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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 98, Folder 6, General correspondence, memos & working papers, September-December 1982.

- Franklin  
to my fed

September 2, 1982

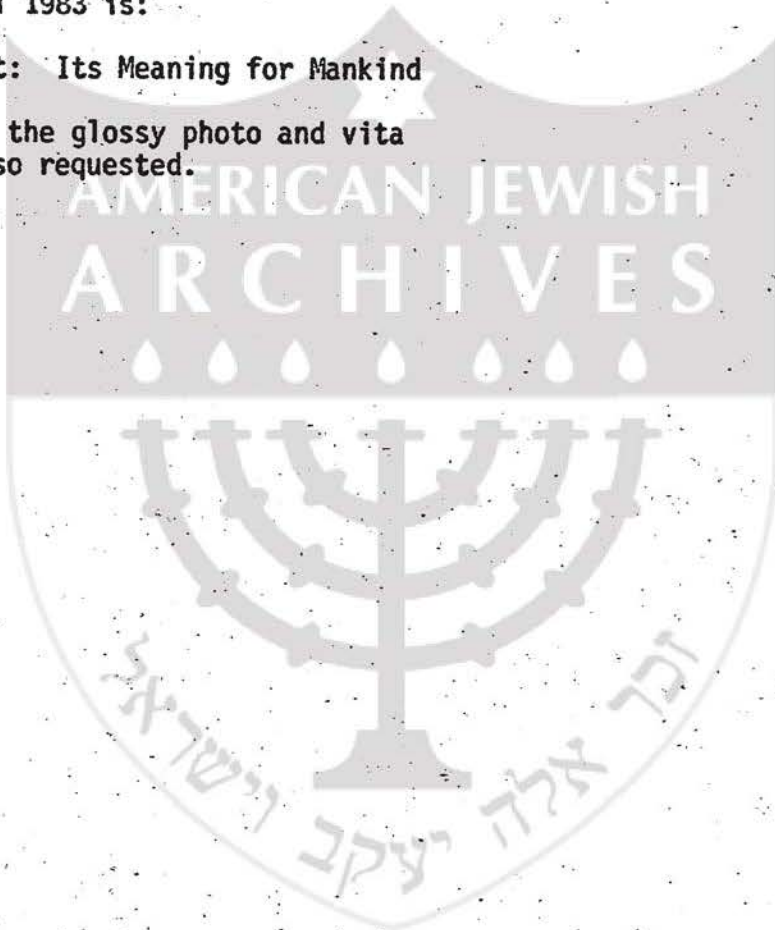
Ms. Louise Franklin

Rita Reznik, Secretary to Rabbi Marc  
Tanenbaum

The title of the Address for the pleary  
session which Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum is  
going to deliver at you/Community Confer-  
ence in April 1983 is:

The Holocaust: Its Meaning for Mankind

Enclosed are the glossy photo and vita  
which you also requested.



rpr



THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

WASHINGTON REGION

# BROTHERHOOD THROUGH EDUCATION

Kalman C. Szekely  
Executive Director

1402 - 3rd AVE., SUITE 1326  
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101

August 23, 1982

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

This is to follow-up and confirm the details of our telephone conversation earlier this month. The Steering Committee of the Holocaust Studies Project of Seattle is very pleased that you have accepted our invitation to speak at the Community Conference on April 17-18, 1983, to be held at Seattle University. The project is Co-Sponsored by the University and The National Conference of Christians & Jews, along with a number of community organizations, agencies, churches and individuals. Among those is American Jewish Committee.

At present, the program calls for you to deliver a major address of about 50 minutes in duration to the general assembly on Sunday, and to conduct a workshop for a specific population group (e.g., clergy, ethnics lawyers) on Monday. Other program details are not yet firm but we will keep you apprised of the final draft when completed. The honorarium and expenses for this engagement will be negotiated through Arthur Abramson of your Seattle American Jewish Committee office, an active member of our committee.

