the same number oppose such a settlement. The latter accept the position expressed by Menachem Begin many times: "Never again should Eretz Yisrael be repartitioned." Most of them, however, are not fundamentalists. They are territorial maximalists who believe that Judea and Samaria should remain in Israel's hands for various reasons: security, demography, historical attachment, even purely emotional considerations. They are highly suspicious of the Arabs, resentful of PLO terrorism, and in general see no reason for being altruistic in the cruel and bloody reality of the Middle East. For these territorial maximalists, most of whom are represented politically by the Likud and Tehiya parties, the youthful and energetic zealots of Gush Emunim are objects of admiration. While these ordinary Israelis of nationalist convictions have personally done nothing to make the dream of Greater Israel come true, the Gush people and their families have gone to the freezing hills of Judea and Samaria and literally pioneered.

For the maximalists, Gush Emunim fills the role that was once filled for the Labor movement by the kibbutz community. Leaders of the Labor movement used to stress incessantly the importance of the tiny kibbutz community to the whole Labor movement and to the realization of socialist Zionism in Israel. Many who as young pioneers passed through a particular kibbutz on their way to political power and influence retained their formal membership in that kibbutz although they had long since become urban politicians in every respect. The kibbutz community thus became a symbol of the nation's youthful idealism. Similarly, for the territorial maximalists, Gush Emunim seems to embody the nation's former confidence and certitude. Unfortunately, admiration for Gush Emunim has entailed an uncritical indulgence of its fundamentalism.

The popularity of Gush Emunim is evidenced by the warm welcome extended to Gush leaders in high government circles and by the recognition and moral authority accorded to its rabbis. To make sure that its influence is not merely informal, Gush Emunim has placed its members or supporters in all the maximalist political parties. Thus Tehiya, despite its secular leadership, is generally viewed as the political embodiment of the Gush's ideology. Gush Emunim also musters political support in the Likud, where Ariel Sharon, an archmaximalist, is vocal and influential. The NRP is permeated with Gush supporters, especially among its rabbis and yeshiva heads. The small Morasha, another religious party, is headed by two prominent leaders of Gush Emunim, Rabbi Chayim Drukman and Hanan Porat. In addition, Gush Emunim and the settler community have created a very effective lobby in the Knesset. Every Knesset or government meeting that deals with Judea and Samaria, whether on small questions such as construction budgets or on important ones involving the future of the entire area, is attended by Gush members or their political allies. Very little escapes the attention of the young Gush activists. Wielding their immense influence, they are usually capable of mobilizing the entire maximalist body in support of their positions.

Gush political influence is not limited to the maximalist camp only. During its pioneering years, it made inroads into the very heart of the Labor movement and to what was once called Israel's Left. Some Labor members, devoted supporters of Gush Emunim, crossed political lines and joined the maximalist camp. Others did not and are still counted in the minimalist camp. Most prominent among the latter is Israel's present minister of agriculture, Arik Nachamkin, but he is not alone. While these politicians are unaffected by the Gush "mystique," they support the Gush on many important issues.

Had the political influence of Gush Emunim been confined to the maximalist camp and to some minimalist supporters, the present coalition cabinet under Shimon Peres could perhaps have limited its influence. But as a result of the 1984 elections, the government has, in this area, been largely paralyzed. The current national unity cabinet is equally divided between the Likud and the Labor Alignment. No major policy decision can be made unless agreed upon by both parties. Moreover, Peres and his colleagues are totally occupied with Israeli's immense economic difficulties. They have little time or energy to resist the slow, incremental process of annexation in the West Bank. And since there are no significant signs of compromise by Jordan or the Palestinians on a peace agreement, they are understandably disinclined to jeopardize the precarious political alliance that brought them to power. There are very few instances of Labor-initiated interference in the actions of Gush settlers, and then only in cases of flagrant lawbreaking.

The only significant public force that actively opposes the growing political influence of the fundamentalists is the Israeli



Left, sometimes called the Israeli peace camp. This force, however, is very feeble. It is composed of a few small political parties that account for no more than a tenth of the Knesset; of Peace Now, a vocal extraparliamentary movement; and of several small civil rights organizations. The Left, especially Peace Now, has occasionally managed to arouse intense public reactions to certain excessive acts of the government. But during the Likud administration it was unable to stop the Gush's expansion in Judea and Samaria. Its only successes in this area have been to identify extreme settler transgressions against Arabs that could be proved in court. These successes contributed to the demonization of the Left in the eyes of the maximalists, but otherwise they had little political impact.



### ZIONIST FUNDAMENTALISM: A BALANCE SHEET

Gush members generally bear little resemblance in tactics to the Muslim fundamentalists currently so conspicuous in Iran, Lebanon, and elsewhere in the Middle East. They are not sadistic, bloodthirsty, or suicidal. They do not engage in street hooliganism or other quasi-fascist behavior. Unlike some other Jewish fundamentalists in Israel (such as the anti-Zionist Neturei Karta, which preserves a medieval life-style), Gush people are modern, well-behaved, and intelligent. Many are professionals, engineers, talented mathematicians, and successful businessmen. Most of their rabbis are extremely versatile, far removed from the popular image of ayatollahs. Almost everyone who has known Gush people has been highly impressed by their combination of intelligence, idealism, and modesty. Their work ethic and dedication to collective goals have earned them the respect of many Israelis who do not otherwise share their convictions.

The modern and attractive life-style of Gush Emunim is, however, highly misleading. The real challenge of this movement does not lie in its way of life or even in its politics. It lies instead in its fundamentalist cast of mind, which simply refuses to acknowledge the constraints of political reality. Many ordinary Israelis would love to live in a Greater Israel free of Arab hostility. They would rejoice if the Palestinians willingly evacuated Judea and Samaria or if their government commanded the magic resources to restructure the Middle East. Today, however, these Israelis are aware that the necessary conditions for such a resolution of the Arab-Israeli problem do not obtain and that they are unlikely to obtain in any foreseeable future. These Israelis, who are no less patriotic than Gush Emunim, are simply capable of reading the political map of our time. While the political perceptions and interpretations of those in the non-Gush mainstream may vary, in the final analysis they are unlikely to engage in irresponsible acts or blindly challenge current political reality.

The danger of the fundamentalist mind is its conviction that reality is bound to follow ideology and not vice versa. Facts can simply be disregarded: the Palestinians do not exist, the Arab



countries do not count, world public opinion is rubbish, and the U.S. government is merely a nuisance. The only reality that counts is Jewish redemption, which is imminent -- to be realized by massive aliyah, negation of the Diaspora, and the building of the Third Temple. Throughout Jewish history there have been "true believers" like the Gush Emunim who were equally convinced that the Messiah was at the door. Fortunately these messianic believers were in most cases few and isolated. Their messianic vision was not translated into operative political programs. This is not the case with Gush Emunim. Since the movement is so attractive and effective in present-day Israel, it is bound to have a significant impact on the country's future.

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## NOTES

### A New Political Force

1. Cf. Menachem Friedman, "Radical Religious Groups in Israel: Conservatism and Innovation," paper presented at the Colloquium on Religious Radicalism and Politics in the Middle East, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 13-15 May 1985.

### The Emergence of Gush Emunim

1. Cf. "Gush Emunim: The First Decade," Nekuda, no. 69 (2 February 1984): 5-7.
2. Cf. Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleiumim, no. 17 (Spring 1981).
3. Ibid., p. 24.
4. Ha'aretz, 11 October 1974.
5. Ha'aretz, 31 March 1976.
6. Danny Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side: Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1982), pp. 58-59.
7. Cf. Yehuda Litani in Ha'aretz, 5 December 1975.
8. Cf. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 25.
9. See Haim Gouri, "A Letter to Emunim's People" (Hebrew), in Yediot Achronot, 7 May 1976.
10. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 26.



11. Ibid.
12. Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side, p. 167.
13. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 27.
14. Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side, pp. 152-153.
15. Ibid., pp. 170-172.
16. Gideon Aran, "The Movement to Stop the Retreat from Sinai: Lessons and Meaning" (Hebrew), unpublished paper, Jerusalem, 1985.
17. N. Hofman, "Yamit and Its Evacuation: How Was Bloodshed Prevented?" (Hebrew), unpublished paper, Jerusalem, 1984.
18. Ha'araetz, 4 June 1980.
19. Ha'aretz, 4 April 1985.
20. Ha'aretz, 4 June 1984.
21. On Sharon's settlement plan, see Zvi Raanan, Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim, 1980), pp. 146-147.

#### The Fundamentalist Ideology of Gush Emunim

1. Zvi Raanan, Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim, 1980).
2. Uriel Tal, "The Foundations of Political Messianism in Israel" (Hebrew), Ha'aretz, 26 September 1984.
3. Cf. Zvi Yaron, The Teaching of Rav Kook (Hebrew), 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Jewish Agency, 1979), pp. 270-273.
4. Raanan, Gush Emunim, pp. 64-67.
5. This judgment is based on frequent encounters with members of Gush Emunim.
6. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
7. See, for example, Yehuda Shaviv, ed., Eretz Nahala: Our Right to the Land of Israel (Hebrew), 2d ed. (Jerusalem: World Center of Mizrahi, 1976).
8. Interview with Rabbi Ariel, 31 January 1985.

9. I have not observed a general "imperialist" tendency at the present time. Most Gush leaders seem content with what was achieved in the Six Day War.
10. Cited in Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
11. Cf. Gideon Aran, "The Movement to Stop the Retreat from Sinai: Lessons and Meaning" (Hebrew), unpublished paper, Jerusalem, 1985.
12. Cf. Hanan Porat in Nekuda, no. 50 (12 November 1982): 6-7.
13. Cited in Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 17 (Spring 1981): 31.
14. Cf. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
15. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 32.
16. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
17. Ibid.
18. Shlomo Aviner, "Messianic Realism" (Hebrew), Morasha, no. 9 (Winter 1975): 61-77.
19. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
20. Based on an interview with Gush Emunim's secretary-general, Mrs. Daniela Weiss, 4 March 1985.
21. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," pp. 32-33.
22. For a general account of the Israeli tradition of illegalism into which Gush Emunim fits, see Ehud Sprinzak, "Illegalism in Israeli Political Culture," in A Study Day 1980 (Hebrew), Magnes publication no. 6 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1981).
23. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 33
24. Ibid., p. 34.
25. Cf. Yoel Ben Nun in Nekuda, no. 72 (9 September 1984).

#### The Cultural and Social Origins of Gush Emunim

1. Cf. Danny Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side: Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1982), pp. 12-17; Zvi Raanan, Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat



- Poalim, 1980), pp. 39-49; Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 17 (Spring 1981): 36-39.
2. Kook's sermon is quoted in Nekuda, no. 86 (26 April 1985): 6-7.
  3. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 36.
  4. Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side, pp. 79-80.
  5. Cf. Giora Goldberg and Ephraim Ben Zadok, "Regionalism and Territorial Cleavage in Formation: Jewish Settlement in the Administered Territories" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 21 (Spring 1983): 84-90.
  6. Myron M. Aronoff, "The Institutionalization and Cooptation of a Charismatic Messianic Religious Political Revitalization Movement," in David Newman, ed., The Impact of Gush Emunim (London: Croom, Helm, 1985), pp. 54-58.

#### The Invisible Kingdom of Gush Emunim

1. Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 17 (Spring 1981): 41.
2. Meron Benvenisti, The West Bank Data Project (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1984).
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39.
4. Cf. Danny Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side: Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1982), pp. 147-152.
5. Benvenisti, West Bank Data Project, pp. 39-49.
6. Danny Rubinstein, "Settlers: Underground a State in Creation" (Hebrew), Davar, 2 February 1985.
7. Cf. interview with Dr. Joseph Dreizin in Nekuda, no. 84 (1 March 1984): 6-7.
8. Rubinstein, "Settlers."
9. Benvenisti, West Bank Data Project, p. 41.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

12. The man was Capt. Yeshua Ben Shoshan, former regional defense officer of Mateh Binyamin; cf. Ha'aretz, 18 January 1985.
13. Cited by Yehuda Litani, "Double-edged Sword" (Hebrew), Ha'aretz, 21 February 1985.

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NOTES FOR LEO NEVAS  
BOARD OF GOVERNORS

November 7, 1985

- \* The international work of the AJC has always been a mainstay of the raison d'etre for our agency. From its founding in 1906 in response to the pogroms in Kishinev and elsewhere in Russia and Eastern Europe, AJC has been a major and respected force on the international scene. Indeed, it is not by accident that the International Relations Department has over the years been referred to as the "American Jewish State Department." It is in this tradition that the Department continues its work.
- \* The work of the Department essentially falls into four principal areas of concern:
- 1) Israel and all the attendant concerns, both internal and external;
  - 2) Protection of endangered/threatened Jewish communities;
  - 3) Enhancement of the quality of Jewish life in Jewish communities, and particularly smaller ones, around the world;
  - 4) Promotion of international human rights standards and compliance, including religious tolerance, the right to leave, respect for civil and political rights, and pluralism;

- \* The methods used to pursue these goals are several: a) background studies and analyses, b) close contact with individual Jewish communities, c) fact-finding visits, d) frequent communication with U.S. government officials, e) contact with foreign government officials, including diplomats stationed in the U.S., f) sponsorship of symposia, colloquia, and conferences both in the U.S. and overseas, g) press conferences, public statements and press backgrounders, as well as other means of public education and interpretation.

This multi-pronged approach does, in our view, permit a long-term and comprehensive approach to complex international issues, an approach that does, it has been said, set us apart from many other Jewish agencies engaged in international work.

- \* A quick look at some of our recent activities suggests how we are pursuing our four-fold strategy as enumerated above:

Israel: As our first priority, it can be said that virtually every activity of the IRD bears directly or indirectly on our concern for Israel. Each trip, each meeting with a foreign minister or ambassador involves discussion of one or more aspects of Israel-related issues: its safety and security; international terrorism; Zionism is Racism; economic boycott; diplomatic recognition; strengthening of bilateral relationships; etc.



- With Hungary, Spain and the Vatican we have pressed for the establishment of diplomatic relations;
- With Italy, in the wake of the Achille Lauro affaire, we have called on the Italian Government to re-examine its position on the PLO;
- With Argentina, we have sought to reverse its disturbing votes at the U.N. Human Rights Commission on Israel-related issues;
- With the West German, French, Mexican and other governments, we have talked about the Nairobi Conference and the Zionism is Racism issue;
- With the Panamanian, Costa Rican and Venezuelan ambassadors, we have spoken about Israel's position at the U.N. and anti-Israel, anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic rhetoric;

In addition, of course, there is the ongoing work of the Israel Office and the Middle East Division of IRD which focus both on such internal questions as inter-group relations and on such external matters as Arab-Israeli relations and, working together with the Washington Office, the stance of the U.S. Administration and Congress.

\* Endangered Jewish communities: Nearly 80 years after our founding, our first priority remains the two million or more Jews in the Soviet Union. Our concerns about emigration, religious and cultural rights, anti-Semitism and repression are voiced at virtually every meeting we have, most recently with the French and West German foreign ministers; the Dutch, Costa Rican, Italian and Venezuelan ambassadors; the Argentine, Brazilian and Uruguayan governments; and the U.S. Administration. We have travelled to Washington as often as bi-monthly to talk with U.S. officials about the Soviet Jewry issue, most recently with Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Rozane Ridgway and before that with her predecessor Richard Burt; with Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Mark Palmer; with the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce; with Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania and Congressman Stephen Solarz of New York; and with countless others.

At the same time, our Department has been quietly but centrally involved in behalf of the seven kidnapped Lebanese Jews who disappeared last spring, with the frightened Tunisian Jewish community in the wake of the recent killing of four Jews at a synagogue on the island of Djerba, and, as has been the case for years, with the isolated Syrian Jewish community. Both our Middle East Division and the Paris Office have maintained very close contact with the communities and their relatives abroad and with



both the U.S. and foreign governments, including several Arab embassies in Washington.

Also illustrative of our concern for Jews in potential danger was the recent mission to South Africa. Of course, one impetus for the trip came from our larger concern about the disturbing developments engulfing the country and casting doubts about its future, but an underlying concern, and one that helps explain the timing of the trip, was a strong desire to stand with the 120,000-member South African Jewish community in its moments of uncertainty, and to convey, privately and with no desire to sow the seeds of panic, our willingness to be of any assistance necessary should the need arise. To say the least, this expression on our part was met with enormous gratitude and appreciation by every Jewish representative with whom we met.

\* Enhancement of Jewish life - Much of the work of our Central and South American and European Offices is devoted to assisting in the development of Jewish life in countries which need and welcome our assistance. Jacob Kovadloff's work with Cuba, for example, has made a significant difference in providing the Jewish community with the wherewithal to remain Jews and to educate future generations. The same may be said for the work of the Mexican and Central American Office as you will no doubt hear from the guests

from several Central American countries who will be joining us over the next three days of the NEC.

And in this category should also be cited the major conferences on Catholic-Jewish relations recently held in Costa Rica, Venezuela and Brazil, with AJC sponsorship together with the local Jewish communities and the principal Catholic bodies. For small and often inadequately prepared, sometimes insecure, Jewish communities living as tiny minorities in overwhelmingly Catholic countries, such programming has inevitably led to the fostering of improved Catholic-Jewish ties and, as a consequence, to an amelioration in the position of the Jewish community. At the same time, and reflecting the frequent overlapping of goals, such programming in Brazil, for example, which is the largest Catholic country in the world and has probably the second largest number of staff in the Vatican secretariat of any national grouping, is essential to developing positive attitudes towards Israel in the Catholic Church (the Brazilian Catholic bishops being among the most supportive).

- \* Finally, and it is known so well to all of you, the pioneering work of AJC, and especially of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, has had an impact well beyond its size in such fields as human rights education, religious tolerance and the right to leave. Through its publications and projects it has made a significant contribution to each of these, and to other, fields. This week, at Temple University, Richard Maass and Sidney



Liskofsky have been attending a major international conference on religious tolerance of which the Blaustein Institute is one of two co-sponsors. And in July, Sidney and Sergio Nudelsteger travelled to San Juan, Costa Rica for a pioneering Latin American conference on human rights education that drew senior government officials from more than a dozen countries. The conference, held at the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights, was sponsored by the Blaustein Institute.

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DRAFT

STATEMENT ON ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Recent actions taken by the United States Government have reinforced America's unshakeable commitment to the State of Israel. In a major address to the United Nations General Assembly commemorating the 40th anniversary of its founding, President Reagan referred to "the total inversion of morality in the infamous Zionism-is-racist resolution" -- which was adopted exactly ten years ago -- as one of the UN's most serious failures. The threat of a U.S. boycott of the UN was instrumental in blocking an Arab-sponsored effort to revoke Israel's credentials in the world body, and in convincing the General Assembly to deny an invitation to terrorist leader Yasir Arafat to address its 40th anniversary session. The American delegation to the Nairobi conference marking the end of the UN's Decade for Women succeeded in preventing a reference to Zionism in the final 'forward-looking strategies' document which would have characterized it as a form of racism.

The United States Government's steadfast adherence to the principle that only direct negotiations between Israel and the neighboring Arab states will bring a just and lasting peace has been effective in moving the Arab states closer to the negotiating table, where Israel eagerly awaits their arrival. The Administration's strategy of encouraging the leaders of both Israel and Jordan to seek an acceptable forum for negotiations, while pressuring neither to make prior concessions, has helped the parties to approach an agreement on their own. Furthermore,



the Administration's agreement, under strong Congressional pressure, to postpone the sale of sophisticated weapons to Jordan until March 1, 1986 has served as a clear message to King Hussein that he must enter direct negotiations with Israel before being eligible to receive additional potentially offensive military hardware from the U.S.

We welcome the most recent exchange of conciliatory statements between Jerusalem and Amman. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres has reiterated Israel's offer to meet directly with King Hussein at any place agreeable to the King. Mr. Peres has also agreed in principle to King Hussein's request that there be an international forum for negotiations, provided that direct negotiations with Jordan take place within that forum, and that the Soviet Union re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel as evidence that it is finally prepared to play a constructive role in facilitating the peace process. Mr. Peres has also invited the participation of peacefully-intentioned Palestinians in the talks that will determine their future.

We applaud the overwhelming vote of support for Prime Minister Peres's initiative in the Knesset. It is but the most recent expression of Israel's long-standing commitment to seek peace through negotiations.

King Hussein of Jordan has also acknowledged the "positive spirit" of Peres's UN address, and is reportedly pressing the PLO to abandon its rejectionism and terror tactics, if it is to become an acceptable nego-

tiating partner. We call upon the King to display the courage to finally divorce himself from Yasir Arafat and his terrorist organization, in view of the PLO's continuing refusal to renounce "armed struggle" against Israel.

An American-Israeli consensus has emerged on the need to take vigorous measures in the war against international terrorism, as was most recently demonstrated by the American interception of the Egyptian airliner carrying the pirates of the Achille Lauro and their PLO-affiliated commander. American and Israeli perseverance in the face of terrorism serves to teach those with grievances that they can only hope to redress them by peaceful means, and not by acts of terror. We call upon the other nations of the free world to work with the United States in developing a coordinated strategy to combat international terrorism.

We are distressed by the increased incidence of terrorism within Israel and against Israelis and Jews abroad. We are also distressed by those who seek to exploit the fear of terrorism in order to arouse anti-Arab sentiment in Israel and in the United States. We deplore the vicious anti-Arab campaign conducted by Meir Kahane in Israel, as well as the murder of an Arab American, Alex Odeh, in Santa Ana, California.

In addition to the Kahane phenomenon, we are troubled by other signs of polarization within Israeli society along ethnic and religious lines. The American Jewish Committee, which is committed to promoting the values of pluralism and democracy, pledges to redouble our efforts,



together with appropriate partners in Israel, to foster a climate of tolerance and mutual respect among the diverse groups that comprise Israel's society, so that it will truly fulfill its founders' dreams of establishing a nation that will be a creative synthesis of the ancient Prophetic ideals with modern democratic values.

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# REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

## SYRIA -- THE BIG QUESTION MARK IN THE MIDDLE EAST

What is Syria up to in the Middle East? Does it plan a partial or total war, or does it plan to achieve its goals through joining the present political process? What is the meaning of the latest talks between Syria and Jordan? How true are the rumors of the possibility of a reconciliation between Syria and Iraq and about the growing difficulties between Syria and Iran?

Will Syria be able to overcome the insurmountable difficulties in Lebanon and bring about a situation where it will control the various factions and stabilize the situation in Lebanon?

How will this possible political development affect Syria's policy vis a vis Israel? What does Syria's policy of reaching a strategic balance with Israel mean? Is it attainable? If indeed, it will be achieved, to what extent will it constitute a real threat to Israel? Will it enable Syria to start a limited or an extended war with Israel? To what extent will the gradual reconciliation between Syria and Jordan, and possibly between Syria and Iraq, stabilizing the situation in Lebanon, and reducing the political status of the PLO, constitute a danger of renewing "the Eastern Front" which will increase the threat against Israel?

### **Can There be Peace Without Syria?**

Is the assumption that there can be no peace in the Middle East without Syria true in a parallel manner that it is assumed that there can be no total war against Israel without Egypt?

Syria has proven that there can be no agreement in Lebanon without its consent: it forced Lebanon to abrogate the agreement reached in May 1983 between Israel and Lebanon under the auspices of the United States. Syria reminds King Hussein of this example, thus telling him that he cannot reach an agreement with Israel without Syria's consent.

### **Jordan-Syria Rapprochement**

King Hussein remembers all too well that Syria attacked him in September 1970 and threatened to do so in June 1980. He is afraid that Syria might attack again. Therefore, he is making every effort to reach some understanding with Syria even if it is only on the tactical level and even though he realizes that their basic goals are contradictory: King Hussein has an interest in reaching an agreement with Israel while Syria totally objects. Syria is against a peace treaty with Israel even if all the territories taken by Israel in 1967 will be returned to Arab hands. In this case, Syria may agree to a pact of non-belligerency and no more.



At this stage Syria decided to try to block King Hussein from entering a political process with Israel by moving closer to King Hussein. It has agreed to the convening of two meetings between the Prime Ministers of Syria and Jordan, which took place in Jeddah on September 16-19, and in Riyadh on October 20-21. (The meetings took place under Saudi Arabian auspices because Syria's policy constitutes a potential danger and a threat to the Saudi regime.)

As a result of these meetings Syria succeeded in convincing Jordan to accept some of its positions: 1. Ruling out any partial or separate agreements with Israel, which means that there will be no negotiations on Samaria, Judea and the Gaza Strip without parallel negotiations regarding the Golan Heights. 2. An International Conference under U.N. auspices: King Hussein wants the participation of all five permanent members of the Security Council. Syria wants the participation of only the United States and the Soviet Union.

Syria is now doing all that it can to convince King Hussein to abandon his agreement with Yasir Arafat of February 11, 1985. President Assad of Syria virulently hates Arafat, mainly because he dragged him into a war against Israel in Lebanon at a time when Syria was not ready for it. Syria established a parallel Palestinian organization of its own headed by a PLO rebel, Abu Musa, in order to eliminate Arafat politically, but with no success thus far. Arafat's agreement with Hussein strengthened the King and served as an indication that it may be possible to reach a separate agreement with Israel without dealing with the issue of the Golan Heights. By moving closer to Jordan, Syria hopes to move Jordan away from Egypt and to prevent Hussein from following Sadat's example of a bilateral separate treaty with Israel. A summit conference between Assad and Hussein is a distinct possibility in the near future.

#### **The danger of Renewing the Eastern Front**

The reconciliation between Syria and Jordan serves Syria's interest in extricating itself from its isolation in the Arab world. It may make it easier for Syria to consider military actions against Israel once it thinks it has reached a strategic balance with Israel. Syria may hope that under certain circumstances it can convince Jordan to join such military action as it has done in the past (in the Six-Day War of 1967 and to a more limited extent in the Yom Kippur war of 1973). If there will be a tactical reconciliation between Iraq and Syria in addition to the one between Syria and Jordan, the danger of the de facto re-establishment of the Eastern Front will increase. This development can constitute a real danger to Israel, even if Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia will not have full military coordination the way they had when they established the Eastern Front in the early 1970's.

#### **Strategic Balance With Israel**

In the past several years, especially since the Lebanese war of 1982, Syria's goal has been to reach a strategic balance with Israel. This



should enable her to act militarily alone against Israel. As a result of the Lebanese war, Syria reached the conclusion that the Israeli armor divisions did not perform their expected best, and therefore do not constitute a threat to Damascus to the extent that Syria feared for many years. Syria realizes that its air force is still far inferior to Israel's. It has decided to meet this challenge by acquiring very sophisticated SA5 anti-aircraft missiles, SS21 surface-to-surface missiles aimed against armor, infantry and civilian populations. Syria has also developed a sophisticated air force with 500 combat aircraft (in comparison to 680 combat aircraft in the Israel Air Force (I.A.F.)), a huge armor corps of 4,200 tanks, which includes 1,100 T72 tanks (in comparison to 3,200 tanks in the Israel Defense Forces (I.D.F.)). Syria has a standing army of 402,500 soldiers and 272,500 reservists (in comparison to 142,000 soldiers in the I.D.F. and 370,000 reservists).

If one adds to this force the potential of the Jordanian tank corps (795 tanks), the new F-16 or F-20 planes Jordan hopes to acquire from the United States, the Iraqi corps (2,900 tanks) and the Iraqi air force (500 combat aircraft), and the air force and tanks of Saudi Arabia, Libya, Algeria and contingents from the rests of the Arab world, one understands the magnitude of the formidable potential threat to Israel.\* Under certain circumstances, especially assuming the Iraq-Iran war comes to an end, Syria may be able to mobilize all of this potential against Israel. This is why Syria is cautiously biding its time and does not want to be dragged into a premature war against Israel.

#### "Closing the Lebanese File"

Syria is now engaged in an all out effort to end the civil war in Lebanon, thus "closing the Lebanese file" so that it can be free to deal with Israel and to prevent Jordan from entering separate negotiations with Israel. Syria sent its troops to end the fighting in Tripoli and it is now in the process of imposing a security pact in Beirut. It forced the leaders of the Shiite, Sunni and Druze militias to sign an agreement ending their rivalries. This agreement should be officially concluded in mid-November in the "National Conciliation Conference".

Assad faces severe internal problems. The civil war in Lebanon compounds these problems since it affects the various communal and religious factions in Syria, encouraging them to conduct subversive activities. This is another reason why it is so important for Syria to end the civil war in Lebanon. President Assad is a sick man facing a big power struggle among his potential heirs. He wants to close the Lebanese file so that he can concentrate on his internal problems and also deal with Israel from a position of strength.

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\* This information is taken from the 1985 report of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.



## Syria and the United States

Syria wants to prove to the United States that no political process in the Middle East is possible without it, and, therefore, the United States is better off abandoning its efforts to reach an agreement without Syria and the Soviet Union. If Syria achieves this goal, it will put it in a very strong position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union which will feel indebted to Syria. Syria has already proved to the United States that it could destroy the 1983 agreement between Lebanon and Israel reached under U.S. auspices. Syria brought about the release of the TWA hijacked passengers because of its good relations with Iran, and the United States was forced to thank Syria. Syria has been negotiating the release of the six Americans kidnapped in Beirut, but it is in not hurry to conclude a deal. Secular Syria has problems with the pro-Iranian Shiite fundamentalist faction that has kidnapped the Americans. It is also afraid that once the six are released, the United States will feel free to take military action against terrorism. At the same time Syria has supported terrorist activities by the group of Abu Nidal, pro-Syrian Palestinian organizations such as As-Saika, the PFLP-General Command of Ahmed Jibril and the PLO rebels headed by Abu Musa.

### Conclusion

Syria holds some very important cards in its hands which can damage the whole peace process. It constitutes a threat to Jordan and creates a serious security problem for Israel. It has the basic support of the Soviet Union and is considered an important factor in the Middle East by the United States. It proved that there is no solution in Lebanon without it. Will it prove now that an agreement between Israel and Jordan is impossible without its own involvement? Will Syria dare to take military action against Jordan or Israel in order to prevent the present peace process, or will it virtually impose an international conference where the Soviet Union will play a major role, hoping to impose a solution upon Israel? Will Syria succeed in preventing direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel, or a separate or partial interim agreement on the West Bank between the two, and then impose Palestinian representation which will be neither the PLO, headed by Arafat, whom Syria hates, nor non-PLO representatives acceptable to Israel?

These are questions which Israel, the United States and Jordan must first answer, and then take appropriate measures to meet the Syrian challenge if they wish the present peace process to continue successfully.

\* \* \* \*

Edited by George E. Gruen  
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## MIDDLE EAST ISSUES OF AJC CONCERN

### U.S.-Israeli Relations and the Peace Process

Recent months have witnessed increasingly close cooperation between the two countries in strategic planning, intelligence, and other defense related areas, the beginnings of unprecedented economic ties through the new Free Trade Area Agreement, and supportive measures by the U.S. to help Israel revitalize its economy, including the provision of all new aid in the form of grants rather than loans. Moreover, both the Reagan Administration and the Government of Prime Minister Shimon Peres are actively seeking ways to encourage King Hussein of Jordan to enter into direct negotiations with Israel.

Nevertheless, serious differences have developed between Washington and Jerusalem -- as well as within the respective governments -- as to the appropriate tactics to achieve this result. Among these issues are:

1. Supply of advanced aircraft and other arms to Jordan. The Reagan Administration contends that Hussein needs these weapons to demonstrate that he has credible U.S. backing to defend himself against Syria, which opposes the peace process. Israel, the majority of Congress and groups such as AJC contend that the U.S. has other ways to demonstrate its commitment to Hussein and that arms shipment should be deferred until after Hussein has ended the state of belligerency with Israel and actually begins direct negotiations.

2. The steps leading to negotiation and the role of the PLO. While Hussein says that he hopes for the start of negotiations "before the end of the year," he insists that he needs the backing of Palestinians -- specifically Arafat's wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization -- before he can proceed, as well as the "cover" of an international conference with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and the PLO to neutralize Syrian and Soviet opposition. Hussein contends that his February 11 agreement with Arafat already represents PLO acceptance of the principle of negotiations with Israel and linkage of any Palestinian entity to Jordan, which would be in accordance with the Reagan initiative of September 1982. Israeli and American critics point out that the PLO has failed to say so explicitly and has not renounced its goal of an independent Palestinian state. Moreover, the increasing incidence and escalation of Palestinian terrorist attacks, including some sponsored by Arafat's own al-Fatah, raise serious doubts as to Arafat's readiness for peace.



Both the United States and Israel oppose a broad international conference that would bring in the Soviet Union -- which still has not restored the diplomatic relations with Israel which it broke off in 1967 -- and other potentially disruptive forces. However, there is disagreement between them over other preliminary steps proposed by Hussein. The King's scenario is as follows: (1) preliminary discussions between the United States and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation; (2) PLO acceptance of UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which outline the basis for Arab-Israel peace; (3) American recognition of the PLO; (4) an international peace conference involving the five permanent Security Council members (U.S., USSR, China, France, Great Britain), the Arab states, the PLO and Israel.

King Hussein's path toward direct negotiations with Israel is a long and convoluted one that contains many junctures at which the entire process is subject to failure. Indeed, the Israel Government opposes the entire concept of preliminary U.S.-Palestinian discussions from which Israel is excluded. It also opposes participation of identifiable members of the PLO, although Peres and Foreign Minister Shamir disagree on what other Palestinians might be acceptable. Some State Department officials would be even more flexible in their interpretation, accepting individual Palestine National Council members, who while nominally connected to the PLO are not involved in terrorist acts and profess a desire for peace with Israel.

3. The U.S. and Israel also disagree over the wisdom of supplying additional arms to Saudi Arabia. The United States contends that the Saudis need the weapons for their own defense and to help counter potential threats to the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula. Moreover, Washington regards the Saudis as an element for peace and stability. Israel and its supporters in Congress point out, however, that far from being a force for peace, the Saudis have been paying for the Soviet weapons purchased by Syria and the PLO. Moreover, they note that Saudi Arabia denied defense facilities to the U.S. and has tried to discourage other Arab states from entering into close cooperation with the U.S. in the defense of the Gulf. In the absence of peace, provision of additional arms to nearby Arab states such as Saudi Arabia will require Israel to expend additional scarce resources to maintain the military balance. The recent \$4 billion British arms sale to Saudi Arabia compounds the problem, since the British and French place less constraints on their sales than does the U.S.

4. Response to terrorism. While both the U.S. and Israel are committed to fighting international terrorism, the Administration, responding to State Department fears of an anti-American backlash in the Arab world, refused to veto a UN Security Council resolution condemning the Israeli air strike on PLO headquarters in Tunisia, even though President Reagan had earlier termed the Israeli action an understandable "expression of self defense" and a "legitimate response to terrorist attacks." Israel had hoped that the U.S. would veto the UN

condemnation, especially since Secretary of State Shultz in a major address last year called for a more active policy to counteract terrorism, including pre-emptive and retaliatory action even if civilians might be killed in the process. Moreover, Israel Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin insists that the only Tunisians killed in the raid were persons working for the PLO. The U.S. use of military aircraft to capture the pirates who had killed an American on the Achille Lauro may hopefully signal a greater convergence of U.S. and Israeli views on combatting terrorism.

### Israeli Domestic Issues

Although the Israeli economy is showing signs of improvement -- including a decline in its rate of inflation and in the trade deficit -- these have come at the expense of a drastic austerity program which has resulted in increased unemployment, which has exacerbated existing social tensions, especially between Israel's Ashkenazim and the Oriental communities. Most of these Middle Eastern Jews are on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder and are concentrated in the development towns, which have been especially hard hit by dismissal of employees and closing down of factories.

We are also concerned over recent manifestations of intolerance and anti-democratic tendencies. The polarization of Israelis into militant Orthodox versus secularists has been aggravated in recent months by such issues as the efforts to incorporate Orthodox demands into the Law of Return, the controversy over the Jewish identity of recent Ethiopian immigrants, and the opposition to construction of a Mormon educational center in Jerusalem. In addition, the recent escalation of Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israelis within Israel's pre-1967 borders, as well as in the territories under Israeli military administration, has added to Israelis' mistrust of the Arabs in their midst, and has added fuel to the growing strength of Meir Kahane's racist and anti-democratic campaign against the Arabs.

### The Position of Jews in Arab and Islamic Countries

AJC has been engaged in intensive efforts to safeguard the rights of Jews in Arab and Islamic countries who continue to face hardships ranging from restrictions on their freedom to emigrate (in Iran, Syria, and Yemen) to threats to their physical safety, such as recent kidnappings in Lebanon and a recent violent attack in Tunisia.

### Questions for Discussion

1. Under what circumstances should the American Jewish Committee modify its current position of opposing arms sales to Jordan?



2. What can the AJC do to help the U.S. Government increase public understanding of the need to counteract terrorism?
3. What additional programmatic steps should be taken to combat the growth of Kahaneism and other anti-democratic tendencies in Israel? On the positive side, what should the AJC do to promote democratic and pluralistic values which will foster a climate of tolerance and respect for diversity in Israel?
4. What can AJC membership do to strengthen the efforts to publicize the plight of Jews under Arab and Islamic rule and in appealing to Arab and Islamic governments to ease the conditions of its Jews and permit them to emigrate?

George E. Gruen & Harry Milkman,  
Israel & Middle East Affairs Division,  
International Relations Department

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October 18, 1985  
85-580-34



A G E N D A  
STEERING COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
Thursday, November 7, 10:30 a.m.  
Miami, Florida  
Leo Nevas, Chairman, Presiding

1. Leadership Mission to South Africa (October 9-18): Programmatic Implications
2. Israel and the Middle East: The Current State of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process
3. Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev Meeting
4. International Catholic-Jewish Dialogue: Report on AJC-Sponsored Conferences in Venezuela (October 2-4) and Brazil (November 2-5) and Meetings in the Vatican (October 28-29)
5. The Mexican Jewish Community after the Earthquake
6. Steering Committee: Plans for the 1985-86 Program Year



October 27, 1985

VATICAN-JEWISH MEETING IN ROME  
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY  
RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

- - - - -

October 28, 1965. That day is recorded in history as the beginning of the turning point in the 2,000 year history of the Catholic Church and the Jewish people. For on that day, some 2,200 Cardinals and Bishops from throughout the world adopted by an almost unanimous vote Nostre Aetate, the Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions.

That far-reaching declaration decisively repudiated anti-Semitism both past and present, affirmed the common spiritual bonds that link Christianity to Judaism, and called for mutual respect and fraternal dialogue between Catholics and Jews across the globe.

Tomorrow, some 60 Catholic and Jewish leaders will meet in Vatican City to mark the 20th anniversary of the adoption of that historic declaration and to evaluate its impact.

I will have the privilege of presenting a survey of the growth in understanding in Catholic-Jewish relations in North America during the past two decades, as well as to examine outstanding problems.

This past June, the Vatican Secretariat issued a set of Notes that resulted in some misunderstanding. While the Vatican Notes prepared for Catholic educators contained many positive elements, Jewish leaders believed it was deficient in some theological areas, as well as in its treatment of the Nazi holocaust and the State of Israel.

The important achievement is that we can discuss those differences in a positive atmosphere of mutual respect and in Vatican City itself.

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\*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.

# **MEDIA MYTHS:**

**Fallacies About Israel's  
Ties with South Africa**

**A Special Report  
of the International  
Relations Department**

**By Allan L. Kagedan**  
Policy Analyst, Division of  
International Organizations





**MEDIA MYTHS:  
FALLACIES ABOUT ISRAEL'S TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA**

By Allan L. Kagedan\*

Currently, the world public is focusing its attention on South Africa, whose cruel and unjust apartheid system provokes international condemnation. In response to public pressure, Western governments have begun to impose sanctions on Pretoria, raising the question of what relations countries should entertain with it.

In the public debate over policy toward South Africa some, in the U.S. and elsewhere, have argued that nations should sever all ties with it until apartheid is eliminated; others contend that the cause of abolishing apartheid and upholding Western security is best served by continued Western ties with Pretoria. Whatever position one takes, many of the world's nations, including Black African states, do conduct public or private economic, diplomatic, political or military relations with the South African government.

A number of opinion writers in American newspapers and magazines have begun to single out Israel for special condemnation for its relationship with South Africa, alleging, indeed that "an alliance" exists between the two countries. For example, some recent articles, appearing in The Christian Science Monitor (September 25, 1985), the Chicago Sun Times (September 11, 1985), The Nation (August 17/25, 1985), and the Pittsburgh Courier (March 9, 1985), assert that Israel and South Africa are linked closely through trade and military sales and that the two societies are alike.<sup>1</sup> In addition, studies published by the UN, pro-PLO organizations or independently, go further to claim, astonishingly, that the two countries are plotting against Africa, that South African Jews are "agents" of the "alliance" between them, and that the two societies share similar historical roots.

An analysis of the origins and the substance of the allegation that Israel is an ally of South Africa reveals that this notion is itself a product of an alliance of anti-Israeli propagandists. This canard is filtering through into the American media, adopted by writers who and are unable to demonstrate its credibility and presumably are unaware of its provenance.

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### Trade and Military Relations

Peter Allen Frost, writing in The Christian Science Monitor claims that "Pretoria and Jerusalem have formed an alliance of pragmatism...they have moved into a close, almost symbiotic relationship" in part because of their "brisk trade."

What is the nature of Israel trade relations with South Africa? Israel trades less with South Africa in absolute terms than do Western nations, the Communist bloc, and even black African states. In fact, in 1983, the U.S. exported 32 times as many products, West Germany 30 times as many, and African states four times as many. Furthermore, in 1983, South Africa exported 796 million dollars of goods to African states and only 142 million to Israel.<sup>2</sup>

Reluctant to admit the relative insignificance of trade between Israel and South Africa, Alexander Cockburn alleges that South African diamonds are processed in Israel, at great profit. Even he concedes, however, that these diamonds are bought and sold at international diamond exchanges. There is no way countries -- if they are not totalitarian -- can control the sale and purchase of diamonds through third parties. Besides, the Soviet Union and black African countries are also diamond sellers, and the origin of a particular diamond is difficult to ascertain.

Not only is Mr. Cockburn's article inaccurate, it is incomplete. He does not, for instance, mention that Arab oil-producing states provide South Africa with about 76% of its oil-earning billions of dollars and fulfilling a key South African economic and military need.<sup>3</sup> Cockburn also neglects to mention that in 1982 Israel's exports to black Africa exceeded its exports to South Africa.<sup>4</sup>

The second pillar of the argument that Israel and South Africa are allied is the assertion, made by Alexander Cockburn, Peter Allen-Frost, Dr. Manning Marable and others, that the two countries have an "extensive" military relationship. The facts show otherwise. Israel has repeatedly asserted that it has adhered to the 1977 UN embargo on arms sales to South Africa.<sup>5</sup> A Congressional research study issued in 1984 was unable to verify any evidence to the contrary. Even if one accepted as true various reports of Israeli post-1977 military sales to Pretoria, these sales are minor in comparison with the sales of other countries. The congressional report mentions allegations that Israel provided South Africa with two remotely-piloted drone aircraft, a bomb-disposal device and some military training for South African-backed, black anti-Communist guerillas, led by Jonas Savimbi (UNITA).<sup>6</sup> It compares these alleged sales to known post-1977 sales by France: 360 air-to-surface missiles, 300 surface-to-air missiles, 10 mirage F-1A fighter aircraft, and 100 armoured cars; and by Italy: 36 training attached aircraft named Atlas Impala.<sup>7</sup>



The emphasis that Israel's critics place on foreign support for the South African armed forces obscures the fact that Pretoria is largely self-sufficient militarily. In response to the 1977 arms embargo, South Africa developed an indigenous arms industry, reducing the percentage of its defense budget devoted to arms purchases from 70 to 15 between 1966 and 1982.<sup>8</sup>

If reports of Israel's trade and military relations with South Africa are widely exaggerated, on what basis do American writers make them? The very fact that Israel is unfairly singled out for condemnation reveals a hidden agenda of some of these critics: tarnishing the image of the Jewish state. Proponents of the notion that Israel and South Africa are allied often prejudge the issue and then seek information to justify their biased view.