Please forward to us a glossy photo, vita and title of your address for the plenary session. We will confer further with you on the details and title for the smaller workshop session.

Future correspondence and calls will be coming from Kal Szekely, Director of The National Conference of Christians & Jews who will be serving as the Project Director in the coming months. I will be returning to Orlando on September 1, having concluded by consulting work here.

Thank you for your enthusiastic interest in this project and for agreeing to participate. This promises to be an outstanding event for Seattle.

Sincerely,

*Louise Franklin*  
Louise Franklin  
Project Consultant

LF/mb

*Sand bio - return*

*4/17-18/83*

*Acad*

SEPTEMBER 13, 1982

FROM: AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 EAST 56TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

ACCT. #CNY006110

THE FOLLOWING MAILGRAM IS TO BE SENT TO THE ATTACHED LIST OF NAMES:

TO: AJC AREA DIRECTORS

RE: AJC REACTION TO POPE'S PROPOSED AUDIENCE WITH ARAFAT

AT THE END OF THIS MESSAGE IS A COPY OF A CABLEGRAM SETTING FORTH AJC'S RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSED AUDIENCE OF PLO'S YASIR ARAFAT WITH POPE JOHN PAUL II IN VATICAN CITY. THIS TEXT WAS PRESENTED BY ROBERT S. JACOBS, INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS COMMISSION CHAIRMAN, TO THE AJC'S BOARD OF GOVERNORS TODAY, AND IT WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY. SEVERAL BOARD MEMBERS SUGGESTED THAT THIS TEXT BE SENT TO EACH OF THE LOCAL CARDINALS AND BISHOPS IN YOUR COMMUNITY, TO OTHER CATHOLIC CONTACTS, AS WELL AS TO THE CATHOLIC PRESS AND THE GENERAL PRESS. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO SHARE THIS TEXT WITH FRIENDLY PROTESTANTS AND EVANGELICALS AND WHERE POSSIBLE INVITE THEM TO ISSUE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT STATEMENTS OF CONCERN. PLEASE SHARE WITH US ANY CLIPPINGS OR OTHER STATEMENTS THAT EMERGE FROM THIS ACTION. MANY THANKS AND A SHANAH TOVAH

MARC TANENBAUM

WESTERN UNION, THE BALANCE OF THE TEXT TO BE SENT IS ON THE NEXT PAGE.,



## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

### STATEMENT ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PEACE INITIATIVE

*(Based on Remarks by Maynard I. Wishner; Adopted as an Interim AJC Position by the Board of Governors, September 13, 1982)*

President Reagan's initiative clearly opens new possibilities for a diplomatic breakthrough in the search for Middle East peace if all parties seize the opportunity it presents.

Now that the U.S. "Talking Points" are in the public arena they deserve thoughtful and thorough consideration. We believe that the Administration is offering the "Talking Points" in the spirit that they are points for discussion and not pre-conditions the U.S. would seek to impose. We think the initiative would gain if our government made this abundantly clear.

At the Arab summit in Fez, regrettably, there was Arab refusal to recognize Israel explicitly, Arab refusal to enter into the broader Camp David negotiations and Arab refusal to envisage anything but a fully independent state headed by the PLO---a triple refusal contradicting key elements in the President's initiative.

Responsibility for failure to advance the cause of peace in the Middle East, now as on so many previous occasions, must be put squarely where it belongs: on the continued Arab unwillingness - Egypt apart - to recognize the reality of the state of Israel and negotiate with it. Israel, while rejecting President Reagan's approach, nevertheless continues to stand ever ready for negotiations.

Equally regrettably, the renewed insistence by the Arab summit on the PLO as the "sole and legitimate representative" of the Palestinians tends to vitiate the particular approach made by our government to King Hussein of Jordan with the corresponding particular responsibility for Jordan, at last, to participate in the Camp David process.

The American Jewish Committee twice in the past has called for restraint and pause in further settlements by Israel, in the context of ongoing negotiations, at times when it appeared that this would serve the cause of peace. Were Jordan to respond affirmatively to Mr. Reagan's appeal for it to join the peace process we would again be prepared to call for such pause and restraint.