As the source of their information on Israel/South African ties, Alexander Cockburn and Dr. Manning Marable name Israeli Foreign Affairs, a misleadingly named news bulletin edited by a "Jewish progressive," Californian Jane Hunter. What sources does Jane Hunter use to make her allegations? The footnotes to an article on Israel and South Africa in the April 1985 issue of Israeli Foreign Affairs are revealing. TASS, the official Soviet news agency is mentioned, along with reports submitted to highly politicized, anti-Israel United Nations bodies, a French-language book published by an Canadian-Arab organization, and several English-language books by PLO supporters.<sup>9</sup>

In other words, Jane Hunter provides no independent or objective verification for her claims, which means, in turn, that Alexander Cockburn, Dr. Manning Marable and others, writing in the mainstream American press, also have no basis for their naming Israel an ally of South Africa. The Israel-South Africa alliance notion is, quite simply, a house of cards, constructed with falsehoods. Its purveyors, wittingly or unwittingly, are disseminating anti-Israel propaganda.

#### Contemporary Differences - External and Internal

Why, in the view of the proponents of the alliance notion, are Israel and South Africa "allies"? Their answer: the two countries are "similar." Similarity arguments may be divided into those focusing on external relations, and those emphasizing internal conditions.

Peter Allen-Frost claims that what unites Israel and South Africa is that they share a "siege mentality." This misleading notion is now almost a commonplace among some writers on the topic. In the first place, in its bilateral relations, Israel is not nearly as "besieged" as South Africa. Israel has excellent ties with the United States, Canada, and Western European countries, while South Africa is the target of sanctions by them. Recent media reports indicate that Israel's ties with black African states and with several East European countries,



including Poland, a Soviet bloc state, are improving. How is this in any way comparable to South Africa's world position?<sup>10</sup>

Still, critics argue, are not both countries similar in that they are surrounded by enemies overwhelming in number? Of course, both Israel and South Africa face problems with hostile neighbors, but this makes them no more similar than a murder victim and a suicide: both have died, but for rather different reasons. The question is, why do the two nations face opposition? The reasons are utterly distinct. Israel faces opposition in the Arab world because, with the exception of Egypt, no Arab state is willing publicly to recognize Israel's right to exist. This policy of non-recognition goes back to 1948, long before Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. In addition, the PLO's covenant clearly rejects Israel's very existence, and seeks its liquidation. The Arab-PLO program is not geared to altering internal Israeli ethnic relations or even limited to demanding Israeli withdrawal from the territories it occupied in its 1967 defensive war; its aim is to eliminate the expression of Jewish sovereignty in the Middle East. Arab unwillingness to recognize Israel's right to exist that must be overcome before productive peace talks can begin.

South Africa's neighbours oppose it because of its cruel and unjust internal policy of apartheid. They do not, themselves, have designs on South African territory, claiming it as their own.

Here one comes to the second type of argument alleging resemblance between the two states. "The greatest distinction between Israel and South Africa is that Zionism is legally non-discriminatory while apartheid is legally racist. And yet...in practice the results are comparable."<sup>11</sup> But again, contemporary conditions in Israel and South Africa do not compare. Israeli Arabs enjoy the right to vote -- one-person-one-vote -- freedom of movement, including the freedom to reside where they wish. Indeed Israeli Arabs possess key civil and political rights which black South Africans seek.

As for Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza, Israeli citizenship would necessitate formal Israeli annexation of the territories. South African blacks want full integration into their country; by contrast Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza strive for separation, and autonomy from Israel. The situations and goals of the two groups are fundamentally different. Recently, moreover, Israel welcomed thousands of black Jews from Ethiopian to its shores, removing any question, if ever there had been one, of its devotion to racial equality.

### Global Menace

Independent anti-Israel writers and persons working for the United Nations or Palestinian organizations build the alliance notion into an imaginary a global threat. In July, 1983, an International Conference



on the Alliance Between South Africa and Israel was held in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. The Conference Declaration, echoing a theme found in other UN documents, states that the Israel-South Africa "alliance" constitutes "a grave menace to peace and stability in Africa and the world, and a serious challenge to the United Nations." The "collaboration" between these two states, the Declaration continues, is directed against "the independent states of Africa and the Arab world."<sup>12</sup>

Elaborating on this far fetched theme, James Adams, a British journalist who covered the Arab world for many years, describes how, united, Israel and South Africa, will limit black Africa's "freedom to develop economically and to take independent political action." By gaining military self-sufficiency, he claims, these two nations in a "pincer movement", will secure a controlling influence over Africa.<sup>13</sup> To lend credence to this fantasy, the Soviet and Syrian media have levelled the absurd charge that Israel and South Africa are developing "racist" biological weapons capable of killing blacks and Arabs, and sparing whites.

#### South African Jews

Grasping for straws, anti-Israel publicists also point to the 119,000-member South African Jewish community to allege the existence of an Israel-South African "alliance." Polemicists term the South African Jews an "important link in ...[the] Zionist design" to create a Jewish state.

Omitting the fact that the South African Jewish community was formed only in the 20th century, long after the establishment of apartheid, and that many of its members actively oppose apartheid, writers try identify Jews as agents of Israel working with the South African government. They label normal contact between South Africa's Jews and Israel -- visits, charitable donations, cultural events -- as evidence of an Israeli-South Africa "axis." Charitable private donations to Israel are termed "a South African transfer of funds to Israel," as if this were a government to government project. Speaking engagements of Israeli representatives are described as "official" meetings between South African leaders and Israel. An Israeli comedian's arrival in South Africa is cited as evidence of extensive cultural exchange. A Jewish community's attachment to Israel is no proof that the state where they live is allied with Israel.<sup>14</sup>

#### Inventing History

The word "alliance" implies affinity and shared objectives. Anti-Israel publicists from the PLO, Arab and Soviet-bloc states, and their supporters, have sought to distort history and portray Israel's founders as "virulent" racists. The authors of one book claim that "the relationship between Israel and South Africa is something more than pragmatic... [it]

is ordinary and natural, for it flows from the nature of Zionism," which mandated European colonization of an undeveloped region.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Phillip Oke, a representative of the Christian Peace Conference, which has been identified as a Soviet front organization, told a UN body on November 5, 1984, that Israel, like South Africa, is a "racist settler state."<sup>16</sup>

No historical analogy may be drawn between the origins of Israel and the development of South Africa. Zionism's impetus was not colonization for profit or proselytism. It was a wish to overcome European hostility toward Jews and Jewish traditions. In Russia, for example, a Tsarist version of apartheid limited the movement of Jews to a borderland region, away from political and economic centers, and restricted Jews to certain occupations. Government-sanctioned attacks on Jewish communities in the form of pogroms led Jews to fear for their lives. Zionism's cultural program was not directed at "enlightening" other peoples: its focus was on the revival of Jewish culture. Quite simply, Zionism should be seen in the same context as the "self-determination" African movements of the 1950s and 1960s, and not as a variant of nineteenth-century European colonialism.

South African apartheid sprung from markedly different historical conditions. Its roots lie in the South African slave trade of the early 1700s, administered by the Dutch East India Company. In the 19th century the white South African Transvaal Republic's Constitution provided for "no equality in church or state for blacks." The Republic established separate areas for the two races, and required blacks visiting white areas to carry passes. Legally-mandated residential restrictions, and the pass requirement, provided a prototype for current South African policy regarding "homelands" and "pass laws." Nowhere in Zionist history can one find slavery, doctrinal statements favoring inequality, or discriminatory legal decrees. Indeed, Zionism's founding father, Theodore Herzl, pledged that after liberating the Jews, he would help to liberate African blacks, and Israel's Declaration of Independence, adopted on May 14, 1948, provides for "equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants, irrespective of religion, race or sex..."

### Propaganda Alliance

Who is behind the campaign to identify Israel and South Africa as allies? The "List of Participants"<sup>17</sup> in the United Nations Conference on the Alliance between South Africa and Israel, held in 1983, is revealing. The Soviet and Arab bloc governments attended; so did representatives of the UN Committee on the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. Non-governmental organization participants included the Arab League and the Arab Labour Organization, the PLO, and Soviet-front organizations such as the World Peace Council and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Working together, these states, UN agencies



and private organizations are able to pass resolutions condemning the "Israel-South Africa Alliance" and push them through the UN General Assembly and other UN bodies. Furthermore, they are able to use UN units, such as The Centre Against Apartheid, to prepare "studies" and hold meetings to legitimize this theme. Over time, this politically motivated falsehood finds its way into mainstream U.S. and other media.

The high priority that the Arab and Soviet blocs have assigned to this propaganda ploy is indicated by its constant repetition in statements made by their representatives at the 1985 UN General Assembly. A Soviet representative (October 15, 1985) called the equation of Zionism with racism an "historic" and her Czech colleague (October 11, 1985) compared Israel's policy toward the West Bank and Gaza with "South Africa's practices." The PLO spokesperson (October 16, 1985) identified Zionism with apartheid, and the Iraqi delegate (October 14, 1985) made the false claim that the Israeli and South African regimes "were the same, and based their policies on the 'inferiority' of groups of peoples." "Friends" from Viet Nam (October 11, 1985) and Zimbabwe (October 16, 1985) joined the anti-Israel chorus. Apparently, these representatives believe in the standard propaganda gambit of repeating a lie so often, that it begins to gain acceptability.<sup>18</sup>

What are the aims of anti-Israel propagators of the Israel-South African alliance notion? Notwithstanding overlap two objectives may be discerned. For their part, Arab bloc states hope to depict Israel as an illegitimate state, so that it will be ostracized like South Africa; also, they hope to generate support among black Africans for the Palestinian cause. The political motivation behind Arab and PLO "concern" about relations between Israel and South Africa becomes transparent in the Declaration of the UN Conference of the Alliance Between Israel and South Africa, paragraph 19, which reads: "The conference expresses the hope that no State would resume relations with Israel so long as it continues collaboration with South Africa..." The canard that Israel and South Africa are allies serves as a tool to restrain Black African states from renewing relations with Israel. If Arab states were truly opposed to apartheid, they would not be reaping huge profits on oil sales to Pretoria.<sup>19</sup>

The Soviet Union, its supporters and surrogates, have another reason for disseminating the Israel-South Africa alliance notion. The USSR is engaged in a campaign to vilify the United States in the Third World in order to undermine the U.S. image there and hence increase Soviet influence. By linking Israel with South Africa, and in turn by linking Israel with the U.S., the Soviets have constructed a false syllogism designed to enhance their own stature on the African continent and throughout the Third World. Indeed, some analysts rate the Soviet Union's ability to criticize the U.S. and other Western powers for their South African ties as one of the chief assets of their African strategy.<sup>20</sup>

The Arab and Soviet blocs and their supporters, then, disseminate elaborate myths about relations between Israel and South Africa to serve clear political objectives. Why have American writers, including those who presumably do not have ties to either bloc, embraced these false notions? This is a difficult question to answer. In some cases, their use of the alliance notion trumped up in the midst of public condemnation of South Africa, seems to be an expression of hostility toward Israel. In other cases, the alliance canard may have been employed for the simple reason that it is sensational. Yarns about plots, conspiracies and secretly-concluded alliances speak to an often unhealthy need in the public psyche to believe in a secular demonology. Appealing to this human failing has always attracted irresponsible publicists.

The Boston Globe recently editorialized that the notion of an alliance between Israel and South Africa is nothing more than "propaganda by Soviet-bloc nations and their Third World allies."<sup>21</sup> Fortunately, the American public, is rejecting this propaganda. Media reports misrepresenting ties between the two states serve only to divert public attention from the misery and injustice being visited on blacks and other non-whites in South Africa.



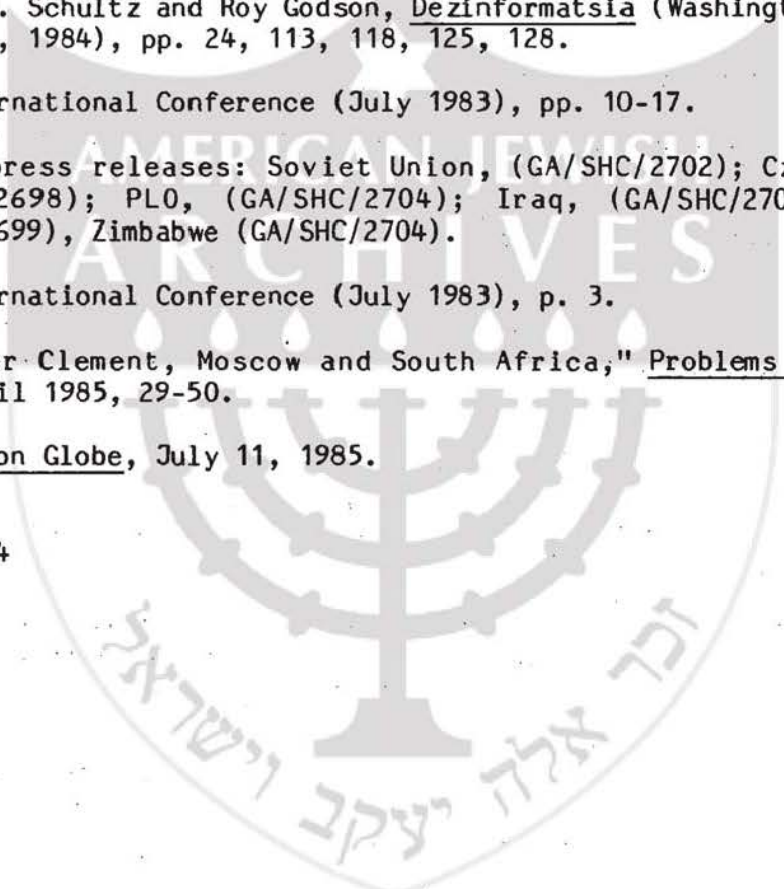


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October 20, 1985

AJC MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA  
WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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"You can't sell the good news of reform while there is the bad news of repression."

An opposition leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Capetown, South Africa, made that comment to an American Jewish Committee delegation last week. Five of us who just concluded a ten-day mission to South Africa found in the midst of that turbulent country some patterns of convergence as well as deep-seated contradictions.

Led by AJC President Howard Friedman, our group met and talked for hours with a broad spectrum of South African society -- top leaders in government, political parties, diplomats, the business sector, labor unions, academics, citizens of self-help groups. We talked with Bishop Tutu and black spokesmen in Soweto, heads of the colored and Indian communities, and spoke at great length with the vulnerable Jewish community.

Except for those groups that are committed to armed struggle and revolution, there is a wide consensus that the ideology of apartheid is falling apart. Many acknowledge that the Botha government, with all its rigidities, is committed to reform and needs to be pressured into further acts of dismantling the humiliating structures of apartheid.

Remarkably, a Communist who was banned for his anti-apartheid activities, told us that a strong economy is the most powerful weapon against apartheid and will assure equality for blacks more than any revolution. But nearly everyone agreed that the government must lift the state of emergency now and put the brakes on the police and military whose uncontrolled ruthlessness will make peaceful change impossible.

I'll be reporting more on our South African mission in later broadcasts.

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee and presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

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## STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

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

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

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

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

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

We support:

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



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

We would also support:

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

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

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

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

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

Adopted at the 79th Annual Meeting, May 1, 1985.  
85-570-8  
F089/IRD-3/e1





Mr. Leo Nevas  
Page 2

If we wanted to extend the trip to Romania and Hungary, there is a daily overnight train from Kishinev to Bucharest (but no flights) that would, in this case, arrive the morning of April 20th. From Bucharest the group could fly to Budapest the early evening of the 22nd and then directly to New York on the 24th. This would make the trip a full two weeks and bring the cost to roughly \$2,500 for the total package.

I hope this information will be of help should you have the opportunity to discuss the mission at the NEC.

With best wishes.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Sincerely,



David A. Harris  
Deputy Director

International Relations Department

DAH:RPR

cc: Richard Maass  
Marc Tanenbaum  
David Geller



זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

November 7, 1985

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

From: Leo Nevas, Chairman

H O L D   T H E S E   D A T E S   ! ! !

- 
- December 16, 1985      Steering Committee Meeting  
New York  
9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.
- March 17, 1986      Steering Committee Meeting  
New York  
9:30 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.
- March 26-27, 1986      Second Annual Steering Committee Mission  
to Washington, D.C.
- May 14-18, 1986      80th Anniversary Annual Meeting  
J.W. Marriott Hotel  
Washington, D.C.  
(Date and time of the Steering Committee  
to be announced)

I hope you will mark these dates in your calendar and plan to attend  
as many of the sessions as possible.

LN:RPR

85-550-101



THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS



# A Dismal Anniversary:

A Decade of the UN's  
"Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution  
1975-1985

By Sidney Liskofsky



## **The Jacob Blaustein Institute For The Advancement of Human Rights**

Through a wide variety of programs, the Jacob Blaustein Institute aims to narrow the gap between the promise of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights agreements -- and the realization of these rights in practice.

Blaustein Institute projects fall roughly into four broad categories, albeit with considerable overlapping:

- a) scholarly endeavors designed to clarify basic human rights concepts or issues;
- b) educational and training programs to promote wider knowledge and use of international human rights principles and institutions, to develop a critical public constituency capable of extending and improving them, and to encourage young people to consider careers in this field;
- c) programs that nurture and strengthen human rights organizations and movements;
- d) the creation of a corpus of legal writings for use by human rights pleaders and advocates as they confront human rights violations.

In pursuing its objectives, the Blaustein Institute works with diverse academic institutions, foundations, national and international human rights organizations and legal groups.



## A Dismal Anniversary:

A Decade of the UN's "Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution  
1975-85

By Sidney Liskofsky\*

Peoples with long histories have many anniversaries, some marking happy events, others sad ones. For Jews, the month of November is crowded with anniversaries, most concerned with the State of Israel: promise, creation, threat. On November 10, 1917, Great Britain, in the historic Balfour Declaration, announced its support for a Jewish national home in Palestine. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly recommended the partition of Palestine, a British mandated territory, into separate Jewish and Arab states. In 1975, twenty-eight years and three wars after the partition vote, the Assembly adopted the infamous resolution 3379 declaring Zionism -- the founding ideology of the Jewish state -- to be a form of racism. Not coincidentally, in 1978 the Assembly proclaimed November 29, the anniversary of the partition recommendation, as International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. This people's representative, the Assembly had decreed, was the PLO, whose fundamental Covenant, in 1985 still unamended, would eliminate the Jewish state.

Why did resolution 3379 cause such outrage in the United States and elsewhere? After all, said some UN "realists," Assembly resolutions are merely non-binding recommendations, essentially rhetorical exercises. Others argued that African and many other delegates who voted for the resolution, knowing nothing about Zionism, really meant to protest against Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Another response to the resolution was that there was indeed anti-Arab discrimination in Israel, and it didn't matter what it was called -- "racism" or "X."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, as we mark the resolution's tenth anniversary, the U.S., with the help of other Western governments, and even of some in the non-aligned camp, has succeeded twice in blocking moves again to condemn Zionism, in Geneva in August 1983 at the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and in July 1975 at The Nairobi World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women. Why does Zionism equals racism matter?

The reasons for initial outrage at Zionism equals racism are still potent today. UN Ambassador (now Senator) D. Patrick Moynihan, in at-

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\*Sidney Liskofsky directs The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee.



tributing the Zionism-equals-racism resolution to "the world's most powerful propoganda apparatus, that of the Soviet Union and the dozens of governments which echo it," has summed up its real significance thus: "it is not just a slogan, it is 'conscious politics' and not the ordinary kind of bigotry sooner or later to pass; it is a program, underway since 1967, to delegitimize and destroy the State of Israel." If states based on apartheid and racism are criminal states, he has explained, it follows that states based on ideologies designated as equivalent to them -- as is Israel on Zionism -- are criminal, and may be morally, legally and forcibly resisted by any national liberation movement. The PLO, of course, is recognized as a national liberation movement by the UN, based on prior recognition by the Arab League and the Organization of African Unity.

But the Zionism-equals-racism resolution stirred even more deeply-rooted anxieties among Jews and others aware of the role played by the myth of "international Zionism" in the rise and growth of modern anti-Semitism. The knew of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion,<sup>2</sup> the hate-spreading virus forged by the Czarist secret service early in this century, which had nourished Hitler's murderous hatred of Jews. To this day the Protocols are disseminated in many countries, their paranoid fantasies quoted or adapted by anti-Semitic propogandists in the Muslim as well as the Western world. The denigrating and scapegoating of Zionism in images and terms echoing the Protocols has been a practice of anti-Semites both of the right -- not very long ago by South Africa's right-wing exclusionists and more recently by the black Muslim bigot Farrakhan -- and the left. The depiction of Zionists as a capitalist-imperialist-reactionary cabal that rules and exploits the world was and is a staple of Soviet domestic and foreign propoganda.

To equate Zionism with racism, as Jews saw it, was a cynical anti-Semitic ploy. For the very notion of races as comprised of biologically immutable superior and inferior species, was actually an invention of 19th century bigots, conceived as a rationale for despising and discriminating against Jews, gypsies, blacks and other allegedly inferior racial groups. To label as racist the multi-colored, multi-ethnic and multi-religious society of Israel, with its many Muslim and Christian Arabs -- not to mention the diverse racial and ethnic groups within its Jewish community -- is palpably false.

Every Arab born in Israel, whether Muslim, Christian or Druse, is automatically a citizen of Israel by birth. Any foreigner, whatever his race, can apply to immigrate and become a nationalized citizen of Israel after meeting requirements similar to those in other democratic countries. As for the "Law of Return" which gives preferential treatment to Jews, it was enacted for the same reason the state itself was established - to solve, as stated in Israel's 1948 Declaration of Independence, the problem of the Jewish people's homelessness which was a cause of "the catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people - the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe..." This Declaration proclaimed it to be the "right of the Jewish people to be masters of their own fate, like all other nations, in their own sovereign state," a right re-



cognized in the 1917 Balfour Declaration and reaffirmed in the League of Nations mandate which "gave international sanction to the historic connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel..."

The 1948 Declaration also affirmed Israeli's commitment to "foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants," to "ensure complete equality of social and political equality" to all of them "irrespective of religion, race or sex," and to "guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture." And in fact, Israel's Arab citizens enjoy full religious, civil and political rights, except in limited respects involving national security considerations issuing from the ongoing Arab-Israel conflict, such as the restrictions on employment in defense-related industries.

As for the Arab inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, who do not enjoy the same rights as Israeli Jews and Arabs, their situation is a consequence of Israel's occupation of these territories in its successful 1967 war of self-defense, and the refusal of the Arab states as yet to negotiate a peace settlement. The restrictions on the inhabitants' rights, imposed for reasons of national security in the prevailing conditions of active hostility, are based on the international law rules applicable to belligerent occupations. Moreover, many if not most Arabs in these territories do not desire Israeli citizenship with its associated political rights, but seek self-determination in a state of their own.

The ancient Judaic belief in and hope of return to Zion, of restored Jewish nationhood in Palestine, which reappeared in the second half of the 19th century, came in the form of a reaction to the rise in anti-Semitism that accompanied the emancipation of Jews in Central and Western Europe. This anti-Semitism, highlighted by the Dreyfus Affair, convinced many Jews, even in advanced countries, of their vulnerability and the need for a Jewish state where they could determine their own destiny. Thus political Zionism can very correctly be said to be a national liberation movement, one of the earliest in the modern period, and it was in fact recognized as such for a brief interval by the Soviet Union when, in the Security Council in May 1948, its Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, so characterized it in criticizing the Arab States for sending their armies to crush the newly-created State of Israel.

The UN's resolution on Zionism did not surprise Jews, but it disturbed them nonetheless. Among the UN's most committed supporters in its early years, Jews had long since recognized (in Thomas Franck's characterization) that the UN's political organs "are not assemblages of judges or philosophers but of politicians" who are "not guided by ethical imperatives but by political considerations"; that the General Assembly is a "highly politicized conference of states" and "not the conscience of the world." Still, Jews and others were concerned that its pronouncements were accepted by well-intentioned UN "believers" and were disseminated worldwide by its far-reaching information services as well as by self-serving governments and political groups. They were worried that, as advertisers and political propagandists know, sloganized messages



repeated often enough affect how people view matters and can become part of their thoughts and feelings, even their "consciences."

### The Non-aligned movement and Zionism-is-racism

In the General Assembly and in other UN bodies, specialized agencies, and special conferences, operating on the basis of the one-nation, one-vote rule, outcomes are mostly determined by the movement of non-aligned states (NAM) whose 101 members constitute nearly two-thirds the total UN membership of 159. In turn, the NAM includes several powerful, overlapping sub-blocs committed to the PLO's political cause: The 50 members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU); the 45 members of the Conference of Islamic States; the 22 members of the Arab League and, as nongovernmental members, the PLO and SWAPO, both recognized as national liberation movements and given a significant voice in matters pertaining to their specific concerns. Further stacking the deck against Israel in the NAM, and thence in the UN, are the Soviet surrogates, notably Cuba, whose influence in the NAM produced the sardonic comment that the movement was non-aligned on the side of Soviet positions. Though the NAM does not always side with the Soviet bloc -- it protested the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, for instance -- it has consistently taken strong positions against Israel.

As for the Cuba, in November 1975, it was not only among the three non-Arab sponsors of resolution 3379 but it also functioned as strategist and lobbyist for it. In 1977, Fidel Castro, ending a state visit to Libya, joined Muamar Khaddafi in expressing "full support" for the resolution and in condemning Israel for acting with South Africa against "the liberation struggle of the African and Arab peoples." And two years later, the Final Declaration of the Summit Conference of the NAM -- which Castro chaired during 1978-80 -- linked Zionism with apartheid as crimes against humanity, demanded its elimination from sport (!), and called on all UN members to join in establishing a standing committee to expose its crimes and conspiracies (!) against humanity and national liberation movements.

Thereafter, it became routine at NAM conferences to link Zionism with apartheid, racism, colonialism and other internationally condemned evils -- condemned that is, by predictable political determinations and not on the basis of any impartial, judicial-type consideration. At the NAM Summit meeting in New Delhi in March 1983, the leaders of the participating states termed the "struggle against...Zionism," along with that against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid as the very "quintessence of the policy of non-alignment..." So that, with NAM sponsorship and advocacy, UN endorsement and reaffirmation of Zionism-equals-racism was all but assured.



APPENDIX I

UN MEMBER STATES VOTING IN FAVOR OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3379  
EQUATING ZIONISM WITH RACISM.  
NOVEMBER 10, 1975

\*Countries espousing non-alignment as of December 1981.

Arab and/or Muslim (20)	Asian (10)	African (22)	Latin American (3)	Communist (11)	Other (6)
* Algeria	* Afghanistan	Burundi	Brazil	Albania	Cyprus
* Bahrain	* Bangladesh	Cape Verde	* Cuba	Bulgaria	* Grenada
* Democratic Yemen	Cambodia	Chad	Mexico	Byelorussia	* Guyana
* Egypt	China	Congo		Cyprus	Maldives
* Iran (non-Arab)	* India	* Equatorial Guinea		Czechoslovakia	Malta
* Iraq	* Indonesia	* Gambia		Democratic German Republic	Portugal
* Jordan	* Laos	* Guinea		Hungary	
* Kuwait	* Malaysia	* Guinea-Bissau		Mongolia	
* Lebanon	* Pakistan	* Madagascar		Poland	
* Libya	* Sri Lanka	* Mali		Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	
* Morocco		* Mauritania		USSR	
* Oman		* Mozambique		* Yugoslavia	
* Qatar		* Niger			
* Saudi Arabia		* Nigeria			
* Sudan		* Rwanda			
* Syria		SaoTome and Principe			
* Tunisia		* Senegal			
Turkey (non-Arab)		* Somalia			
* United Arab Emirates		* Uganda			
* Yemen		* Cameroon			
		* Tanzania			

Prepared by Division of International Organizations,  
American Jewish Committee

## APPENDIX II

The Table shows: total population; Muslims as a % of total population; major divisions in the Muslim population; Monarchy (M) or Republic (R); membership in the Arab League (AL), the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Member	Total population (000s)	Muslims as % of population	Major divisions in the Muslim population <sup>1</sup>	M or R	AL	OAU	OPEC
<b>I ARAB</b>							
Algeria	18,250	98	Sunni <sup>2</sup>	R	X	X	X
Bahrain	260	97	Sunni 50%; Shi'i 50%	M	X		
Egypt <sup>3</sup>	38,070	93	Sunni	R	X <sup>4</sup>	X	
Iraq	12,171	95	Sunni 40%; Shi'i 60%	R	X		X
Jibouti	220	99	Sunni	R	X	X	
Jordan	2,780	95	Sunni 94%; Shi'i 6%	M	X		
Kuwait	1,030	100	Sunni 77%; Shi'i 23%	M	X		X
Lebanon	2,960	57	Sunni 45%; Shi'i 55%	R	X		
Libya <sup>5</sup>	2,900	100	Sunni	R	X	X	X
Mauritania	1,420	100	Sunni	R	X	X	
Morocco	17,830	99	Sunni	M	X		
Oman	1,500	100	Sunni 25%; Ibadi <sup>6</sup> 73%	M	X		
PLO					X <sup>7</sup>		
Qatar	140	100	Sunni (Wahhabi sect <sup>8</sup> )	M	X		X
Saudi Arabia	9,240	100	Sunni 96% (Wahhabi 50%); Shi'i 4%	M	X		X
Somalia	3,260	100	Sunni	R	X	X	
Sudan	16,130	85	Sunni	R	X	X	
Syria	7,600	88	Sunni 79.5%; Shi'i 20.5% (Alawi <sup>9</sup> 70%)	R	X		
Tunisia	6,070	95	Sunni	R	X	X	
United Arab Emirates	656	100	Sunni 92%; Shi'i 3%; Ibadi 5%	M	X		X
Yemen (Arab Republic)	6,870	95	Sunni 60%; Shi'i 40%	R	X		
Yemen (People's Democratic Republic)	1,750	99	Sunni 92%; Shi'i 8%	R	X		
<b>II NON-ARAB AFRICAN</b>							
Cameroon	7,600	20	Sunni	R		X	
Chad	4,120	45	Sunni	R		X	
Comoros	310	95	Sunni	R		X	
Gabon	534	10-30 <sup>10</sup>	Sunni	R		X	X
Gambia	540	90	Sunni	R		X	
Guinea	5,390	95	Sunni	R		X	
Guinea Bissau	777	35	Sunni	R		X	
Mali	6,300	65	Sunni	R		X	
Niger	5,352	85	Sunni	R <sup>11</sup>		X	
Senegal	5,135	80	Sunni	R		X	
Uganda	11,940	10-30 <sup>12</sup>	Sunni	R		X	
Upper Volta	6,170	15-40 <sup>13</sup>	Sunni	R		X	
<b>III NON-ARAB ASIAN</b>							
Afghanistan <sup>14</sup>	19,280	99	Sunni 80%; Shi'i 20%	R			
Bangladesh	76,815	85	Sunni	R			
Indonesia	136,044	95	Sunni	R			X
Iran	33,900	98	Sunni 4.5%; Shi'i 95.5%	R			X
Malaysia	11,900	52	Sunni	M			
Maldives	119	100	Sunni	R			
Pakistan	70,260	97	Sunni	R			
Turkey	40,160	99	Sunni 85%; Shi'i 15%	R			

1 Sunni is the main and orthodox stream of Islam. Shi'i is the minority. The Sunni-Shi'i schism developed from the political conflict which followed the election of Ali (Muhammad's cousin, adopted son, and son-in-law) to the Caliphate in 656. Ali was killed in 661 and the Caliphate was transferred to the Umayyad family. The Shia (*Shiat Ali* - the party of Ali), failing to restore leadership to the house of Ali, developed an intricate theology with many dogmas repugnant to orthodox Islam.

2 Where only 'Sunni' appears, all other Muslims are a small minority about whom no precise information was available.

3 Membership in the OIC suspended in May 1979 following the signing of the Camp David accords and the peace treaty with Israel.

4 Membership in the Arab League suspended in March 1979. 5 Libya calls itself *jamahiriya* from the Arabic *jamahir* (the plural of *jumhur*) which means 'masses'.

6 The Ibadiya is a moderate form of the extremist Kharijite sect which developed from the Arab party that revolted against Ali before his death.

7 'Palestine' is considered an independent state by the Arab League and the PLO is recognized as its representative.

8 The Wahhabis follow the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab who, in the eighteenth century, advocated a puritanical exegesis of the faith according to the Hanbali school.

9 Alawis (or Nusairis) are an offshoot of the Shia whose syncretist beliefs include the main tenets of the Ismailis (the 'Seveners', who regard Ismail as the rightful seventh and last Imam) and a liturgy which contains many Christian borrowings.

10 Published estimates range from 1-40%.

11 Constitution suspended in April 1974.

12 Published estimates range from 5-36%.

13 Published estimates range from 9-56%.

14 Membership in the OIC suspended in January 1980 following the Soviet invasion.

Sources: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition* (Leiden and London, 1960-1980); *The Europa Yearbook 1979. A World Survey. Vols I & II* (London 1979); *The Middle East Yearbook 1979* (London 1979); *Annuaire de l'Afrique et du moyen-orient* (Paris 1979); *The Middle East and North Africa 1979-80* (London 1979); G.A. Shpazhnikov, *Religiya stran zapadnoy Azii* (Religions of the countries of Western Asia) (Moscow 1976); Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History* (2nd ed.: London 1971); Manazir Ahsan, *Islam: Faith and Practice* (Leicester 1977).

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**The American Jewish  
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022  
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November 5, 1985

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President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Permit us to express our deepest appreciation for your eloquent address to the United Nations General Assembly on October 24th. It set forth our country's perspective with, to use your own words, "candor and conviction." It was, indeed, the kind of message not often heard in the United Nations, which once represented humanity's highest hopes.

In your speech you addressed a number of significant themes of deep and abiding concern to the American people. Among them was the emphasis you placed on the issue of human rights, including the free expression of beliefs, freedom of movement, and contact between peoples. In addition, we were most gratified that you used the occasion to raise the issue of "the total inversion of morality in the infamous Zionism-is-racism resolution," on the eve of the tenth anniversary of its adoption by the General Assembly.

As the meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and yourself approaches, we welcome your assurance that the issue of human rights will be a centerpiece of your discussions with the Soviet leader. One issue of particular concern for us, as you know so well, is the precarious situation of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. Jewish emigration has been cut to a trickle, denial of religious and cultural opportunities persists, Prisoners of Conscience languish in labor camps, and an unabashed anti-Semitic campaign in the government-controlled media is directed at a vulnerable minority. Your Administration's unstinting efforts to reverse these deeply troubling trends is a source of continued hope and inspiration to our fellow Jews in the U.S.S.R. and to us.

Mr. President, we, and all who are dedicated to freedom, pray for your success in the forthcoming deliberations with the Soviet leader, and wish you Godspeed.

Richard Maass  
Honorary President  
Chairman,  
Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Leo Nevas  
Chairman  
Commission on  
International Relations

Howard I. Friedman  
President

LN/HIF:EL

**Not for publication**

**REPORT FROM THE EUROPEAN OFFICE**

# **GORBACHEV IN PARIS**

**Important Days in the  
Struggle for Soviet Jews**

**A Special Report  
of the International  
Relations Department**

**By Nives Fox**  
Director, European Office AJC





**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date**                   October 29, 1985

**to**                        International Relations Department

**from**                   Nives Fox

**subject**                October 2-5 Visit of Communist Party General Secretary  
Mikhail Gorbachev to Paris

Community Contacts and Other Activities Before Arrival

Theo Klein, President of the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions of France (CRIF), via the Soviet Embassy in Paris, asked for a meeting with Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Paris. He also asked for an appointment with Soviet Ambassador to France Yuli Vorontsov, which was immediately agreed to. This constituted the first such meeting in the long history of attempts to establish direct contact.

The meeting with Vorontsov took place on September 12, in a cordial atmosphere, lasting over an hour. Mr. Klein outlined Jewish concerns regarding emigration, anti-Semitism, culture, family reunion, the plight of the Prisoners of Conscience and refuseniks. Vorontsov's reply was the standard one: most of those who wished to leave had done so -- 260,000 in the past 17 years. If any had not been allowed to emigrate it was due to security reasons; in any case, the USSR had no desire to expel its Jewish population! As for denying freedom of cultural expression to the Jewish "nationality" and refusal to permit the teaching of Hebrew, he declared "we would then have to teach the language of every other minority -- Georgian, Moldavian, etc. -- and this is hardly feasible." (Georgian, Moldavian and other national tongues are indeed taught in the USSR.) Amb. Vorontsov also wondered why all the 'fuss' about the Jewish minority?

Regarding the appointment with Mikhail Gorbachev, Vorontsov said he had transmitted the request but warned about the very tight schedule prepared for the General Secretary. He declared his readiness to pass on for consideration names of individual cases which CRIF might submit.

Contact with Vorontsov was maintained up to Gorbachev's arrival, with a proposal, as the date was nearing, that if a meeting with the General Secretary was impossible, another top-level personality might take his place. Though the alternative was accepted, neither possibility came to fruition. This is why Klein then released an "Open

Letter to Mr. Gorbachev" to the press, which was published widely. The door to the Ambassador remains open, however, and CRIF will be following up with a list and a further meeting when appropriate.

The meeting with President Francois Mitterrand took place on September 23. Present were President Theo Klein; Vice Pres. Jean Kahn; Pres. of the Commission on Soviet Jewry, Claude Kelman, Director Jacqueline Keller, representing CRIF; Messrs. Henri Hadjenberg, President of Renouveau and Pierre Slivinsky, for the Federation of French Jews.

The delegation again outlined the present situation -- virtual cessation of emigration, elimination of Jewish culture, open anti-Semitic campaigns, discriminatory measures, the fate of prisoners, refuseniks, separated families and asked that the problem of Soviet Jews be put on the agenda of the talks with the General Secretary. Pres. Mitterrand explained that this issue would not be on the formal agenda, but assured them that the issue of Soviet Jews and other human rights violations in the Soviet Union would be raised on every occasion, as he and his government had done in the past. The President added that he had little hope for the by now well known cases of refuseniks and prisoners. He suggested that the lists be primarily of names that have not been in the forefront. Approximately 200 names were submitted -- some 20 hard-core cases and about 15 involving family reunification.

Withal, rumors are circulating that Sakharov and Shcharansky might be exchanged for spies, though not before the November Summit meeting between President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev. Such an exchange is supposedly already being worked on by Wolfgang Vogel, the lawyer who has become quite an expert in East/West "people trade."

It seemed obvious that the Russians had put the issue of cooling Western rhetoric about Soviet Jewry to World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman when he visited the Soviet Union in September, and suggested the use of the General Secretary's first trip abroad as a test, before there could be any relaxation about Soviet Jews and Israel-related matters. But it would be too easy to conclude that the French community accepted it as a "dictat." There already had been a consensus reached for using a measure of discretion among the French leaders. If the WJC and Israel's agreement with this line played a role, it was only in conjunction with the already existing feeling that excessive or disorderly action during the visit would not work, and only serve to further embarrass a government already weakened by the "Greenpeace affair" and prospects of defeat in the legislative elections this coming March. Therefore, French Jewish leaders, whose relations with the government are good, agreed on an ambitious but orderly effort, so as not to cause undue difficulties for Mitterrand.



This is why a decision was taken, notwithstanding strong dissent, to hold a large demonstration on September 29 in advance of the visit, and to use positive slogans -- support of Helsinki principles, for opening doors to emigration, etc. -- rather than attack Soviet practices and its leaders.

That Israel, too, favored a softer stance seems logical, given recent hopes and hints about re-establishment of diplomatic relations, including the USSR in the peace process, half promises that if all goes well doors will re-open for Soviet Jews, etc. As a matter of fact, rumors have it that Prime Minister Peres came to see Gorbachev in Paris. Of course, it was denied; but I heard that Peres did "disappear" from circulation in Israel between Friday October 4 to Sunday the 6th...and even that a neighbor saw a helicopter stop at Peres' home Friday and was surprised because there had been no sudden public emergency on that day. Whatever, to the best of my knowledge to date, there is no sense here that the French Jewish action was modulated or motivated by "outside" pressures.

When CRIF spoke to the authorities of its decision to have a street demonstration on September 29, that is, before the visit, permission was given with warm approval. CRIF representatives were told that all public manifestations would be forbidden during Mr. Gorbachev's presence in Paris. A letter to this effect was sent out by the Prefecture September 27, addressed to all the organizations that had announced their intention to demonstrate, and distributed to the media: "As is usual on the occasion of visits by Chiefs of State and Heads of Government...France is readying to receive an official visit by Mr. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, member of the Supreme Soviet, with all the courtesy and respect traditionally due to high-level foreign leaders visiting our country" and further explaining that "due to the juncture and circumstances of time and place, demonstrations are in the nature of troubling public order and bring harm to the international relations of the Republic."

Socialist Party General Secretary Lionel Jospin also asked his Party parliamentarians to abstain from public action or negative statements about the visitor. This is considered normal, government to government courtesy for guests. Not everyone heeded the call, but the few who joined manifestations declared they were doing it on a personal basis. Of course the government opposition members and personalities were not so restricted, and only too happy to participate in anti-Soviet displays.

Proof that members of the government would have joined if they could is that even while Gorbachev was in Paris, a delegation of the National Council for the Protection of Soviet Jewry was received by Andre Ross, General Secretary in the Foreign Office. The meeting was more than cordial. He accepted documents and background information and promised to take action when possible.



Effective interventions were made by several groups of scientists, long in the forefront of Soviet Jewry struggles. One delegation was received by Daniele Mitterand, the President's wife, in mid-September. (She is known for her support of Latin American causes rather than Jewish ones.) It was given a most attentive hearing. Scientists also saw Foreign Affairs Minister Roland Dumas, and were given assurances of intervention. The scientists were asked to testify at the Commission of Human Rights of the Foreign Affairs Ministry and, on this occasion they were urged to stop meeting their Soviet counterparts until a change of Soviet attitudes is noticeable.

Led by CRIF, the September 29 march was joined by other Jewish groups and a few non-Jewish ones, altogether some 20,000 people. In his address before the march began, Mr. Klein asked that no personal attacks and insults be chanted, and called for dignity and order. For the most part, his request was heeded.

Other efforts to demonstrate during the Soviet visit were made: a Freedom Bus to circulate in Paris for an entire day, organized by SIONA, with several opposition parliamentarians on board, was not even permitted to start but achieved much press coverage; a group from the Women's Committee for Soviet Jewry was stopped and detained for 30 minutes as they exited from the subway near the Soviet Consulate; a Mr. Polinovsky, Ida Nudel's cousin, managed to step into Gorbachev's path with a large sign to "free Ida Nudel" when the Soviet leader deposited a garland at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier: two non-Jewish women were found picketing for their relatives in the Soviet Union in front of Lenin's home when the General Secretary visited there. All were rapidly "removed," the two women less than gently, not by the police, however, but by "hearties" in a group of about 100 Communist Party members "spontaneously" gathered at the Lenin house to greet Comrade Gorbachev. They vented their outrage by kicking and beating the two ladies, who have since lodged an official complaint.

Amnesty International dropped its plan for a silent gathering on October 2; but a few indoor (therefore permitted) meetings did take place: by the Committee of 15, by International Resistance -- the latter was stopped by security police and briefly held for identity checks when some of the organizers tried to march to the Soviet Embassy after the meeting.

Last but not least was the televised interview arranged by TF1 journalist Yves Mourousi in Moscow, and broadcast the day before Gorbachev's arrival. It is during this exchange that everyone became very conscious of how easily the famous Gorbachev smile was erased when questions of human rights, not to speak of Jews, emigration, refuseniks, etc. were posed. At long last, the ad nauseam description of this urbane, modern, smiling, joking and friendly phenomenon of a leader from "out there" one had heard about since his London visit, was replaced with a glacial, closed-up, even fist-clenching, palpably irked and annoyed image.



Clearly irritated when Mourousi brought up the names of Sakharov and Shcharansky, Gorbachev reverted to the old classics: economic and social rights were better defended in the USSR; more peasants and workers were represented in the Supreme Soviet than in Western parliaments; Jews had more rights in the Soviet Union than in other lands, and were represented far beyond their proportionate numbers in high positions and higher education. A regrettable mistake was made by Mourousi when he confused the total number of prisoners in the USSR (common law, political, camps) and asked about the four million political prisoners in the Gulag. It gave the General Secretary the perfect opportunity to roar out "Absurd, this is Goebbels-type propaganda, absurd!"

### Government Interventions During Visit

President and Madame Mitterrand, and the usual entourage of notables, met the Gorbachevs and those accompanying them at the airport. This courtesy is, by protocol, reserved only for heads of states; but it began with de Gaulle, on the occasion of Khrushchev's visit in 1959.

The first formal exchange of greetings at the airport already had Pres. Mitterrand express concern about "conflicts, suffering, violations of dignity and rights that afflict mankind today." In reply, the General Secretary spoke of the need for "prevention of the armaments race in space and the elimination of this race on land."

Later that day the two men had their first private session, 2 1/2 hours long. Though they met again on the next day, nothing of the content of the talks filtered through, with just plans for further discussions announced.

On October 2, at question time in the National Assembly, Deputy Var Leotard, President of the opposition Republican Party, asked about "the development of State anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, notably the USSR...It is necessary to receive Mr. Gorbachev, but it is not good that this be done by keeping silent on this issue," he said. The reply came from the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs. "These questions will be raised each time it will be necessary at summit meetings. For us the dignity of individuals cannot be exchanged with commercial transactions..." (A stab from the Socialists about the disregard for such issues in previous regimes, when trading interests had primacy in dealings with Eastern Europe.)

The following day Chairman Gorbachev paid the traditional respects of visiting dignitaries to City Hall, where he was received by Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac. In his address Chirac expressed regret "that all the commitments made in Helsinki on human rights and freedom had not been kept...I think with emotion of the fate of all those deprived of freedom because of their convictions. I think, too, about the Jews in the USSR who are not authorized to leave the country...Obviously



there is no question of impinging upon the sovereignty of any country, but French public opinion will be very appreciative of a gesture in their favor." Immediately stony-faced, Gorbachev answered by evoking the "sudden aggravation of nuclear danger."

The next stop scheduled for the Soviet leader was the Prime Minister's office. Afterwards, Laurent Fabius personally announced that a list had been handed to Mr. Gorbachev of "particular cases, involving situations concerning freedom and I have been asked to transmit this." Questioned about Mr. Gorbachev's reaction, Fabius said "He took it. That's all." The list in question contained family reunion cases. Journalists reported that the discussions between the two had been "lively" but centered on economic and EEC policies.

Questioned another time by journalists about the list, and what he intended to do about it, Mr. Gorbachev said, "it will be transmitted to the proper authorities."

Before having lunch with Foreign Affairs Minister Roland Dumas, Mr. Gorbachev met with Louis Mermaz, President of the National Assembly. Mr. Mermaz's welcome began with "A long road remains to be taken in terms of the free movement of persons and ideas..." and concluded "You know that France considers the defense of human rights as one of the major pivots of its foreign policy."

It was on the afternoon of this day (Oct. 3) that the second private meeting with President Mitterrand took place. In the evening of October 3, during a radio discussion between journalists and Claude Estier, President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Assembly, Estier said "Mr. Gorbachev's declarations on human rights are not encouraging."

So far nothing has transpired about interventions made in private discussion, especially with President Mitterrand. Members of the Jewish community have no doubt they were indeed made, trusting fully that the promises received were kept.

Among the friendly organizations and individuals Mr. Gorbachev received on his last morning (October 5) was the MRAP (the pro-Communist Movement against Racism and for Friendship among Peoples). In an open letter, and at the meeting with the General Secretary, MRAP raised the problem of discrimination against Soviet Jews and their requests to emigrate as well as obstacles to Jewish attempts to express cultural and religious attachment: "Most are not in this situation; but it is incompatible with Helsinki and International human rights conventions signed by the Soviet Union. Without taking a position on Zionism, we believe this ideology should not be fought with administrative measures such as trials, loss of employment and freedom. We hope the new leadership will take into consideration the painful situation of those imprisoned because they wish to go to Israel and, that they will be freed."



As you can see, the list of public statements is not long. Again, what was said in private by Pres. Mitterrand and Foreign Affairs Minister Dumas on the subject of our concern is yet to be learned. Even harder to guess is what Mr. Gorbachev thinks, and how he intends to react, if at all.

\* \* \* \*

More impressive than the public interventions is the rather extraordinary coverage given to the visit by the press, and here I speak not only of the at least two inches -- and still incomplete -- accumulation of clippings, but of the quality of the content. Of course, it covered other than Jewish subjects; but one found evidence of unusually thoughtful comments and good background information about every possible aspect of the exchange and related problems.

One sensed a definite enjoyment in the pointing up of Gorbachev's obvious discomfiture every time human rights or Jews and emigration were mentioned -- a mistake the General Secretary will doubtless rectify on his future visits abroad. If items concerning the Westernized, stylish, physical pleasantness of the Gorbachev couple -- including a gamut of details from fashion experts over the Lady Raisa apparel -- were not missing, there was a greater portion of comments given to fundamental and clear assessments of the man and his "sales pitch."

His style, all agreed, was new: a man pressed for time, different from his predecessors, more direct, sober, rational and serious in his approach, consciously working for credibility. But his objectives were perceived as still the classic ones, albeit pursued at with greater efficacy and with the view to improve the personal conditions of the Soviet population, willing to agree to reduction of military spending to achieve this as well as industrial modernization, provided of course that it could be done without weakening Soviet equality vis-a-vis the U.S. and the West. The big surprise was Gorbachev's proposal for bilateral negotiations on arms with France and Britain, which apparently nobody, including perhaps President Mitterrand, expected to have raised so rapidly, though certainly eventually.

Gorbachev hammered away at two points: opposition to U.S. plans for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and support for European independence from the U.S. "big brother"...If you are not afraid of the U.S., then you can be a privileged interlocutor; and just imagine the scope of this prospect if Soviet plans for immense economic expansion and modernization can take place unfettered by SDI and further military buildup. Just think of Europe's chance, with the EEC taking the lion's share. If not, back to the Iron Curtain, was the implication, with a hint that the USSR would not miss occasions for destabilization everywhere. Thus the choice of carrot and stick was

offered, the pleasures of dialogue and entente as opposed to confrontation.

The press missed none of it, whence the much quoted "seduction" bit and the smile with iron teeth; looking through the shades of nostalgia for the kind of relations initiated by de Gaulle; Gorbachev's awareness of Mitterrand's present weakness and hope that because of it he would be open to the siren's song. The media did not fall for the youth, charms and blandishments of the Soviet leader. It praised and admired his accomplishments to date, but also pointed out the magnitude of his problems: lack and failure of equipment of all kinds (industrial, medical, domestic), waste, carelessness, drunkenness, pollution, shortages, etc.

One must hope that wits will be sharp when the U.S./Soviet interface takes place. It was no accident that Gorbachev first came to France, but it also gave a chance to the U.S. to recognize the rather formidable new element on the East-West horizon. There is great need for very clear thinking.

On the problems of Soviet Jewry, the feeling here is that everything possible was done, and media resonance excellent. However, nothing has happened, nor was anything definite promised, with rumors still just rumors. As Claude Kelman said, "nothing can be done without negotiations; but no negotiations will be possible without pressure from the outside." So the U.S. must continue with this. But nobody expects to see results before Reagan and Gorbachev meet in Geneva.

\* \* \* \*

P.S. There was really no enthusiasm by public or press for Gorbachev or the country he represents. No lineups in the streets, no clapping or flag-waving. The population, too, it seems, is reserving judgment.

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## CENTRAL AMERICA: A BACKGROUNDER

Sergio Nudelstejer, Director,  
Mexican and Central American Office  
International Relations Department  
American Jewish Committee

For the last several years, Central America has become a very special focus of attention. With the problems of the international debt crisis, and political and social upheaval in Central America, this area is frequently in the headlines of the newspapers. The principal underlying causes of the conflict are the political and economical instability in the region.

Geographically, Central America comprises the following countries: Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Belize, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama, with Nicaragua the largest (57,143 square miles) and El Salvador the smallest (8,260 square miles). Guatemala is the most populous (7.7 million) and Belize the least (160,000).

The Central American conflict has been accentuated by the social and political ideology of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. The attitude of the Government of Nicaragua clearly shows its pro-Cuban and pro-Soviet stance. Neighboring countries such as Honduras and Costa Rica feel threatened by the Nicaraguan army and there have been a number of clashes, which may well lead to an explosion in the region.

The "Contadora" group, formed by representatives of Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela, has tried to find a viable solution to the Central American conflict. To this end, it has met a number of times with the governments of the five countries of the area (excluding Belize), looking for a way to reach an acceptable solution. In fact, it is currently meeting and will continue to do so through the first part of November. Recently, the Contadora Group has gained the support of other Latin American countries, known as the "Lima Group," which includes Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay.

When the Sandinistas came to power by overthrowing the Somoza government in 1979, there were no more than a dozen Jewish families left in the country; virtually all the others -- some 40 families -- had departed voluntarily to rebuild their lives elsewhere. Two members of the Jewish community were placed under arrest and accused of being supporters of the Somoza regime, but were later freed. Today there remain only three Jewish couples in Nicaragua.

The one synagogue that exists in the capital city of Managua is at present in the hands of the government and a high-ranking member of the Sandinista Party has officially said that his government is ready to refurbish and restore the synagogue and give it back to the Jewish community. In the absence of a Jewish community, however, the problem is who will accept responsibility for the building.

With regard to the Sandinista Government's relations with Israel, Israel's arms sales to the former Somoza regime have left a bitter legacy in Nicaragua, one which the PLO is continuously using for its anti-Zionist and anti-Israeli purposes. During the revolution against the Somoza dictatorship, the PLO gave military support and training to the Sandinistas and today they maintain an office in Managua with a large staff, seeking to spread their influence to other countries in Latin America.

El Salvador is another country that has for many years suffered the attacks and subversion of strong guerrilla groups whose aim has been the overthrow of the different governments, including the present regime of Jose Napoleon Duarte, who was elected president through democratic elections.

Some other countries in the area are moving towards a democratic form of government. Guatemala, for example, is expected to hold free elections in November, and is seeking to change from a military regime to a freely-elected government. Elections will also soon be held in Honduras and Costa Rica, the latter, of course, being a long-standing model of democracy in Latin America.

#### The Jewish Communities in the Area

Most of the Central American countries have small Jewish communities. In Guatemala, there are approximately 1,500 Jews; in El Salvador, from an earlier Jewish population of 300 only 100 remain; the Jewish community of Honduras has about 150 people; Nicaragua's original 130 Jewish members now number only seven; the Jewish community of Costa Rica totals 2,500 people; and Panama has the largest Jewish population in Central America -- about 5,000.

More than twenty years ago, a Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama, known by its acronym FEDECO, was formed with the purpose of uniting the different Jewish communities, improving their programs of education and youth groups, and permitting an exchange of information on developments in the respective communities. From FEDECO's beginning, the American Jewish Committee has collaborated closely and AJC representatives have attended almost all of FEDECO's bi-annual meetings.

Imbued with a deep sense of Jewish identity and concern about their future, especially about the younger generations, some of these communities, with great effort, maintain Jewish schools, synagogues, rabbis, youth movements, Jewish sports centers and a strong feeling of kinship

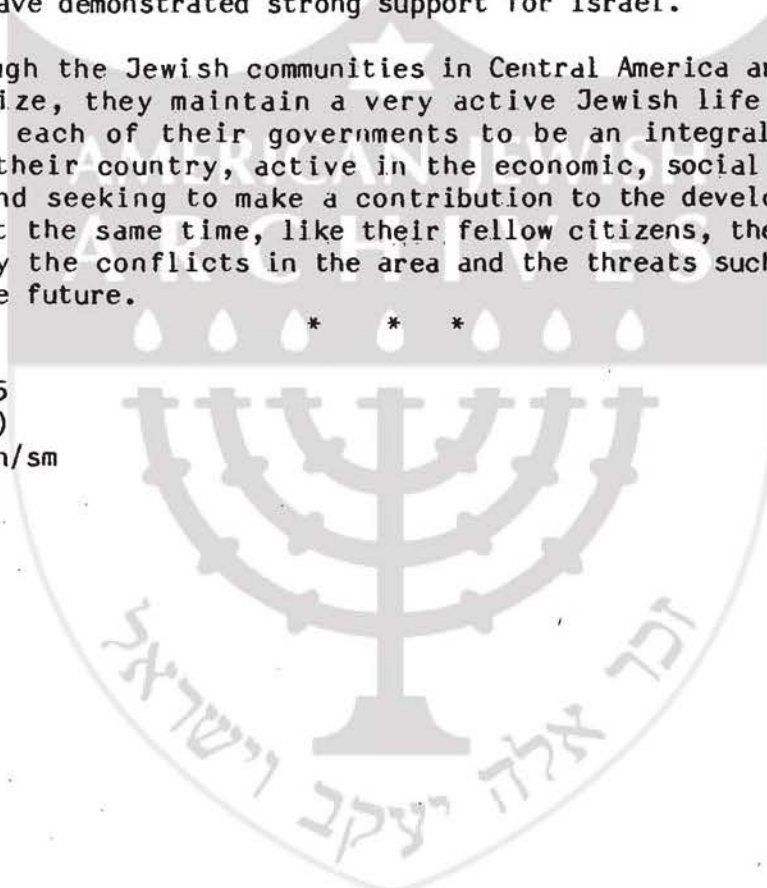


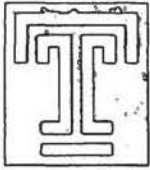
with the State of Israel, as well as very good relations with other Jewish communities in Latin America and in the United States. AJC during two decades has been in permanent contact with these individual communities, trying to assist them through programming, distribution of materials and delegation visits.

It should be noted that both Costa Rica and El Salvador have moved their embassies from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, notwithstanding the threat of political and economical pressures from the Arab world, and, with the exception of Nicaragua, all the countries of Central America enjoy close bilateral relationships with Israel. At the UN, for example, these countries have demonstrated strong support for Israel.

Although the Jewish communities in Central America are relatively small in size, they maintain a very active Jewish life and are considered by each of their governments to be an integral part of the fabric of their country, active in the economic, social and cultural spheres, and seeking to make a contribution to the development of the region. At the same time, like their fellow citizens, they are deeply troubled by the conflicts in the area and the threats such instability pose for the future.

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TEMPLE  
UNIVERSITY

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NEWS  
RELEASE

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**EDITORS PLEASE NOTE:** Visiting scholars from Europe, Latin America, South Korea, Sudan and Morocco will be available upon request during the meeting.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

**SCHOLARS WORK TO ELIMINATE RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE AT TEMPLE CONFERENCE**

Religious intolerance keeps nations and peoples apart. But next month, the subject of intolerance will unite some of the world's top scholars at a conference sponsored by Temple University's religion department, its Journal of Ecumenical Studies and the Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights in New York City.

The meeting, from Nov. 3 to 8 at the St. Raphaela Mary Retreat House in Haverford, Pa., is expected to generate recommendations to promote religious freedom.

"The resurgence of religious fanaticism today makes religious intolerance not only an unfortunate fact of life in many authoritarian and aggressively atheistic states, but also a concern of the democracies," states Richard Maass, chairman of the Blaustein Institute.

"History is full of the stories of human destruction resulting from religious intolerance," adds Dr. Leonard Swidler, editor of the Journal at Temple, who provides these convincing examples:

**Between nations:** the 'Crusades,' where Latin Christians fought against Jews, Orthodox Christians and Muslims from the 11th to 15th Centuries.

**Within nations:** the Hindus and the Sikhs in the Punjab, Northern Ireland, Lebanon. This intolerance usually takes the form of a dominant religion using government and other instruments to oppress minority religions.

**Within religions:** takes place on a massive scale within many religions and is deeply destructive. Herein lies the bedrock of the two former categories, according to Dr. Swidler: if human rights are suppressed, or restricted within religions and ideologies, how can religions or ideologies be expected to foster human rights for others?

(more)



add one/TEMPLE'S RELIGIOUS MEETING

"The idea of the conference is based on a United Nations Declaration of Religious Liberty in 1981," says Dr. Swidler.

Research projects on religious liberty and human rights that began soon after the Declaration will be presented at the Philadelphia meeting, and the proceedings will be published in book form.

Elisabeth Odio-Benito of Costa Rica, who was designated by the UN to prepare a study on the topic in 1983, will be the keynote speaker for the meeting. Her talk is scheduled for the first day of the conference at 2 p.m.

"We are aiming to bring scholars together with each other and get their research and information into the hands of the United Nations," claims Dr. Swidler, who is expecting 15 speakers--eight from overseas--to participate.

The conference agenda is broken down into three parts. Major papers on religious liberty in six different countries--Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Sudan, Egypt, the United States and South Korea--will be presented during the first phase.

The 'Between Nations' portion will use Pakistan-India as a model. There will be two lectures on the Hindu-Muslim dialogue, one from a Hindu perspective and the other from the Muslim perspective.

Religious liberty within religions will be examined in each of the major world religions--Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

All papers will be followed by response and discussion periods.

Conference activity begins at 9 a.m. each day, except for opening day, when introductions begin at 1 p.m. A summary report will be issued Friday at 9 a.m.

The Retreat House is at 616 Coopertown rd., Haverford, Pa. For more information, call Dr. Swidler at Temple at 215-787-7714.

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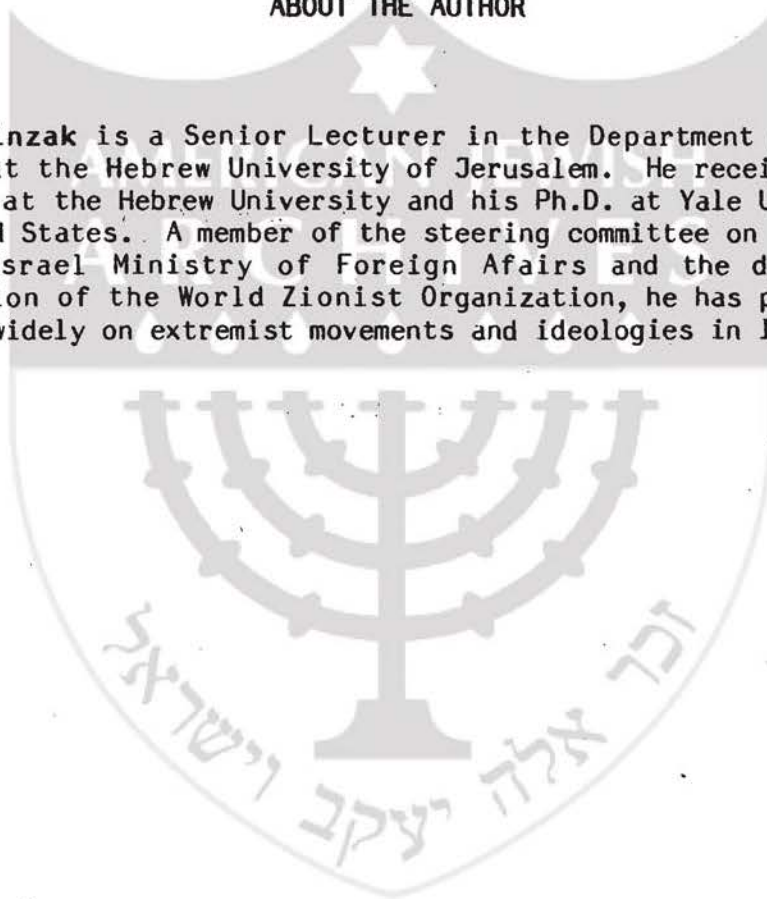


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## A NEW POLITICAL FORCE

On April 27, 1984, Kol Yisrael, the Israel broadcasting service, announced the discovery of a plot to blow up six Arab buses during a crowded rush hour. In the following week, more than 20 Israelis suspected of forming an anti-Arab terrorist network were arrested. It was soon disclosed that the suspects had been responsible for an attempt to assassinate the Arab mayors of three West Bank cities in 1980, a murderous attack on the Islamic College in Hebron in 1983, and a score of lesser acts of violence against Arabs. Moreover, they had developed an elaborate plan to blow up the mosques on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, a site sacred to Moslems and Jews alike.

What shocked many observers was not so much the existence of such a terrorist group as the identity of its members. They belonged to Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful), a group committed to establishing Jewish settlements in the West Bank (biblical Judea and Samaria). Though an aggressive (sometimes even illegal) settlement movement, Gush Emunim had never openly embraced an ideology of violence. Its orthodox leaders asserted a biblically based Jewish claim to Judea and Samaria, but they had never advocated deportation of the Arab population. Instead, they had professed the belief that peaceful and productive coexistence with the Arabs there was both possible and desirable. That any of these highly educated and responsible men, some of whom were ranking army officers and all of whom were heads of large families, would resort to terrorism was astonishing.

It now appears that earlier perceptions of Gush Emunim were seriously deficient. Gush Emunim, it is clear, has introduced into Israel's public life a radical mode of thinking, and a comprehensive and absolutist belief system capable of generating intense aspirations with the potential of extreme consequences. Because this system combines belief in the literal truth of the Bible and total commitment to the precepts of modern secular Zionism, it may be called Zionist fundamentalism.



Jewish fundamentalism, of course, is not new in Israel. It was there long before the establishment of the State. It was, however, always the exclusive province of ultra-orthodox, anti-Zionist sects. As the Zionist enterprise advanced in Palestine, traditional fundamentalism became socially isolated, politically detached, and culturally marginal. Seeing Zionism as a religious affront, it secluded itself in a cultural, sometimes real, ghetto and played no part in public life. It stood, in principle, in direct opposition to pragmatic Zionism, including religious Zionism, which for many years was oriented toward "the art of the possible."

Gush Emunim has combined religious fundamentalism and secular Zionism to create a potent new political force. Because of the growing appeal of the fundamentalist cast of mind, there can be no doubt that Zionist fundamentalism will exert a profound influence on the future of the State, including such critical matters as national decisions on war and peace.



## THE EMERGENCE OF GUSH EMUNIM

Israeli occupation of the West Bank in the 1967 Six Day War aroused in many Israelis a passionate determination that these territories should be permanently joined to the State of Israel. Future members of Gush Emunim -- particularly its core group, Elon Moreh, whose founders first formulated the settlement ideology<sup>1</sup> -- became active in establishing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Not until after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, however, did they feel a need to organize politically. In the gloomy public mood occasioned by the first territorial concessions in the Sinai Peninsula (required by the disengagement agreement with Egypt), the founders of Gush Emunim determined to organize in order to oppose further territorial concessions and to promote the extension of Israeli sovereignty over the occupied territories.

The founding meeting of Gush Emunim took place in March 1974 at Kfar Etzion, a West Bank kibbutz that had been seized by the Arabs in the War of Independence and recovered by Israel in the Six Day War. This meeting had been preceded by informal discussions in which leading roles had been played by former students of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, then head of Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav. Among these were Rabbi Moshe Levinger (the leader of the Kiryat Arba settlers), Hanan Porat (one of the revivers of Jewish settlement in Gush Etzion), Rabbi Chayim Drukman (educator and one of the leaders of the Bnei Akiva religious youth movement, now a member of the Knesset), Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, and Rabbi Yohanan Fried.

At first, Gush Emunim was a faction within the National Religious Party (NRP), then a partner in the Labor coalition government. Distrustful of the NRP's position concerning the future of Judea and Samaria, the Gush people soon left the party and declared their movement's independence. Since then, they have refused to identify with any political party and have gained a unique political status.<sup>2</sup>

The Gush Emunim people -- mostly yeshiva graduates, rabbis, and teachers -- immediately launched a vigorous information campaign to



explain their position. They carried their campaign to all parts of the country through kaffeeklatsches, meetings in schools and yeshivot, and so on. At the same time they began organizing people who would inhabit the settlements they planned to set up in the West Bank. They did not require formal membership in Gush Emunim. Its people and supporters would not be called upon to carry out any task that would set them apart from the rest of the nation. People could participate in particular activities of Gush Emunim with which they sympathized without any obligation to support other activities or a broad platform. The absence of formal membership makes it impossible to confirm or refute Gush Emunim's claims regarding the size of its following.

During the Rabin government (1974-77) Gush Emunim pursued three types of activity: it protested the interim agreements with Egypt and Syria; it staged demonstrations in Judea and Samaria to underscore the Jewish attachment to those parts of Eretz Yisrael (the Land of Israel, or biblical Palestine); and it carried out settlement operations in the occupied territories.

Gush Emunim's protest activity began with active support of a hunger strike that leaders of the Greater Israel Movement started on Independence Day in May 1974 outside the Prime Minister's residence in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> There were repeated protests against U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger while he shuttled to and from Israel in his role of peacemaker after the Yom Kippur War. Participation in these demonstrations, which continued sporadically until the fall of 1975, ranged from the scores of people who blocked traffic on Ruppin Road in Jerusalem, thereby obstructing official motorcades, to the thousands who filled Jerusalem's Zion Square and clashed there with the police.

This activity reached a peak in October 1974 when a mass rally was held in Tel Aviv's Malkhei Yisrael Square to urge recognition of Judea and Samaria as inseparable parts of the country. After the interim agreement with Egypt and the end of Kissinger's visits, smaller protest demonstrations, opposite the Knesset building or the Prime Minister's office, reminded policymakers that the Gush had not abandoned this avenue of activity.

Gush-organized demonstrations stressing attachment to Judea and Samaria began with Operation Go-Around in October 1974. Some of an estimated 2,000 participants managed to get past army roadblocks and spread out across Judea and Samaria to points where the Gush maintained that settlements should be established.<sup>4</sup> Since the operation was meant for publicity purposes, the participants avoided serious collision with the army and left their occupation points when requested to do so. A similar action was conducted in December 1975, when many supporters of Gush Emunim spread out across mountain tops in Judea and Samaria in a Hanukkah candle-lighting ceremony. Passover in 1976 witnessed the first Eretz Yisrael Ramble, when some 20-30,000 people took part in a mass hike across Samaria.<sup>5</sup> The participants in this march, as in succeeding years, included such prominent figures as



Menachem Begin, Yigal Hurwitz, and Geula Cohen. Gush Emunim has always invested a tremendous effort in organizing these marches, for the extent of participation in them became the principal barometer for assessing public support of the movement. On the basis of participation in these marches, Gush Emunim claimed a mass following.<sup>6</sup>

The success of its protests and demonstrations never diverted Gush Emunim from its deep commitment to settlement beyond the Green Line, the border between Israel and the occupied territories. The government of Israel, being pragmatic and subject to pressures from all sides, was not enthusiastic about initiating settlement. Its hesitancy was most marked during the period of the negotiations on the interim agreements with Syria and Egypt, talks that were conducted under heavy American pressure applied by Kissinger. Gush Emunim, however, both behind the scenes and in public, continued to push for a settlement policy. In response, the government approved a settlement at Keshet on the Golan Heights, a military foothold at Tekoa, and another at Kochav ha-Shahar.<sup>7</sup> Minister of Defense Shimon Peres authorized a workers' camp at Ba'al Hazor, which later became Ofra, a civilian settlement in all respects, including families and children. Nevertheless, the government's fundamental objectives remained secure borders and minimal involvement with the Arab population in the West Bank.<sup>8</sup>

Gush Emunim, however, was determined to settle in all parts of Eretz Israel, including the very heart of the Palestinian population. Its core group, Elon Moreh, tried on seven occasions to settle in the Nablus-Sebastia region, but each time its attempt was thwarted and its settlement forcibly dismantled by the army. On its eighth attempt, during Hanukkah 1975, some 2,000 people, members of Elon Moreh and yeshiva students on holiday, settled near Sebastia. Some American Jewish leaders who were meeting in Jerusalem at the time were mobilized by Gush Emunim to express support for the settlement attempt. After two days of tense confrontation between the settlers and the army, the members of Elon Moreh agreed to leave the site "of their own accord," move to a military camp at Kadoum, and stay there until a decision was reached about their future location.<sup>9</sup>

The "Kadoum compromise" brought the series of confrontations between Gush Emunim and the Rabin government to a head. Afterward the group receded from public view, but its activity behind the scenes continued, increasingly geared to pressuring the government to establish new settlements and support existing ones. At the same time the Gush launched a vigorous public relations campaign. Important in this regard was the Ein Vered Conference, at which prominent figures in the Labor settlement movement proclaimed their support for the Gush.<sup>10</sup> Not only did the Gush thereby achieve cooperation between the religious and secular Zionist camps, but actually won support for its extralegal mode of action from an elite group within the Labor movement. After Kadoum and the formation of the Ein Vered Circle, it was clear to the government in general, and to Prime Minister Rabin in particular, that here was an opponent of substantial weight.



The Likud victory in the elections of May 1977 and the declaration of the prime minister designate, Menachem Begin, that "we will have many more Elon Morehs" induced Gush Emunim leaders to believe in all sincerity that their extralegal period was over.<sup>11</sup> And, indeed, the new regime accorded them full legitimacy. Gush Emunim was in fact never regarded by Menachem Begin as a deviant group. Its young members had always been his darlings and they now had easy access to the new Prime Minister. Many of them welcomed this official acceptance and were happy to shed their extremist image. They were pleased, too, that one of their leading members, Rabbi Chayim Drukman, had been placed second in the NRP list to the Ninth Knesset.<sup>12</sup>

Gush Emunim's rejoicing did not last long. Despite the Gush's expectations, the government did not come up with a large-scale settlement program. The constraints of daily policy-making, Begin's failing health, and especially American pressures began to leave their mark on the cabinet, and the impatient Gush soon felt that it was being given the runaround by the government and the Prime Minister. The government was still sympathetic -- Minister of Agriculture Ariel Sharon did not conceal his affection for Gush Emunim -- but it gradually became clear that even under a Likud administration it might have to use the extralegal tactics it had devised during the Rabin regime.

The Camp David accords leading to a peace treaty with Egypt, the autonomy plan, and the government's commitment to give up the Rafiah salient in the Sinai struck Gush Emunim like bolts from the blue. This was without doubt the lowest point in its short history.<sup>13</sup> Unable to organize an antigovernment front by themselves, they welcomed the help of other disaffected groups and individuals such as the Herut Loyalists Circle, Professor Yuval Ne'eman, members of the Greater Israel Movement, Knesset members Geula Cohen and Moshe Shamir, several former Rafi members, and others who together formed the Covenant of the Eretz Yisrael Faithful.<sup>14</sup> This new association committed itself to the original platform of the Greater Israel Movement. Later, it founded the Tehiya movement to oppose Begin's determination to carry out the Camp David accords.

In the months preceding April 28, 1982, the date set by the Israel-Egypt peace treaty for the final Israeli evacuation of Sinai, the settlers of the Rafiah salient organized to frustrate the government's policy.<sup>15</sup> Their movement was soon taken over by a group of Gush zealots. Hundreds of Gush settlers in Judea and Samaria moved to Yamit, the capital of the salient, and to its surrounding settlements, to block the retreat with their bodies. They came with their rabbis, their yeshivot, and even their families, fully convinced that they were heavenly ordained for the mission.<sup>16</sup> Several of them, the most extreme, seriously considered armed resistance, and only great caution by the army prevented the eruption of large-scale violence.<sup>17</sup>

The "treacherous" evacuation of Sinai provides the background for the activities of the terror network described in the first chapter of this essay. As early as 1980 the leaders of the group had concluded that the Begin government was not to be trusted. The Prime Minister, in their opinion, was ready to surrender Israeli territory in the south, and his defense minister, Ezer Weizman, was not sufficiently forceful in pursuing PLO terrorists in Judea and Samaria. Their response was the attempt to assassinate three Arab mayors considered to be the unofficial PLO leaders in the West Bank.<sup>18</sup> Later they developed their plan to blow up the mosques on Jerusalem's Temple Mount. In this instance their object was both tactical and millenarian. They believed that destruction of the mosques would nullify the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, with the result that the Sinai would remain in Israeli hands.<sup>19</sup> But they also cherished the dream of creating the conditions for the final redemption of the Jewish people.<sup>20</sup> It is not clear why this operation was not carried out at the time.

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Despite the frustration felt by some Gush extremists, Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria multiplied after 1981. The Israeli cabinet after Begin's electoral success in 1981 was not the same cabinet that had signed the peace agreements. The dominant axis, composed of Begin, Sharon, and Shamir, was a hawkish one, quite different from the Begin, Dayan, and Weizman group responsible for the Camp David accords. The new axis was limited by the Camp David accords and the autonomy plan; nevertheless, it aggressively pursued Jewish settlement of Judea and Samaria. Ariel Sharon proceeded rapidly toward the realization of his own settlement plan.<sup>21</sup> He had always objected to the Allon Plan, which in one form or another had guided all the Labor governments. Sharon's plan was based on strategic control of all the dominant roads in the West Bank. By virtue of his stubbornness and aggressiveness he achieved more than either his friends or his opponents had thought possible. In spite of the difficult personal problems he encountered in the Likud government, he outlasted both Dayan and Weizman, the only ministers able to neutralize him. With Sharon as a dominant figure in the government, Gush Emunim had no need for noisy public activities.



## THE FUNDAMENTALIST IDEOLOGY OF GUSH EMUNIM

By overlooking the cultural milieu from which Gush Emunim emerged, most observers have perceived it primarily as a political movement seeking to extend Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank. Only recently have a few scholars -- prominent among them kibbutz intellectual Zvi Ranaan<sup>1</sup> and the late Professor Uriel Tal<sup>2</sup> -- recognized the totalistic and messianic character of the Gush ideology. Several cardinal points of this belief system warrant close scrutiny.

### Redemption

All of Gush Emunim's spiritual authorities and many of its leaders were educated in Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav, whose founder was Avraham Yitzhak ha-Cohen Kook, the first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Eretz Yisrael. Kook believed that the era of redemption for the Jewish people had already begun with the rise of modern Zionism; the Balfour Declaration, and the growing Zionist enterprise in Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Like a classical kabbalist, Kook was equivocal on many issues, vague on others, and susceptible to different interpretations. His teaching was not a guide to earthly conduct.

Israel's victory in the Six Day War transformed the status of Kook's theology. Suddenly it became clear to his students that they were indeed living in the messianic age. Ordinary reality assumed a sacred aspect; every event possessed theological meaning and was part of the metahistorical process of redemption.<sup>4</sup> Though shared by many religious authorities, this view was most effectively expounded by Kook's son, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, who succeeded him as the head of Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav. The younger Kook defined the State of Israel as the halakhic Kingdom of Israel, and the Kingdom of Israel as the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. Every Jew living in Israel was holy; all phenomena, even the secular, were imbued with holiness.

The belief that they are living in the messianic age and that redemption is at hand has operational consequences for Gush members.

No longer is their theology expressed in esoteric kabbalistic language. It has become the practical guide to daily living. Conversation with Gush members is impossible without repeated references to national regeneration, the metahistorical meanings of ordinary events, the building of the Third Temple, and messianic redemption.<sup>5</sup> Almost all the biblical rules regarding the Kingdom of Israel are literally applicable, and strict halakhic instructions concerning national behavior in the messianic age are now valid.

### The Sanctity of the Land of Israel

According to the fundamentalists of Gush Emunim, the Land of Israel -- every grain of its soil -- is holy. "This holiness," writes Professor Tal,

does not replace the physical substance but inversely, the physical substance is itself becoming sacred until total holiness is achieved. Thus no individual can escape holiness and every place upon which a Jewish foot is set is holy. The historical symbols are transformed from mere symbols to a concrete substance. Not the single individual but the place is holy and not the place as a symbol for holiness, but the physical place: trees, stones, graves, walls and other places as well. They all are sacred in themselves.<sup>6</sup>

Since 1967, therefore, the issue of the borders of Israel has assumed an unprecedented seriousness. In countless religious symposia and learned essays the question has been discussed and debated.<sup>7</sup> While the secular proponents of the Greater Israel idea have surveyed the borders with a view to security considerations and historical claims, the proponents of the messianic idea have in mind only one consideration: the biblical covenant made by God with Abraham. They soon discovered that the territory so promised was not confined to the area taken by the Israeli army in the Six Day War but extended to the Euphrates on the northeast and to the Nile on the southwest. While no unanimity on the operational meaning of the biblical map has been reached, not a single fundamentalist authority is ready to alienate a square inch for either peace or security. Some even favor further territorial annexations. Rabbi Israel Ariel, the former head of the yeshiva at Yamit (the evacuated city in the Rafiah salient), is a typical fundamentalist. In an interview, he would not disclose his opinion whether this was the time for Israel to wage a war of conquest. Asked about current political constraints and diplomatic limitations, the rabbi replied that Joshua had far worse political constraints and limitations. When pressed further about potential casualties and national losses, the fundamentalist rabbi referred to a biblical ruling that in a holy war no question about casualties is legitimate until one fifth of the nation is extinct.<sup>8</sup>



Not all fundamentalist rabbis or members of Gush Emunim go as far as Rabbi Ariel; his is clearly a minority opinion.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, his view enjoys a measure of legitimacy. In 1976 Israel's Chief Rabbinate -- which has formally nothing to do with Gush Emunim -- issued an official halakhic ruling about the holiness of the Jewish territories and the consequent holiness of the political sovereignty over them. In 1979 the Rabbinate ruled that no part of the Holy Land could be alienated even in the context of a peace treaty. "According to our holy Torah and unequivocal and decisive halakhic rulings there exists a severe prohibition to pass to foreigners the ownership of any piece of the land of Israel since it was made sacred by the brit bein ha-betarim [Abraham's Covenant]."10

The uncompromising position of the fundamentalist members and supporters of Gush Emunim helps explain several events of the last decade. It explains, for example, the stubborn opposition to Israel's retreat from Sinai and the belief held by some until the last moments of April 28, 1982, that God was about to intervene directly to prevent Begin's "crime."<sup>11</sup> It also explains the welcome accorded by Gush Emunim to the Israeli conquest of Southern Lebanon. This territory belonged in biblical times to the tribes of Asher and Naftali, and the Gush saw no reason not to free it from the hostile Arabs and reclaim it forever.<sup>12</sup>

### The Revival of Zionism and Settlement

In an early document Gush Emunim calls itself a "movement for the renewal of Zionist fulfillment."

Our aim is to bring about a large movement of reawakening among the Jewish people for the fulfillment of the Zionist vision in its full scope, with the recognition that the source of the vision is Jewish tradition and roots and that its ultimate objective is the full redemption of the Jewish people and the entire world.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, although it appeared to many that Gush Emunim was established as a single-issue movement to promote the extension of Israeli sovereignty to Judea and Samaria (and, if possible, to all the occupied territories), it never actually confined itself to that issue alone. Taking into consideration the new totalistic definition of the Gush reality as well as the concrete operations of the movement, it is obvious that Gush Emunim sees itself as a movement of revival whose task is to revitalize the historic Zionism that died out in the Israel of the 1950s and 1960s. According to Gush's analysis, Israelis now live in a crisis born of the fatigue that followed the partial implementation of Zionism after the establishment of the State of Israel. This crisis has led to a weakening of the pioneering spirit, to an unwillingness to continue the struggle against the pressures of the outside world, especially against the continuing hostility of the Arabs, and to the establishment of a materialistic society in which

the private ego has superseded the national mission. Underscoring the gap between authentic Jewish culture and what they regard as "alienated" modern Western culture, the Gush's leaders propose to rejuvenate Zionism in keeping with authentic Jewish values.<sup>14</sup> They want to overcome the present decadence by restoring the pioneering and sacrificial spirit of the past. Gush people present themselves as the heirs of authentic Israeli Zionism, which actually built the Yishuv, guided by ideals of land settlement, manual labor, and personal sacrifice.

Gush settlements in the West Bank thus represent the purest Zionist activity in every sense of the term. Gush people are not socialists, but they are attached to the kibbutz ideal. It is not surprising that two of the most prominent leaders of Gush Emunim, Rabbi Moshe Levinger and Hanan Porat, were originally members of religious kibbutzim. Porat comes from Kfar Etzion, and Levinger was formerly the rabbi of Kibbutz Lavie.

### The Arabs

What role do the Gush Emunim fundamentalists accord the Palestinian Arabs in the age of Jewish redemption? What rights, if any, should they retain in the Holy Land of Israel? For years Gush spokesmen enumerated "three alternatives" to be presented to Israeli Arabs: acknowledge the legitimacy of the Zionist doctrine (Gush Emunim's version) and receive full civil rights, including the right to elect and be elected to the Knesset (and serve in the army); obey the laws of the state without formal recognition of Zionism and in return receive the rights of resident aliens (no political rights); emigrate to Arab countries with economic assistance provided by Israel.<sup>15</sup>

While not particularly liberal, the "three alternatives" at least make some political sense. In the context of a peace settlement and agreed-upon borders, they might even be appealing to some non-Gush Israelis. The problem is that the "three alternatives" do not exhaust the full range of fundamentalist views on the status of non-Jewish residents of Israel. As Professor Tal points out:

If time and space are two total existential categories, then no room can be left to foreigners. As we have seen, the question is not limited to a bunch of crazy prophets who lost control or to an unimportant marginal minority but pertains to a dogmatic and highly elaborated philosophy. This system leads to a policy which cannot coexist with civil and human rights and in the final analysis does not leave room for toleration.<sup>16</sup>

Following Tal, it is possible to identify in the fundamentalist school three positions on the status of non-Jews in Israel: limitation of



rights, denial of rights, and -- in the most extreme and improbable case -- extermination. Each position is anchored in an authoritative interpretation of Scripture. The first stems from the conviction that the notion of universal human rights is a foreign ideal that, like other European, non-Jewish values, has no meaning in the context of the Holy Land.<sup>17</sup> In the Bible, non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine were accorded the status of resident aliens, enjoying some privileges but never obtaining rights equal to those of the Jews. The Gush's "three alternatives" reflect this position and may be seen as its political translation.