The American Jewish Committee always has supported the Camp David process as the best framework for advancing peace. As envisaged in the Camp David framework, the final status of the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) and Gaza is to be negotiated among the parties concerned during the five-year period after a self-governing authority comes into being there. All parties can then make their claim to eventual West Bank and Gaza sovereignty.

We are opposed to any pre-judging now of what that eventual sovereignty should be, or actions that would create a de facto situation precluding a meaningful decision about these territories. Israel should not be called

(2)

upon to foreswear in advance any negotiating position it may then choose to take.

There are points in President Reagan's initiative that require clarification. There are others -- such as his call for negotiations on the status of Jerusalem -- that are unacceptable. We regret the procedure followed by our government where there was no consultation with Israel prior to this initiative and any tendency for the U.S. to move away from its role as mediator, that in which it has been most successful to date.

The peace initiative, however, must be judged as a whole. In this light, we see it as a reasonable approach to be dealt with on its merits. It is in this spirit that we shall be presenting our opposition and support for various of its aspects as we give it that thorough consideration it deserves.



# TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT

## AD HOC GROUPS: NEW PLEADERS FOR THE ARAB CAUSE

by Sheba Mittelman

With the outbreak of hostilities in Lebanon on June 6, 1982, a number of ad hoc anti-Israel groups emerged on the American scene. This report identifies the most active groups, focusing on those that attracted national attention. Where possible, names and addresses of organizers and organizations are provided, since these often shed light on the behind-the-scenes coordination that exists among many of these groups. In numerous cases, long-time pro-PLO activists on the left were discovered to be operating under new cover names.

These ad hoc groups engaged in a wide variety of activities--placing large newspaper ads, distributing leaflets, holding street rallies and teach-ins-- all aimed at encouraging public sympathy for the Lebanese civilians suffering from the aftermath of recent events and for Palestinians. In all of their activities several issues were frequently stressed:

-- Alleged atrocity stories and indiscriminate bombings were highlighted in an effort to portray Israel as criminal, inhumane and immoral. Although pro-Palestinian groups have for some time used terms like "genocide" and "holocaust" in their literature to refer to Israel's policy toward Palestinians, such language appeared more prominently in current ads and statements. For example, there were widespread comparisons of Beirut to the Warsaw Ghetto of 1942, the message being: Jews, with your history, you should know better.

-- The US was bitterly criticized for allegedly giving Israel a "green light" for the attack and for continuing to supply Israel with large amounts of military and economic aid. There were many demands for a cutoff of aid to induce Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon, buttressed by the assertion that commitments of massive quantities of aid to Israel in a time of economic difficulties here in the US are detrimental to American interests.

-- The broader issue of the need to solve the Palestinian problem was consistently linked to the Lebanon situation. Pro-PLO activists renewed their long-standing demand that the US change its policy and deal directly with the PLO, without waiting for PLO recognition of Israel. Indeed, several groups supported the idea of replacing Israel with a "secular, democratic" Palestine.

-- Considerable emphasis was placed on the need for Americans to change their attitudes about Arabs in general. Some groups claimed that latent anti-Arab racism is responsible for lack of American concern for the innocent victims of Israel's attacks in Lebanon.

One significant development was the increase in cooperation in some areas between Jewish critics of Prime Minister Begin's policies



and anti-Israel groups. A distinction should be made between anti-Zionist Jews--such as Noam Chomsky, Elmer Berger and others--who have long been critics of Israel and who have in the past publicly joined with pro-PLO groups, and those Jews who remain pro-Israel but have now come out publicly in opposition to the Lebanon war.

As a result of the war, and in particular as a result of the heavy bombing of West Beirut, there was growing cooperation among various pro-peace and disarmament groups and pro-Palestinian organizations. Some of these groups announced their intention of mounting their own "commissions of inquiry" into Israel's conduct of the war and its use of American-made weapons in Lebanon.