The second position on the status of non-Jewish inhabitants amounts to a denial of all rights, since the very existence of the Jews in Israel depends on Arab emigration. The ruling regarding conquest of the land according to Rabbi Shlomo Aviner, in his essay "Messianic Realism," stands above "moral-human considerations of the national rights of the Gentiles in our Land."<sup>18</sup> The people of Israel, according to this view, were ordered to be sacred but not to be moral. Alien moral considerations do not obtain in the case of the Chosen People. One practical consequence of this view is that in time of war no distinction should be made between enemy soldiers and civilians since both are of the category of people who do not belong in the land.

The most extreme position, extermination, was expressed in an essay by Rabbi Israel Hess published in the official magazine of Bar Ilan University students under the title "The Genocide Ruling of Torah." Hess likens the Arabs to the biblical Amalekites, who were deservedly annihilated.<sup>19</sup> The historical Amalekites, according to Hess, were both socially and militarily treacherous and cruel. Their relation to the Jews was like the relation of darkness to light, that is, one of total contradiction. The Arabs who live today in the Land of Israel and who are constantly waging a terrorist and treacherous war against the Jews are direct descendants of the Amalekites, and the correct solution to the problem is extermination.

Hess's position is an isolated one; even the denial of all rights is rarely mentioned. Nevertheless, it is significant that in current fundamentalist discourse none of these three approaches to the problem of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Israel is considered illegitimate or abhorrent. More important, none has so far been ruled out as erroneous by high religious authorities. It is not clear whether the silence of those authorities is evidence of disapproval or of political prudence.

Some indication that Gush Emunim is aware of the political sensitivity of its views on the Arab question is the present refusal of its leaders to discuss the future of the Arabs in Judea and Samaria following the "expected" annexation of the West Bank to Israel. Their standard comment is that their mission is not to solve the Arab question but the Jewish question.<sup>20</sup> When pressed, Gush spokesmen maintain that in due time Almighty God will provide the answer.



## Democracy and the Rule of Law

A key issue in understanding the politics of Gush Emunim is its attitude toward democracy and the rule of law. During its formative years, Gush Emunim set itself resolutely in opposition to the policies of the democratically elected government of Israel. More recently, in rejecting the peace treaty with Egypt, the Gush defied the Knesset, which had overwhelmingly approved it.

Moreover, the cultural milieu of the Gush's spiritual leaders is avowedly undemocratic. Its rabbis' fundamentalist interpretation of the Torah is totally alien to the spirit of modern democracy and legal positivism. Nowhere is their viewpoint better revealed than on the issue of the civil and human rights of the non-Jewish residents of Israel.

But is this the entire story? Do the illegalities of Gush settlers and the fundamentalism of their rabbis exhaust the subject? The leaders and theoreticians of Gush Emunim argue that they should not be judged in the context of the abstract notion of democracy but in the context of the Israeli political system, which is a democracy. They point out that they have always had great respect for the secular institutional expressions of Israel's sovereignty -- the government, the Knesset, and the army. Many of them, together with young members of the NRP, were active in launching the yeshivot hesder (academies combining religious study and military service). They played a major role in changing the NRP's orientation toward the institutions of government in Israel. Whereas they once considered the institutions of sovereignty merely instrumental, they now insist that these institutions are of great national importance and should be infused with truly Zionist content -- pioneering and self-sacrifice.<sup>21</sup>

The movement, it is true, does not have a formal antidemocratic ideology, and in the general Israeli context it has not displayed exceptionally undemocratic behavior.<sup>22</sup> On the issue that most concerns Gush Emunim -- namely, Eretz Yisrael -- the movement has adopted a rigidly doctrinaire stance. In Gush's view, the only legitimizing principle in whose name the State of Israel, its democratic regime, and its legal system were established is Zionism, which requires Jewish settlement in all parts of Eretz Israel. Democracy is acceptable as long as it exists within a truly Zionist polity. Should the two principles collide, Zionism must take precedence. If the Knesset passes legislation contrary to the requirements of Zionism (as understood by the Gush), that act is illegitimate and must be resisted.<sup>23</sup> Every Jew in Eretz Israel has the right -- indeed, the duty -- to oppose any compromise on the issue of settlement, even if it is supported by a majority of Israelis. When Gush Emunim people are asked how it is that they, who show so much respect for the state, are prepared to resist it, they reply that the existing government



coalition does not represent the true spirit of the state. According to Gush Emunim, government prohibitions of settlement may be legal but they are illegitimate. A government that prevents settlement undercuts its own legitimacy and places itself in the same position as the British mandatory government, which undermined its legitimacy by executing the policy of the infamous White Paper of 1939.<sup>24</sup> During the period of the White Paper, illegal acts of settlement by secular Zionists were altogether legitimate; the same principle applies today, believers argue, but that does not imply a general antidemocratic orientation.

A final judgment about Gush Emunim, democracy, and the rule of law should thus be held in abeyance. There exist many indications that their fundamentalist thinking and their limited commitment to democratic procedures would, under pressure, drive many members of Gush Emunim to confrontation with the democratic system. On the other hand, there are some indications that certain elements within the movement would avoid such a confrontation. These elements would put a high premium on the interpretation that the present State of Israel, despite all its follies, is both the halakhic Kingdom of Israel and the culmination of the Zionist dream.<sup>25</sup> As such, they say, its leaders should perhaps be strongly criticized but finally obeyed.



## THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ORIGINS OF GUSH EMUNIM

Many Israelis underestimate Gush Emunim as a political force because they continue to think of it as it appeared in the mid-1970s when it launched its first illegal settlements in the West Bank. Though successful in bringing down the Rabin government over the issue of settling Samaria, its leaders and members appeared to be unworldly idealists incapable of sustained, responsible action. Israelis who recall their own early pioneering youth movement regard Gush Emunim as a latter-day version. Many are convinced that, once the government resolves to compromise over Judea and Samaria, Gush Emunim will evaporate. As they see it, an unrealistic youth movement, all its virtues notwithstanding, cannot survive in the "grownup" world of practical politics.

Nothing could be more misleading than this obsolete image. Eleven years after its creation, Gush Emunim comprises a highly variegated social and institutional system, including a state-supported settlement organization, regional and municipal councils, and independent economic corporations. In addition, it possesses a highly cohesive spiritual leadership composed of distinguished rabbis and scholars. It would not be erroneous to speak today of the invisible kingdom of Gush Emunim, which is gradually acquiring the character of a state within the state.

A full understanding of this system must start not with the official establishment of Gush Emunim in 1974 but with its cultural and social roots in the 1950s and 1960s. It has already been noted that the Gush leadership emerged almost exclusively from the Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav and was influenced by the teachings of Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Kook as interpreted by his son, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. No less important is the fact that most of the Gush leadership came to Merkaz ha-Rav from the world of the so-called "knitted skullcaps" -- the Bnei Akiva youth movement, ha-Poel ha-Mizrahi, and adherents of Torah va-Avodah (Torah and Labor), the founders of the religious kibbutz movement. It is important to note the spiritual underpinnings of these roots because the process under consideration pertains not



only to Gush Emunim but also to one of the central transformations that has taken place in Israeli society and that has not yet been adequately studied. Although there was no outright Kulturkampf in the 1950s and 1960s, there was nevertheless a power play in which the victors were the religious educational system and the subculture of the ha-Poel ha-Mizrahi and the "knitted skullcaps."

In contrast to the other sectors of the Zionist educational system, which in the course of being nationalized lost their normative character and underwent an astonishing dilution, the religious Zionists developed an educational system that created norms of life and behavior of the highest order for a quarter of the school population. Thus the religious Zionist public was spared the general decline that beset the country's secular educational system and, indeed, may even have been consolidated by it.<sup>1</sup> Around that educational system complete life patterns were created for an entire public, which reinforced its religious life not only at home and in the synagogue but also (for its children) in the neighborhood kindergarten and in the ulpanah (religious academy for girls) and yeshiva (religious academy for men).

Simultaneously with the establishment of state-supported religious schools occurred the revival of Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav, which had fallen into decline after the death of its founder. At the end of the 1950s a new Bnei Akiva generation revitalized the old school. This new generation listened eagerly to Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook's interpretation of his father's teachings and infused it with nationalistic meaning. When the Six Day War broke out, these youngsters were ready to embrace a new religious Zionist ideology -- but not before witnessing a unique, seemingly miraculous event.

On the eve of Independence Day in 1967, graduates of the yeshiva met at Merkaz ha-Rav for an alumni reunion. As was his custom, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook delivered a festive sermon, in the midst of which his quiet voice suddenly rose and he bewailed the partition of historic Eretz Yisrael.<sup>2</sup> His faithful students were led to believe that this situation was intolerable and could not last. When three weeks later, in June 1967, they found themselves citizens of an enlarged State of Israel, the graduates of Merkaz ha-Rav were convinced that a genuine spirit of prophecy had come over their rabbi on that Independence Day.

At one stroke a flame had been lit and the conditions made ripe for imparting to the subculture of the "knitted skullcaps" the political ideology of a greater Eretz Yisrael. The disciples of Rabbi Kook became missionaries equipped with unshakable confidence in the divine authority of their cause. They soon transformed the "knitted skullcaps" from an isolated religious community into a radicalized political constituency. According to the new ideology, the entire historic Land of Israel must now pass into the hands of the Jewish people, whether by military action or by settlement and the extension of Israeli sovereignty.



Not all the religious public was affected by the new spirit. The religious kibbutz movement, for example, and its most prominent leaders have retained deep reservations about this revolution in thought. So too has the Oz ve-Shalom (Strength and Peace) movement of religious intellectuals, and presumably many others, including heads of yeshivot and rabbis. But it is clear today that between 1967 and 1973 most "knitted skullcaps" went through a process of "Eretz Yisraelization." This ideological transformation was not effected only by people from Yeshivat Merkaz ha-Rav. A sizable role was also played by the "young guard" of the NRP, as well as the Greater Israel Movement.

It is necessary to grasp the full magnitude of the cultural transformation of the national religious bloc to understand Gush Emunim's unprecedented impact on Israeli public life. Instead of an isolated group of religious fanatics who emerged from nowhere in the wake of the Yom Kippur War, Gush Emunim, like the tip of an iceberg, must be recognized as the visible portion of a submerged social and cultural system.<sup>3</sup> Despite their small number, Gush people could rely in time of need upon a large pool of reinforcements from the religious educational system, the Bnei Akiva yeshivot, and the yeshivot hesder, many of whose rabbis and teachers -- their spiritual authorities and role models -- had passed through Merkaz ha-Rav. Most of the youths did not participate in Gush operations as individuals. They came in organized groups, often on the explicit instructions of the directors of their yeshivot. It is no accident that the large Gush demonstrations and its settlement moves always took place during school holidays, when young people were free to attend.

The link with the educational institutions of the "knitted skullcap" culture and with organizational networks affiliated with it also explains Gush Emunim's financial resources. Opponents have questioned how a small and fanatical group could raise the considerable funds needed for its activities. It is now clear, for example, that most of the organized transport and equipment for the Gush's early operations was contributed by state-supported institutions such as yeshivot, youth centers, and settlements, which charged these expenses to their official budgets.<sup>4</sup>

In addition to relying on the human and financial resources of the "knitted skullcap" subculture, Gush Emunim activists relied heavily on its political resources. The young Bnei Akiva, for example, were an integral part of the NRP, a permanent senior partner in Israel's cabinet. Despite their extreme positions on settlement issues, Gush activists were always welcome in high political circles. Fully backed by the NRP, they could be sure that no decisive military action would be taken against them for fear of a general government crisis. They also enjoyed the support of the opposition leader at the time, Menachem Begin, and of the Greater Israel camp.<sup>5</sup> Regarded affectionately as idealistic pioneering youth, they became in fact effective politicians and lobbyists, firm in their objectives but



flexible in their tactics, willing to act within the system if possible and outside it if necessary.<sup>6</sup>



## THE INVISIBLE KINGDOM OF GUSH EMUNIM

Although its activities in the period 1974-77 were often extra-legal, Gush Emunim aspired to public respectability and legal status. In 1978 it established Amana (Covenant) as its official settlement organization, recognized by the World Zionist Organization.<sup>1</sup> This occurred after Begin's rise to power and was one of several steps designed to regularize the movement. Another was establishment of the Yesha Council representing the Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. The creation of these two organs transformed the Gush from a loose association of like-minded individuals into a permanent movement with a formal organizational structure.

Although Gush Emunim developed the ideology for aggressive Jewish settlement in all parts of Eretz Yisrael, the framework for the settlements was developed by the Israeli government. Meron Benvenisti, who has followed the evolution of the West Bank under Israeli occupation, argues that the de facto Israeli annexation of the area (which in his opinion has already taken place) was achieved by an incremental process of parliamentary legislation, government ruling, and administrative regulation.<sup>2</sup> Benvenisti stresses, however, that there was a great difference between the policy of the Labor Alignment administration (1967-77) and that of the Likud (Begin's) administration (1977-84). While Labor wanted to keep open options regarding the future of Judea and Samaria and abstained from a nonselective settlement policy, the Likud was not so constrained. Even within the framework of the autonomy plan it was determined to prevent a "repartition of the Land of Israel" and was consequently ready to support large-scale, nonselective settlement and a strategic takeover of the whole West Bank.<sup>3</sup> Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon aggressively pursued a policy of "creeping annexation." New strategic roads were built, new settlements initiated, and new economic investments made in the area.

Had Gush Emunim been a secular settlement movement, it would have had no reason for displeasure with Begin, Sharon, and the Likud administration. No voluntary effort could have accomplished in Judea



and Samaria what the Likud government did. But Gush Emunim, because of its fundamentalist attachment to Eretz Yisrael, was never satisfied with Begin and Sharon, the lay politicians. Begin was always suspected of being a declarative Zionist, a man who talked about great national visions but was not capable of their realization. Sharon was mistrusted because of his personal ambition. Begin's refusal to officially annex Judea and Samaria and his part in the peace treaty with Egypt confirmed Gush Emunim's worst fears.<sup>4</sup> Sharon's support of Begin further added to the Gush's distrust. Gush Emunim could not forget that, despite advances in Jewish domination of the West Bank, the number of Jewish settlers there did not exceed 3 percent of the population. It could not ignore the fact that the holy cities of Hebron and Nablus were largely Judenrein. And it observed that demands for an eventual Israeli withdrawal came from inside Israel as well as from abroad. The Gush resolved to strengthen the Jewish position in Judea and Samaria to such an extent that under no circumstances would any Israeli government be able to surrender even a small portion of the area. Now that its people were key figures within the settler community, the most capable and motivated, this task was not very difficult.

On March 20, 1979, six days before the signing of the peace treaty with Egypt, in a gesture of great political consequence, the military government in the West Bank signed Order 783 establishing three regional councils in the area. Two more councils were added later.<sup>5</sup> The regulations governing the regional councils' powers and functions, defined in Order 783 as amended, are identical with those governing Israeli regional councils. In March 1981, five municipal councils were established in the West Bank by Order 982. That order largely duplicated the Israeli Municipal Ordinance with the result that the powers of West Bank municipalities are identical with those of Israeli municipalities except that, in addition to the right to levy taxes, supply municipal services, nominate officers and employ workers, the West Bank councils enjoy planning and building-licensing powers. The Israeli settlement areas were declared "planning areas," and the councils were designated "special planning commissions." The purpose of these acts initiated by the Begin government, apart from their administrative dimension, was to strengthen Jewish control of the area and ensure the permanence of the settlements. The key executive positions in the new councils were given to Gush members. Once illegal settlers, they suddenly became state officials with large budgets and great political powers and responsibilities.

Today, the councils, especially the regional ones controlled by Gush Emunim, are dynamic institutions. They have established business corporations, transportation services, and health and educational organizations. They employ hundreds of people and own considerable equipment and other assets. The Company for the Development of Samaria, for example, established by the Samaria regional council, owns 22 buses, trucks, bulldozers, and minibuses. It operates gasoline stations and soil works and plans, in cooperation with a



well-established Histadrut company, Even Vasid, to construct a cement factory and, with the big oil corporation, Paz, to produce gasoline by-products. The directors of the company are proud of their ability to finance new settlements without government assistance.<sup>6</sup> A recent article in Nekuda, the settlers' magazine, reports that the company is on its way to becoming an economic empire capable of acting independently in time of political trouble.<sup>7</sup>

What today distinguishes the Gush organizational structure is its semi-autonomous character. Thus its economic and social welfare system is largely independent of the Israeli system. All the Gush-dominated municipal councils are members of the Yesha Council, which operates political, financial, information, and security committees as well as a committee for external relations with other communities. Danny Rubinstein, the veteran West Bank correspondent of Davar, has observed that these committees look very much like state ministries in embryo.<sup>8</sup>

Of special significance to a full appreciation of the Gush's "invisible kingdom" is its defense organization. Almost from the beginning of the Israeli occupation, there were security problems in the West Bank. Because of anti-Jewish terrorist and guerrilla attacks, the settlements were designated "confrontation settlements," and special military orders authorized their guards to defend them with force.<sup>9</sup> Many Jewish residents of the West Bank are, in fact, soldiers "on extended leave," mainly religious students combining military service with rabbinical studies. In every settlement one settler is appointed "security officer" and receives a salary from the Ministry of Defense or from the Israeli police. The result is the direct involvement of the settler community in defense and security matters that were originally handled by the army and the military government.

In 1978 Israel's chief of staff, General Raphael Eitan, initiated a new policy under which the settler community in the West Bank was assigned complete responsibility for securing the area and defending itself. Hundreds of settlers were transferred from their regular army units to the West Bank, where, in addition to protecting their own settlements, they were to secure cultivated fields, access roads, and commercial and general community facilities. Every settlement was required to have an allotted number of fit combatants, including officers. These were to perform their active duty on a part-time basis while leading normal civilian lives. In addition, regional mobile forces equipped with armored personnel carriers were established to police the Palestinian population.<sup>10</sup>

The regional defense system was probably seen by the chief of staff as the best and most economical way to secure the settlements against Arab attacks. The concept of regional defense was familiar from prestate days in Palestine, when the border settlements and kibbutzim necessarily defended themselves. Nevertheless, the danger-



ous potential of a semi-independent armed force composed of Gush Emunim officers and soldiers cannot be ignored should strong disagreement with government policy arise. Reports of recent debates within the settler community about its future in case of major territorial concessions by the government concealed the opinions of the small minority who favored armed resistance. The fact that the settler-soldiers keep their personal arms with them and that heavier weapons are stored in the settlements' armories means that the settlements could serve as bases for independent military operations.

The potential for disorder is already evident in the settlers' vigilantism. Benvenisti observes:

The quasi-independence of ideologically motivated armed settlers, serving part-time under their own commanders, has led to various vigilante activities, including the smashing of cars and harassment of the Arab population. The degree of independence of the armed settlers and the lack of control over their activities were revealed by an Israeli official committee. The committee found that incidents of vigilantism (vandalizing of Arab property, opening fire, and harassment) had not been investigated "because of intervention of politicians, including senior members of the government coalition, who have halted investigations by intervening with authorities." A former chief of internal security who was responsible for investigating vigilante activity went even further by stating "There is a sympathetic political environment.... Those settlers who took the law into their hands and established illegal settlements have now become legitimate.... This proved to them that 'destroyers of fences' and law breakers have been right, that they have become strong and respectable."<sup>11</sup>

The warning quoted by Benvenisti regarding the settlers' vigilantism was made before the disclosure of the underground network responsible for the most extreme anti-Arab terrorism since 1980. A senior officer in the regional defense unit was among those arrested.<sup>12</sup>

Gush Emunim's drive for autonomy is not limited to organizational, economic, and military areas. It extends as well to the legal. The regional council in Mateh Binyamin has established a rabbinical court to resolve financial issues according to Halakhah. A little-noticed announcement of the court's establishment explained:

The revival of the Israeli nation means also the return of the Law in Israel and the management of financial issues between a man and his peers according to the Torah and not according to the law imagined by the Gentiles. It appears proper that settlements that are instituted by the Torah should follow this path for the law is from God.<sup>13</sup>

Since the death of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook in 1982, the Gush "invisible kingdom" has lacked a single spiritual authority. Nevertheless the system has functioned smoothly since Rabbi Kook's students have themselves become admired authorities. Among them, Rabbi Moshe Levinger from Hebron, Rabbi Eliezer Waldman from Kiryat Arba, and Rabbi Yisrael Ariel from Yamit have achieved national reputations. There are, moreover, dozens of young rabbis trained at Merkaz ha-Rav who disseminate its fundamentalist, messianic doctrine. Every Gush settlement has its own rabbi, and in many there exists a yeshiva as well. By indoctrinating hundreds of young students every year, Gush Emunim perpetuates itself and preserves its religious zeal. The number of new Gush adherents may not be large, but as reinforcement of an elite group it is more than adequate. Gush Emunim is by far the most dynamic social and cultural force in Israel today.





## GUSH EMUNIM AND ISRAELI POLITICS

A cultural and organizational analysis of Gush Emunim cannot account for the movement's great political influence. This can be understood only in the general context of Israeli politics. Most observers agree that on the territorial question the Israeli public is today evenly divided between doves and hawks. While about half of the citizens are ready to trade part of Judea and Samaria for a real peace with a Jordanian-Palestinian entity, nearly the same number oppose such a settlement. The latter accept the position expressed by Menachem Begin many times: "Never again should Eretz Yisrael be repartitioned." Most of them, however, are not fundamentalists. They are territorial maximalists who believe that Judea and Samaria should remain in Israel's hands for various reasons: security, demography, historical attachment, even purely emotional considerations. They are highly suspicious of the Arabs, resentful of PLO terrorism, and in general see no reason for being altruistic in the cruel and bloody reality of the Middle East. For these territorial maximalists, most of whom are represented politically by the Likud and Tehiya parties, the youthful and energetic zealots of Gush Emunim are objects of admiration. While these ordinary Israelis of nationalist convictions have personally done nothing to make the dream of Greater Israel come true, the Gush people and their families have gone to the freezing hills of Judea and Samaria and literally pioneered.

For the maximalists, Gush Emunim fills the role that was once filled for the Labor movement by the kibbutz community. Leaders of the Labor movement used to stress incessantly the importance of the tiny kibbutz community to the whole Labor movement and to the realization of socialist Zionism in Israel. Many who as young pioneers passed through a particular kibbutz on their way to political power and influence retained their formal membership in that kibbutz although they had long since become urban politicians in every respect. The kibbutz community thus became a symbol of the nation's youthful idealism. Similarly, for the territorial maximalists, Gush Emunim seems to embody the nation's former confidence and certitude. Unfortunately, admiration for Gush Emunim has entailed an uncritical indulgence of its fundamentalism.

The popularity of Gush Emunim is evidenced by the warm welcome extended to Gush leaders in high government circles and by the recognition and moral authority accorded to its rabbis. To make sure that its influence is not merely informal, Gush Emunim has placed its members or supporters in all the maximalist political parties. Thus Tehiya, despite its secular leadership, is generally viewed as the political embodiment of the Gush's ideology. Gush Emunim also musters political support in the Likud, where Ariel Sharon, an archmaximalist, is vocal and influential. The NRP is permeated with Gush supporters, especially among its rabbis and yeshiva heads. The small Morasha, another religious party, is headed by two prominent leaders of Gush Emunim, Rabbi Chayim Drukman and Hanan Porat. In addition, Gush Emunim and the settler community have created a very effective lobby in the Knesset. Every Knesset or government meeting that deals with Judea and Samaria, whether on small questions such as construction budgets or on important ones involving the future of the entire area, is attended by Gush members or their political allies. Very little escapes the attention of the young Gush activists. Wielding their immense influence, they are usually capable of mobilizing the entire maximalist body in support of their positions.

Gush political influence is not limited to the maximalist camp only. During its pioneering years, it made inroads into the very heart of the Labor movement and to what was once called Israel's Left. Some Labor members, devoted supporters of Gush Emunim, crossed political lines and joined the maximalist camp. Others did not and are still counted in the minimalist camp. Most prominent among the latter is Israel's present minister of agriculture, Arik Nachamkin, but he is not alone. While these politicians are unaffected by the Gush "mystique," they support the Gush on many important issues.

Had the political influence of Gush Emunim been confined to the maximalist camp and to some minimalist supporters, the present coalition cabinet under Shimon Peres could perhaps have limited its influence. But as a result of the 1984 elections, the government has, in this area, been largely paralyzed. The current national unity cabinet is equally divided between the Likud and the Labor Alignment. No major policy decision can be made unless agreed upon by both parties. Moreover, Peres and his colleagues are totally occupied with Israeli's immense economic difficulties. They have little time or energy to resist the slow, incremental process of annexation in the West Bank. And since there are no significant signs of compromise by Jordan or the Palestinians on a peace agreement, they are understandably disinclined to jeopardize the precarious political alliance that brought them to power. There are very few instances of Labor-initiated interference in the actions of Gush settlers, and then only in cases of flagrant lawbreaking.

The only significant public force that actively opposes the growing political influence of the fundamentalists is the Israeli



Left, sometimes called the Israeli peace camp. This force, however, is very feeble. It is composed of a few small political parties that account for no more than a tenth of the Knesset; of Peace Now, a vocal extraparliamentary movement; and of several small civil rights organizations. The Left, especially Peace Now, has occasionally managed to arouse intense public reactions to certain excessive acts of the government. But during the Likud administration it was unable to stop the Gush's expansion in Judea and Samaria. Its only successes in this area have been to identify extreme settler transgressions against Arabs that could be proved in court. These successes contributed to the demonization of the Left in the eyes of the maximalists, but otherwise they had little political impact.



### ZIONIST FUNDAMENTALISM: A BALANCE SHEET

Gush members generally bear little resemblance in tactics to the Muslim fundamentalists currently so conspicuous in Iran, Lebanon, and elsewhere in the Middle East. They are not sadistic, bloodthirsty, or suicidal. They do not engage in street hooliganism or other quasi-fascist behavior. Unlike some other Jewish fundamentalists in Israel (such as the anti-Zionist Neturei Karta, which preserves a medieval life-style), Gush people are modern, well-behaved, and intelligent. Many are professionals, engineers, talented mathematicians, and successful businessmen. Most of their rabbis are extremely versatile, far removed from the popular image of ayatollahs. Almost everyone who has known Gush people has been highly impressed by their combination of intelligence, idealism, and modesty. Their work ethic and dedication to collective goals have earned them the respect of many Israelis who do not otherwise share their convictions.

The modern and attractive life-style of Gush Emunim is, however, highly misleading. The real challenge of this movement does not lie in its way of life or even in its politics. It lies instead in its fundamentalist cast of mind, which simply refuses to acknowledge the constraints of political reality. Many ordinary Israelis would love to live in a Greater Israel free of Arab hostility. They would rejoice if the Palestinians willingly evacuated Judea and Samaria or if their government commanded the magic resources to restructure the Middle East. Today, however, these Israelis are aware that the necessary conditions for such a resolution of the Arab-Israeli problem do not obtain and that they are unlikely to obtain in any foreseeable future. These Israelis, who are no less patriotic than Gush Emunim, are simply capable of reading the political map of our time. While the political perceptions and interpretations of those in the non-Gush mainstream may vary, in the final analysis they are unlikely to engage in irresponsible acts or blindly challenge current political reality.

The danger of the fundamentalist mind is its conviction that reality is bound to follow ideology and not vice versa. Facts can simply be disregarded: the Palestinians do not exist, the Arab



countries do not count, world public opinion is rubbish, and the U.S. government is merely a nuisance. The only reality that counts is Jewish redemption, which is imminent -- to be realized by massive aliyah, negation of the Diaspora, and the building of the Third Temple. Throughout Jewish history there have been "true believers" like the Gush Emunim who were equally convinced that the Messiah was at the door. Fortunately these messianic believers were in most cases few and isolated. Their messianic vision was not translated into operative political programs. This is not the case with Gush Emunim. Since the movement is so attractive and effective in present-day Israel, it is bound to have a significant impact on the country's future.

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## NOTES

### A New Political Force

1. Cf. Menachem Friedman, "Radical Religious Groups in Israel: Conservatism and Innovation," paper presented at the Colloquium on Religious Radicalism and Politics in the Middle East, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 13-15 May 1985.

### The Emergence of Gush Emunim

1. Cf. "Gush Emunim: The First Decade," Nekuda, no. 69 (2 February 1984): 5-7.
2. Cf. Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleiumim, no. 17 (Spring 1981).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
4. Ha'aretz, 11 October 1974.
5. Ha'aretz, 31 March 1976.
6. Danny Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side: Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1982), pp. 58-59.
7. Cf. Yehuda Litani in Ha'aretz, 5 December 1975.
8. Cf. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 25.
9. See Haim Gouri, "A Letter to Emunim's People" (Hebrew), in Yediot Achronot, 7 May 1976.
10. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 26.



11. Ibid.
12. Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side, p. 167.
13. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 27.
14. Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side, pp. 152-153.
15. Ibid., pp. 170-172.
16. Gideon Aran, "The Movement to Stop the Retreat from Sinai: Lessons and Meaning" (Hebrew), unpublished paper, Jerusalem, 1985.
17. N. Hofman, "Yamit and Its Evacuation: How Was Bloodshed Prevented?" (Hebrew), unpublished paper, Jerusalem, 1984.
18. Ha'aretz, 4 June 1980.
19. Ha'aretz, 4 April 1985.
20. Ha'aretz, 4 June 1984.
21. On Sharon's settlement plan, see Zvi Raanan, Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim, 1980), pp. 146-147.

#### The Fundamentalist Ideology of Gush Emunim

1. Zvi Raanan, Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Poalim, 1980).
2. Uriel Tal, "The Foundations of Political Messianism in Israel" (Hebrew), Ha'aretz, 26 September 1984.
3. Cf. Zvi Yaron, The Teaching of Rav Kook (Hebrew), 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Jewish Agency, 1979), pp. 270-273.
4. Raanan, Gush Emunim, pp. 64-67.
5. This judgment is based on frequent encounters with members of Gush Emunim.
6. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
7. See, for example, Yehuda Shaviv, ed., Eretz Nahala: Our Right to the Land of Israel (Hebrew), 2d ed. (Jerusalem: World Center of Mizrahi, 1976).
8. Interview with Rabbi Ariel, 31 January 1985.

9. I have not observed a general "imperialist" tendency at the present time. Most Gush leaders seem content with what was achieved in the Six Day War.
10. Cited in Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
11. Cf. Gideon Aran, "The Movement to Stop the Retreat from Sinai: Lessons and Meaning" (Hebrew), unpublished paper, Jerusalem, 1985.
12. Cf. Hanan Porat in Nekuda, no. 50 (12 November 1982): 6-7.
13. Cited in Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 17 (Spring 1981): 31.
14. Cf. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
15. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 32.
16. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
17. Ibid.
18. Shlomo Aviner, "Messianic Realism" (Hebrew), Morasha, no. 9 (Winter 1975): 61-77.
19. Tal, "Foundations of Political Messianism."
20. Based on an interview with Gush Emunim's secretary-general, Mrs. Daniela Weiss, 4 March 1985.
21. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," pp. 32-33.
22. For a general account of the Israeli tradition of illegalism into which Gush Emunim fits, see Ehud Sprinzak, "Illegalism in Israeli Political Culture," in A Study Day 1980 (Hebrew), Magnes publication no. 6 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1981).
23. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 33
24. Ibid., p. 34.
25. Cf. Yoel Ben Nun in Nekuda, no. 72 (9 September 1984).

#### The Cultural and Social Origins of Gush Emunim

1. Cf. Danny Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side: Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1982), pp. 12-17; Zvi Raanan, Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat



- Poalim, 1980), pp. 39-49; Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 17 (Spring 1981): 36-39.
2. Kook's sermon is quoted in Nekuda, no. 86 (26 April 1985): 6-7.
  3. Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model," p. 36.
  4. Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side, pp. 79-80.
  5. Cf. Giora Goldberg and Ephraim Ben Zadok, "Regionalism and Territorial Cleavage in Formation: Jewish Settlement in the Administered Territories" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 21 (Spring 1983): 84-90.
  6. Myron M. Aronoff, "The Institutionalization and Cooptation of a Charismatic Messianic Religious Political Revitalization Movement," in David Newman, ed., The Impact of Gush Emunim (London: Croom, Helm, 1985), pp. 54-58.

#### The Invisible Kingdom of Gush Emunim

1. Ehud Sprinzak, "Gush Emunim, the Iceberg Model of Political Extremism" (Hebrew), Medina Mimshal Viyhasim Beinleumiim, no. 17 (Spring 1981): 41.
2. Meron Benvenisti, The West Bank Data Project (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1984).
3. Ibid., pp. 37-39.
4. Cf. Danny Rubinstein, On the Lord's Side: Gush Emunim (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1982), pp. 147-152.
5. Benvenisti, West Bank Data Project, pp. 39-49.
6. Danny Rubinstein, "Settlers: Underground a State in Creation" (Hebrew), Davar, 2 February 1985.
7. Cf. interview with Dr. Joseph Dreizin in Nekuda, no. 84 (1 March 1984): 6-7.
8. Rubinstein, "Settlers."
9. Benvenisti, West Bank Data Project, p. 41.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 42.

12. The man was Capt. Yeshua Ben Shoshan, former regional defense officer of Match Binyamin; cf. Ha'aretz, 18 January 1985.
13. Cited by Yehuda Litani, "Double-edged Sword" (Hebrew), Ha'aretz, 21 February 1985.

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# ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS  
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

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## CURRENT AMERICAN AND ISRAELI APPRAISALS OF THE PLO (Press Summary - October 21, 1985)

Three events -- the embarrassing failure of the PLO in the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro, the unmasking of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat as one who preaches diplomacy but continues to encourage terrorism, and the resolute U.S. action in intercepting the Egyptian plane carrying the four PLO hijackers and their commander -- have all served to create the most conducive atmosphere in years for talks between an Israeli prime minister and an American president.

Reports in the Israeli press filtering back from Prime Minister Shimon Peres's talks in Washington were unanimous in their assessment that Peres was determined to take advantage of the nadir to which the PLO had sunk in American eyes to offer a deal to the U.S. Administration, and through them to Jordan's King Hussein, that could get a Jordanian-Israeli peace process started. The proposed offer was that if Hussein would jettison his insistence on PLO participation in talks with Israel, Peres would be flexible in regard to finding mutually satisfactory arrangements for an international aegis for the talks, as moral support for a vulnerable Hussein.

There were broad differences in press editorial comment as to the chances of such a proposal's success, both with Hussein and with the Reagan Administration, in regard to the permanence of the blow to the PLO's fortune, whether Israel should really strive to exclude the PLO as a realistic option, and the effect of the Peres approach on the fate of the unity government coalition he heads.

The Jerusalem Post, in an editorial prior to Peres's departure for Washington (Oct. 13), writes: "Since 1967, PLO terrorism has been a spoiling, and never a constructive, force. It has always and only unleashed violence, never conciliation. It has always and only lent energy to extremism and hate, never to the forces of compromise.

"If a peace process is to get underway, it will require first and foremost that the PLO be exorcised from any such effort. Israel has always understood that, but for too long stood alone in that understanding. The affair of the Achille Lauro may now give that realization broader currency."

Ha'aretz, in its editorial on October 20, is somewhat more sceptical. "One can lend credence to the assumption that President Ronald Reagan would gladly enter negotiations without the PLO -- that is, if King Hussein would be ready to waive Yasser Arafat's approval of the Palestinian component of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the talks, first with the U.S. and later with Israel. But it simply is not



enough...if the Jordanian King has not yet said publicly what the American president and the Israel prime minister want and must hear from him.

"This lack of clarity also exists on the American side. Secretary of State George Shultz is, obviously, prepared to do without the PLO as a partner to the talks. But he is not yet certain whether it will be possible to find and to activate the 'sensible Palestinians' as an alternative to those recommended by Arafat...

"One can also believe that the American leadership is prepared to establish a real partnership with Israel in the war against PLO terrorism. But the tendency to differentiate between the PLO as a terrorist organization and the PLO as the format that expresses the political strivings of the Palestinian people has not yet disappeared."

Yoel Marcus, writing from Washington in Ha'aretz (October 20) says: "In effect there has been agreement [between Peres and the Americans] on the assumption that now is the time to help Hussein make his reassessment in regard to his commitment to the PLO in the negotiating process. There is not, however, one American in the Administration who believes that it will be possible to achieve peace on the eastern front without the PLO. There is a feeling that the blunders it has committed and the weakness of Arafat's leadership should not be permitted to stop the peace process. The question that was investigated was how to get the PLO out of the picture without closing the door on the possibility of its joining the talks when it changes its policy. The idea was broached that Hussein begin with quiet talks -- with or without the silent acquiescence of the PLO -- and in a later stage, if it agrees to the well-known American conditions [acceptance of Resolutions 242 and 338, and the renunciation of terrorism], the door would not be closed to its joining in the negotiations... Only two 'small matters' were left open: (a) Will Hussein agree to play the role assigned to him? and (b) If he does accept it, which of all the ideas that have been bandied about here will Peres be able to get across in our government of 'national neutralization'?"

In an interview with Dan Avidan in Davar on October 18, Professor Yehoshafat Harkaby, one of Israel's leading academic experts on the Arab-Israeli conflict, states his belief that "despite the events of the last two weeks, Israel now has an opportunity to obtain a political arrangement with Jordan and with the PLO under Arafat's leadership."

"In my opinion, this is the first time in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict that serious elements on the Arab side assess that if there will be no arrangement with Israel, the alternative will be much worse from the Arab point of view. These circles, although having no doubt that the Arabs will eventually triumph over Israel, believe at the same time that the price of such a triumph will be too high. I am referring to the Palestinians living on the West Bank and to the moderate elements in the PLO.

"The mood among the Arabs of the West Bank is that they will be the sacrificial victims of any Arab war against Israel; that even if the



Arabs eventually win that war, it will bring destruction to the inhabitants of the West Bank. The moderates in the PLO believe that if the Arabs continue in their war against Israel, the PLO will be further eroded, compounding the erosion to which it fell victim in the war in Lebanon.

"The radical Palestinian circles, like George Habash [leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)], are not concerned over sacrificing the inhabitants of the West Bank in order to win an eventual victory over Israel. Arafat and the inhabitants of the West Bank, on the other hand, are afraid that the Palestinians will simply not survive to witness the triumphant conclusion to that struggle.

"There is another element goading Arafat and Hussein on towards reaching an accommodation with Israel: the personal element. Both leaders have been engaged in the struggle against Israel for a long time, and they would like to see results to that struggle during their lifetimes...

"I believe that there has been a change in the PLO's attitude toward Jordan, for a number of reasons. The PLO has learned that it must choose today between two evils: the continuation of the struggle against Israel, which means accepting the overlordship of Syria and the erosion of the PLO, or striving for an accommodation with Israel, whose implication is cooperation with Jordan. Secondly, the PLO today is interested in Jordan remaining Hashemite, as opposed to what the Palestinians see as an Israeli plot to turn Jordan into an alternative homeland for the Palestinians. Another reason is that the PLO understands that in order to reach an agreement in the region, it is necessary to talk with the Americans, and that can be done only through Jordan.

"What is Hussein afraid of? Hussein is afraid that if Israel annexes the West Bank she will have no alternative but to expel its Arab inhabitants due to the serious demographic problem that will be created for Israel. In such an eventuality, Hussein believes that the East Bank will be inundated with Palestinians who will then constitute a threat to his regime. He also believes that in such a case he would not be able to stand idly by and would have to go to war against Israel."

Shmuel Schnitzer, writing in the October 18 issue of Ma'ariv, warns against sanguine beliefs that the PLO's image has been dealt a death blow in the West by the events of the past few weeks. "Shimon Peres is undoubtedly the source of the mood that has permeated the country at the beginning of the week that something has changed, or is about to change, in the attitude of the Free World towards the PLO...There were people who were talking of the collapse of the PLO's political position as a result of those events. In any case, there was an expectation that additional political circles in Europe and the U.S. would perceive the dangers of terrorism and would recognize the correctness of our opposition to the participation of the PLO in the peace process.

"It is necessary to warn against such an assessment because it is not realistic. Nothing has collapsed in the PLO's political positions. Some of its political and military steps did not work out; some of its worst



lies were unmasked; the U.S. has really flexed its muscles and acted against terrorism. But America's original exhilaration soon turned into embarrassment. The PLO's friends and allies did not abandon it in the lurch. When they were confronted with the choice of accepting the opinion of the U.S. or doing Arafat's bidding, they chose the second path.

"The Egyptians lied unabashedly in a futile attempt to save the hijackers of the ship from paying for the murder of the American Jew, Leon Klinghoffer. Italy let Abu Abbas escape to Yugoslavia, to the chagrin of the Americans. Belgrade rejected an American request to extradite the man who planned the hijacking, even though she has an extradition agreement with the U.S...

"These three states are dependent on the U.S. to an appreciable degree. But all three decided that their relations with the PLO were more important to them than maintaining good relations with the U.S. They certainly did not think that the PLO was on the verge of collapse. And they possibly thought that the show of American determination in the face of terrorism was a passing phenomenon, of which one doesn't have to be overly concerned...

"By midweek, it was clear that the U.S. had no intentions of taking steps against the three states who undermined her efforts to bring to justice those responsible for the hijacking of the ship and the killing of an American citizen."

In the same issue of Ma'ariv, Yosef Harif writes: "[Likud Foreign Minister Yitzhak] Shamir's assessment is -- and in this he is joined by [Labor Defense Minister Yitzhak] Rabin -- that Peres will try to offer a deal: If the Jordanians will forego the participation of the PLO in the negotiations, then Israel will agree to an appropriate international sponsorship.

"When the Defense Minister and the Foreign Minister call such an attempt 'unrealistic' they are in effect quoting Peres himself. Peres agreed to an international conference whose participants maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. But it is hard to believe that for this purpose alone, the Soviet Union will be prepared to restore her relations with Israel, i.e., without first guaranteeing that the outcome of the talks will be acceptable to her."

Yosef Lapid, writing in Ma'ariv on October 20, comments: "Paradoxically, regrettably, but unavoidably, the talks that Peres is conducting in Washington regarding the opening up of a peace process with Jordan may prove to be talks for the closing down of the government of national unity."

(Edited by Harry Milkman)

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**THE PLO TERRORIST ATTACK IN CYPRUS AND ISRAEL'S RESPONSE**

**An International Relations Department Background Analysis**

**By George E. Gruen and Harry Milkman**

Evidence of Yasir Arafat's Involvement

On September 25, 1985, three Israeli tourists were brutally murdered aboard their yacht in the port of Larnaca, Cyprus by three PLO terrorists. Although Palestine Liberation Organization officials in Cyprus disclaimed any connection with this terrorist attack, there is incontrovertible evidence that the three were acting on behalf of PLO leader Yasir Arafat. Two of the gunmen, Elias Yehia Nasif and Mahmoud Khaled Abdullah, are Palestinians who have been positively identified as members of Force 17, the elite security unit of al-Fatah, Mr. Arafat's own guerrilla organization. In addition to providing bodyguards for Arafat, Force 17 has recently been given the additional assignment of executing special terrorist missions against Israelis.