The activities of the ad hoc groups bolstered the broad scale efforts of the Arab-American community to influence American public opinion. Mainstream Arab-American organizations shared materials with many of these groups, and in some cases, especially on the local level, coordinated the ad hoc groups. The most prominent of these national organizations are:

-- The National Association of Arab-Americans (NAAA), headquartered in Washington, D.C. is the registered lobby of the Arab-American community; its current president is Robert Joseph, a Pittsburgh businessman

-- The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), also based in Washington, D.C., directed by former Senator James Abourezk

-- The Association of Arab-American University Graduates, based in Belmont, Massachusetts, has long advocated a "secular democratic state" in Palestine

-- The Palestine Congress of North America, based in Washington, represents Palestinians in the US and supports the PLO

These organizations, some of which had begun to organize the Arab-American community on the grass roots level as long as 10 years ago, are now poised to reach out to other ethnic, church, civil rights and community groups in order to capitalize on what they perceive to be a turning point in American sympathy for Israel. (The national Arab-American organizations will be dealt with in greater detail in a separate study.) NAAA claims to have collected thousands of signatures on a National Petition to Save Lebanon. Along with ADC, NAAA is lobbying for passage of Concurrent Resolution #359, introduced by Congressman Nick Rahall II (D-W.Va.), himself an Arab-American, which calls for a suspension of "all deliveries of military equipment and all military sales financing to all combatants in the region."

While they have not been successful in such lobbying efforts to date, pro-Arab organizations now sense a greater receptivity to their

ideas as a result of Israel's unpopular actions in Lebanon. Questions and doubts about the justice of Israel's course and US support for its policies are being raised more frequently, particularly in liberal circles where Israel's image as a moral nation has been badly tarnished. The ad hoc groups, promoting the image of Israel as aggressor, have helped to create a new climate of criticism and anger about Israel's policies. This mood could in the long run pave the way for a real change in US policy toward Israel.

As long as Israeli forces remain in Lebanon and the violence continues, the Jewish community and Israel's friends in the US can expect these and other ad hoc committees and organizations to continue their efforts to sway American opinion. There is evidence that Palestinian activists, convinced of the destruction of their military option, are now gearing up for a major public relations campaign in the US. For the supporters of Israel in this country, the propaganda war is just beginning.

SM:ka  
September 28, 1982  
82-970-11



**AD HOC COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF THE  
PALESTINIAN & LEBANESE PEOPLES**

P.O. Box 1499  
Ansonia Station  
New York, NY 10023

The Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Palestinian & Lebanese Peoples first emerged in an ad in The New York Times, June 27, 1982, signed by over 200 people. The list included a large number of professors and prominent writers, as well as several long-time activists for the Palestinian cause, including former Senator James Abourezk, the Berrigan brothers, former US attorney general Ramsey Clark and Rev. Jesse Jackson. The ad headlined "Death and Devastation in Lebanon" condemned "Israeli aggression," "the inhuman assault on the civilian population" and American support for Begin's policies. The last paragraph urged Americans "to affirm that the national rights of the Palestinians are central and indispensable to any resolution of the endemic state of conflict which exists between Israel and the Palestinian people."

A subsequent ad (July 11), also in The New York Times, featured allegations of Israeli torture of captured Palestinians under the heading "War Crimes in Lebanon."

According to a report in the New York Post, July 27, 1982, the post office box in Ansonia Station is registered to Mariam Said, wife of Prof. Edward Said, a writer and member of the Palestine National Council (the so-called parliament of the PLO).

According to the Los Angeles Times, July 17, 1982, Prof Said and Ralph Schoenman, a writer based in New Jersey, were the organizers of the committee, which has apparently never met formally as a group.

The ads also appealed for contributions to defray the advertising costs, to pay for medical supplies for West Beirut and to "launch an inquiry into the conduct of the war and the treatment of refugees and prisoners."

No ads have appeared with this name since the beginning of August.

**AD HOC COMMITTEE OF TRADE UNIONISTS TO OPPOSE  
THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON**

P.O. Box 676  
Old Chelsea Station  
New York, NY 10011

An ad with 150 signatures sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee of Trade Unionists to Oppose the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon appeared on September 5, 1982 in The New York Times. Headlined "Labor Speaks

Out On Lebanon," it asserted: "as trade unionists we cannot and will not stand for the identification of the trade union movement and workers of this country with Israeli actions in Lebanon." This statement was apparently a response to one adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on August 5, 1982, which strongly supported Israel and stated that the Israeli action in Lebanon was "entirely justified on security grounds." (The AFL-CIO statement was reprinted in The New York Times on August 15, 1982.)

Some members of the Ad Hoc Committee are also endorsers of the November 29 Coalition, which circulated the trade unionists' statement.

The Ad Hoc Committee advertisement called for an end to US arms deliveries to Israel, saying that "at a time when unemployment is the highest in over 40 years, we cannot justify arms and aid to Israel totalling more than \$7 million/day. This subsidy has made it possible for Israel to carry out the destruction of major cities, schools and hospitals in Lebanon, while for lack of funds, our own cities, schools and hospitals are deteriorating and crumbling."

ARCHIVES

**AMERICAN JEWS OPPOSED TO ISRAELI AGGRESSION**

Box 49  
5825 Telegraph Avenue  
Oakland, CA 94609

17 members of Jews Against the Israeli Massacre in Lebanon signed an ad in The New York Times on August 8, 1982 placed by American Jews Opposed to Israeli Aggression, based in Oakland, Ca. Among the signers of this ad were Hebert Aptheker, a member of the Communist Party USA and editor of their journal, Jewish Affairs; Noam Chomsky, Professor of Linguistics at MIT and noted opponent of Israel and others--including professors, doctors, lawyers, many of whom were identified as members of the New Jewish Agenda (a national organization of progressive Jews who support Israel but are critical of Begin's policies). The ad's opening copy asserted that "We cannot be silent" and stated that "we are American Jews who are appalled by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and by the fact that the killing and destruction are being carried out with the political support and military aid provided by the U.S." The group rejected the assumption that American Jews support Israel no matter what it does and expressed solidarity "with the tens of thousands in Israel who have demonstrated their opposition to the inhuman and brutal policies of their government."

The ad called on the U.S. to halt sales and shipments of all arms "to the combatants in Lebanon."

## **AMERICANS CONCERNED FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

Washington, D.C.

This name was used by Franklin Lamb, a former member of the Democratic National Committee (now wanted for fraud by the FBI for charging phone calls to other people's accounts.) Claiming he was on staff of the Library of Congress, Lamb and two friends called congressional staffers in July offering them a free fact-finding tour of Beirut. Reports omitted the fact that the trip was sponsored by the Palestine Red Crescent Society, an arm of the PLO, run by Yasir Arafat's brother.

This group attracted attention when a UPI story of August 7 reported that a "US Congressional delegation charged Israel used a U.S.-built vacuum bomb" in Beirut. Lamb's group consisted of one Congressional staffer and had no official authorization from Speaker O'Neill or Senate Majority Leader Baker to go abroad. Susan Hedges, a friend of Lamb's who portrayed herself as an aide to Senator James McClure, was reported to be the source of the information about the so-called vacuum bomb, which according to Pentagon officials, does not exist. (The New Republic, Sept. 6, 1982.)

### **AMERICANS FOR PEACE**

P.O. Box 57042

Washington, D.C. 20037

A series of ads appeared in The Washington Post and The New York Times the week of June 22 under the sponsorship of Americans for Peace. The post office box is rented to Hatem Hussein, formerly Director of the Palestine Information office in Washington, the official arm of the PLO in the U.S. (Hussein has now joined the PLO's UN staff.) The ads featured photographs of children and were headlined "Stop U.S. Weapons to Israel" "Stop Israel's war of genocide."