The third member of the terrorist squad that committed the triple murder in Cyprus has been identified by Cypriot officials as Ian Michael Davison, a British carpenter from South Shields in northern England, who joined Arafat's men as a mercenary in Lebanon. Although he initially tried to pass himself off as a Palestinian named George Hannah, his poor Arabic gave him away. According to a dispatch from Nicosia by John Kifner in The New York Times (Sept. 29, 1985), "Western journalists interviewed Mr. Davison in December 1983, when he was among a shipload of supporters of Mr. Arafat being evacuated from Tripoli after the area was besieged by rival Palestinian groups backed by Syria." In one of those interviews, with the New York Post on December 20, 1983, Davison said that the PLO paid him a salary in U.S. dollars and Lebanese pounds. He added that Arafat had sought him out several weeks earlier and gave him "a big welcome" for joining the PLO. Davison reportedly impressed Arafat, who subsequently recruited him into his elite Force 17.

The terrorists' victims were three Israeli civilians: Esther Paltzur, her husband Reuven, and Avraham Avneri, a family friend. Professor Emmanuel Sivan of the Hebrew University, who knew the Paltzurs well, has provided us with the following details. Mr. Paltzur, 53, had been a merchant seaman for some 25 years. At age 45 he decided to enter the Hebrew University to obtain a degree

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in Social Work. Professor Sivan, who was at the time designated by the President of the University as advisor to special students who lacked the usual academic preparatory credentials, helped Mr. Paltzur meet the requirements. After he obtained his social work degree, Mr. Paltzur obtained a position as chief social worker for the Seamen's Union, and more recently switched to a position as chief social worker for Etz Lavud, a kibbutz-operated plywood factory. He was also active in the Haifa Sea Scouts, teaching youngsters to sail. He and his wife have four children. Their friend, Avraham Avneri, 56, was a founding member of Arad. He worked as a guide and site inspector for the National Parks Authority. He leaves a wife, three daughters and a granddaughter.

Because of their love of the sea, the Paltzurs for 15 years were members of the Carmel Yacht Club and spent their vacations on a boat he purchased with his savings. That is how they happened to be in nearby Larnaca, Cyprus, when they fell victim to the terrorist attack. The terrorists knew the three Israelis were unarmed at the time, because the Cypriot authorities require that vessels entering their ports turn over all weapons to the port authorities, who ostensibly provide police protection for visiting tourists.

The raiding party stormed the boat at dawn, immediately shot the woman to death on the deck when she tried to cry out, and held the two men hostage. According to an eyewitness, Davison was the one who shot Mrs. Paltzur. Charles Lachman of the New York Post (Sept. 30, 1985) quotes the witness as saying, "She was standing on the deck of the yacht and one of the terrorists shouted at her in a British accent: 'Shut your mouth or I'll shoot your head off.'" He then heard shots and saw her fall on the rail.

The terrorists demanded the release of 20 PLO prisoners being held in Israeli jails, including Feisal Mahmud Abu-Sharah, the Deputy Commander of Force 17 who was captured a few weeks ago by the Israeli navy off the Lebanese coast. (See Appendix II for details of recent PLO attempts to infiltrate Israel from the sea.)

After a nine-hour siege, the terrorists surrendered to Cypriot police, who found the two Israeli men in one of the yacht's cabins, bound hand and foot, and shot to death. The Cypriot government has so far refused the Israeli government's request that the three terrorists be extradited to Israel for trial.

When Force 17 prisoners in Israel were shown photos of the men captured in Larnaca, without being told the context in which the photos were taken, they immediately identified the men by name and provided other details establishing that they were well-known colleagues of theirs in the unit.

### Israeli Response

On October 1, 1985, the Israeli Air Force attacked the headquarters of the PLO and facilities belonging to Force 17 at Hamam ash-Shaat, 21 miles southeast of Tunis, the capital of Tunisia. The air strike was carried out in response to a number of terrorist actions perpetrated recently against Israel and Israelis by PLO units under Arafat's control. Israel Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin asserted on October 6 that the only Tunisians killed or injured were those working for the PLO.



PLO Headquarters was transferred to Tunisia following the PLO's evacuation from Lebanon in September 1982. The number of PLO guerrillas in Tunisia was reinforced after the withdrawal of the pro-Arafat PLO forces from Tripoli in December 1983, in the face of attacks by Syrian-backed PLO rebels. Although Arafat's PLO headquarters was established under the auspices of the Tunisian authorities, Israelis point out that the area is now, in effect, an extra-territorial enclave under the total control of the PLO.

Secretary of State George Shultz told an interviewer from The New York Times (Oct. 4, 1985) that the United States had helped persuade President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia to offer a place of refuge for some of the PLO personnel being evacuated from Beirut in 1982. However, he stressed, "we were looking for a place where people could go and where the armaments would not go with them." The United States had not anticipated that a PLO "headquarters would be established out of which terrorist operations would be conducted."

A substantial number of recent terrorist incidents committed or planned against Israelis and Israeli population centers were perpetrated by elements of the PLO under Arafat's direction or with his full encouragement. (See Appendix I for a list of PLO terror attacks over the last year, which have killed 18 Israelis.)

Within the PLO, Force 17 is responsible for the armed activities of the organization including acts of terrorism against Israelis both abroad and in Israel. The murder of the three Israelis in Larnaca, Cyprus was but the latest in a series of terrorist acts perpetrated by Force 17. Its facilities in Tunisia were therefore also targeted by the Israeli Air Force. An Israel Defense Forces spokesman indicated that Israel will strike at PLO terrorists "wherever and whenever appropriate," and that even the most distant terrorist facilities would not be immune to Israeli counter-attack.

#### Israel's Action and International Law

Israel's attack on PLO headquarters in Tunisia -- 1250 miles from Israel -- has expectedly been denounced by Tunisia and other states at the United Nations as a violation of international law and an infringement on Tunisian sovereignty. In response, Israel argues that the UN has done nothing while Tunisia has been flagrantly violating international law by harboring PLO terrorists on its soil and allowing them to perpetrate terrorist acts against Israel. Indeed, there are specific principles of international law, codified by the UN, that are being violated by Tunisia and other states that harbor PLO terrorists.

According to the "UN Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation of States," (Resolution 1625, XXVth Session) "Every state has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting, or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another state or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed toward the commission of such acts, when the acts referred to in the present paragraph involve a threat or use of force." (Our emphasis.)

Furthermore, according to the leading authorities in international law, "states are under a duty to prevent and suppress such subversive activity against foreign governments as assumes the form of armed hostile expeditions or attempts to commit common crimes against life or property. Moreover, while



subversive activities against foreign states on the part of private persons do not in principle engage the international responsibility of a state, such activities when emanating directly from the government itself or indirectly from organizations receiving from it financial or other assistance or closely associated with it by virtue of the constitution of the state concerned, amount to a breach of international law." (Treatise on International Law, Oppenheim, edited by Lauterpacht, vol. I, pp. 292-93.)

Bowett, in his classic study of Self-Defense in International Law, p. 45, cites the following as the kind of illegal action which would justify the injured state to resort to "self-defense" as a permissible means of protection against further harm: "It is clear that the state must not organize hostile expeditions within its territory and directed against another state, nor must it encourage the formation of such expeditions by non-state agencies or private persons."

#### Reaction of the U.S. Government

On October 1, President Reagan acknowledged that the Israeli air strike is "understandable as an expression of self-defense" and a "legitimate response to terrorist attacks." The following day, in the face of mounting Arab criticism of the seemingly unqualified U.S. endorsement of the Israeli action, the Administration modified its position somewhat: while continuing to characterize the raid as "understandable as an expression of self-defense," a White House statement said that the bombing "cannot be condoned." Although, regretting the accidental loss of Tunisian civilians during the Israeli air strike, the United States refused to condemn Israel's act, nor has it accused Israel of misusing American equipment in an offensive act. According to White House spokesman Larry Speakes, "While the resort to violence is deplorable, it is useful to recall the antecedents to this attack, which included repeated attempts to infiltrate terrorists into Israel and the outrageous murder of three Israeli civilians in Larnaca [Cyprus]."

Sensitive to the possible repercussions for the pro-American government of Tunisian President Bourguiba, the United States did not veto a resolution in the UN Security Council on October 4 to condemn the Israeli action. However, in acknowledgement of the provocation which led to Israel's response, the United States refused to vote in favor of the resolution. Instead, it abstained, allowing the resolution to pass. Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, in explaining the abstention, cited the one-sided nature of the resolution: "My Government cannot support this resolution disproportionately placing all the blame for this latest round of the rising spiral of violence in the Middle East onto only one set of shoulders, while not also holding at fault those responsible for the terrorist acts which provoked it. We must be absolutely explicit in identifying the real threat all civilized peoples are facing. That threat is terrorism, and the failure adequately to address the subject prevents my Government from supporting this resolution."

#### Arafat's Duplicity Regarding Responsibility for Terrorism

Yasir Arafat has a long record of publicly denying terrorist actions for which his own al-Fatah group was responsible. After the PLO was expelled from Jordan in September 1970, an ostensibly new Palestinian terrorist group called "Black September" emerged, and between 1971 and 1973 it took credit for more

than 60 international terrorist operations. Although the PLO denied any connection to Black September, the group was in fact set up by Arafat. Indeed, one of Arafat's closest advisers, Salah Khalaf, also known as Abu Iyad, subsequently published a book in which he explicitly said that he was put in charge of Black September.

The atrocities carried out by Black September included the assassination of Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tal, the hijacking of Jordanian commercial airliners, the murder of 11 Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972, and the takeover of the Saudi embassy in Khartoum in March 1973 and the subsequent murder of U.S. Ambassador C.A. Noel Jr., U.S. chargé d'affaires G.C. Moore and Belgian chargé G. Eid, who were attending a reception at the embassy. Following the seizure of incriminating documents in the office of al-Fatah in Khartoum, Sudanese President Numeiry declared that his government had "clear-cut" evidence of the direct collaboration of the Fatah officials with the six Black September terrorists who had come via Libya. Other sources have disclosed that the actual order to execute the American and Belgian diplomats had been communicated to the terrorists in Khartoum by telephone from Arafat's headquarters in Beirut.

October 9, 1985  
85-580-33





APPENDIX

I. RECENT EXAMPLES OF PALESTINIAN TERRORIST ACTIONS  
AGAINST ISRAELIS

Since August 1984 18 Israelis were killed in thirteen separate terror attacks:

- 12 August 1984 - Body of Israeli soldier found near Mevo Dotan in Samaria. He had been kidnapped, then murdered.
- 22 October 1984 - Two Israeli students murdered near Cremisan Monastery in Bethlehem area. (Killer apprehended, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment.)
- 4 February 1985 - Reserve soldier murdered in Ramallah marketplace. (Suspected killers apprehended and charged.)
- 30 March 1985 - Israeli man murdered in El-Bireh marketplace.
- 8 April 1985 - Body of Israeli soldier found near Beit Aryeh. He had been kidnapped, then murdered.
- 19 April 1985 - Taxi driver murdered in Jerusalem. (Suspected killers apprehended and charged.)
- 7 June 1985 - Reserve soldier kidnapped and shot to death.
- 30 June 1985 - Israeli couple murdered near Beit Shemesh. (Suspected killers apprehended and charged.)
- 21 July 1985 - Two Israeli teachers murdered near Afula. (Suspected killers apprehended and charged.)
- 30 July 1985 - Israeli man murdered in Nablus (Shechem) marketplace.
- 24 August 1985 - Israeli man murdered in Tulkarm marketplace.
- 3 September 1985 - Israeli soldier murdered in Hebron Casbah.
- 25 September 1985 - Three Israeli tourists murdered in Larnaca, Cyprus.

## II. ATTEMPTED TERRORIST INFILTRATION BY SEA

Since April 1985, the Israeli navy intercepted three attempts to bring terrorists into the area by sea. In each case, the link between the planned operation and its initiator, the PLO, was clearly established.

20/21 April 1985 - The Israeli navy intercepted a vessel carrying a terrorist squad, which was, according to PLO leader Abu Jihad, to have carried out a "military operation" in the center of Tel Aviv. The planned operation, he told the French News Agency, Agence France-Presse, on April 22 in Amman, was part of "the policy of armed struggle in occupied Palestine, a policy that would continue to be followed by the Fatah revolutionaries."

24/25 August 1985 - An Israeli naval patrol intercepted the yacht *Casselredit* carrying eight Fatah terrorists trained in Algeria for a civilian massacre in Israel's Galilee region. The operatives were to have been landed in Sidon, in southern Lebanon, outfitted there by the Fatah, and to have continued by land across the Israeli border to Galilee.

31 August 1985 - The yacht *Ganda* was intercepted off the Lebanese coast, carrying a terrorist squad belonging to Arafat's "Force 17" secret service unit, which had been instructed to infiltrate into Israel for a maximum-casualty terror operation.

## III. RECENT STATEMENTS BY ARAFAT AND OTHER PLO LEADERS ADVOCATING "ARMED STRUGGLE" AGAINST ISRAEL

### PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat:

Asked whether the stepped up attacks against Israelis in the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) and Gaza constituted a new PLO approach, Arafat replied:

"Our people... have the right to use all means in their fight against oppression.

(Reuter, Tunis, 3 September 1985)

### Abu Jihad, Commander of Fatah armed forces:

"It is our right to continue our struggle with all the means at our disposal..."

(Quoted by *The Observer*, London, 18 August 1985)



"Every step of the way, the Palestinian revolution has moved along two parallel tracks. We fly with two wings: the military struggle and the political struggle. These two wings are attached to one another, and they cannot be separated."

(In an interview for *Al-Majallah*, Saudi Arabia, 17 August 1985)

Nabil Shaath, member of Fatah Central Committee (one of the candidates for the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that is to meet with the Americans):

"There is no point in seeking political solutions only, without continuing the armed struggle."

(In an interview for *Ash-Sharq al-Awsat* Saudi daily published in London, 18 August 1985)

Fatah Revolutionary Council:

From communiqué at conclusion of the Council's August conference in Tunis:

"Further armed escalation, a firm stand, more sacrifice and further national and revolutionary dedication to the struggle -- these constitute the golden path to the approaching victory. The revolution will continue until victory is achieved."

(Voice of Palestine, San'a, North Yemen, 28 August 1985)



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** October 31, 1985  
**to** Area Directors and Executive Assistants  
**from** George E. Gruen, Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs, IRD  
**subject** Preliminary Assessment of Recent Middle East Developments

There has been a great flurry of both public and behind-the-scenes diplomatic activity in recent weeks relating to the prospects of resuming meaningful Arab-Israeli peace talks. There have been all kinds of rumors of an impending breakthrough and of a fundamental shift in positions of various parties, including the PLO, Israel, Syria and the Soviet Union. While it is too early to tell what is substance and what is simply posturing, the following points should be considered:

1. The "final showdown" between King Hussein and Yasir Arafat has ended indecisively. It was expected by some that Hussein would give Arafat an ultimatum to stop terrorism and agree to negotiate with Israel, or face possible expulsion from Jordan and the King's turning to non-PLO Palestinians to join in negotiations with Israel. No formal break nor dramatic turnabout in PLO position resulted from the meetings. Instead, the deep differences between Hussein and Arafat were publicly papered over, although Jordanian officials and Palestinian spokesmen were both declaring off-the-record that the King and Arafat are still far apart.
2. Arafat has demonstrated once again that he is a survivor, physically, but how effective a leader he is politically remains in question. He is unlikely to soon say the magic formula accepting UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and agree to Israel's right to secure existence that the United States, and even Hussein, are calling for. The most Arafat seems to have agreed to for the moment is to stop the kind of killing of innocent third party civilians as was so embarrassingly revealed in the Achille Lauro affair. He is also presumably going to try to get better control over the operations of groups at least nominally loyal to him. However, he is unlikely to give up "armed struggle" because this continues to be a basic source of legitimacy for him, and if he did so now he would be totally discredited among the more radical elements even within his own al-Fatah.
3. Although both Hussein and Arafat seem to claim that they are still committed to the February 11 agreement on a joint negotiating strategy that they signed in Amman, the fact is that there are fundamental unresolved differences as to how that agreement is to be interpreted



and implemented. Hussein insists that the negotiators will be a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and that the outcome will be a federated or confederated Jordanian-Palestinian state. While Hussein uses the term "self-determination" he understands it in terms of self-government for the West Bank Palestinians within a sovereign Jordanian state in which the West Bank and Gaza would be states only in the sense that New York and New Jersey are states within the United States. Most PLO elements, including Arafat supporters, insist that there must be a fully sovereign Palestinian state first, and only subsequently that state will (or may) confederate with Jordan on a basis of full equality.

4. The opposition to Arafat among various Syrian and Soviet-backed Palestinian groups agree only on that they want to replace Arafat. They are divided among themselves as to whether the existing PLO --which was declared by the Rabat Summit of 1974 to be the "sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" -- should be maintained under new leadership, or whether a new organization should be created out of the dissident factions to claim the mantle of Palestinian leadership and to continue the "armed struggle to liberate Palestine" -including Israel.
5. Are Israeli-Jordanian talks possible in the near future? In the absence of a change in PLO position the question is whether one can find representative Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza who are prepared to stand up and participate with King Hussein in talks. The assassination power of the enemies of peace with Israel continues to be a great deterrent. Note in this regard the hanging yesterday in Sidon of a Lebanese man because of his "collaboration" with the Israelis during the Israeli occupation. One question is whether one can design a genuinely secret ballot--which West Bank Palestinians will not be afraid to answer candidly--as to whether they favor peace, as suggested by Professor Clinton Bailey. In any case it would appear that any Israel-Jordanian/Palestinian talks would have to focus at first only on questions of improved self-rule and lessening of the occupation, something along the lines of the Likud-approved autonomy plan, but with the significant difference that this would be only an interim arrangement, and that ultimate decisions on the territories would be deferred to a later stage. Anything more than this would break up the present Israeli National Unity Government.
6. We will have to wait and see what the significance is of the spate of rumors of possible resumption of Soviet-Israeli relations and easing of emigration of Soviet Jews.
7. The significance of the recent resumption of high level talks between Syria and Jordan also waits further developments. If it marks a genuine rapprochement, then it undercuts the Administration's argument that Hussein needs new sophisticated weapons to defend himself against Syrian attack. Moreover, the supply of additional arms to Jordan while it is improving relations with Syria may make it increasingly difficult

for King Hussein to resist Syrian pressure to join a united Arab front in a future war against Israel.

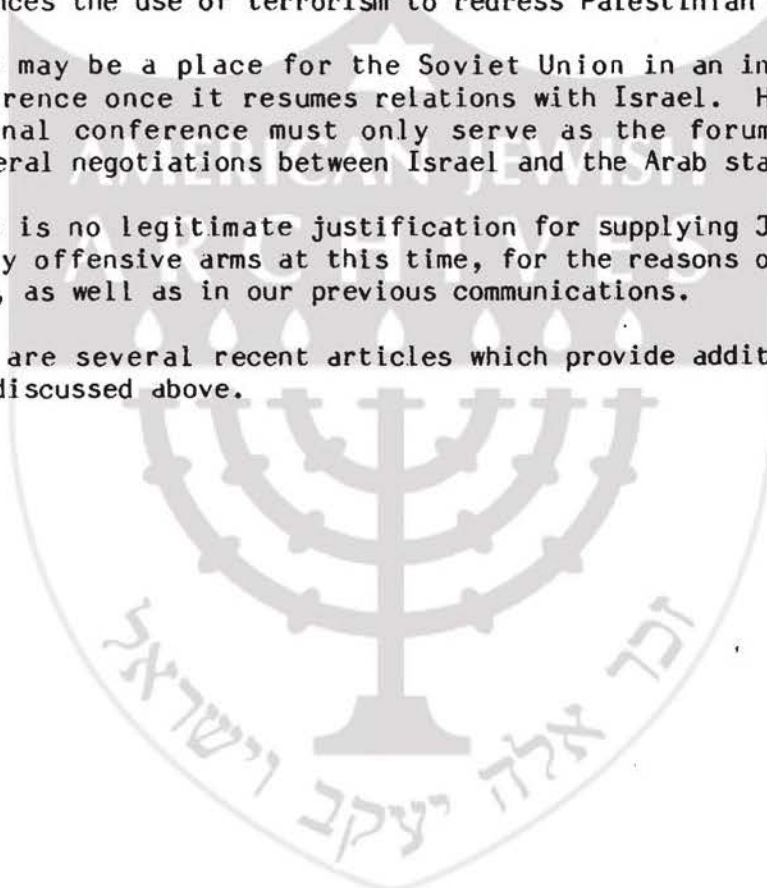
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In summary, the points to be stressed in your informational activities are:

1. There is no place for the PLO in peace negotiations unless and until it explicitly recognizes Israel's right to exist within secure borders and renounces the use of terrorism to redress Palestinian grievances.
2. There may be a place for the Soviet Union in an international peace conference once it resumes relations with Israel. However, an international conference must only serve as the forum in which direct bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Arab states take place.
3. There is no legitimate justification for supplying Jordan with potentially offensive arms at this time, for the reasons outlined in item 7 above, as well as in our previous communications.

Attached are several recent articles which provide additional information on the points discussed above.

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## Warning by Arafat: Peace Will Not Exist Without the P.L.O.

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

AMMAN, Jordan, Oct. 29 — Yasir Arafat angrily rejected American conditions for his participation in Middle East peace negotiations today and warned that there would be no peace if the Palestine Liberation Organization was left out.

"There will not be peace and stability in the region if they decide to sidestep the P.L.O.," Mr. Arafat, chairman of the Palestinian organization, said at a news conference this morning in the midst of meetings with Jordanian leaders here. "I want to tell you there will not be peace in the area without the P.L.O."

Diplomats said Mr. Arafat's defiant statements appeared, for the moment, to be calling the bluff of King Hussein, who has been trying to bring Mr. Arafat into line in their uneasy alliance for Middle East peace negotiations.

The Jordanian King, angry with Mr. Arafat over such developments as the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro, met with the P.L.O. leader on Monday night in hopes of getting him to make specific commitments as a partner in their accord of Feb. 11 on a joint approach to peace.

Both parties need each other, according to diplomats here, the P.L.O. because of its weakness and the Jordan-

ians for legitimacy. As a result, they say, there are compelling reasons each wants the partnership to survive.

Mr. Arafat and much of his top leadership met again this evening with Prime Minister Zaid al-Rifai of Jordan and other Government officials to discuss specific political problems and to appoint a committee to deal with them.

According to Western diplomats and other sources close to the meetings, the issues include tighter responsibility and control over his guerrillas by Mr. Arafat and his acceptance of Israel's right to exist and rejection of violence as the American qualifications to join negotiations.

"Qualified?" Mr. Arafat shouted in Arabic to a questioner who had mentioned acceptance of United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 and other conditions for talks.

"I refuse such a term," he said. "I don't need their qualifications."

### 'I'm Not Buying'

"I tell them," he went on, slipping into an Egyptian idiom, "they can sell their qualifications to somebody else, but I'm not buying."

Mr. Arafat's defiant words, according to several Palestinians and other sources, reflected a mood of disillusionment and desperation after the Israeli raid on P.L.O. headquarters in Tunisia on Oct. 1.

This line of Palestinian reasoning, according to these sources, holds that the Israeli raid could not have been carried out without American approval or compliance, and that therefore the P.L.O. is "unwanted" and has no real future in American-sponsored peace negotiations. The view is reinforced by what Israeli leaders have openly described as a drive to exclude the P.L.O. from peace negotiations.

Mr. Arafat himself, according to those close to him, has been deeply affected by this reasoning.

The Jordanians, on the other hand, are concerned with what they reportedly regard as a double game by Mr. Arafat in launching guerrilla operations while talking about peace. They are also said to be concerned about the chaotic nature of his organization.

### Jordanians Press P.L.O.

At the meetings, according to sources, the Jordanians pressed the Palestinians, particularly on the hijacking of the Achille Lauro by Palestinian gunmen from a faction loyal to Mr. Arafat. During the hijacking, Leon Klinghoffer, a 69-year-old tourist from

New York, was killed and his body thrown overboard.



Yasir Arafat, left, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, embracing Prime Minister Zaid al-Rifai of Jordan yesterday in Amman.

In addition, the Jordanians were particularly distressed by the embarrassing setback when a meeting between the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and two members of the P.L.O. Executive Committee fell through over a refusal by one of the Palestinian participants to sign a statement that recognized Israel's right to exist and supported a peaceful Middle East settlement on the basis of United Nations resolutions.

There are more conflicting accounts, interpretations and questions about the

incident in Britain than original participants. But it appears that the statement was drawn up by Britain and Jordan and approved by one Palestinian representative, Bishop Elias Khoury, Anglican leader of Jerusalem. The second Palestinian representative, Mohammed Milhem, who was Mayor of Hebron before he was expelled from the West Bank in 1980, did not know about the statement and, after calling Mr. Arafat for advice, refused to sign.

### 'Bypass This Tragedy'

Questioned about this at his news conference today, Mr. Arafat said, "We reassessed and will do all our best

to bypass this tragedy."

The meeting tonight in Amman lasted about three hours. After it ended, a key Palestinian leader, Khalil al-Wazir, also known as Abu Jihad, said there would not be another meeting on Wednesday.

Neither side issued a statement after the meeting tonight. Diplomats noted that the brief statement issued by the Royal Palace after the meeting Monday night with the King avoided any use of such words as "agreement."

Western diplomats suggested that Prime Minister Rafal, who is known to be close to Syria and suspicious of the Palestinian guerrillas, would pose the tough questions, allowing the King to maintain an appearance of politeness. King Hussein visited the Prime Minister tonight after the meeting, Jordanian state television said.

Several Palestinian sources said Mr. Arafat and his aides intended to go to Cairo in the next few days to try to reconcile with Egypt's President, Hosni Mubarak, who has also been irritated with Mr. Arafat over the Achille Lauro incident.

### Avoids Specific Answers

Late tonight, after the meeting with Prime Minister Rafal, Mr. Arafat and the other guerrilla chiefs met several Palestinian leaders and factions, including dissidents. Sources at the meeting said the mood was one of frustration and defiance.

The Jordanian analysis of the relationship with the P.L.O. was put bluntly by one key adviser to the King, who said: "In the U.S. view, a weak P.L.O. is dispensable completely. Our view is that a weak P.L.O. is malleable completely."

"A weak P.L.O. is a good partner for peace," the Jordanian official said.

A white and black checkered Arab kaffiyeh on his head and a pistol in a web belt around his waist, Mr. Arafat, often with his arms waving and his eyes glittering, avoided answering specific questions at the news conference this morning. He turned his answers into attacks on the United States and Israel and repetition of such favorite phrases as the assertion the P.L.O. is the most important part of the Middle East equation.

But it was a question from the United Arab Emirates newspaper Al Itihad that brought the sharpest response.

"If they were able to achieve peace without us they wouldn't have hesitated," Mr. Arafat said. "If they like it, that's O.K. If they don't like it, there are many seas; they can go drink their water."



## OPINION

# Middle East peace: the Peres proposal

By C. Robert Zelnick

**T**HE Oct. 21 address of Prime Minister Shimon Peres to the UN General Assembly went through at least five drafts. In final form it had the precision of a Spinoza philosophical essay, and like Spinoza too, it was remarkable for its restraint, seeking not to impose a solution but to define a process by which the parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute could derive their own.

Much press coverage focused on the dramatic declaration with respect to Jordan that the state of war between the two countries should be terminated immediately.

But that was not new. Israel has always been ready to reach peace with Amman, albeit on terms that King Hussein has not been willing to accept.

Of far more importance, the Israeli Prime Minister:

- Recognized the Palestinian people as a discrete entity whose problem requires a political solution.
- Accepted the right of the Palestinian people to participate in that solution.
- Left the door open for the direct participation of the PLO in the negotiating process.
- Provided that the negotiating framework can expand beyond the checklist the Israelis care most about, specifically, Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the Camp David accords.
- Preserved the option of an international context for the negotiations.
- Offered a procedure whereby talks among the parties can begin while deferring the most troublesome matters of substance and procedure.
- Achieved all of this without stepping off the tightrope of the coalition agreement between his Labor Party and the rival Likud.

From all indications, Peres began his visit hoping the PLO had taken itself out of the peace process by its alleged involvement in the Larnica, Barcelona, and Achille Lauro incidents, and its diplomatic gaffe in London when two PLO representatives were disinvited from a meeting with Foreign Minister Sir Geoffrey Howe after refusing to reject political violence and accept Israel's right to exist.

But in Washington Peres again confronted the reality which has escaped so many of his predecessors: For King Hussein to bargain with the PLO, he needs to be assured of the complete recovery of land conquered by Israel in



Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel

1967. Once territorial compromise is the order of the day, Hussein needs a legitimate Palestinian presence to sanctify the deal.

For better or worse, that presence can be furnished only by the PLO, designated as such by the remainder of the Arab world and — despite serious factionalization the agent to which an overwhelming majority of Palestinian Arabs remain loyal.

Israel is on equally firm ground in insisting that as a precondition to participation in the talks, the PLO renounce violence and accept the two resolutions. If it is unwilling or unable to do both, then Hussein has grounds for moving ahead either unilaterally or with Egypt.

Viewed in the least charitable light, the PLO has balked because its divided minions can agree on nothing but continued terrorism. Giving the benefit of the doubt, the PLO has a case when it argues that 242 and 338 treat the Palestinian people simply as a "refugee problem" and that for the Palestinian people to accept these resolutions, others which endorse financial compensation for those expelled from their homeland or which suggest a

right of self-determination must also be on the table.

For this reason, PLO observers at the UN were gratified when Peres spoke not only of the two resolutions, but also of Israel's "willingness to entertain suggestions proposed by other participants."

Similar flexibility was shown when, after listing negotiating objectives, Peres declared, "The Camp David accords provide a possible basis for the attainment of these objectives." Since both Jordan and the PLO reject the Camp David formula, providing other possible bases for settlement is critical.

The key Peres proposal was stated as follows: "In order to expedite this process, the agenda, procedure, and international support for negotiations can be discussed and agreed upon at a meeting of small working teams to be convened within 30 days."

Such teams could get the parties talking at a level where the question of PLO participation need not be confronted directly, since the PLO can easily designate a few delegates who would not be objectionable to Israel.

While these working group discussions continue, the PLO could address in concrete fashion the questions of political violence and Resolutions 242 and 338. If its position changes, it can enter the next higher stage of negotiations as a full participant. If not, it can be excluded by the other parties in good conscience.

The Peres statement was masterful in providing broad perimeters for the talks while keeping within the bounds of the coalition agreement. Thus, he indicated the negotiations "may deal with the demarcation of boundaries as well as the resolution of the Palestinian problem." But he made no specific offer of territorial compromise, which under the coalition deal, would require a fresh mandate from the Israeli electorate.

As was the case with King Hussein, Peres spoke as a statesman who realized that time is short. His reference to the brotherhood of Jews and Arabs as "sons of Abraham" was a touching tribute to a similar passage in the Hussein UN address. But these leaders need the political and material support of the United States. Without a US effort that matches their own in terms of vision, courage, and commitment, they may reach toward each other without ever clasping hands.

*C. Robert Zelnick is the ABC News chief correspondent in Tel Aviv.*



# SOVIET-ISRAEL TIES REPORTEDLY URGED

## U.S. Officials Say Arab Nations See Renewed Relations as Aid to Peace Efforts

By **BERNARD GWERTZMAN**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30 — Some Arab nations, including Egypt and Jordan, have recently urged the Soviet Union to restore diplomatic relations with Israel as a way to advance prospects for Middle East peace talks, Israeli and Reagan Administration officials said today.

The reported move by the Arab nations parallels Israel's stated refusal to take part in any international conference on the Middle East that includes the Soviet Union, unless the Russians first restore ties with Israel. The United States will inform Moscow in coming weeks that it supports the Israeli position, a senior Administration official said.

The Egyptians and Jordanians, in unpublicized approaches to the Soviet Union, have said Moscow's lack of relations with Israel was delaying any conference that could lead to actual peace talks, the Israeli and American officials said.

The conference idea has become more significant recently because King Hussein of Jordan and Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel have said one could open a path for direct negotiations between Israel and a joint Jordan-Palestinian group.

After opposing such a conference, the United States and Israel have now indicated they would be willing to attend. But they have said there must be a firm agreement beforehand that the forum will largely be a cover for the direct talks, and not have any power itself to decide anything.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1985

### 'At a Delicate Stage'

Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, said today in testimony to a congressional subcommittee that, "the peace process is at a delicate stage, but a hopeful one."

"In the past several months," he said, "we have been able to come closer than ever before to agreement on the kinds of steps that will be required."

Even with Soviet participation, an international meeting would have no guarantee of success, because the presence of the two superpowers, in any role, could make a consensus more difficult to reach.

The Soviet Union broke relations with Israel in June 1967 to demonstrate support for the Arab side in the Middle East war that ended that month.

The official Soviet position is that although Moscow recognizes Israel as a sovereign state, it will not restore relations until Israel agrees to withdraw from all the lands it seized in that war.

The unpublicized moves by some Arab countries to urge the Russians to resume relations is a new development in Middle East peace efforts, which have been intensified in recent weeks by the United States, Israel, Egypt and Jordan.

### Trip by Shultz

The efforts have become more substance with Secretary of State George P. Shultz's trip to Moscow next week as part of the preparations for the meeting on Nov. 19 and 20 between President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. The Middle East is to be discussed at both sets of meetings, and Administration officials said Mr. Shultz is expected to make clear to the Russians the Israeli and American desire for direct talks.

The major obstacle to negotiations remains the Israeli conditions about the makeup of any Palestinian contin-

gent to peace talks. The Israelis have repeatedly refused to deal with the Palestine Liberation Organization, but King Hussein of Jordan has said he is committed to including that group in the negotiations.

The King and Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. leader have been meeting in the last two days in Amman, to discuss recent problems between them, even leading to speculation about a rift developing.

Mr. Murphy, who made an unpublicized trip to Amman last week, said he had not yet received a report from the Jordanians about the meetings. He said it was clear that Jordan was unhappy with several recent acts of terrorism by Palestinian groups, whether or not they were directed by Mr. Arafat's organization.

In his first public comments since his mission, Mr. Murphy today told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on the Middle East that the region "is at one of those moments in its history when events have begun to come together in a way in which with efforts from all sides, a peace process can be substantially advanced and we can hope to see the opening of negotiations in the near future."

### Time Called a Factor

But he warned that there was not much time remaining. "The window of opportunity is fast slipping away," he said.

"I think there will be a series of steps or efforts made by all the parties," he said, "to see if they can come closer together, to come to that final decision to open under appropriate international auspices, the direct negotiations we all have been working for and hearing so much about."

Mr. Murphy also repeated the Administration's commitment to selling Jordan \$1.9 billion worth of American weapons, even though the Senate recently put off the sale to at least March 1, and the House is likely to follow suit.

There have been hints that Moscow was considering renewing ties with Israel to gain more influence in Middle East negotiations, and also as a way of improving ties with the United States.

### Move by Poland

As a possible harbinger, Poland, a close ally of the Soviet Union, has announced an exchange of diplomatic interests sections with Israel. This is only one step away from full diplomatic relations, and would not have been taken without Moscow's approval and probably its instigation, State Department officials said.

Of the Warsaw Pact nations, only Rumania did not end ties with Israel in 1967.

The United States and Israel have been urging direct talks as the only way to make progress in the Middle East, but recently have seemed to move toward acceptance of King Hussein's international forum. King Hussein has said he could not afford to negotiate with Israel except under the auspices of an international meeting.

Mr. Peres, in talks with American officials here and in New York earlier this month, talked at length about his interest in reviving ties with Moscow, American and Israeli officials said.

This was largely to improve the chances of the emigration of thousands of Soviet Jews. Israeli and American officials reported that Mr. Peres said he wanted to explore the possibility with the Soviet Union, even before restoring relations, of having charter flights carry Israeli tourists to the Soviet Union, and having the flights return with Soviet Jewish emigrants aboard.

When Mr. Peres had a brief conversation with Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union at a United Nations reception last week, the Soviet official put off discussion of major questions by saying that Moscow was preoccupied with the Geneva meeting.



FOREIGN AFFAIRS | Flora Lewis

## Mideast Deadlines

**V**irtually all the players in the endless Middle East drama are in motion again. Whether their myriad signals mean at last there is a real chance for peace negotiations or whether it is just another turn of the old merry-go-round remains to be seen.

The Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, talks repeatedly of getting started before the end of this year, for good reason. He has only until next October in office before he must step down in favor of Likud's Yitzhak Shamir, under the agreement that created the coalition Government. Engagement in talks serious enough to convince the Israeli public that there is a fair prospect of peace is probably the sole ground on which he could successfully break the deal.

Ironically, the "rotation" accord, which looked like a grave weakness when it was made a year ago, has strengthened Mr. Peres's hand considerably. It is a powerful deadline for Jordan, because Mr. Shamir and his party have made no secret of their desire to annex occupied lands and refuse any territorial concessions.

There is a double deadline, although the second one is less precise. That is the growing weakness of President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt in the face of domestic unrest. Israel has no doubts about his loyalty to their peace treaty, but if Mr. Mubarak should fall before it is broadened to Jordan, a new leader in Cairo might not hold firm.

The two deadlines are pressing in various ways on all who are involved. King Hussein still seems to hope that Yasir Arafat will finally carry out the conditions he accepted last spring so that Jordan can negotiate on behalf of the P.L.O.

To Syria's evident satisfaction, Mr. Arafat has weakened himself so badly that his choice may be only to support King Hussein or fade into sidelines impotence. His base in Tunis is shaky, and if he has to move once again, to Iraq, his commandos will still be practically out of striking distance from Israel.

Syria, as usual, is a crucial enigma. But its newly warming relations with Jordan are not worrying Mr. Peres. President Hafez al-Assad may be coming to prefer a role in an international peace process, without Mr. Arafat, to trying to break it up and risk being left out.

Shifts in Soviet policy are of special importance. The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, has said he won't decide before his summit meeting with President Reagan next month. But he is sending messages that he is

prepared to move dramatically on Jewish emigration and limited relations with Israel if the United States-Soviet climate is favorable.

The French offer to airlift Jewish emigrants directly from the Soviet Union to Tel Aviv is based on private exchanges that make that a real possibility.

The Russians have told Western diplomats they made a mistake insisting in the past that the people they let out go somewhere other than Israel first, because then large numbers went instead to the United States. That undermined the claim that the movement was only reuniting families, not a special exit privilege for Jews denied to other citizens.

The Russians are aware that under

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### All the players are in motion again

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Israeli law, arriving Jews immediately and automatically receive Israeli citizenship. Under United States law they would then have to apply for American visas in the Israeli quota, rather than the far more generous provisions for admitting refugees.

It isn't at all clear what Mr. Gorbachev will ask from Mr. Reagan. Large-scale emigration would be a brilliant success for the President's human rights program. That should be an additional incentive to make the summit conference work well.

The urgent Soviet desire to participate in an international conference that would provide an umbrella for Israeli-Jordanian negotiations shows that Moscow now takes the possibility of talks seriously and is determined not to be left out. Recently, a high-level Soviet diplomat repeated to a senior Israeli Ambassador that in current Moscow judgment it was a mistake to break relations with Israel after the 1967 war.

Mr. Reagan's surprising omission of the Middle East from the list of regional trouble spots in his speech to the United Nations General Assembly is a sign that diplomacy on this issue may be too promising to disturb with futile rhetoric.

But, but, but. . . There are bound to be attempts to blow up this delicate dance to the peace table. If the deadlines are missed, it can take a long time to line up another chance. □



# Let the Occupied Territories Decide

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1985

By Clinton Bailey

OXFORD, England — Jordan's equivocal and ambiguous reaction to the peace proposal put forward last week at the United Nations by Israel's Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, indicates that the Middle East peace process is still deadlocked. King Hussein has not yet been able to take Mr. Peres up on his offer of direct negotiations, largely because he does not feel that he is authorized to pursue peace on his own without the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The only way to break this deadlock — now or in the future — is to hold a referendum, under neutral auspices, among the Palestinians living in the occupied territories. They, as the party most directly concerned, should be asked whether or not they want Hussein to negotiate on their behalf. This is the only way to refute the P.L.O.'s claim that it and it alone must represent the Palestinian people in negotiations about its future.

Without such a referendum, King Hussein may never be able to negotiate with Israel for peace and territory. At the Arab summit conference held in Rabat, Morocco, in 1974, the Arab states unanimously gave the P.L.O. an exclusive mandate for representing the Palestinians. Since then, several of these states have had regrets, and in 1978, at Camp David, Egypt broke the Rabat consensus by negotiating autonomy for the occupied territories. Yet until this month, King Hussein has remained bound by the consensus, afraid to proceed toward peace without the P.L.O.

Tacit endorsement for Hussein exists already in the West Bank and Gaza. Throughout the years, and more so recently, the leading newspapers of the territories have prodded the P.L.O. to grant the King a negotiating role. True, in the first years after the Israeli occupation in 1967, the P.L.O. did give many Palestinians a sense of pride. But as time went on, fewer and fewer believed that it was capable of restoring them, or their lands, to Arab sovereignty.

These misgivings deepened, especially after 1977, when Israel's settlement activity and land expropriations intensified. Most Palestinians in the territories now fear that all will be lost if talks do not get under way soon.

Aware of these anxieties, King Hussein suggested to the P.L.O., in Amman last November, that it agree to negotiate with Israel about an exchange of territory for peace, as stipulated in United Nations Security Council Resolution 242.

This position contradicts the P.L.O.'s principles and policies. But Yasir Arafat, feeling that Hussein's approach was popular and might undermine his own support in the territories, subsequently agreed to let the King make peace overtures — primarily to the United States. He also hoped that this would lead to American recognition of the P.L.O. without its having to accept Resolution 242.

In the meantime, however, many Palestinians have understood that the P.L.O.'s continued refusal to renounce terrorism and accept Resolution 242 may well prevent the Hussein-Arafat agreement of February from leading to negotiations. This month, in particular, it has become abundantly clear that the P.L.O. remains an unacceptable negotiating partner to Israel and the major Western nations. Yet Hussein alone cannot represent the Palestinian people without their explicit endorsement.

There are two conflicting attitudes toward peace among Israelis and Arabs. Some people on both sides want peace soon and are willing to compromise to achieve it. They include most Palestinians in the territories and Jordan proper (together, 75 percent of all Palestinians), the Jordanian and Egyptian Governments and the Israeli Labor Party.

Advocates of the other approach do not want compromise and are willing to forego peace indefinitely to avoid it. In the Arab world, the main advocates are Syria, the P.L.O. in all its groupings and the Palestinians living in Syria and Lebanon. In Israel, they are the parties of the right.

These extremists may remain an irritant even if peace is achieved between Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians in the territories. But no peace initiative will ever get off the ground if it must wait for the extremists' approval. Mr. Peres has already spoken. Those Palestinians who are interested in peace must be given a safe way to express their reply. □

*Clinton Bailey teaches the history of Palestinian nationalism at Tel Aviv University.*



# Arafat Pledge on Hijackings Is Reported

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

AMMAN, Jordan, Oct. 30 — The Palestine Liberation Organization has promised King Hussein to avoid any repetition of such incidents as the Achille Lauro hijacking, according to Palestinian and Jordanian sources.

"We agreed we should not carry out any act that could hurt the Feb. 11 agreement," said Hani al-Hassan, an aide to Yasir Arafat after two days of meetings, referring to the accord between Jordan and the P.L.O. on a joint approach to Middle East peace.

It was not quite clear what specifically Mr. Arafat had pledged not to do, but the promise appeared to be the sole concrete achievement to come out of his meeting with King Hussein.

The Jordanian-P.L.O. alliance thus appeared to have survived King Hussein's irritation over the Achille Lauro hijacking and the breakdown of a meeting in London between Palestinian representatives and the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

## Strains Appear to Remain

While Jordanian officials were also eager to put the best face on things, it was clear that sharp strains remained. A Jordanian official, extolling the success of the meeting, suddenly broke off to speak in private of a news conference Tuesday in which Mr. Arafat had lashed out at the United States.

"What are you going to do with him?" the Jordanian said. "Here he has just met with the King and what does he do? We expect him to apologize and say it won't happen again, and it is all down with America."

Arab sources and Western diplomats said neither side at this point was able to risk scuttling the alliance. The sources said that both sides needed each other — the P.L.O. because of its weakness, the King because of the legitimacy that inclusion of the P.L.O. gives to his peace initiative.

There was scant mention in the meetings, according to Palestinian and Jordanian sources, of any attempt by the King to wring commitments from Mr. Arafat to such American conditions as recognition of Israel or renunciation of violence. Before the meetings, Western diplomats said King Hussein would try to "nail down" the Palestinian leader.

## Responsibility in P.L.O. Is Issue

Instead, the sources said, much of the discussion focused on the need to tighten responsibility in the P.L.O.

The result was said to be a relief for Mr. Arafat and his aides, who arrived prepared for a confrontation and fearful that they would be thrown out of their bases in Jordan and, indeed, out of the peace efforts that have given them a measure of respectability.

"This is a success for the P.L.O.," Ahmed Abdul Rahman, the P.L.O. spokesman, said today.

It will probably take days or even weeks for the full implications to become clear, diplomats said. But an immediate effect of the meetings appeared to be a strengthening of Mr. Arafat and a narrowing of King Hussein's maneuvering room.

"Neither can abandon the other and Jordan is in no position to press for more concessions from Abu Ammar," said a radical Palestinian, using Mr. Arafat's nom de guerre.

The results also appeared to rule out any acceptance by King Hussein of an offer of separate peace talks by Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel. The Israelis have mounted a campaign to isolate the P.L.O. from any talks.

Mr. Arafat left during the day for Saudi Arabia, and aides said he also intended to go on to Cairo to try to mend ties with President Hosni Mubarak.

Mr. Hassan, the Arafat aide, said King Hussein was initially "furious" over the slaying of three Israelis in a raid in Larnaca, Cyprus, the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship and the failure of the London meeting, all of which occurred while he was in the West trying to promote his peace initiative.

"Gradually we were able to calm

down the King and convince the Jordanians we were more hurt by the Achille Lauro than he," Mr. Hassan said. The result was that "we were able to normalize relations between us and Jordan," he added.

Jordan issued no official statement beyond a report by Petra, the Government press agency, that the meeting had been characterized by frankness. Reports about any strains have been censored in Jordan.



# Arafat's Palestinian Foes Split

## on How to Challenge His Leadership

By IHSAN A. HIJAZI

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Oct. 29 — A conflict has broken out among Yasir Arafat's opponents in the guerrilla movement on ways to challenge his leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and scuttle efforts to begin Middle East negotiations.

The dispute emerged as Mr. Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, met in Amman with King Hussein and other Jordanian leaders in an effort to heal a breach in their relations, and as new talks were reported scheduled between Jordan and Syria, which have begun high-level contacts for the first time in years.

### Rebellion Against Arafat

Col. Saeed Musa, a senior member of the Palestine National Salvation Front, which is based in Damascus, has called for the creation of a new P.L.O. — a group that could challenge the claim of that organization to the status of sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. But other officials in the anti-Arafat alliance have disagreed with Colonel Musa, preferring to contest for control of the existing P.L.O.

"The only way to strip Arafat of the leadership of the Palestinian people is to proclaim a new P.L.O. that will be dedicated to the armed struggle against Israel," Colonel Musa said in an interview published here by the

Lebanese weekly magazine Al Shiraa. "There is nothing wrong in having two P.L.O.'s, one patriotic and the other not so patriotic," he said.

Three years ago, Colonel Musa, a 58-year-old officer in the Palestinian guerrilla forces who is better known as Abu Musa, led a rebellion against Mr. Arafat within the mainstream guerrilla movement, Al Fatah, that set the stage for the split in the P.L.O. itself.

Seven months ago, with Syrian support, Colonel Musa's breakaway faction joined five other guerrilla organizations in setting up the Palestine National Salvation Front. However, the grouping has so far failed to remove Mr. Arafat from the chairmanship of the P.L.O., a post he has held for the last 16 years.

### Consensus Proves Elusive

The Palestine National Salvation Front was set up a month after Mr. Arafat concluded an agreement with King Hussein of Jordan on a joint approach to seeking negotiations in the Middle East.

On Monday in Amman, Mr. Arafat and his senior aides began new talks with King Hussein to try to resolve differences that arose after a series of recent events that undermined the P.L.O.

The events included the hijacking by four Palestinian guerrillas of the Italian cruise liner Achille Lauro and a

decision by the British Government not to go ahead with talks with two members of the P.L.O. Executive Committee after they refused to sign a declaration urging a peaceful Middle East settlement and recognizing Israel's right to exist.

The Palestine National Salvation Front has strongly opposed any moves for a peace settlement with Israel, but its leaders have been unable to reach a consensus on whether to turn their alliance into a new P.L.O.

George Habash, the secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has been afraid such an action would destroy the P.L.O. altogether. He has taken the position that the Palestine National Salvation Front should devote its energies to scuttling the Arafat-Hussein agreement, and should wait for Mr. Arafat to step down even if that takes five years.

### Palestinian Congress Proposed

"Arafat might remain in his position indefinitely," Colonel Musa objected in the interview.

In order to challenge Mr. Arafat's group and claim the status of a new P.L.O., Colonel Musa proposed convening a Palestinian People's Congress in Damascus. This group would then elect

an executive committee that would offer itself as a substitute for the one headed by Mr. Arafat and based in Tunisia.

Colonel Musa has his political headquarters in the Syrian capital.

In addition to Colonel Musa's faction and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestine National Salvation Front includes the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, the Syrian-sponsored group As Saiqa, the Popular Struggle Front, and a pro-Syrian faction of the Palestine Liberation Front.

Another group that opposes Mr. Arafat's policies, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has refused to join either the P.L.O. Executive Committee or the Palestine National Salvation Front.

Analysts said the pro-Syrian guerrillas have been thrown off balance by the rapprochement that has been taking place recently between Damascus and Amman.

Reports in the Beirut press today said that Prime Minister Zaid al-Rifai of Jordan is to visit Damascus later this week for additional talks with his Syrian counterpart, Dr. Abdel Raouf al-Kassem.



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"What are you going to do with him?" the Jordanian said. "Here he has just met with the King and what does he do? We expect him to apologize and say it won't happen again, and it is all down with America."

Arab sources and Western diplomats said neither side at this point was able to risk scuttling the alliance. The sources said that both sides needed each other — the P.L.O. because of its weakness, the King because of the legitimacy that inclusion of the P.L.O. gives to his peace initiative.

There was scant mention in the meetings, according to Palestinian and Jordanian sources, of any attempt by the King to wring commitments from Mr. Arafat to such American conditions as recognition of Israel or renunciation of violence. Before the meetings, Western diplomats said King Hussein would try to "nail down" the Palestinian leader.

## Responsibility in P.L.O. Is Issue

Instead, the sources said, much of the discussion focused on the need to tighten responsibility in the P.L.O.

The result was said to be a relief for Mr. Arafat and his aides, who arrived prepared for a confrontation and fearful that they would be thrown out of their bases in Jordan and, indeed, out of the peace efforts that have given them a measure of respectability.

"This is a success for the P.L.O.," Ahmed Abdul Rahman, the P.L.O. spokesman, said today.

It will probably take days or even weeks for the full implications to become clear, diplomats said. But an immediate effect of the meetings appeared to be a strengthening of Mr. Arafat and a narrowing of King Hussein's maneuvering room.

"Neither can abandon the other and Jordan is in no position to press for more concessions from Abu Ammar," said a radical Palestinian, using Mr. Arafat's nom de guerre.

The results also appeared to rule out any acceptance by King Hussein of an offer of separate peace talks by Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel. The Israelis have mounted a campaign to isolate the P.L.O. from any talks.

Mr. Arafat left during the day for Saudi Arabia, and aides said he also intended to go on to Cairo to try to mend ties with President Hosni Mubarak.

Mr. Hassan, the Arafat aide, said King Hussein was initially "furious" over the slaying of three Israelis in a raid in Larnaca, Cyprus, the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship and the failure of the London meeting, all of which occurred while he was in the West trying to promote his peace initiative.

"Gradually we were able to calm

down the King and convince the Jordanians we were more hurt by the Achille Lauro than he," Mr. Hassan said. The result was that "we were able to normalize relations between us and Jordan," he added.

Jordan issued no official statement beyond a report by Petra, the Government press agency, that the meeting had been characterized by frankness. Reports about any strains have been censored in Jordan.



# Arafat's Palestinian Foes Split

## on How to Challenge His Leadership

By IHSAN A. HIJAZI

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Oct. 29 — A conflict has broken out among Yasir Arafat's opponents in the guerrilla movement on ways to challenge his leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and scuttle efforts to begin Middle East negotiations.

The dispute emerged as Mr. Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, met in Amman with King Hussein and other Jordanian leaders in an effort to heal a breach in their relations, and as new talks were reported scheduled between Jordan and Syria, which have begun high-level contacts for the first time in years.

### Rebellion Against Arafat

Col. Saeed Musa, a senior member of the Palestine National Salvation Front, which is based in Damascus, has called for the creation of a new P.L.O. — a group that could challenge the claim of that organization to the status of sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. But other officials in the anti-Arafat alliance have disagreed with Colonel Musa, preferring to contest for control of the existing P.L.O.

"The only way to strip Arafat of the leadership of the Palestinian people is to proclaim a new P.L.O. that will be dedicated to the armed struggle against Israel," Colonel Musa said in an interview published here by the

Lebanese weekly magazine Al Shiraa. "There is nothing wrong in having two P.L.O.'s, one patriotic and the other not so patriotic," he said.

Three years ago, Colonel Musa, a 58-year-old officer in the Palestinian guerrilla forces who is better known as Abu Musa, led a rebellion against Mr. Arafat within the mainstream guerrilla movement, Al Fatah, that set the stage for the split in the P.L.O. itself.

Seven months ago, with Syrian support, Colonel Musa's breakaway faction joined five other guerrilla organizations in setting up the Palestine National Salvation Front. However, the grouping has so far failed to remove Mr. Arafat from the chairmanship of the P.L.O., a post he has held for the last 16 years.

### Consensus Proves Elusive

The Palestine National Salvation Front was set up a month after Mr. Arafat concluded an agreement with King Hussein of Jordan on a joint approach to seeking negotiations in the Middle East.

On Monday in Amman, Mr. Arafat and his senior aides began new talks with King Hussein to try to resolve differences that arose after a series of recent events that undermined the P.L.O.

The events included the hijacking by four Palestinian guerrillas of the Italian cruise liner Achille Lauro and a

decision by the British Government not to go ahead with talks with two members of the P.L.O. Executive Committee after they refused to sign a declaration urging a peaceful Middle East settlement and recognizing Israel's right to exist.

The Palestine National Salvation Front has strongly opposed any moves for a peace settlement with Israel, but its leaders have been unable to reach a consensus on whether to turn their alliance into a new P.L.O.

George Habash, the secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has been afraid such an action would destroy the P.L.O. altogether. He has taken the position that the Palestine National Salvation Front should devote its energies to scuttling the Arafat-Hussein agreement, and should wait for Mr. Arafat to step down even if that takes five years.

### Palestinian Congress Proposed

"Arafat might remain in his position indefinitely," Colonel Musa objected in the interview.

In order to challenge Mr. Arafat's group and claim the status of a new P.L.O., Colonel Musa proposed convening a Palestinian People's Congress in Damascus. This group would then elect

an executive committee that would offer itself as a substitute for the one headed by Mr. Arafat and based in Tunisia.

Colonel Musa has his political headquarters in the Syrian capital.

In addition to Colonel Musa's faction and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestine National Salvation Front includes the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, the Syrian-sponsored group As Saiqa, the Popular Struggle Front, and a pro-Syrian faction of the Palestine Liberation Front.

Another group that opposes Mr. Arafat's policies, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, has refused to join either the P.L.O. Executive Committee or the Palestine National Salvation Front.

Analysts said the pro-Syrian guerrillas have been thrown off balance by the rapprochement that has been taking place recently between Damascus and Amman.

Reports in the Beirut press today said that Prime Minister Zaid al-Rifai of Jordan is to visit Damascus later this week for additional talks with his Syrian counterpart, Dr. Abdel Raouf al-Kassem.



ITALY AND ISRAEL

A Background Memorandum by  
**David Geller**  
International Relations Department

The role of the Italian government in the recent Achille Lauro affair has brought to the surface once again the complex relationship that has existed in recent years between Israel and Italy..

In December 1983, Israel and Italy signed a broad agreement covering economic, agricultural, scientific, technological and cultural relations. There were also agreements on how to deal with problems that may arise for Israel's agricultural exports, when Spain and Portugal are admitted to the EEC. In addition, there have been some visits to each country by government officials. Nevertheless, the relationship has been somewhat strained in the last few years by what is perceived in Israel as a tilt toward the Arabs. Foreign Minister Giuglio Andreotti has had two meetings with Arafat in the last two years. In September 1982 when he was president of the International Parliamentary Union, he invited Arafat to come to Rome. Last year, Prime Minister Bettino Craxi accompanied Andreotti at the most recent meeting with Arafat in December in Tunisia. The meeting between Craxi and Arafat was the first time that a West European Prime Minister had met with a leader of the PLO. In April of 1984 Andreotti, and a representative of the Communist Party, were the only two of a 12-member Italian delegation to the European Parliament who signed an anti-Israel resolution, which branded Zionism together with colonialism and apartheid as forms of racism. Given the fact that it was Italy's turn to take over the presidency of the EEC for a 6-month period beginning in January 1985, there was some concern that the EEC would find it easier to adopt an anti-Israel position reaffirming the Venice Declaration. In fact, this did not materialize.

Like a number of other West European countries, Italy is suffering from serious economic difficulties and hopes that its pro-Arab tilt will result in profitable trade agreements with the Arabs. Italy exports arms to a number of Arab countries, including Libya, whose reputation as a haven for terrorists in no way inhibits the government from seeking greater contacts. It should also be noted that Libya's Central Bank owns 17% of Fiat.

Italy's voting record in the UN regarding resolutions affecting Israel has, with some exceptions, followed France and Great Britain. On some occasions, it has abstained rather than vote against an anti-Israel resolution.



In 1983, during his end-of-the-year address, President Sandro Pertini included a number of statements to which the Jewish community took great exception. He charged Israel with the sole responsibility for the Sabra and Shatilla massacres, and deplored what he referred to as following the cruel "eye for an eye" Old Testament principle. He made no mention of the massacres of Palestinians and other Christian groups in Lebanon and elsewhere, nor did he refer to the hundreds of terrorist incidents perpetrated by the PLO against civilian targets in Israel. In an open letter to President Pertini signed by Tullia Zevi, in her capacity as President of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities, he was taken to task for the aforementioned statements and omissions.

In may be no coincidence that in Rome the new year of 1984 was ushered in with a bombing at midnight in front of the offices of El Al, as well as with an attack and beating of several Jews by a gang shouting anti-Semitic epithets near the Piazza Colonna, in which the Prime Minister's office is located.

In October 1982, a terrorist attack on Rome's main synagogue resulted in the killing of a 2-year-old Jewish child and the wounding of 37 others. It was later determined that the attack had been perpetrated by Palestinian terrorists. One was apprehended in November 1982 on the Greek-Turkish frontier. In February 1983 he was sentenced to 20 months in a prison in Athens. The Italian Government filed an official request for his extradition in January 1983 but the Greek Government blocked the extradition. In July 1984 he was released, dimming any hope that any of the killers responsible for the attack would at last be brought to justice. In memory of the young boy, a new library was dedicated to the heroes and martyrs who fought and died for democracy and freedom. In addition, on the second anniversary of the attack, the Jewish community issued a new edition of an illustrated book on "Jewish Rome," a bilingual history of Jewish contributions to Roman civilization from 161 BCE to the present. The book is to be distributed to municipal libraries and schools together with "The History of the Jewish People" by Abba Eban.

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

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** 21 October 1985  
**to** Members of the Board of Governors Special Committee on  
**from** AJC Pluralism/Intergroup Relations Center in Israel  
Leo Nevas, Chairman  
**subject** MEETING of COMMITTEE on NOVEMBER 8th

The next meeting of our special committee will be a breakfast meeting during the NEC on Friday, November 8th, at 7:00 AM in the Orchid A Room in the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Miami. (We have set this early hour because we have to complete our discussions before the start of the concurrent sessions at 8:15.)

Our discussion will focus on the enclosed Draft Proposal on the Center for Pluralism/Intergroup Relations in Israel which has been prepared by Dr. George E. Gruen on the basis of our previous discussions and also incorporates additional information provided by Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff from the Israel Office,

Please call Dr. Gruen's office (212 - 751-4000, ext. 259 or 310) to indicate whether you will be able to join us in this important discussion. (If you are not able to attend the NEC, I would appreciate receiving your comments and recommendations in advance so that we can communicate them to the participants in the meeting.)

I look forward to seeing you at the NEC in Miami.

*Leo*

Norman Alexander  
Mimi Alperin  
Morton Blaustein  
Matthew Brown  
Sholom Comay  
Theodore Ellenoff  
Harold Gales  
Bert Gold

Robert Goodkind  
David Gordis  
George Gruen  
Philip Hoffman  
Robert Rifkind  
Marc Tanenbaum ✓  
William Trosten  
Elmer Winter

LN:rs  
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UPDATE ON SEVEN KIDNAPPED LEBANESE JEWISH LEADERS

(An International Relations Department Analysis)

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

In recent days hopes have been raised and then again dashed for the early release of several prominent members of the Lebanese Jewish community who have been held hostage for months by a pro-Iranian Lebanese Shi'ite faction. According to information obtained by the European Office of the American Jewish Committee, on Wednesday, September 11, the wife of Dr. Elie Hallak received a phone call in Beirut from the kidnappers, who then permitted her to speak directly with her husband and to Isaac Sasson. The two gentlemen, who are respectively the vice president and president of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Jewish community, said that "we are all well." They expressed the hope that they -- as well as the other Lebanese Jewish men being held with them -- would be released on the eve of Rosh Hashanah (September 15).

They had hoped that their captors, who are believed to be affiliated with the Hizbollah (the Party of God), would have responded to religious appeals to make a humanitarian gesture in view of the fact that the Jewish New Year corresponds with the first day of Muharram, which is the Muslim New Year. However, the holiday has passed and they remain in captivity. While the relatives were naturally disappointed, they continued to hope that international humanitarian efforts on their behalf might result in their release by Yom Kippur (September 25) which corresponds to Ashura Day, a day of special solemnity for Shi'ite Muslims. Unfortunately, this day too has passed and there is still no word of their release. This adds to the fears that their kidnappers fail to be moved by such religious appeals.

It should be noted that the Jewish community in Beirut has scrupulously stayed out of the factional fighting in Lebanon or the Arab-Israel conflict. Moreover, none of the kidnapped Jews played any partisan political role. For example, Dr. Hallak is a respected doctor, whose patients have come from the various ethnic and religious communities. Indeed, some years back he treated the son of one of the Palestine Liberation Organization's leaders in the city. Mr. Sasson heads the pharmaceutical division of Khalil Fattal & Fils, a major Lebanese trading company, and travelled freely in the Arab world for the company. Isaac Tarrab is a respected retired professor of mathematics at the Ecole des Lettres Francaises de Beyrouth. The other kidnap victims were Jewish communal officials and businessmen.

Although the Jewish kidnap victims are believed to be held by persons affiliated with the Hizbollah group who hijacked the TWA plane and are still holding several Americans, there is one significant difference: In the case of the Americans, specific and repeated demands were made for the release of Shi'ite terrorist suspects held by Israel (and since released) and for the release from prison of 17 Shi'ites convicted of terrorist acts in Kuwait against



American, French and Kuwaiti-owned facilities. In the case of the Lebanese Jewish hostages, no political demands have been received by the Jewish community or their relatives.

Indeed, precisely because the Lebanese Jews play no role in local or regional politics, the kidnappings have outraged Muslim as well as Christian leaders in the country. In fact, Nabih Berri, the leader of the Amal, the mainstream Shi'ite militia, explicitly condemned the kidnapping of four Jewish leaders at the end of March. Mr. Berri, who has served in the Lebanese Cabinet as Minister of Justice and Minister for South Lebanon Affairs, declared on April 4 that the kidnappings "falsify the image of Beirut, which is built on co-existence." He concluded that "whoever kidnaps a Jew just because he is Jewish only helps Zionism and has nothing to do with patriotism or the struggle...."

However, as became evident during the TWA hostage crisis, the more pragmatic and Western-educated Mr. Berri has himself been facing a challenge to his leadership within the Shi'ite community posed by fanatical, pro-Iranian fundamentalist groups such as the Hizbollah. Some of the latter apparently have been so blinded by hatred that they make no distinction between Israelis and Jews in general, despite Ayatollah Khomeini's clear injunction that under an Islamic Republic Jews and Judaism are to be respected, so long as they do not actively aid "the Zionist enemy."

The family of one of the Jewish hostages, Haim Cohen, is of Persian origin and he holds an Iranian passport. They have appealed to the Iranian authorities for the Ayatollah's intervention with the kidnappers on his behalf as an Iranian citizen, as well as on humanitarian grounds for the other hostages.

The once flourishing Jewish community, which still numbered 6,000 in 1967, has shrunk today to a tiny remnant of less than 100, mostly elderly. According to a reliable source in the community who conducted an informal census, at the beginning of August of this year there were 47 Jews living in Christian east Beirut and 18 in the predominantly Muslim western part of the city.

The Lebanese Government has confirmed that the six Jewish kidnap victims are alive and are being held by the Hizbollah. While the Government of President Amin Gemayel has promised to do whatever it could to obtain their release, its capacity to do so is quite limited. Additional appeals have been made to the Syrian authorities, who are in effective control of Baalbek in the Bekaa Valley in Eastern Lebanon, where the Hizbollah and other pro-Iranian Shi'ite fundamentalist groups have their headquarters. President Assad of Syria played a crucial role in July in obtaining the release of the TWA hostages held by the Hizbollah.

The American Jewish Committee, which has been in contact with the American, Lebanese and Syrian authorities, and with various other governments and human rights groups since the beginning of the kidnappings, hopes that intensified international attention to the plight of the Lebanese Jewish hostages will finally lead to their unconditional release without further delay.

The following details on the identity of the Lebanese Jewish kidnap victims and what is known of the circumstances of their abduction are based upon infor-



mation compiled by the American Jewish Committee from various sources in the Middle East, Western Europe and North America:

1. Salim Jammous, secretary general of the Jewish community, was kidnapped on August 15, 1984, reportedly by three armed men who abducted him from his car near the communal office which is in the compound of the main synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil quarter of West Beirut.
2. Dr. Elie Hallak, 60, vice president of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Jewish community, was kidnapped from his home in West Beirut, around midnight of the Sabbath night of March 29-30.
3. Elie (Yussef) Srour, 68, reportedly was kidnapped on Saturday night, March 30. He was in charge of preparing the dead for burial according to Jewish religious rites.
4. Haim Cohen, 37, also kidnapped on March 30. An accountant for a Beirut department store, he was well-liked and had friends among all segments of Lebanese society, and had no known enemies, according to his family. His wife and three sons remain in Beirut.
5. Isaac Sasson, in his mid-60's, president of the Jewish community, was kidnapped by an armed gang on Sunday, March 31, while travelling to the city from Beirut International Airport. Mr. Sasson was returning to Beirut from a business trip to the United Arab Emirates on behalf of Khalil Fattal & Fils, a major Lebanese trading company, whose pharmaceutical department he heads. When news spread of the kidnapping of the other three Lebanese Jews earlier in the weekend, his friends sought to warn him not to go to West Beirut and the company sent a car with police guards to meet him and take him to presumably safer Christian East Beirut. Eye witnesses say that when armed men stopped the car and demanded Mr. Sasson, the guards in the car offered no resistance. Mr. Sasson is believed to suffer from diabetes.
6. Isaac Tarrab, 75, a retired professor of mathematics, kidnapped later in April or early in May. Nothing is known of the circumstances of his abduction. When he failed to return to his home one evening, the superintendent notified the authorities, who could find no trace of him. A Kurdish family took over the apartment a week later. Professor Tarrab's family in Canada have had no further word from him. It is not known whether he is being held with the Jewish hostages taken earlier.
7. We have not been able to obtain any confirmation concerning the whereabouts of a seventh Lebanese Jew, Yehuda Benisti, 68, a former manager of Bank Safra in Beirut. It is feared that he too may have been kidnapped.

(For earlier background information on the Lebanese Jewish community, please see our report, "The Kidnapping of Lebanese Jewish Leaders," first issued on April 1 and revised on April 24, 1985.)

October 2, 1985

85-580-32

# 1985 National Executive Council Meeting

Hyatt Regency Miami • November 7-10

October 14, 1985

To: National Affairs Commission Members  
From: Sholom Comay

The National Executive Council meeting will open with a National Affairs Commission meeting on:

Thursday, November 7, 1985

10:30 a.m.

Camellia Room

Among the important and timely agenda issues are:

1. Roots of the new extremism:
  - AJC's interim strategy on the new extremism, Farrakhan, farm belt anti-semitism.
2. New perspectives on affirmative action:
  - Strategies to deal with tensions around the Administration's policies, including plans to dismantle affirmative action Executive Order 11246
  - Report from Washington
3. Religious Pluralism:
  - Implications for religious pluralism programming arising from AJC meeting with Secy. of Education Bennett.
4. Social Policy Task Force:
  - A report on plans to develop new AJC policy and programs.

80th YEAR  
1906 - 1986



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



5. Social Club discrimination:

- A national sports strategy "The Miami Orange Bowl Case"

Background material is enclosed.

Please note the following meetings relating to National Affairs issues:

Thursday, November 7

4:30 P.M. - Opening Plenary Session

"Jewish Pluralism-Preconditions & Prognosis"

Dr. David M. Gordis

"Religious Pluralism - Renewing the Commitment"

Professor Harvey Cox, Harvard Divinity School

Friday, November 8

8:15 A.M. - Session

"Pay Equity - the 80's Social Justice Issue?"

Ray Marshall, Former Secretary of Labor

12:15 P.M. - Concurrent Luncheons

A. "Counteracting Anti-Semitism & Extremism"

B. "Black-Jewish Relations"

Saturday, November 9

12:30 P.M. - Plenary Luncheon

"Jews as Americans - A Dream Fulfilled?"

Charles Silberman, Author

2:30 P. M. - Women's Issues Committee meeting

5:00 P. M. - Appeal for Human Relations Cocktail Reception

Honoring David Fleeman

Sunday, November 10

8:00 A. M. - Plenary Breakfast

"Acculturation of Immigrants - The  
New Challenge"

Mayor Fredrico Pena of Denver.

85-620-65





PROPOSED FEDERAL LAW TO BAN PRIVATE  
MILITARY OR PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATIONS  
FOR DISCUSSION

Unauthorized military or paramilitary organizations

A. No body of men and/or women, other than the regularly organized state military forces of this state and the troops of the United States, shall associate themselves together as a military or paramilitary company or organization, or conduct training as a military or paramilitary company or organization in the use, application or construction of any firearm, explosive, or incendiary device, capable of causing injury or death to persons, or parade in public with firearms in any village, city, or town of this state; provided that students in the educational institutions where military science is a prescribed part of the course of instruction, and soldiers honorably discharged from the services of the United States may, with the consent of the Governor, drill and parade with firearms in public. Nothing herein shall be construed to prevent parades by the active militia of any other state.

B. Any person or persons violating this section shall be fined not more than ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

For purposes of this section:

- (1) The term "firearm" means any weapon which is designed to or may readily be converted to expel any projectile by the action of an explosive; or the frame or receiver of any such weapon.
- (2) The term "explosive or incendiary device" means (A) dynamite and all other forms of high explosives, (B) any explosive bomb, grenade, missile or similar device, including any device which (i) consists

of or includes a breakable container including a flammable liquid or compound, and a wick composed of any material which, when ignited, is capable of igniting such flammable liquid or compound, and (ii) can be carried or thrown by one individual acting alone.

- (3) The term "military company or organization" means an organized group of persons who are trained and armed for the purpose of engaging in combat, warfare or sabotage.
- (4) The term "paramilitary company or organization" means an organized group of persons, resembling or akin to a military organization, formed on a military pattern as an auxiliary or diversionary group, and trained and armed for the purpose of engaging in combat, warfare or sabotage.

Prepared by Samuel Rabinove  
October 1985







# The American Jewish Committee

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

Statement of  
HYMAN BOOKBINDER, Washington Representative  
Of The  
ARCHIVES  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

To The  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES  
Of The  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

ON THE ISSUE OF

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION and the PROPOSED CHANGES IN EXECUTIVE ORDER 11246

September 18, 1985

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On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, I appear today to discuss a simple but very crucial truth:

\*\*There has been some very significant progress in our national goal of equal employment opportunity -- but not nearly enough to permit a dismantling of the tool we have developed to achieve that progress.

The reported "draft" of changes in Executive Order 11246 would constitute such a dismantling and we have therefore called upon President Reagan to reject the proposed changes. On August 15, Mr. Howard Friedman, president of the American Jewish Committee, in a letter to President Reagan, declared that the proposed action would be a "needless and ominous over-reaction to occasional abuses which have developed -- (and) would cause a chilling effect over all affirmative action programs." (Full text of letter attached -- Appendix A)

This proposed change would significantly exacerbate an already disturbing situation created by the Administration's action earlier this year requesting 51 local jurisdictions to modify their ongoing affirmative action plans. That action, as we have all come to know, caused much confusion and anxiety across the country, and resulted in anguished protests from local officials, both Republican and Democratic. On that earlier occasion, Mr. Friedman again spoke out, expressing our concern that the Department's action "will reopen old wounds, and will have the effect of increasing tensions and disrupting social peace in communities across the country." (See Appendix B)

Mr. Friedman's comment at the time, that the Justice action "sweeps into a common ambit decrees which employ goals and timetables (the prudent use of which we strongly endorse) as well as decrees which employ quotas", applies just as clearly to the present proposal for changes in Executive Order 11246. Thus, let me state a second simple but very critical truth, as we profoundly believe it:

\*\*Racial or religious or other quotas are wrong and should not be mandated or permitted by law or regulation -- but the use of statistical tests or goals are not necessarily improper and have in fact been very helpful.

In challenging these two developments -- the second of which I realize is only a proposal at this time -- I do not challenge the intent or the good faith of the Administration. I do not doubt its desire to see further progress in equal employment opportunity, and I do understand their concern about occasional abuses and distortions which have developed over the years in the affirmative action picture. But there are many civil rights advocates and organizations that are so upset about these developments that they have challenged the very integrity of the Administration. In the weeks since the report of the proposed order, I have sensed an intensity of concern and resentment at least equal to that which developed after the unfortunate Bob Jones action several years ago.



The American Jewish Committee, let me repeat, is strongly opposed to quotas. On numerous occasions, I have testified before Congressional committees explaining in detail why we oppose inflexible, mandatory quotas in both employment and education. I will not elaborate on that absolute commitment we have in opposition to quotas; we consider them wrong in principle, bad in practice, destructive of individual rights and contrary to the best interests of all Americans, including the disadvantaged. To those who argue that quotas are necessary on a short-term basis to remedy entrenched patterns of discrimination in our workforce, our response is that their inherent dangers outweigh any temporary gains they might bring. Quotas are qualitatively different from other forms of race-conscious relief and their use undermines the concept of individual merit and the very principle of equal opportunity itself.

But the issue of quotas is not really involved in the present dispute over Executive Order 11246. If it were, I would now be testifying in support of the proposed changes. In the name of fighting quotas, the draft order would prohibit the use of forms of affirmative action which have, based on all available data, operated in beneficial and constitutionally acceptable forms for two decades.

Not only does the present Executive Order not authorize the use of quotas, it expressly prohibits them. Let me cite the exact words, from Revised Order No. 4, the instruction to contracting agencies in implementation of Executive Order 11246:

"(e)Goals may not be rigid and inflexible quotas which must be met, but must be targets reasonably attainable by means of applying every good faith effort to make all aspects of the entire affirmative action program work."

What could be clearer than this instruction? It is most discouraging to find journalists and public officials and others, despite this clear language, continuing to describe the Executive Order as requiring quotas. Thus, if the proposed changes are intended to outlaw quotas, the answer is simple: they are now outlawed.

But the situation is not that simple, of course. There are those who refuse to see any difference between quotas and goals, insisting that it is just a semantic quibble. A careful study of the history of affirmative action and a careful reading of the relevant materials should be persuasive that there is indeed a major philosophical and operating difference between the two. Briefly stated, a quota involves a set-aside, an exclusionary number or percentage, available for members only of a named target group; it implies preference for such members over those outside the target group. Failure to reach the particular number or percentage is prima facie evidence of failure and possibly cause for sanctions of some kind.

"Goals and timetables" on the other hand, as defined in the Order No. 4 cited earlier, "should be attainable in terms of the contractor's analysis of its deficiencies and its entire affirmative action program. Thus, in establish-



ing the size of its goals and the length of its timetables, the contractor should consider the results which could reasonably be expected from its putting forth every good faith effort to make its overall affirmative action program work." No preference is required, and no penalties if good faith effort can be demonstrated.

Thus, goals/timetables can and do serve to provide a measuring rod for meeting reasonable realistic objectives -- and also as a prod to employers to engage in a wide range of non-controversial affirmative action measures (recruiting, advertising, training, improved testing) in order to meet stated goals.

But there is another kind of opposition to goals which merits serious and even sympathetic hearing. Yes, some will argue, there is indeed a conceptual difference between a quota and a goal. But in practice, they contend, the difference has disappeared. Goals have become defacto quotas in so many instances that in order to avoid quotas, with its inevitable racial or other preferences, you have to say no to goals also. This is, of course, the rationale behind the Administration's policies.

It is the position of the American Jewish Committee -- a position supported only last week by the Task Force on Domestic Concerns of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, an umbrella group of 12 major national Jewish agencies and 200 local community relation councils -- that there is no factual basis for this assertion that goals have generally been distorted into defacto preferential, exclusionary quotas, that goals programs continue to serve as useful tools for affirmative action, and that therefore the draft proposal to outlaw goals is unwarranted and unnecessary and unwise.

I stress the absence of broad factual evidence of general corruption of goals programs. That does not mean that there have not been instances of such corruption. But anecdotal citations cannot be sufficient justification for sweeping changes in a federal program that has contributed to progress. To yield to such anecdotal evidence is to succumb to ideologues in and outside the Administration determined to score a philosophic victory.

Mr. Chairman, I urge you to listen to those across the land who are not insensitive to the underlying philosophical arguments about quotas and preferential treatment, but who are deeply involved in the realities of employment operations and equal opportunity aspirations. It is hard to exaggerate the importance of testimony offered by Mr. William McEwen, Director of Equal Opportunity Affairs for Monsanto Company, on behalf of the National Association of Manufacturers -- testimony that so much parallels what I have said to you this morning, that goals are not the same as quotas, and that they have been good for our nation's manufacturers, not bad.

I ask you to weight heavily the editorial judgment of Business Week which concludes with these words:



"Over the years, business and regulators have worked out rules and procedures for affirmative action, including numerical yardsticks for sizing up progress that both sides understand. It has worked and should be left alone."

And this distinguished business journal reminds its readers that Reagan Administration officials can often be heard saying, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it." Take that advice in regard to affirmative action, Business Week urges.

I stated above that anecdotal arguments are not sufficient for underlying changes in programs considered useful. But that does not mean they should be ignored either. There have been enough cases reported -- some of them involving court action -- to have led to a widespread public impression that we are indeed moving rapidly to a quota society. Resentments have developed over the widespread use of preference, leading to general suspicions about any kind of affirmative action. Needless to say, any individual or group that believes that affirmative action has led to a new form of discrimination is entitled to full administration and judicial review and relief. Any violation of constitutional rights -- even if only a single individual is involved -- must concern us all.

It should be clear that any victim of discrimination -- "reverse" or traditional -- can today use the courts and the federal agencies to seek relief. But the American Jewish Committee has always urged, and I do so today, that if there are indeed abuses from a program which the government itself has mandated, it is particularly incumbent upon the government to take steps to prevent or at least reduce the level of such abuse.

If we ask, as we do, that the proposed changes in the order be rejected by the President, we also have the right to ask, and we do, that a full review of the program be made to the end of promulgating additional instructions, and if found necessary, additional regulations, to prevent the distortion of goals into de facto quotas resulting either from ignorance or over-zealousness.

And, finally, we have the obligation to seek as much information as possible about how the present programs are working. If the "anecdotes" do add up to a substantial record of corruption, it may be necessary and only fair to modify our present position. I repeat our call for more thorough research into the actual performance of affirmative action programs. But until and unless such data does indeed validate the argument that goals inevitably become quotas, we ask the Administration and the Congress not to throw the proverbial baby out with the bath water.

I said at the beginning of this statement that there has been progress in the equal opportunity picture. Yes, there has. But not nearly enough. The employment figures for last month were most welcome in that they reflected a reduction in unemployment after several months of stagnation. But those figures caused no cheers in Black or Hispanic America, and especially none among the youth in those communities. Affirmative action alone -- even the unacceptable use of quotas -- cannot make a serious dent in unemployment rates as high as 20 or 30 or 40 percent. Basic economic growth, improved education, greater family

stability -- these and other factors will ultimately determine the employment prospects for all our people. But discrimination continues to be a challenge, and we dare not let up on our efforts, both public and private, to fight it.

In a Forward to the excellent report of the Potomac Institute, "Affirmative Action in the 1970's", Harold Fleming cogently sums up that challenge, and I am pleased to endorse his words:

"(Affirmative Action) has moved our society measurably closer to the democratic goal of equal opportunity... The gap remaining is too wide to justify relaxing our efforts and abandoning methods of proved effectiveness. If there are flaws in the execution of these methods, then by all means we should correct them. But let us not use them as a pretext for returning to the complacent and unfruitful policies of the past."

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

# National Affairs

## BACKGROUND

IRVING M. LEVINE  
Director, National Affairs Department

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY,  
AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO (AFSCME)

v.

STATE OF WASHINGTON

by Samuel Rabinove, Legal Director

Summary

On September 4, 1985, a three-judge panel\* of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit ruled unanimously that the State of Washington had not violated the law by paying less for jobs held primarily by women than for jobs held primarily by men, even when a study commissioned by the State had found that the jobs were similar in value. The decision reversed a ruling by a U.S. District Court judge in 1983 which, under the theory of "comparable worth", had held that the State maintained a compensation system which discriminated based on sex, awarding substantial damages, back pay and higher wages for some 15,000 women workers. The total package would have cost the State nearly \$1 billion.

Facts

In accordance with State of Washington policy and practice, which required that salaries of state employees reflect prevailing market rates, comprehensive biennial surveys were conducted to ascertain what those rates were. The results of these surveys, which involved approximately 2,700 employers in both the public and private sectors, were reported to state personnel boards which conducted hearings and made salary recommendations accordingly.

In 1974 the State commissioned a study to determine whether a wage disparity existed between employees in jobs held predominantly by women and jobs held predominantly by men. The study examined 62 job classifications in which at least 70% of the employees were women, and 59 job classifications in which at least 70% of the employees were men. It found a wage disparity of about 20%, to the disadvantage of employees in jobs held mostly by women, for jobs considered to be of comparable worth. Comparable worth was calculated by evaluating jobs

\*Circuit Judges Kennedy and Wright, District Judge MacBride





under four criteria: knowledge and skills, mental demands, accountability, and working conditions. Every job was assigned a numerical value under each of the four criteria. The State of Washington conducted similar studies in 1976 and 1980, with results similar to the 1974 study, and in 1983 the State enacted legislation providing for a compensation scheme based on comparable worth. The plan was to take effect over a ten-year period.

In 1981, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) filed charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), alleging that the State's compensation system violated the prohibition against sex discrimination in employment under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. AFSCME contended that the market reflected a long history of lower wages for workers in female-dominated jobs, and that the State had perpetuated that imbalance by using market rates to set employee salaries. The EEOC having taken no action, in 1982 AFSCME brought a class action in U.S. District Court, seeking immediate implementation of a system of compensation based on comparable worth. The class comprised state employees who worked in job categories that were 70% female. After a trial, the district court found that the State had in fact discriminated on the basis of sex in violation of Title VII. The State appealed.

#### The Circuit Court Decision

A three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the district court ruling in favor of AFSCME. In reaching its result, the panel noted:

"AFSCME alleges sex-based wage discrimination throughout the state system, but its explanation and proof of the violation is, in essence, Washington's failure as early as 1979 to adopt and implement at once a comparable worth compensation program. The trial court adopted this theory as well." (emphasis added)

The court proceeded to examine Title VII, as amended, in conjunction with the Federal Equal Pay Act. It found the legislative history of Title VII to be "inconclusive" with regard to the question of equal pay for work of comparable worth. But it said also that it is "evident from the legislative history of the Equal Pay Act that Congress, after explicit consideration, rejected proposals that would have prohibited lower wages for comparable work, as contrasted with equal work."

The district court had predicated its finding of a violation of Title VII upon both the "disparate impact" and "disparate treatment" theories of discrimination. The circuit court panel addressed each of these theories in turn and found them wanting, as applied to the facts of this case.

Said the court: "Under the disparate impact theory, discrimination may be established by showing that a facially neutral employment practice, not justified by business necessity, has a disproportionately adverse impact upon members of a group protected under Title VII." Under that theory, there is no need to



prove an employer's intent to discriminate in adopting a particular practice. Under the "disparate treatment" theory, however, an employer's intent to discriminate is a key element in finding a violation of Title VII.

In the court's view the pertinent cases hold that "disparate impact" can only be applied where there is "a specific, clearly delineated employment practice applied at a single point in the job selection process", such as a height requirement that disproportionately excludes women, or a high school diploma requirement that disproportionately excludes blacks. The court went on to say:

". . . the decision to base compensation on the competitive market, rather than on a theory of comparable worth, involves the assessment of a number of complex factors not easily ascertainable, an assessment too multifaceted to be appropriate for disparate impact analysis. In the case before us, the compensation system in question resulted from surveys, agency hearings, administrative recommendations, budget proposals, executive actions, and legislative enactments. A compensation system that is responsive to supply and demand and other market forces is not the type of specific, clearly delineated employment policy contemplated..."