### **THE ARAB WOMEN'S COUNCIL**

P.O. Box 11048

Washington, D.C. 20008

The Council first surfaced in June, 1982 (although it is unclear whether it was organized before or after the date Israel Defense Forces moved into Lebanon). It comprises 104 women: 24 wives of Arab Ambassadors and 80 Arab-Americans including housewives and students.

The president of the Council is Nouha Alhegelan, wife of the Saudi Ambassador to the U.S. and its executive secretary is Hala Maksoud, wife of Clovis Maksoud, the Arab League representative to the UN.

The Council's activities have included mailings to prominent American women urging them to "use your influence to stop the genocide" in Lebanon; full page ads in newspapers around the country; a 20-city speaking tour including radio and TV interviews and meetings with political leaders; and an eight-day hunger strike in Lafayette Park across from the White House.

The Council also apparently serves as a channel for money and information to a group called Peace Corps Alumni for Middle East Understanding. (see below)

Most of the Council's activities were coordinated by Gray & Co., a Washington-based public relations firm headed by Robert Keith Gray, a long time friend of President Reagan. Gray, who is registered as a foreign agent to represent the Kuwait Petroleum Company in the U.S., arranged meetings for Mrs. Alhegehan with Nancy Reagan and National Security Adviser William Clark, as well as wives of US Senators and Congressmen.

**COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC SECULAR PALESTINE**

P.O. Box 326  
New York, NY 10014

This name appeared on a flyer distributed in June shortly after the beginning of the war in Lebanon. The text of the flyer began with the statement, "Menachem Begin has the bomb." Condemning Israel as "a colonial settler state" supported by "American corporate interests" that fear the threat of the Iranian and Palestinian revolutions, it said Israel "can never be at peace...and will always be a smoldering fuse on the nuclear powder keg." It ended with the demand for "No U.S. troops or arms to the Middle East."

Nothing more is known about this group.

**CONCERNED AMERICANS FOR PEACE**

P.O. Box 5305  
Terminal Annex  
Los Angeles, CA 90054

The origin of Concerned Americans for Peace has remained a mystery since the appearance of full-page ads under its sponsorship, published simultaneously on July 11 in six major newspapers around the country. Headlined "The People of Lebanon, Innocent Victims of a Senseless War," the ad urged readers to write their Congressmen to take immediate action to stop the "merciless killing" of innocent civilians, and listed six relief organizations to which people could donate contributions for Lebanon.

The ads stirred considerable controversy when the relief agencies-- including the American Red Cross, CARE, Save the Children, and others-- announced that they had not authorized the use of their names in the ad, and publicly dissociated themselves from the political views expressed.

Subsequently, it was learned that no such group had rented any post office box in Los Angeles.

Newspaper reports disclosed that the ads had been placed through the Bernard Hodes Agency in Los Angeles for a client named Craig Lane and cost approximately \$120,000. Payment for the ad was made from a Swiss bank and there was some speculation in the press that PLO funds were involved. According to The New York Times (July 14), the names Ralph Martin and John Kelley were submitted to the Chicago Tribune when the paper requested the names of officers of the group. There is no further available information on these individuals.

#### **JEWES AGAINST THE ISRAELI MASSACRE IN LEBANON**

P.O. Box 367	also	51 East 42nd Street
Midwood Station		Room 417
Brooklyn, NY 11230		New York, NY 10017

According to an article in The Guardian, (self described "independent radical" publication), Jews against the Israeli massacre supports Palestinian self-determination and the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians. Five people affiliated with JAIMIL were arrested for trespassing after a sit-down strike at the Israeli consulate in New York on July 31. The protesters had demanded the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and the right to visit detained Palestinians. Most of the supporters are apparently anti-Zionist Jews from the New York and Berkeley areas; their funding sources are unknown.

This name appeared in the list of endorsers for the November 29 Coalition March on Washington. A JAIMIL flyer distributed endorsing the November 29 Coalition March on Washington identified "4 Points of Unity" as:

- Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon
- No U.S. arms to Israel or other Middle East countries
- Support for the Palestinians right of self-determination
- Acknowledge the "Palestinian people have recognized the PLO as their representatives."