In considering the applicability of the "disparate treatment" theory to this case, the court found that AFSCME had failed "to establish the requisite element of intent" to discriminate. The court said:

"The inference of discriminatory motive which AFSCME seeks to draw from the State's participation in the market system fails, as the State did not create the market disparity and has not been shown to have been motivated by impermissible sex-based considerations in setting salaries.... Neither law nor logic deems the free market system a suspect enterprise. Economic reality is that the value of a particular job to an employer is but one factor influencing the rate of compensation for that job. Other considerations may include the availability of workers willing to do the job and the effectiveness of collective bargaining in a particular industry.... We find nothing in the language of Title VII or its legislative history to indicate Congress intended to abrogate fundamental economic principles such as the laws of supply and demand or to prevent employers from competing in the labor market.... While the Washington legislature may have the discretion to enact a comparable worth plan if it chooses to do so, Title VII does not obligate it to eliminate an economic inequality which it did not create.... job evaluation studies and comparable worth statistics alone are insufficient to establish the requisite inference of discriminatory motive critical to the disparate treatment theory."

The court concluded its opinion in favor of the State of Washington by rejecting AFSCME's contention that, having commissioned the wage disparity and comparable worth studies, the State was duty-bound to establish a new system of



compensation. In the court's view, to compel employers to implement the results of job evaluation studies would deter them from conducting such studies in the first place. In the court's words:

"Assuming, however, that like other job evaluation studies it may be useful as a diagnostic tool, we reject a rule that would penalize rather than commend employers for their effort and innovation in undertaking such a study... A study which indicates a particular wage structure might be more equitable should not categorically bind the employer who commissioned it. The employer should also be able to take into account market conditions, bargaining demands, and the possibility that another study will yield different results."

In sum, the court found no violation of Title VII in the State's free market compensation system, either under the "disparate impact" or "disparate treatment" theories, even though the State's own studies did find that employees in male-dominated jobs were compensated at a higher rate than employees in female-dominated jobs of comparable worth.

#### Analysis

There is no question that the circuit court decision is a major setback to the drive for comparable pay for women in jobs of comparable worth. But by no means is it a fatal one. In fact, even though the State of Washington won the case, Gov. Booth Gardner has declared that the state would bargain with its employees to establish "a program of pay equity" for men and women, in accordance with the state law which calls for such a restructuring. And, the decision notwithstanding, "New York intends to pursue its course of pay equity fairness," said Thomas Hartnett, director of the Governor's Office of Employee Relations. Several other states, including Connecticut, Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin, have agreed in negotiations with their employees to take steps to remove pay inequities.

Still, there can be little doubt that the circuit court ruling will serve to encourage and reinforce the opponents of comparable worth including, notably, the Reagan Administration. Similar lawsuits are pending elsewhere in the country. The ruling may well influence the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, for example, which has been asked to reinstate a similar suit that was dismissed by a district court judge last April, American Nurses Association v. State of Illinois. (The U.S. Department of Justice has filed a brief amicus in that case on the side of Illinois, maintaining that Congress never intended to give judges the power to decide the relative value of people's jobs:)

Winn Newman, attorney for AFSCME in the Washington case, has announced that he will seek review of the three-judge panel ruling, either by the full circuit court of appeals or by the U.S. Supreme Court. Moreover, he pointed out, the panel's decision did not close the door on all claims of sex-based wage discrimination. Rather, Mr. Newman said, the court concluded that the plaintiffs had



not met their burden of proving discrimination on the evidence presented in this case. His assessment is a sound one.

It is worth digressing to note that it is often difficult to prove discrimination, and it probably will not become any easier, at least not in Federal courts. If President Reagan completes his second term, it is expected that by then he will have appointed nearly 400 judges to the Federal district courts and circuit courts of appeals, a majority of all the judges then sitting. Understandably, thus far he has tended to fill such vacancies with conservative Republicans who are committed to his free enterprise philosophy and who are apt to be less than euphoric about civil rights cases in general. In the future, therefore, plaintiffs in discrimination cases may fare better in certain state courts, rather than in Federal courts.

Other reactions to the decision in this case, predictably, reflected the basic positions of the reactors. Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr., chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, was elated. "This decision confirms that civil rights remedies are available for discrimination, not for economic inequality... they are not mechanisms for redistributing income," he said. Jerry Jasinowski, executive vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers, commented: "Businesses will rest easier today knowing they won't be dragged into court based on the idea that jobs have some inherent worth regardless of market conditions." Eleanore Smeal, however, president of the National Organization for Women, noting the court's emphasis on free market-based wage rates, observed: "Under such a system, you get away with discrimination if everybody else is doing it."

Even before the circuit court ruling, there had been thoughts on the part of some advocates of pay equity that courts are less than ideal places to resolve the intricacies of sex-based wage disparities. A likely consequence of the court's ruling, therefore, will be a shift away from the avenue of litigation and toward the collective bargaining table, lobbying for legislation, and stepped up public education on this complicated issue. One thing is certain: whatever the ultimate disposition of AFSCME's State of Washington case, the debate will continue to rage for a long time to come.

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SHIRU LADONAI

SING UNTO THE LORD

Shabbat Service

Devoted to Unity and Pluralism in Jewish Life

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Hyatt Regency Hotel

Miami, Florida

November 9, 1985

Cheshvan 11, 5746

Compiled by

Dr. Steven Bayme





CONGREGATION:

Sing a new song to the Lord!  
Sing to the Lord, all the earth!  
Let the earth ring out in song to God.  
Sing to the Lord a new song!  
Break forth, sing aloud, shout praise!  
Sing to the Lord, all the earth!  
Let the heavens be glad and the earth rejoice.  
Let the sea roar, and all that fills it.  
Let the field exult, and all its creatures.  
Let the trees of the forest sing for joy.

Sing to the Lord, all the earth!  
Sing to the Lord a new song!  
Let the rivers clap hands.  
Let the mountains sing for joy.  
Sing to the Lord, all the earth!  
Break forth, sing aloud, shout praise!

Behold how good and how  
pleasant it is for brothers  
and sisters to dwell  
together in unity.

Hiney ma tov u-mah-nayim  
Shevet achim gam-yachad

הנה מה טוב

הנה כֵּה טוב וְיִמָּה יָעִים

שֵׁבֶת אַחִים גַּם יַחַד

READER: Once the Baal Shem Tov stopped on the threshold of a House of Prayer, and refused to enter. "I cannot enter", he said. "It is crowded with teachings and prayers from wall to wall, and from floor to ceiling. How could there be room for me?" When he saw that those around him were staring, unable to understand, he added: "The words of those whose teaching and praying does not come from hearts lifted to heaven, cannot rise to heaven; instead, their words fill the house from wall to wall and from floor to ceiling."

RESPONSIVE READING:

There are days  
when we seek things for ourselves  
and measure failure by what we do not gain.

On the Sabbath

we seek not to acquire, but to share.

There are days  
when we exploit nature as if it were  
a horn of plenty that can never be exhausted.

On the Sabbath  
we stand in wonder before the mystery of creation.

There are days  
when we act as if we cared nothing  
for the rights of others.

On the Sabbath  
we are reminded that justice is our duty  
and a better world our goal.

Therefore we welcome the Sabbath---

day of rest  
day of reflection  
day of peace.



Let the glory of God be extolled.  
Let God's great name be hallowed  
in the world whose creation God willed.  
May God's kingdom soon prevail, in our  
day, in our own lives, and in  
the life of all Israel, and let us  
say: AMEN!

READER'S KADDISH

חצי קריש

יְהוָה וְיִתְקַדַּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא בְּעַלְמָא דִּי-בְרָא דְיִבְרָא בְּרֵעוּתָהּ.  
וְיִמְלִיךְ מַלְכוּתָהּ בְּחַיֵּינוּ וּבְיוֹמֵינוּ וּבְחַיֵּי רַבְּבֵייתָ  
יִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּעַנְיָא וּבְזַמְנֵי קָרִיב, וְאַמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

יְהִי שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעַלְמֵי עַלְמֵיָא.

Let God's great name be blessed for  
ever and ever. Let the name of the Holy  
One be glorified, exalted, and  
honored, though God is beyond all the  
praises, songs, and adorations that  
we can utter, and let us say:  
AMEN!

יְתַבְרַךְ וְיִשְׁמַח וְיִתְפָּאֵר וְיִתְרוֹמֵם וְיִתְהַדָּר  
וְיִתְעַלֶּה וְיִתְהַלָּל שְׁמֵהּ דְקוּדְשָׁא, בְּרוּךְ הוּא, לְעַלְמֵי עוֹלָמֵי  
בְּלִבְרַבְרָתָא וּשְׂרֵתָא, הַשְׁבַּחְתָּא וְתַחֲסַחְתָּא דְאַמְיָרוּ בְּעַלְמָא.  
וְאַמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

(Congregation rises)

Praise the Lord, to whom our praise  
is due!

בְּרַכּוּ אֱתֵי הַמְבָרָךְ

Praised be the Lord, to whom our

בְּרוּךְ יְיָ הַמְבָרָךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד



praise is due, now and forever!

(Congregation is seated)

We thank You, O God, for this new day, for morning sun and evening star, for flowering tree and flowing tide, for life-giving rains and cooling breezes, for the earth's patient turning, the seasons' alternations, the cycle of growth and decay, of life and death.

יוצר

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, יוצר אור ובורא חשך,  
עשה שלום ובורא אתהפל.  
המאיר לארץ ולדרים עליה ברחמים, ובטובו מחנש  
בכל-יום תמיד מעשה בראשית.

When our eyes behold the world, when we feel its beauty, and grandeur, we come to see the wisdom and goodness of its Creator.

We awake, and behold! A new day! Lord, renew us unto life. Teach us to recognize Your presence in creation. Grateful then for Your gifts, we will dedicate all our powers to Your service.

מה רבו מעשיך, יי! כלם בחכמה עשית, מלאה הארץ  
קניגה.  
תתברך, יי אלהינו, על שבח מעשה ידך, ועל-מאורי-אור  
שעשית: יפארוך. סלה.  
ברוך אתה, יי, יוצר המאורות.

READER: In the scrolls of the Torah, where there are no vowels attached to the Hebrew words, multiple meanings pour out from every letter. When we chant SHEMA YISRAEL, perhaps we see two words instead of one.

Yisrael: The Nation, the People of Israel  
Yashar El: Straight to God...justice,  
righteousness, truth.

CONGREGATION: Shema Yisrael  
Hear O Israel  
Shema Yashar El

READER: Listen, hear, be aware of righteous godliness. Be aware that justice and liberation are godly, that uprightness is godly, that peace is godly.

Yisrael, listen, hear, heed the  
commandments...Yashar El...straight to godliness.

CONGREGATION: Adonai Echad...

READER: Unity and continuity, the oneness of God and the oneness of the Jewish people.

As we sing and read the SHEMA, let us hear in a new way and be aware of the music of our souls, and rejoice and delight in our love of the godliness that is within each of us.

(Congregation rises)

Hear, O Israel! the Lord is our God,  
the Lord is One!

שמע ישראל: "אלהינו, " אחד!  
ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד

Blessed is God's glorious kingdom  
forever and ever!

(Congregation is seated)

You shall love the Lord your God with  
all your heart, with all your strength,  
with all your being.  
Set these words, which I command you  
this day, upon your heart. Teach them  
faithfully to your children; speak of them  
in your home and on your way, when  
you lie down and when you rise up.

אהבת את "אלהיה בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך  
בכל מאדך.  
היו הדברים האלה, אשר אנכי מצוה היום,  
על לבבך.  
שונתם לבגיד, ודברתם גם בשבתך בביתך  
ובלכתך בדרך, ובשכבך ובקומך.

Bind them as a sign upon your hand; let  
them be a symbol before your eyes;  
inscribe them on the doorposts of your  
house, and upon your gates.

וקשרתם לאות על ידך, והיו למטפת בין עיניך,  
וקתבתם על מזוזות ביתך, ובשעריך.

Be mindful of all My mitzvot, and do  
them; so shall you consecrate your-  
selves to your God. I, the Lord, am  
your God, who led you out of Egypt to  
be your God; I, the Lord, am your God.

למען תזכרו ועשיתם את כל מצותי, והייתם קדושים  
לאלהיכם. אני "אלהיכם, אשר הוצאתי אתכם מארץ  
מצרים להיות לכם לאלהים. אני "אלהיכם.

READER:

When will redemption come?  
When we master the violence that fills our world.  
When we look upon others as we would have them  
look upon us.  
When we grant to every person the same rights we  
claim for ourselves.



SPECIAL THEMES

כְּאֶזְרַח מִמֶּנּוּ יִהְיֶה לְכֶם הַנּוֹר הַנּוֹר אֶתְכֶם  
וְאֶהְבֶּתָּ לּוֹ כְּמוֹדִי.

shall be to you as the native-born,  
myself.

לֹא תִאֶמֶץ אֶת־לְבָבְךָ וְלֹא תִקְפֹץ אֶת־  
וְאֶהְבֶּתָּ לּוֹ כְּמוֹדִי.

art, or shut your hand against  
myself.

חֲדָלוּ הָרָע; לְמַדּוּ הַיָּשָׁב;  
דַּרְשׁוּ מִשְׁפָּט; אֲשֶׁרוֹ חֲמוּץ; שִׁפְטוּ  
יָתֵם;

defend the orphan; plead

כִּי־אִפְסָה הַמִּץ, כִּלְהַ שָׂדֵה, תִּמְנָח  
כִּסֵּא. וַיֵּשֶׁב עָלָיו בְּאֶמֶת, בְּאֶה  
וּמְהֵרָה צִדֵּק.

exploitation has ceased, and  
the land, a throne will be  
the tent of David, one  
swift to do justice, shall

וַיִּנְבֵּה יְיָ צְבָאוֹת בְּמִשְׁפָּט,  
וְהָאֵל הַקָּדוֹשׁ נִקְדָּשׁ בְּצִדֵּק.

### Unity

The day will come when I will make for you a covenant with the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and the insects of the ground; and I will remove the bow, the sword, and war from the earth, and I will give you a life of peace.

*Fear not, O land; be glad and rejoice, for the Lord is doing great things! Have no fear, you beasts of the field, for the pastures of the wilderness are green; the tree bears its fruit, the fig-tree and vine give their full yield.*

The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the calf and the lion shall feed together, with a little child to lead them. The cow and the bear shall feed; their young shall lie down together, and the lion eat straw like the ox. The infant shall play over the cobra's hole; the child shall reach into the adder's lair.

*They shall not hurt or destroy in all My holy mountain; for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the sea-bed is covered by water.*

וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ; בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא  
אֹתוֹ; זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם.

God created us in His own image; in the image of God He created us; male and female He created us.

Our tradition says that God created us through one human being to teach us that whoever destroys a single human soul has destroyed an entire world.

*And whoever sustains a single human soul has sustained an entire world.*

5

6

SPECIAL THEMES

And a single human being was created for the sake of peace,  
that none might say: My lineage is greater than yours.

*I call heaven and earth to witness: Gentile or Jew, man or  
woman, manservant or maidservant — all according to our  
deeds does the spirit of God rest upon us.*

• •

Eternal God of all peoples and races, may all Your children learn  
to live together in peace and friendship. Let the day come when  
oppression, discrimination, and prejudice will be forgotten, and all  
the world filled with Your spirit, as it has been said: "Turn to Me  
and be saved, all the ends of the earth!"

*May that day come soon, O Lord; the day foretold by our prophets  
and sages, the day for which we long, when all humanity will recog-  
nize that it is one family.*

Let the day come proclaimed by Your prophet: "In that day Israel  
will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of  
the earth, whom the Lord of Hosts has blessed, saying: Blessed be  
Egypt My people, and Assyria the work of My hands, and Israel  
My heritage."

• •

Laugh, laugh at all my dreams!  
What I dream shall yet come true!  
Laugh at my belief in man,  
At my belief in you.

שחקי, שחקי על החלומות,  
זו אני החולם שח,  
שחקי כי באדם אאמין,  
כי עורני מאמין בך.

Freedom still my soul demands,  
Unbartered for a calf of gold.  
For still I do believe in man,  
And in his spirit, strong and bold.

כי עוד נפשי דרור שואפת,  
לא מכרתיה לעגל פז,  
כי עוד אאמין גם באדם,  
וב ביהו. רוח עז.



7

SPECIAL THEMES

And in the future I still believe —	אֲמִינָה נִם בְּעֵתִיד.
Though it be distant, come it will —	אִף אִם יִרְחַק זֶה הַיּוֹם.
When nations shall each other bless,	אֲדָבֵא בֵּא יְבוֹא — יִשְׂאוּ שְׁלוֹם
And peace at last the earth shall fill.	אֶז וּבִרְכָה לְאֵם מְלֵאָם.

Lord God of test tube and blueprint,  
 Who jointed molecules of dust and shook them till their name was Adam,  
 Who taught worms and stars how they could live together,  
 Appear now among the parliaments of conquerors and give instruction to their schemes;  
 Measure out new liberties so none shall suffer from his father's color or the credo of his choice;  
 Post proofs that brotherhood is not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it pretend;  
 Sit at the treaty table and convoy the hopes of little people through expected straits.

And press into the final seal a sign that peace will come for longer than posterities can see ahead,  
 That man unto his fellow man shall be a friend for ever.

הִנֵּה מְהֻטָּב וּמְהֻנָּעִים שְׁבֵת אֲחִים נִם יַחַד.  
 Behold, how good it is, and how pleasant, when brethren live together in unity.

8

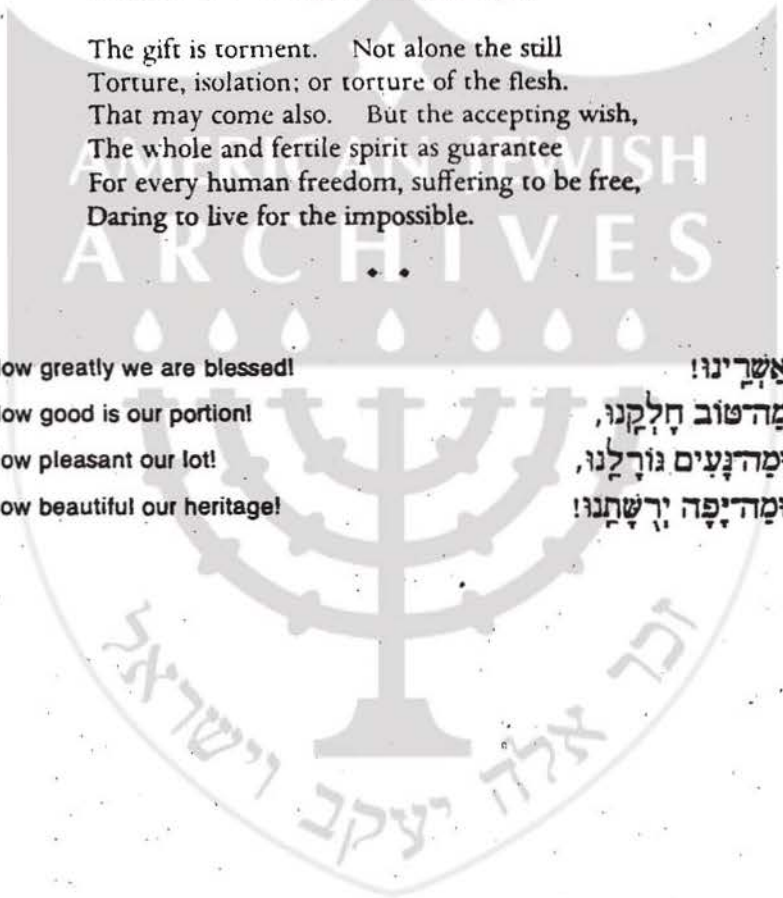
SPECIAL THEMES

To be a Jew in the twentieth century  
Is to be offered a gift. If you refuse,  
Wishing to be invisible, you choose  
Death of the spirit, the stone insanity.  
Accepting, take full life, full agonies:  
Your evening deep in labyrinthine blood  
Of those who resist, fail, and resist; and God  
Reduced to a hostage among hostages.

The gift is torment. Not alone the still  
Torture, isolation; or torture of the flesh.  
That may come also. But the accepting wish,  
The whole and fertile spirit as guarantee  
For every human freedom, suffering to be free,  
Daring to live for the impossible.

How greatly we are blessed!  
How good is our portion!  
How pleasant our lot!  
How beautiful our heritage!

אֲשֶׁר יֵנוּ!  
מֵהַטּוֹב הַלְקֵנוּ,  
וּמֵהַנְּעִים גּוֹרְלֵנוּ,  
וּמֵהַיְפָה יְרֵשָׁתֵנוּ!



Redemptio

על פי  
אחכה

I believe with p  
he be delayed, I

And I tell you th  
Over all our wic  
We will look ba  
and then we wil  
And the good th  
won.

Here I stand, the  
how long?  
Wrapped in con  
the face.  
Write songs of p  
suffering.  
Too much for on  
share out among  
But God has plan  
loves her childrer  
So I writhe with  
For the blood kn  
The wonderful li  
it firm and deep.

And the heart fec  
called Zion,  
And then all the  
song,



READING OF THE TORAH

The Torah is taken from the Ark

For out of Zion shall go forth the Torah, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

כי מציון תצא תורה, ודבר יי מירושלים.

Praised be the One Who in holiness has given the Torah to Israel.

ברוך שנתן תורה לעמו ישראל בקדושתו.

Hear, O Israel: the Lord is our God, the Lord is One!

שמע ישראל: יי אלהינו, יי אחדו.

Our God is One, our Lord is great, Holy is God's name.

אחד אלהינו, גדול אדונינו, קדוש שמו.

O Magnify the Lord with me and together let us exalt God's name.

גדלו ליי אתי וגדומקה שמו יחדיו.

Yours, Lord, is the greatness, the power, the glory, the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in heaven and earth is Yours. Yours is the kingdom, O Lord; You are supreme over all..

לה, יי, הגדלה והקבורה והתפארת והנצח וההוד, כי כל בשמים ובארץ, לה יי הממלכה והמנושא לכל לראש.

(Congregation is seated)

Before the Torah Reading

Praise the Lord, to Whom our praise is due!

Praised be the Lord, to Whom our praise is due, now and forever! Blessed is the Lord, our God, Ruler of the universe, Who has chosen us and given us the Torah. Blessed is the Lord, Giver of the Torah

ברכו אתי המברך

ברוך יי המברך לעולם ועדו

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר בחרתנו מקל העמים ונתת לנו את תורתו. ברוך אתה, יי, נוסח התורה.

GENESIS 12:1-3, 15:13-14,

Gen 23: 1-16

The Lord said to Abram, "Go forth from your native land and from your ancestral home and from your father's house to the land that I will show you.

I will make of you a great nation, And I will bless you; I will make your name great, And you shall be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you

next page (10)







hear me, and entreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar, 9. that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field: for the full price let him give it to me in the midst of you for a possession of a burying-place.' 10. Now Ephron was sitting in the midst of the children of Heth; and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the hearing of the children of Heth, even of all that went in at the gate of his city, saying: 11. 'Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee: in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead.' 12. And Abraham bowed down before the people of the land. 13. And he spoke unto Ephron in the hearing of the people of the land, saying: 'But if thou wilt, I pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field: take it of me, and I will bury my dead there.' 14. And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him: 15. 'My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore thy dead.' 16. And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron: and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the hearing of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant. ~~17. So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave~~

9 מלפני שמעוני ופגעתי בעפרון בן צוהר: ויתדלי אחד מצבת המכפלה אשר לו אשר בקנה שדה בבקתה מלא ותענה לי בתוככם לאחותי קבר: ועפרון שב בתוך בניהת בנין עפרון החתי אתדאברום באוני בניהת לכל באי שער עירו לאמר: לא ארני שמעני השדה נתתי לך והמערה אשר בו לך נתתה לעני בני עמי 12 נתתה לך קבר מתד: השמעו אברהם לפני עסדאריך: 13 תדבר אלעפרון באוני עסדאריך לאמר אך אסאיהת לך שמעני נתתי בקח השדה קח מפני ואקברה אתי 14 מתו שמה: תען עפרון אתדאברום לאמר לו: ארני שמעני ארץ ארבע מאות שקל כסף בעי ובנה מזה 16 הוא ואתמתק קבר: השמע אברהם אלעפרון השקל אברהם לעפרון אתהכסף אשר דבר באוני בניהת 17 ארבע מאות שקל כסף עבר לספר ואקח שדה עפרון אשר במכפלה אשר לפני בקרא השדה המערה אשר

remain a possession of his family. Such 'free hold' purchase was impossible without the assent of the local Hittite national Council. 'The expression *am ha-aretz* occurs 49 times in Scripture. In 42 of these instances it means neither the nation nor an individual boor, but is simply a technical term of Hebrew Politics and signifies what we would call Parliament.' Judge Mayer Sulzberger, *The Am ha-aretz, the Ancient Hebrew Parliament*, Philadelphia, 1910.

9. *the cave of Machpelah.* It was a common practice to bury in caves. The word which is the name of the cave and of the locality denotes 'double'; possibly because it consisted of two storeys.

*full price.* lit. 'full silver': Abraham wished to establish an unassailable right to the land by the payment of its value.

10. *Ephron was sitting.* Presiding over the session of the Assembly.

*in the hearing.* i.e. publicly: cf. 'all the goers-out of the gate of his city,' xxxiv, 24.

11. *give I thee.* An expression of conventional politeness, neither intended nor taken literally.

15. *what is that betwixt me and thee?* What can such a sum as that just mentioned matter to persons such as we? In this apparently unconcerned tone, the seller indicates the price he wants. The sum demanded, four hundred shekels of silver, is a very substantial sum, perhaps equivalent in purchasing power to from £1,000 to £2,000 in our time. In the contemporary Code of Hammurabi (see on xiv, 1) the wages of a working-man for a year are fixed at six or eight shekels (Bennett).

16. *weighed.* There were no coins of standard size and shape; therefore the pieces of silver had to be weighed before their value could be ascertained.

*current money with the merchant.* The phrase probably denotes that the silver was in convenient-sized pieces, readily usable in business transactions.

17. *were made sure.* i.e. were assured to Abraham. This verse and the following may well be a citation from the deed of assignment which was drawn up at the purchase. Contracts of this kind, dating from very early Semitic times, have been discovered in large numbers.

And curse him that curses you;  
And all the families of the earth  
Shall bless themselves by you.

And God said to Abram: "Know well that your offspring shall be  
enslaved and oppressed four hundred years; but I will execute  
judgment on the nation they shall serve, and in the end they  
shall go free..."

*ה'תש"א*

After the Torah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God,  
Ruler of the universe, Who has  
given us a Torah of truth, implanting  
within us eternal life. Blessed is  
the Lord, Giver of the Torah.

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר נתן לנו תורה  
אמת וחי עולם נטע בחוקנו. ברוך אתה, יי, נותן התורה

READING OF THE HAFTARAH

Before the Haftarah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God, Ruler  
of the universe, Who has chosen  
faithful prophets to speak  
words of truth. Blessed is the  
Lord, for the revelation of  
Torah, for Moses God's servant,  
and for the people Israel, and  
for prophets of truth and  
righteousness.

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר בחר בנביאים  
טובים ורצה בדבריהם הנאמרים באמת. ברוך אתה, יי,  
הבוחר בתורה ובמשה עבדו ובישראל עמו ובנביאי  
האמת וצדק.

ISAIAH 42:6-7, 61:1, 58:6 & 8  
PSALMS 79:11, 146:5-6  
ZECHARIAH 9: 11 & 12

*King I 1:1-31*

*on next page (12)*

I the Lord have called you in righteousness,  
And have taken hold of your hand,  
And kept you, and set you for a covenant of the people,  
For a light to the nations;

(11)







the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei, and Rei, and the mighty men that belonged to David, were not with Adonijah. 9. And Adonijah slew sheep and oxen and fatlings by the stone of Zoheleth, which is beside En-rogel; and he called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's servants: 10. but Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, and the mighty men, and Solomon his brother, he called not. ¶ 11. Then Nathan spoke unto Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon, saying: 'Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the son of Haggith doth reign, and David our lord knoweth it not? 12. Now therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel, that thou mayest save thine own life, and the life of thy son Solomon. 13. Go and get thee in unto king David, and say unto him: Didst not thou, my lord, O king, swear unto thy handmaid, saying: Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne? why then doth Adonijah reign? 14. Behold, while thou yet talkest there with the king, I also will come in after thee, and confirm thy words.' ¶ 15. And Bath-sheba went in unto the king into the chamber.—Now the king was very old; and Abishag the Shunammite ministered unto the king.—16. And Bath-sheba bowed, and prostrated herself unto the king. And the king said: 'What wouldest thou?' 17. And she said unto him: 'My lord, thou didst swear by the LORD thy God unto thy handmaid: Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne. 18. And now, behold, Adonijah reigneth: and thou, my lord the king, knowest it not. 19. And he hath slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the sons of the king, and

9 אשר לדוד לא היו עמ'אדני'הו: ויוכח אדני'הו צאן ובקר  
 ומריא עם אבן החולת אשר אצל עין רוגל ויקרא את  
 כל אחיו בני המלך ולכל אנשי היתה עבד המלך:  
 ואדני'הו הנביא ובני'הו ואת הגבורים ואת שלמה אחיו  
 לא קרא: ויאמר נתן אל-בת-שבע אם-שלמה לאמר  
 הלא שמעת כי מלך אדני'הו ברחנית ואדני'הו רוד לא  
 ידע: ושעה לבי איצחק נא עצה ומלטי את-נפשי ואת  
 נפש בניך שלמה: לבי ובאי ואל-המלך רוד ואמרת אליו  
 הלא אתה אדני המלך נשבעת לאמרתך לאמר ב-שלמה  
 בניך ימלך אחרי והיא ישב על-כסאי ומדוע מלך  
 אדני'הו: הנה עורך מרברת שם עם-המלך ואני אבוא  
 אצריך ומלאתי את-דברך: ותבא בת-שבע אל-המלך  
 וסודרה והמלך גן מאד ואבישג השונמית משרת את  
 המלך: ותקד בת-שבע ותשתחו למלך ויאמר המלך  
 מה-דלך: ותאמר לו אדני אתה נשבעת ביהוה אל-הך  
 לאמרתך ב-שלמה בניך ימלך אחרי והיא ישב על-כסאי:  
 ושעה הנה אדני'הו מלך ועתה אדני המלך לא ידעת:  
 ונזבח שור ומריא-וצאן לרב ויקרא לכל-בני המלך  
 ולאביתר הבחן וליאב שר הצבא ולשלמה עבדך לא

1. Now in years but he c servants for my let her compan thy box heat.' through found brought was ver unto th the kin the son 'I will chariot before grieve: hast th goodl: Absolu the so priest: him.

The book give days

the c

is re age: Abi and in h

son fall ve:

favouritism and indulgence to children! It is the road to unhappiness for themselves, and ruin for their children.

9. *En-rogel.* 'The Fuller's spring,' near Siloam, close to Jerusalem.

7. *Joab.* David's commander-in-chief.

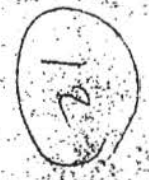
11. *Bath-sheba.* The note on Gen. xxvi, 33, throws light on the meaning of this name, which is 'Fortune's daughter', Fortunata, Glueckel. She was apparently the favourite wife of David.

*Abiathar.* A descendant of Aaron's youngest son, Ithamar.

8. *Zadok.* A descendant of Aaron's son Eleazar.

*Benaiah.* Succeeded Joab as commander-in-chief.

12. Unless Adonijah's plot is defeated, his first act after the death of David would be to remove opposition by slaying Solomon, his rival to the throne, and Bath-sheba. Thus the successor





כ קרא: ואתה אדני המלך עני כל ישראל עליך לדב  
 21 ללם מי ישב על כסא אדני המלך אחרי: והיה  
 כשעב אדני המלך עסאבתו והיה אני ובני שלמה  
 22 תשאם: והנה עתה מדברת עסבתך ונתן הנביא  
 23 בא: בניחו למלך לאמר הנה נתן הנביא וטא לפני  
 24 המלך השתחוה למלך על אפח ארצה: ואמר נתן  
 אדני המלך אתה אמרת אדניו ימלך אתר והיה  
 כה ישב על כסאי: כי יגד היום ונבח שור ומריאדמאן  
 לדב וקרא לכל בני המלך ולשרי העבא ולאבותר  
 הכוח והגם אכלים ושתיים לפני ואמרו הו המלך  
 26 אדניו: ול אנר עבדה ולצדק הכוח ולבניו כד  
 27 יהודע ולשלמה עבדה לא קרא: אם מאח אדני המלך  
 נחה הדבר הנה ולא הודעת את עבדיך מי ישב על  
 28 כסא אדני המלך אחרי: ונתן המלך דוד ואמר קראר  
 ל לבת שבע ותבא לפני המלך ותעמד לפני המלך:  
 29 השבע המלך ואמר חידוה אשר סגה את נפשי  
 ל מבל צרה: כי כאשר נשבעתי לך בידוה אלוה ישראל  
 לאמר בירשלה בנך ימלך אתר והוא ישב על כסא  
 31 ותתי כי בן אעשה היום הנה: ותלך בת שבע אפום  
 ארץ ותשתחו למלך ותאמר הו אדני המלך הנה לעלם:  
 27. v. עברך קר

Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host; but Solomon thy servant hath he not called. 20. And thou, my lord the king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou shouldst tell them who shall sit on the throne of my lord the king after him. 21. Otherwise it will come to pass, when my lord the king shall sleep with his fathers, that I and my son Solomon shall be counted offenders." ¶ 22. And, lo, while she yet talked with the king, Nathan the prophet came in. 23. And they told the king, saying: 'Behold Nathan the prophet.' And when he was come in before the king, he bowed down before the king with his face to the ground. 24. And Nathan said: 'My lord, O king, hast thou said: Adonijah shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne? 25. For he is gone down this day, and hath slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the king's sons, and the captains of the host, and Abiathar the priest; and, behold, they eat and drink before him, and say: Long live king Adonijah. 26. But me, even me thy servant, and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and thy servant Solomon, hath he not called. 27. Is this thing done by my lord the king, and thou hast not declared unto thy servant who should sit on the throne of my lord the king after him?' ¶ 28. Then king David answered and said: 'Call me Bath-sheba.' And she came into the king's presence, and stood before the king. 29. And the king swore and said: 'As the LORD liveth, who hath redeemed my soul out of all adversity, 30. verily as I swore unto thee by the LORD, the God of Israel, saying: Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my stead; verily so will I do this day.' 31. Then Bath-sheba bowed with her face to the earth, and prostrated herself to the king, and said: 'Let my lord king David live for ever.'

כ קרא: ואתה אדני המלך עני כל ישראל עליך לדב  
 21 ללם מי ישב על כסא אדני המלך אחרי: והיה  
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 23 בא: בניחו למלך לאמר הנה נתן הנביא וטא לפני  
 24 המלך השתחוה למלך על אפח ארצה: ואמר נתן  
 אדני המלך אתה אמרת אדניו ימלך אתר והיה  
 כה ישב על כסאי: כי יגד היום ונבח שור ומריאדמאן  
 לדב וקרא לכל בני המלך ולשרי העבא ולאבותר  
 הכוח והגם אכלים ושתיים לפני ואמרו הו המלך  
 26 אדניו: ול אנר עבדה ולצדק הכוח ולבניו כד  
 27 יהודע ולשלמה עבדה לא קרא: אם מאח אדני המלך  
 נחה הדבר הנה ולא הודעת את עבדיך מי ישב על  
 28 כסא אדני המלך אחרי: ונתן המלך דוד ואמר קראר  
 ל לבת שבע ותבא לפני המלך ותעמד לפני המלך:  
 29 השבע המלך ואמר חידוה אשר סגה את נפשי  
 ל מבל צרה: כי כאשר נשבעתי לך בידוה אלוה ישראל  
 לאמר בירשלה בנך ימלך אתר והוא ישב על כסא  
 31 ותתי כי בן אעשה היום הנה: ותלך בת שבע אפום  
 ארץ ותשתחו למלך ותאמר הו אדני המלך הנה לעלם:  
 27. v. עברך קר

technical term for the source. According to the School of God was taught to inquire of who was still alive.

founders of two is in four poetic

mutually antagonistic

er. This prophecy at Edom. See

The Midrash on remonition of king of blood.

derive it from 'aired'.

sau's heel. A... prevent him... xii, 4.

- 20. tell them. - She presses for a public pronouncement as to the succession. *long live king Adonijah.* 'God save king Adonijah' (RV).
- 21. counted offenders. i.e. shall be put to death. *26. not called.* Because standing outside the conspiracy.
- 25. eat and drink before him. Thus sealing their allegiance to him. *29.* With a firm hand, David now safeguards the destinies of his House.

92 (12)



To open the blind eyes,  
To bring out the prisoners from the dungeon  
And them that sit in darkness out of the prison house...

The spirit of the Lord God is upon me;...  
To proclaim liberty to the captives,  
And the opening of the eyes to them that are bound...

Is not this the fast I have chosen?  
To loose the fetters of wickedness,  
To undo the bands of the yoke,  
To let the oppressed go free...

For the Lord hearkens unto the needy,  
And does not despise the prisoners...

Let the groaning of the prisoner come before God;  
According to the greatness of Your power set free those that  
are sentenced to death...

God executes justice for the oppressed...  
The Lord frees the prisoners...

I will send forth your prisoners out of the pit  
Where there is no water.  
Return to the stronghold,  
You prisoners of hope...

*After the Reading*

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, צור כל־העולמים,  
צדיק בכל־הדורות, האל הנאמן, האומר ועושה, המדבר  
ומקים, שכל־דבריו אמת וצדק.

After the Haftarah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God, Ruler  
of the universe, Rock of all  
creation, Righteous One of  
all generations, the faithful  
God whose word is deed, whose  
every command is just and true.

על־התורה ועל־העבודה ועל־הנביאים ועל־יום השבת  
הזה, שנתת־לנו, יי אלהינו, לקדשה ולמנוחה, לכבוד  
ולתפארת, על־הכל, יי אלהינו, אנחנו מודים לך,  
ומברכים אותך. יתברך שמך בפי כל־יחי תמיד לעולם  
ועד.

ברוך אתה, יי מקדש השבת.

For the Torah, for the privilege  
of worship, for the prophets,  
and for this Shabbat that  
You, O God, have given us  
foe holiness and rest, for  
honor and glory, we thank  
and bless You. May Your name be  
blessed for ever by every  
living being. Blessed is  
the Lord, for the Shabbat  
and its holiness.



RETURNING THE TORAH TO THE ARK

God's splendor covers heaven and earth; God is the strength of Israel, making glorious the Lord's faithful ones, Israel is a people close to God. Halleluyah!

הודו על ארץ ושמים, ונרם קרן לעמו, תהלה לך  
חסידיו, לבני ישראל עם קרובו. הללויה

The Torah is a tree of life to those who hold it fast, and all who cling to it find happiness. Its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace.

עצמיים היא למחזיקים בה, ותמכיה מאשר.  
דרךיה דרכינעם, וכלינחיותיה שלום.

Help us to return to You, O Lord; then truly shall we return. Renew our days as in the past.

השיבנו יי אלהיך, ונשובה. חדש ימינו כקדם.

Now, let us praise the Lord of all, to ascribe greatness to God who formed the world in the beginning, for God chose us to make known the Divine unity, and God has invested in us a portion like no others. We bow in reverence and thanksgiving before the Holy One of Israel.

עלינו לשבח לארון הכל לתת גדלה ליוצו  
בראשית שלא עשנו כגויי הארצות ולא שקמו כמשפחות  
הארמה שלא שם חלקנו בהם ונרלנו בקל המונם:

ואנחנו כורעים ומשתחוים ומודים  
לפני מלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא.

(Congregation is seated)

READER: In March and April, during interrogation, the chief investigators warned me that in the position I have taken during investigation, and held to here in court, I would be threatened with execution by firing squad, or at least 15 years. If I would agree to cooperate with the investigation for the purpose of destroying the Jewish emigration movement, they promised me early freedom and a quick reunion with my wife.

Five years ago, I submitted my application for exit to Israel. Now I'm further than ever from my dream. It would seem to be cause for regret. But it is absolutely otherwise. I am happy. I am happy that I lived honestly, in peace with my



recent generations) in the conquest of the Land alongside with the rest of their brethren who were to settle there permanently, Moses considered them to be "clear before the Lord and before Israel." A "sin before Israel" ranks in the eyes of Moses on the same level as a sin "before the Lord." Only when cleared of both of those sins, by declaring their commitment to join the rest of Israel in its crucial struggles, do the children of Reuben and Gad receive Moses' blessing to settle themselves with their families and many possessions on the other side of the Jordan.

Other unheeded pleas similar to the outcry that came from the fighters of Masada weigh heavily on our collective and individual conscience. But, against those, there are the innumerable cases in ancient and recent history where Jewish communities and individuals rose up to rescue their brethren in times of anguish. Then, the old Talmudic rule "Kol Israel arevim ze bazeh" – all Israel are intermingled with each other and responsible for one another – was realized as a fact of life, demonstrating the unbroken unity of the Jewish people. Equally true was the Rabbinic maxim that those who do not separate themselves from the community in times of grief are those privileged to partake in its moments of joy and jubilation.

As Judaism is not derived from one personality (no figure within it holds the position of a Buddha, Jesus, or Mohammed), and is rather the creation of an entire people, so living Judaism today can never be practiced properly by a single, lone individual. Of course, prayer is an act of the solitary person trying to encounter the solitary One, but proper Jewish prayer takes place in a quorum, a 'minyan' of ten people who are representative in miniature of **klal Israel** (the totality of Israel), without whom the divinity of God cannot be proclaimed in this world. A Jew very often is made to feel that he is the tenth person for whom nine other Jews are waiting to form a quorum. If he stays away, then there will be no minyan, no **Klal Israel**.

This idea was beautifully portrayed by the Israeli poet Abba Kovner in his planning of the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv. Showing a minyan made up of marionettes of Jews in different garbs and attire joining together as worshippers, he presented only nine figures, hinting that a viewer of this section of the museum should see himself as though he were the tenth person for whom the other nine are eagerly waiting and upon whom the fullness of the people of Israel depends.

### XIII. A Symphony

The B'rakha – blessing or benediction – is the ancient Jewish liturgical response to the encounters one has with various aspects of reality. When one partakes of food or drink, or if one sees or hears something unusual, one recites a B'rakha to acknowledge the experience. There is a formula for a B'rakha on eating bread, another for fruit, and a third for vegetables. There is a B'rakha that one says upon meeting a friend one has not seen for thirty days, another on witnessing thunder or lightning. And there is also the following B'rakha about which we read in the Talmud (Trac. B'rakhot 58a):

*"Our Rabbis taught: One who sees a crowd of Israelites says, Blessed is He who discerneth secrets (or 'wise in secrets') for the mind of each (person) is different from that of the other, just as the face of each person is different from that of the other..."*

A crowd of people represents, as it were, an assemblage of many individual "secrets." A person is never seen as a face lost in the crowd; each person has his or her

13 14

READING



rest of their brethren  
be "clear before the  
of Moses on the same  
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with their families and

the fighters of Masada  
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strating the unbroken  
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those privileged to

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of an entire people, so  
a lone individual. Of  
the solitary One, but  
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rakhot 58a):

s says, *Blessed is He  
of each (person) is  
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of many individual  
person has his or her

own "secret". Jewish thought never perceived of all Israelites as having one face, nor of having one mind. The Jewish people as a whole was seen in a way as a symphonic orchestra, where each and every instrument adds its specific contribution to enhance the music. To draw the analogy further, in an orchestra each musician plays his own instrument, but is not entirely free to "do his own thing" while taking part in the performance. Thus while uniformity is detrimental, unity is essential and beneficial. This has been demonstrated by Jewish history and teaching throughout the ages. Diversity within unity has always been the Jewish ideal.

Twelve were the tribes of Israel as they came out of Egyptian bondage. Each tribe had its own leader and its own prescribed area, even while in the desert. Each tribe also had its own banner and ensign. They encamped in the desert land, we are told in the Bible (Numbers 2:2): "Every man with his own standard according to the ensigns."

The Midrash (Rabba: 2:7) elaborates: "Each had a flag and a different colour for every flag corresponding to the colour of the precious stones on the heart of Aaron... It was from these that states learned to provide themselves with flags of various colours. Reuben's stone was ruby, and the colour of his flag was red. Simeon's was topaz and his flag was green; the town of Shechem was embroidered thereon. Levi's was smargad and the colour of his flag was a third white, a third black, and a third red; embroidered thereon were the Urim and Thummim. Judah's was a carbuncle, and the colour of his flag was something like the heavens; embroidered on it was a lion. Issachar's was a sapphire, and the colour of the flag was black like stibium; embroidered thereon was the sun and the moon, alluding to the text, "... and the children of Issachar, men that had understanding of the times" ( I Chron. 12:33). Zebulun's was an emerald and the colour of his flag was white with a ship embroidered thereon... Dan's was Jacinth and the colour of his flag was similar sapphire, and embroidered on it was a serpent... Gad's was an agate and the colour of his flag was neither white nor black but a blend of black and white; on it was embroidered a camp... Naphtali's was an amethyst and the colour of his flag was like clarified wine of a not very deep red; on it was embroidered a hind... Asher's was a beryl and the colour of his flag was like the precious stone with which women adorn themselves; embroidered thereon was an olive-tree... Joseph's was an onyx and the colour of his flag was jet black; the embroidered design thereon for both princes, Ephraim and Menasseh, was Egypt. On the flag of Ephraim was embroidered a bullock, and on that of Menasseh a wild ox... Benjamin's was Jasper and the colour of his flag was a combination of all the twelve colours, embroidered thereon was a wolf".

Of all these fascinating colours and designs there is no explicit mention in the Bible itself. We shall never know, I suppose, whether the Rabbis had some ancient traditions passed on to them or whether they let their artistic imaginations fire up using all kinds of Biblical allusions. What remains in our mind is the multicoloured appearance of the Israelite camp, the variety of faces-coupled with the variety of minds, about which we know from the sources. This complex picture gives greater emphasis to the unified and orderly functioning of the camp of Israel as a whole; "The Lord said to Moses: Make two trumpets of hammered silver, and use them for calling the community together and for having the camps set out.. When a trumpet blast is sounded, the tribes camping on the east are to set out. At the sounding of the second blast, the camps on the south are to set out, etc".



One should make no mistake assuming that it was easy to assemble together the tribes of Israel, grouped under different banners, at the blast of a trumpet. The contrary is probably much closer to reality. There were always tensions between the tribes; however, there was no overriding tendency to overcome these tensions by blotting out individualistic characteristics and imposing a totalitarian view on all. Efforts were directed at trying to find and underscore the unifying rather than the divisive elements. If this did not always work (i.e. the secession of the Northern Kingdom and other such chisms) it did work much of the time, when the leadership and the people came to realize the supreme value within Judaism of both unity and freedom.

The creative tensions between those two values is reflected in many pages of Jewish history in the past – as well as, today. The verse from Hosea (4:17), for example – “Ephraim is joined to idols, leave him alone” – was interpreted by the Rabbis in the following way: Even if the tribe of Ephraim was to worship idols, they said, as long as he was joined together in unity, I would allow him to get away with it. The value of unity is put here above the most grievous transgression of idol worship. This is presumably because of the belief developed in subsequent moralistic literature, that as long as one is joined to the community he cannot wander off too far in his criminal actions.

The principle of acting in unison as one community was tested when there arose different schools of study of Tora which were not always in agreement with one another. We know, for instance, of the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai which flourished in the first and second centuries. While the opinions of both schools were duly recorded and respected, it required much intellectual effort and profound loyalty and commitment to the overall cause of Judaism for the Rabbis to put some issues up for a vote and decide on a unified course so that “the House of Israel should not be split in two.” Even when the controversy over opposing opinions between the Hillelites and the Shammaites was at its height, they made sure not to refrain from intermarrying with one another. When Rabbi Judah the Prince, himself a descendent of the line of Hillel, edited the code of Rabbinic law known as the Mishna at the end of the second century, he included the views of the Shammaites alongside those of the Hillelites. This became the rule since then – not to suppress or censor opposing opinions. All views equally deserve to be published, studied, and probed. No one side can claim to have an exclusive monopoly on the truth.

Similarly, there developed marked differences between the two major communities of the Diaspora in later centuries: the Sephardim of the South of Europe and the Orient, and the Ashkenazim of North, Eastern and Western Europe. Nevertheless, when it came to guarding the inner unity of the Jewish people, there were great rabbinic authorities who saw to it that the Jews remained one people, united around the Tora. Sephardim and Ashkenazim both studied and developed the Tora overcoming giant gaps of geography and of cultural mentalities. If varying modes of prayer sometimes served to divide among different Jewish communities, study of Tora served to unite them. Tora, as a unifying force, never recognizes boundaries of time and space. Take for instance a typical page of Talmud, the most studied book in Jewish life: look at it, and you see: in the middle is the Mishna edited in the land of Israel (circa 200 CE); it is surrounded by Gemara, edited in Babylon (circa 500 CE); on the right is the



commentary of Rashi, written in France (11th century); to the left are Tosafot written in Germany (12th century); in the back there is the Rif and the Ran, written in North Africa (10-12th centuries), next to them the Rosh (Spain, 13th century), and following it, Maharsha (Poland 16th century). Tora, in all of its manifestations, whether it be in the Talmud or any standard Bible with commentaries, or the codification of law and justice known as the Shulchan Aruch, represents a vast mosaic of continents and countries, as well as a colorful range of views, personalities, and mentalities, all engaged in the process of creating Judaism and forging the communities of Israel into one people.

[Tora, the creative spinning together of authentic Jewish culture in its manifold expressions, can thus serve as a common bond for all Jews everywhere, provided there is mutual respect between one group and the next: between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, between Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, etc., and provided they recognize the one central focal point, which has always been the point towards which all Jewish aspirations are turned and from which they have always been nourished.

The Psalmist expressed it first when singing:

*"I rejoiced with those who said to me,  
'Let us go to the house of the Lord.'*

*Our feet were standing in your gates,  
O Jerusalem.*

*Jerusalem is built like a city, joined together,  
That is where the tribes go up,  
the tribes of the Lord --*

*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem  
May those who love you be secure  
May there be peace within your walls  
And security within your citadels."*

The Rabbis understood "a city joined together" to mean a city that makes all Jews join together as one people. Thus they ordained:

"If one is standing outside Palestine, he should turn [when praying] towards Eretz Israel... If he stands in Eretz Israel, he should turn towards Jerusalem... If he is standing in Jerusalem he should turn towards the Sanctuary... If he is standing in the Sanctuary he should turn toward the Holy of Holies, etc... Consequently, if he is in the east he should turn his face to the west; in the west he should turn his face to the east, if in the south he should turn his face to the north; if in the north, he should turn his face to the south. In this way all Israel will be turning their heart towards one place." (*Berakhot 38a*)

What the Rabbis are trying to tell us in this passage, which has guided the prescribed practice of prayer up to this day, is that wherever a Jew stands in prayer, it is not the direction one prefers over another that makes the difference. The directions towards which the praying person turns may vary, may even be diametrically opposed. They are correct, however, if they possess the same central focal point, the one holy-of-holies towards which all eyes are turned, Jerusalem.]

Until, looking backward or ahead,  
We see that victory lies  
Not at some high place along the way,  
But in having made the journey, stage by stage,  
A sacred pilgrimage.  
Birth is a beginning  
And death a destination.  
And life is a journey,  
A sacred pilgrimage---  
To life everlasting.

KADDISH

Yit-ga-dal ve-yit ka-dash  
she-mei ra-ba be-al-ma  
di-ve-ra chi-re-u-tei,  
ve-yam-lich mal-chu-tei  
be-cha-yei-chon u-ve-yo-mei-chon  
u've-cha-yei de chol beit  
Yis-ra-eil, ba-a-ga-la  
u-vi-ze-man ka-riv,  
ve-i-me-ru, a-mein.

Ye-hei she-mei ra-ba me-va-rach  
le-a-lam u-le-al-mei  
al-ma-ya.

Yit-ba-rach ve-yish-ta-bach  
ve-yit-pa-ar ve-yit-romam  
ve-yit-na-sei, ve-yit-ha-dar  
ve-yit-a-leh ve-yit-ha-lal  
she-mei de ku-de-sha, be-rich  
hu, le-ei-la min kol bi-re-cha-ta  
ve-shi-ra-ta, tush-be-cha-ta ve-  
ne-che-ma-ta, da-a-mi-ran  
be-al-ma,  
ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

Ye-hei she-la-ma ra-ba  
min she-ma-ya ve-cha-yim  
a-lei-nu ve-al-kol Yis-ra-eil  
ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

O seh sha-lom bi-mero-mav  
hu ya-a-seh sha-lom a-lei-nu  
ve al-kol yis-ra-eil, ve-i-me-ru:  
A-mein.

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא  
בעלמא דרבא כרעותה;  
וימליך מלכותה בחייכון וביומיכון,  
ובחיי דרבא בית ישראל, בעגלא ובזמן קריב,  
ואמרו אמן.

יהא שמה רבא מכרך לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.

יתברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרומם, ויתנשא ויתהדר,  
ויתעלה ויתהלל שמה דרבא, בריך הוא,

לעלא (ולעלא) כדכליברכתא ושירחא,  
תשבחתא ונחמתא, דראמירן בעלמא,  
ואמרו אמן.

יהא שלמא רבא מדשמיא, וחיים,  
עלינו ועל כל ישראל,  
ואמרו אמן.

עשה שלום במרומיו, הוא יעשה שלום  
עלינו ועל כל ישראל,  
ואמרו אמן.



May God Who makes peace in  
high places, make peace  
for us, and for all Israel, as we  
say: AMEN!

Portions of this Shabbat Service have been  
excerpted from GATES OF PRAYER, edited by  
Chaim Stern,

*and from The Essence  
of the Challenge of Jewish Unity  
by Pinchas Peli.*



(18)

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GENESIS 23:1-6

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

KINGS 1:1-31

Portions of this Shabbat Service have been excerpted from GATES OF PRAYER, edited by Chaim Stern, and THE ESSENCE AND CHALLENGE OF JEWISH UNITY, by Pinchas Peli.







# The American Jewish Committee

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

October 21, 1985

Mr. Harold Gales,  
18665 Muirland  
Detroit, MI 48221

Dear Harold:

David Gordis has told me of your particular interest in our work in Israel. I am therefore pleased to invite you to become a member of the special committee set up by the Board of Governors to formulate specific recommendations regarding our intergroup relations work in Israel.

The next meeting of the committee will be held during the NEC in Miami at a breakfast meeting on Friday, November 8, at 7:00 AM, in the Orchid A Room of the Hyatt Regency Hotel. I am enclosing the minutes of the previous two meetings of the committee and shall be sending you under separate cover a draft proposal for a Center for Pluralism in Israel, which we will consider at this meeting.

I look forward to your active participation in the work of this important committee.

Sincerely,

  
Leo Nevas  
Chairman

LN:rs  
encl.

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UNCLASSIFIED

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** October 21, 1985  
**to** David Geller  
**from** David A. Harris  
**subject** National Task Force on Soviet Jewry Mission  
to Washington, D.C.

A few suggestions of individuals, in addition to appropriate members of Congress should one or both Houses still be in session in early December, we should attempt to see:

- 1) Max Kampelman, Chief U.S. Arms Control Negotiator
- 2) Dick Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State-designate for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs
- 3) Mark Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs
- 4) Jack Matlock, Senior National Security Advisor on Soviet Affairs
- 5) Walter Stoessel, Head of U.S. Delegation to the Budapest Cultural Forum
- 6) Ambassador Arthur Hartman, if he happens to be in Washington at the time
- 7) French Ambassador to the U.S. (to discuss Gorbachev's visit to France earlier this month, etc.)

Also, please be sure to keep Leo Nevas apprised of the planning for the visit.

DAH:CH

c: Marc H. Tanenbaum





# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER • 3000 Biscayne Boulevard • Miami, Florida 33137 • (305) 576-4240

October 21, 1985

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Ambassador Ambler H. Moss, Jr.  
Dean of Graduate School of  
International Studies  
University of Miami  
P.O. Box 248123  
Coral Gables, Fla. 33124

Dear Ambler:

A further note about our NEC session Sunday, November 10th. Joining the Costa Rican Ambassador to the U.N. will be the Panamanian U.N. Ambassador. In addition, Joe Harari will be in as well.

We'd be honored by your presence 10:30 A.M. at the Hyatt.

As ever,

  
William A. Gralnick

WAG:gs

cc: Roger Bernstein  
Neil Alter

Address by Howard I. Friedman  
The American Jewish Committee's  
National Executive Council Meeting  
Miami, Florida, November 9, 1985

Because we get together as a group only twice a year, it is inevitable that we should spend some of our time reviewing what we have been up to in the intervening months, both personally and as part of the AJC and of the larger society. This year, I think we are all conscious of how much of our time has been devoted to acknowledging anniversaries of momentous events. Somehow, a lot of round numbers have come together in 1985 -- not only the 40th anniversary of a whole series of happenings that took place in 1945, but also the 20th anniversary of events of great moment in 1965, and the 10th anniversary of still other memorable occurrences in 1975.

To some degree, this preoccupation with anniversaries tends to obscure the significance of what is going on today -- and I think it is a mistake to allow this to happen. Let me, therefore, take the few minutes allotted to me this evening to conduct a brief tour d'horizon, and explore some of the trends which emerged in 1985 in the areas of our institutional concern -- a number of which may well be marked in anniversary years to come.

Most important, perhaps, is an event still to come -- the summit conference between President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. The very fact that such a meeting will take place marks a very significant change in world chemistry in recent months. While we must not *overindulge* our hopes and aspirations for the upcoming summit conference, the emergence of a new leader in the Soviet Union and the readiness of the heads of the U.S. and the USSR to meet suggest two major changes. One is a growing understanding that it is imperative to reach some modus vivendi between the two superpowers; the other is a confirmation of the progress that has taken place in the international arena during the past several



years as a consequence of America's regenerated will and capacity to engage in effective foreign policy.

There is simply no substitute for this country's steadfast determination to protect and maintain the balance of power in the world and to stand as guardian for free societies wherever they exist. Similarly, our emphasis on human rights as a cornerstone of our foreign policy agenda also affects the reality and agenda for that conference. It is not unreasonable to hope that out of the conference will emerge a process that can lead to an improvement in the status of human rights throughout the world, and particularly in the Soviet Union. There is no greater present-day example of human-rights deprivation than that which prevails in that grim society. When Mr. Gorbachev says that the Jews of the Soviet Union are better off than Jews in any other society, he reveals the darkened perspective and insulation from reality that has characterized the Soviet Union throughout its modern history.

We wish our President well at the summit and we express our wholehearted support -- both of the firmness and steadfastness that have helped bring the meeting about and of his willingness to reach sensible agreements with Mr. Gorbachev.

Long years of disappointment and frustration have made us wary of optimism regarding peace in the Middle East. The progress made possible by the courage and vision of Egypt's remarkable President Anwar Sadat has not been matched by any other Arab state. Yet, in recent weeks, there have been encouraging developments that suggest at least the possibility of some fresh movement in this area. The essentials have always been clear: peace in the region depends on acceptance of the legitimacy of Israel and direct, face-to-face negotiation with her to resolve questions relating to boundaries, demilitarized zones and Palestinian identity. But if the essentials are clear, the process of achieving them has proved complex

indeed. And a primary impediment to that process has been the PLO and the culture of terrorism so readily embraced by Israel's adversaries.

It is no accident that the culture of terrorism has been so robust in recent weeks, at the very time when promising overtures have been made in Amman, Jerusalem and Washington. The murder of three Israelis in Cyprus, the repeated acts of West Bank terrorism stimulated by the PLO, the horrendous hijackings of the TWA flight and the Achille Lauro, and the brutal murders of Robert Stethem and Leon Klinghoffer make it clear that the PLO is not willing to relinquish terrorism as political blackmail. The worldwide revulsion at these acts, and the exultation voiced when U.S. planes forced down the Egyptian flight carrying the Achille Lauro hijackers to freedom, reflect a growing understanding that the PLO cannot be accepted as a partner in any responsible peace process. Even King Hussein has shown evidence of coming to that conclusion, and we can only hope he stands by that realization.

While the situation remains exceedingly fluid, the open-minded speech by Prime Minister Peres to the United Nations and King Hussein's warm praise for that speech provide some hope that negotiations between Israel and Jordan, under some form of international umbrella and without the active participation of the PLO, may yet emerge. Prime Minister Peres has made it clear that the sine qua non of such a process is direct negotiations, and he has indicated that the process might entail territorial compromise and possible interim arrangements rather than a full and permanent resolution of the controversy. There is no doubt that these suggestions would touch off a major debate within Israel; but neither is there doubt that most Israelis are firmly committed to a secure and lasting peace with their neighbors. The forces of moderation in Israel and in the Arab states must be supported and encouraged by people of good will the world over.



We are particularly gratified at the constructive role of the United States in this process. While we dispute the wisdom of major arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia before they make peace with Israel, we are convinced that our own government's steadfast endeavor to lay the foundation for direct negotiations between the parties has been a constructive force in the region. I particularly want to salute the important contributions of Secretary Murphy in this area, and we are most privileged to have him as our guest this evening.

The events of recent months have focused world attention on terrorism in the Middle East. But the scourge is not limited to that part of the globe. Indeed, terrorism represents one of the most serious challenges to civilized society, and can only be met by the concerted efforts of that society as a whole. Secretary of State Shultz has been an eloquent voice in marshaling the international community to repudiate and prevent terrorism.

At the heart of the ambivalence that allows terrorism to flourish is the notion that "one man's terrorism is another man's freedom fighter." As the late Senator Henry Jackson put it, "Freedom fighters or revolutionaries don't blow up buses containing non-combatants; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters don't set out to capture and slaughter schoolchildren; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters don't assassinate innocent businessmen, or hijack and hold hostage innocent men, women and children; terrorist murderers do." To which one might add, "Freedom fighters don't shoot and kill paralyzed tourists in wheelchairs; terrorist murderers do." And let's say it straight: those weren't freedom fighters who blew up the offices of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee in Santa Ana, California last month and killed its regional director, Alex Odeh. Those were terrorist murderers, and there is no excuse that justifies that attack. Even the Soviet Union has not been spared from the nihilism and inhumanity of terrorists. If

there is anything upon which the civilized world can agree, surely it is that terrorists cannot be permitted to blast their way into the councils of decent and humane people.

Which brings us back to the marking of anniversaries. November 10, 1985, marks the tenth anniversary of Resolution 3379 of the UN General Assembly -- the infamous resolution equating Zionism with racism. That vicious canard, which has contributed a great deal to the campaign to delegitimize the State of Israel, marked the nadir of the UN as a force for peace. Over the past decade it has deflected many of the UN agencies from their legitimate tasks to the service of an orchestrated campaign against Israel, and against the West. Happily, in 1985 we saw what may be the unraveling of that campaign. At the Nairobi conference marking the end of the Decade for Women, representatives of the United States, in concert with representatives of numerous other states, successfully resisted efforts to repeat that corrupting equation once again. We salute the example set by Maureen Reagan, Ambassador Alan Keyes, and Dame Nita Barrow, who led that fight in the various forums, official and unofficial, at Nairobi, to prevent the subversion of the conference designed to improve the lot of women the world over, and pointed the way to the restoration of the UN to its constructive goals.

Here at home, in recent months we have witnessed a more disturbing phenomenon: the public expression, for the first time in many years, of overt anti-Semitism -- an expression that has happily become unfamiliar to most Americans. There have been two foci of this publicly expressed anti-Semitism. One has been the efforts of far-right political and religious extremists to exploit the tragic condition of America's farmers by charging that Jewish bankers and "the Eastern establishment" were conspiring to appropriate the land of financially pressed family farms. The other has been the widely publicized gutter anti-Semitism of



Louis Farrakhan -- who, in speeches before large black audiences, coupled that anti-Semitism with appeals to black separatism and black hostility to whites unprecedented in recent times.

In both cases, the vast majority of those to whom the bigotry was directed, including the leaders of most respected farm groups and black groups, have been forthright in their outrage at those tactics. Repugnant though it is, anti-Semitism is not a significant part of the American culture; when it erupts it is generally recognized as the deviant excrescence that it is. The primary thrust of the American Jewish Committee in dealing with these expressions of anti-Semitism has been to demonstrate the dramatic deviation from acceptable behavior that they represent by marshaling responsible voices in the general society. While we have been disappointed by the response -- or lack of it -- in certain segments of the black community, it must be stressed that the overwhelming majority of moderate black leadership has repudiated Louis Farrakhan and what he stands for.

The anti-Semitism of the Farrakhans, the Identity Church, the Posse Comitatus and other extremists does not reflect any authentic current in the American ethos. Indeed, the American ethos stands firmly against such expressions. While we are justifiably angry at these outbreaks and will continue to monitor them carefully, the recent eruptions and the response to them have, on balance, demonstrated the health of American society, not its pathology.

Let me say a few words about black-Jewish relations -- a subject which remains an important part of our current agenda. There is no doubt that there are tensions in those relations from time to time -- though they are far fewer than the media attention would suggest. One flashpoint has been the issue of affirmative action and quotas. This is a subject about which reasonable men and women equally pure in motive can disagree. We maintain our profound disapproval of the

use of quotas as an affirmative-action tool, because we are convinced that quotas contribute to the evolution of an ascriptive society, in which everyone's place and role are assigned not by virtue of his or her personal attributes and merit, but according to membership in a group. We believe such a society is incompatible with the pluralism that has always been at the center of the American value system.

At the same time, however, we have always agreed that valid affirmative action is needed to make sure that victims of historic deprivation are not denied the mobility inherent in the American system. Important public purposes are served when greater, rather than lesser, numbers of previously disadvantaged minorities aspire to, and reach, all levels of American life. For that reason, we endorse the use of goals and timetables as tools of affirmative action -- under carefully monitored programs that make sure such goals and timetables do not become quotas. I am happy to note that more and more men and women of all races now see this as the path to follow. By and large, the implementation of Executive Order No. 11246 has helped pave the way to greater participation by blacks, Hispanics and others in all levels of American life. For that reason, we have opposed the proposal to abrogate that executive order.

While we do not deny that instances of abuse may have occurred, and that some goals or timetables may, in practice, have been transformed into quotas, we are persuaded that, in most cases, this is not what happens. That is demonstrated most by the substantial number of companies that have adopted goals and timetables but have been unable fully to meet those standards. Almost invariably, they have been granted additional time if they have shown good-faith efforts along the way. More empirical data are undoubtedly required, but our commitment to appropriate affirmative action remains steadfast. And we make that commitment



not just in the interests of good black-Jewish relations -- though that is a welcome consequence -- we make it because we believe our country must be a truly open and mobile society. We support valid steps to help individuals from previously disadvantaged groups move into the mainstream. We rejoice in the large numbers of black Americans who made it into that mainstream in recent years, and we want to see that trend continue.

In another arena, the dispute over the separation of church and state has continued in recent months, and will no doubt continue into the years to come. Our own devotion to the principle of separation remains steadfast, for we are convinced it is an indispensable ingredient of pluralism in America. But we also acknowledge that the cultivation of common values in our society is a problem that presses for attention. Indeed, there is no doubt that it is the sense that values are deteriorating that fuels much of the attack on the separation principle itself. We must not allow the perception to continue that a concern with values is the exclusive domain of the religious right. It lies also at the core of our Jewish tradition and it is a major emphasis of the AJC's domestic agenda.

We have recently initiated an important dialogue with Secretary of Education William Bennett on this subject. The Secretary has spoken out sharply for the need to strengthen and support patriotism, honesty and other core values in American life. Though we have differed with Secretary Bennett on some of his interpretations of constitutional doctrine, which we believe are out of tune with the objectives we both seek, we hope to continue that dialogue in the months ahead. Indeed, we have recently established the Skirball Institute on American Values, whose primary function will be to help develop a series of core values that public and private institutions can support and help propagate.

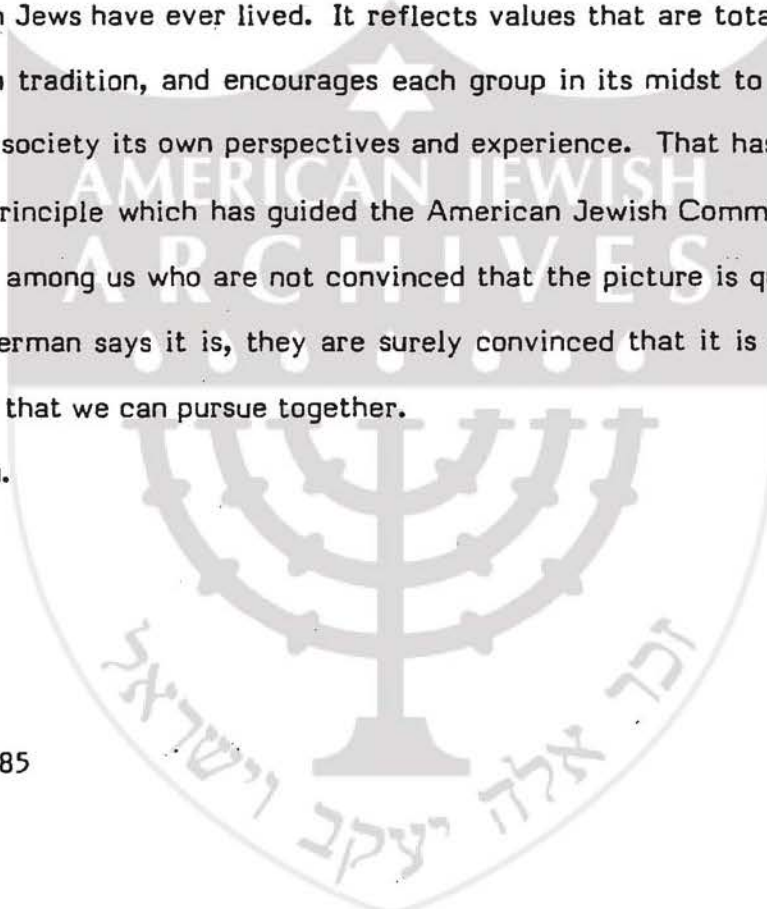
Earlier today, we heard from Charles Silberman, who has written an important book about the status of American Jews today. Charles views the American environment as the most hospitable in our history for the maintenance of a vibrant Jewish community. It is a perspective that we in the American Jewish Committee hold very dear. This country is truly the most remarkable surrounding culture in which Jews have ever lived. It reflects values that are totally consonant with the Jewish tradition, and encourages each group in its midst to bring to bear upon the larger society its own perspectives and experience. That has always been the operating principle which has guided the American Jewish Committee. And if there are those among us who are not convinced that the picture is quite as bright as Charles Silberman says it is, they are surely convinced that it is a worthy and achievable goal that we can pursue together.

Thank you.

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November 4, 1985







# REPORT

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee

Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

## SYRIA -- THE BIG QUESTION MARK IN THE MIDDLE EAST

What is Syria up to in the Middle East? Does it plan a partial or total war, or does it plan to achieve its goals through joining the present political process? What is the meaning of the latest talks between Syria and Jordan? How true are the rumors of the possibility of a reconciliation between Syria and Iraq and about the growing difficulties between Syria and Iran?

Will Syria be able to overcome the insurmountable difficulties in Lebanon and bring about a situation where it will control the various factions and stabilize the situation in Lebanon?

How will this possible political development affect Syria's policy vis a vis Israel? What does Syria's policy of reaching a strategic balance with Israel mean? Is it attainable? If indeed, it will be achieved, to what extent will it constitute a real threat to Israel? Will it enable Syria to start a limited or an extended war with Israel? To what extent will the gradual reconciliation between Syria and Jordan, and possibly between Syria and Iraq, stabilizing the situation in Lebanon, and reducing the political status of the PLO, constitute a danger of renewing "the Eastern Front" which will increase the threat against Israel?

### **Can There be Peace Without Syria?**

Is the assumption that there can be no peace in the Middle East without Syria true in a parallel manner that it is assumed that there can be no total war against Israel without Egypt?

Syria has proven that there can be no agreement in Lebanon without its consent: it forced Lebanon to abrogate the agreement reached in May 1983 between Israel and Lebanon under the auspices of the United States. Syria reminds King Hussein of this example, thus telling him that he cannot reach an agreement with Israel without Syria's consent.

### **Jordan-Syria Rapprochement**

King Hussein remembers all too well that Syria attacked him in September 1970 and threatened to do so in June 1980. He is afraid that Syria might attack again. Therefore, he is making every effort to reach some understanding with Syria even if it is only on the tactical level and even though he realizes that their basic goals are contradictory: King Hussein has an interest in reaching an agreement with Israel while Syria totally objects. Syria is against a peace treaty with Israel even if all the territories taken by Israel in 1967 will be returned to Arab hands. In this case, Syria may agree to a pact of non-belligerency and no more.



At this stage Syria decided to try to block King Hussein from entering a political process with Israel by moving closer to King Hussein. It has agreed to the convening of two meetings between the Prime Ministers of Syria and Jordan, which took place in Jeddah on September 16-19, and in Riyadh on October 20-21. (The meetings took place under Saudi Arabian auspices because Syria's policy constitutes a potential danger and a threat to the Saudi regime.)

As a result of these meetings Syria succeeded in convincing Jordan to accept some of its positions: 1. Ruling out any partial or separate agreements with Israel, which means that there will be no negotiations on Samaria, Judea and the Gaza Strip without parallel negotiations regarding the Golan Heights. 2. An International Conference under U.N. auspices: King Hussein wants the participation of all five permanent members of the Security Council. Syria wants the participation of only the United States and the Soviet Union.

Syria is now doing all that it can to convince King Hussein to abandon his agreement with Yasir Arafat of February 11, 1985. President Assad of Syria virulently hates Arafat, mainly because he dragged him into a war against Israel in Lebanon at a time when Syria was not ready for it. Syria established a parallel Palestinian organization of its own headed by a PLO rebel, Abu Musa, in order to eliminate Arafat politically, but with no success thus far. Arafat's agreement with Hussein strengthened the King and served as an indication that it may be possible to reach a separate agreement with Israel without dealing with the issue of the Golan Heights. By moving closer to Jordan, Syria hopes to move Jordan away from Egypt and to prevent Hussein from following Sadat's example of a bilateral separate treaty with Israel. A summit conference between Assad and Hussein is a distinct possibility in the near future.

#### **The danger of Renewing the Eastern Front**

The reconciliation between Syria and Jordan serves Syria's interest in extricating itself from its isolation in the Arab world. It may make it easier for Syria to consider military actions against Israel once it thinks it has reached a strategic balance with Israel. Syria may hope that under certain circumstances it can convince Jordan to join such military action as it has done in the past (in the Six-Day War of 1967 and to a more limited extent in the Yom Kippur war of 1973). If there will be a tactical reconciliation between Iraq and Syria in addition to the one between Syria and Jordan, the danger of the de facto re-establishment of the Eastern Front will increase. This development can constitute a real danger to Israel, even if Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia will not have full military coordination the way they had when they established the Eastern Front in the early 1970's.

#### **Strategic Balance With Israel**

In the past several years, especially since the Lebanese war of 1982, Syria's goal has been to reach a strategic balance with Israel. This



should enable her to act militarily alone against Israel. As a result of the Lebanese war, Syria reached the conclusion that the Israeli armor divisions did not perform their expected best, and therefore do not constitute a threat to Damascus to the extent that Syria feared for many years. Syria realizes that its air force is still far inferior to Israel's. It has decided to meet this challenge by acquiring very sophisticated SA5 anti-aircraft missiles, SS21 surface-to-surface missiles aimed against armor, infantry and civilian populations. Syria has also developed a sophisticated air force with 500 combat aircraft (in comparison to 680 combat aircraft in the Israel Air Force (I.A.F.)), a huge armor corps of 4,200 tanks, which includes 1,100 T72 tanks (in comparison to 3,200 tanks in the Israel Defense Forces (I.D.F.)). Syria has a standing army of 402,500 soldiers and 272,500 reservists (in comparison to 142,000 soldiers in the I.D.F. and 370,000 reservists).

If one adds to this force the potential of the Jordanian tank corps (795 tanks), the new F-16 or F-20 planes Jordan hopes to acquire from the United States, the Iraqi corps (2,900 tanks) and the Iraqi air force (500 combat aircraft), and the air force and tanks of Saudi Arabia, Libya, Algeria and contingents from the rests of the Arab world, one understands the magnitude of the formidable potential threat to Israel.\* Under certain circumstances, especially assuming the Iraq-Iran war comes to an end, Syria may be able to mobilize all of this potential against Israel. This is why Syria is cautiously biding its time and does not want to be dragged into a premature war against Israel.

#### "Closing the Lebanese File"

Syria is now engaged in an all out effort to end the civil war in Lebanon, thus "closing the Lebanese file" so that it can be free to deal with Israel and to prevent Jordan from entering separate negotiations with Israel. Syria sent its troops to end the fighting in Tripoli and it is now in the process of imposing a security pact in Beirut. It forced the leaders of the Shiite, Sunni and Druze militias to sign an agreement ending their rivalries. This agreement should be officially concluded in mid-November in the "National Conciliation Conference".

Assad faces severe internal problems. The civil war in Lebanon compounds these problems since it affects the various communal and religious factions in Syria, encouraging them to conduct subversive activities. This is another reason why it is so important for Syria to end the civil war in Lebanon. President Assad is a sick man facing a big power struggle among his potential heirs. He wants to close the Lebanese file so that he can concentrate on his internal problems and also deal with Israel from a position of strength.

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\* This information is taken from the 1985 report of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

## Syria and the United States

Syria wants to prove to the United States that no political process in the Middle East is possible without it, and, therefore, the United States is better off abandoning its efforts to reach an agreement without Syria and the Soviet Union. If Syria achieves this goal, it will put it in a very strong position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union which will feel indebted to Syria. Syria has already proved to the United States that it could destroy the 1983 agreement between Lebanon and Israel reached under U.S. auspices. Syria brought about the release of the TWA hijacked passengers because of its good relations with Iran, and the United States was forced to thank Syria. Syria has been negotiating the release of the six Americans kidnapped in Beirut, but it is in not hurry to conclude a deal. Secular Syria has problems with the pro-Iranian Shiite fundamentalist faction that has kidnapped the Americans. It is also afraid that once the six are released, the United States will feel free to take military action against terrorism. At the same time Syria has supported terrorist activities by the group of Abu Nidal, pro-Syrian Palestinian organizations such as As-Saika, the PFLP-General Command of Ahmed Jibril and the PLO rebels headed by Abu Musa.

## Conclusion

Syria holds some very important cards in its hands which can damage the whole peace process. It constitutes a threat to Jordan and creates a serious security problem for Israel. It has the basic support of the Soviet Union and is considered an important factor in the Middle East by the United States. It proved that there is no solution in Lebanon without it. Will it prove now that an agreement between Israel and Jordan is impossible without its own involvement? Will Syria dare to take military action against Jordan or Israel in order to prevent the present peace process, or will it virtually impose an international conference where the Soviet Union will play a major role, hoping to impose a solution upon Israel? Will Syria succeed in preventing direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel, or a separate or partial interim agreement on the West Bank between the two, and then impose Palestinian representation which will be neither the PLO, headed by Arafat, whom Syria hates, nor non-PLO representatives acceptable to Israel?

These are questions which Israel, the United States and Jordan must first answer, and then take appropriate measures to meet the Syrian challenge if they wish the present peace process to continue successfully.

\* \* \* \*

Edited by George E. Gruen  
November 6, 1985  
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## The Church in Latin America Seeks Interchange With Jews

By ALAN RIDING

Special to The New York Times

SAO PAULO, Brazil, Nov. 5 — Strongly influenced by the activist bishops of Brazil, Latin America's Roman Catholic Church is for the first time giving priority to establishing a permanent interchange of ideas with the region's Jewish groups.

At a conference of Catholic and Jewish leaders here this week, an impressive turnout of Catholic prelates was seen as a mark of the importance these clergymen give to eliminating the legacy in Latin America of distrust toward Judaism and ignorance about it.

The prelates included Paulo Evaristo Cardinal Arns of São Paulo, Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger of Paris, the Presidents of the Latin American and the Brazilian Conferences of Bishops, the Secretary of the Holy See's Commission for Relations with Jews and seven other Brazilian prelates.

The two-day conference, jointly sponsored by the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, the American Jewish Committee and the Latin American Jewish Congress, was called to mark the 20th anniversary of a document of the Second Vatican Council that redefined traditional Catholic views on Judaism.

### Progress Cited

Bishop Antonio Quarracino of Avelaneda, Argentina, who is currently President of the Latin American Conference of Bishops, said the church in the region had been slow in responding to the document's ecumenical message because it had been absorbed by its own "profound ecclesiastical crisis."

But he and other bishops said progress was now being made throughout the continent. The Brazilian church has taken the lead, not only in forming a National Commission for Jewish-Catholic Dialogue in 1981, but also in is-

uing its own "orientations" in 1983 to guide local Catholics in their relations with Jews.

"In Brazil, interfaith dialogue and interfaith action are a reality," said Henry I. Sobel, rabbi of the Israelite Congregation in São Paulo and the key organizer of the conference held this week. "The Brazilian bishops are the most progressive bishops that I know and it is a pleasure to work with them."

### Booklet for Schoolchildren

He added that the National Commission for Jewish-Catholic Dialogue had prepared a 150-page booklet, titled "Israel: People, Land and Faith," that is to be distributed to every Catholic-run school in Brazil, which is the world's most populous Catholic nation.

While Jewish figures in general have been encouraging closer relations with Catholics, Orthodox Jewish groups in São Paulo boycotted the meeting this

week in protest against the invitation to Cardinal Lustiger, who was born of Polish Jewish parents and converted to Catholicism as a young man.

The principal focus of the conference, however, was the special situation of the dwindling number of Jews. Their numbers are down by about 40 percent over the past 20 years to about 800,000 in a vast continent dominated by Catholicism. There are significant numbers of Jews only in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay.

Among these groups, anti-Semitism has been a recurrent problem only in Argentina, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, the director of international affairs of the American Jewish Committee, said Argentina's new civilian Government seemed determined to combat the phenomenon. Elsewhere, Jewish spokesmen said, difficulties are related to the small size and isolation of the Jewish populations.



## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** October 16, 1985

**to** David Harris

**from** Sidney Liskofsky and Allan Kagedan

**subject** Comments on Zionism>equals-Racism for possible use in  
Howard Friedman's address to NEC

1. Resolution 3379 of the UN General Assembly, passed on November 10, 1975, which equated Zionism with racism, stirred deep feeling among Jews and others who knew that the myth of "international Zionism" played a key role in modern anti-Semitism. The forged and infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion, with its paranoid theme of Jewish-Zionist conspiracy to rule the world, was a prime inspiration to Hitler. It has been called a "warrant for genocide," namely, for the Nazi murder of six million Jews.
2. The fundamental aim of the sponsors of the Zionism-racism equation, the PLO and its Arab and Soviet allies, was to delegitimize the State of Israel, ostracize and expel it from the UN, and replace it with a Palestinian member state, as a prelude to its eventual physical destruction. Thus, the resolution sought to subvert one of the UN Charter's main purposes: "To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples."
3. Resolution 3379 placed an international stamp of approval on an "equation" of Zionism with apartheid and racism, promoted for at least a decade before by Soviet and Arab bloc spokesmen as part of their campaign to defame Israel. Using the multi-faceted UN system with its many bodies, agencies and programs, and their own national media, the Arab and Soviet bloc purveyors of anti-Zionism had long sought to make Zionism a "dirty word" in countries far removed from the passions of the Arab-Israel dispute. Ironically, many of these so-called non-aligned nations which prize their own achievement of self-determination failed to see that Israel represents self-determination for the Jewish people. Furthermore, anti-Zionism has provided a new slogan for anti-Semites in the United States and elsewhere. Some, on the far right, call this government the ZOG or "Zionist Occupation Government"; others agree with Farrakhan, the Black Muslim leader, who explains his position on Zionism this way: "I'm not backing down from the Jews because I know their wickedness. I'm not separating just Zionists out because the Zionists are the outgrowth of Jewish transgressions."
4. The deletion of the proposed repetition of the Zionism>equals-racism charge in the final document of the Nairobi women's rights conference--a victory not only for the US and other nations who pressed for its deletion so firmly, but for the cause of women's rights, and for the Charter purposes of the UN--is no reason to believe that the PLO and its allies have abandoned their goal of reaffirming it and building on it. The PLO representative at Nairobi stated



Memo to David Harris  
October 16, 1985  
Page 2

that his acceptance of the deletion was based on the premise that Zionism is included in the final document's condemnation of "apartheid and all forms of racism."

5. Opposing the Zionism-racism canard does not mean exempting Israel from criticism for particular policies, practices or conditions. It does mean opposition to the gross double standard that exists in the UN with regard to Israel, and to attempts of the PLO and its allies to delegitimize and expel it from the world organization.

6. A political settlement in the Middle East would go far toward ridding the world of the Zionism-racism canard--though unhappily, paranoid fantasies are very resistant to reality. But we cannot wait upon this much-desired development, because the Zionism-racism slogan, by promoting hostility toward Israel, in itself forms a barrier to peace. To defeat the Zionism-racism falsehood, the US and other democratic governments must continue to resist all attempts to reaffirm it within the UN, and to protest its dissemination through programs bearing the UN imprimatur, including UN conferences on "The Palestine Question." President Reagan and the Congress have shown that they mean business - by withholding US funding and refusing US participation in UN agencies, conferences and programs which perpetuate the Zionism-racism lie. In addition, Jewish communal groups, with the help of friendly governments, must explain the real meaning of Zionism to the peoples of the developing nations, so that they may understand how equating Zionism with racism perverts history, distorts reality, and perpetuates a cruel injustice against Israel and the Jewish people.