Prof. Stuart Scharr, the coordinator of this group, is also associated with The National Emergency Committee on Lebanon.

## **NATIONAL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ON LEBANON**

P.O. Box 1757  
New York, NY 10027

The National Committee on Lebanon appeared as sponsor of an ad in The New York Times on July 25, 1982, which asked rhetorically "After Dresden, after Warsaw, after Hiroshima, must Beirut be destroyed?" Twenty-nine prominent people signed the ad, including actress Melina Mercouri, peace activist Rev. William Sloan Coffin, and Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young.

The listed P.O. box number in New York is used by the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC), a small group which supports the PLO as the "chosen representative" of the Palestinians. According to informed sources the PSC has, in the past, received money from the PLO. A PSC staff member, Sheila Ryan, long active in leftist causes, is also the coordinator of the Emergency Committee. According to the Los Angeles Times (7/17/82), Ryan said that the National Emergency Committee was formed after a rally in New York on June 24, and that various Arab-American groups, including the Palestine Congress of North America and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, are participating.

Several peace activists and pro-disarmament groups have also been attracted to the National Emergency Committee; the July 25th ad carried the New York phone number of the People's Anti-war Mobilization.

The National Emergency Committee also sponsored lectures by Dr. Chris Giannou, a Canadian surgeon who returned from Lebanon with charges of Israeli atrocities. The Committee favors a ban on arms shipments to the Middle East. It has circulated fact sheets on the Lebanon situation, identical to material compiled by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, based in Boston, a pro-PLO group.

## **PALESTINE-LEBANON COMMITTEE OF THE NOVEMBER 29TH COALITION**

P.O. Box 115  
New York, NY 10113

The November 29 Coalition comprises approximately 100 pro-Palestinian groups in the U.S., mostly on the left of the political spectrum. The Coalition surfaced in 1981 and takes its name from the date proclaimed by the UN as the "International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People."

Under the rubric of the "Palestine-Lebanon Committee," the Coalition sponsored teach-ins and rallies opposed to the "U.S.-Israel Invasion of Lebanon." One meeting in New York at the end of July featured Zehdi Terzi, the PLO representative to the UN, and drew 1,500 people. A "March on Washington" on September 11 drew 2,800 people, according to The New York Times (9/12/82), but it received very little press coverage.



**PEACE CORPS ALUMNI FOR MIDDLE EAST  
UNDERSTANDING**

Washington, D.C.

The Peace Corps Alumni for the Middle East first emerged June 25, 1982. It contacted 80,000 former Peace Corps volunteers by letters, postmarked in Washington and carrying a meter number registered to the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Washington. The letters described the organization as composed of Peace Corps volunteers and staff who served in the Middle East, and they urged recipients to "write to your congressmen, senators, White House and State Department and voice your outrage and opposition" to the Israeli "invasion of Lebanon." The letters also urged a substantial cut in U.S. economic and military aid to Israel.

The letters were signed by one Lili Wilson-Hishmeh, whose husband, George Hishmeh, is an officer in the U.S. International Communication Agency.

The New York Post reported on July 23, 1982 that the office of the Executive Director of the Peace Corps referred callers requesting information about the alumni group to the Arab Women's Council, which is headed by the wife of the Saudi Ambassador.

Congressman Barney Frank (D.-Mass.) wrote to Attorney General William French Smith on August 11, formally requesting that the Peace Corps Alumni register with the Justice Department as a foreign agent, since the group is working in conjunction with Saudi Arabia to sway American public opinion. At the time of this writing, no determination has been made about whether or not the group must register.

Lili and George Hishmeh are active members of the National Association of Arab Americans, the registered lobby group of the Arab American community. George Hishmeh was on the board of directors from 1978 to 1981.

35 cents per copy  
Quantity price on request

# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

CONGRES JUIF MONDIAL • CONGRESO JUDIO MUNDIAL

ONE PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

CABLE: WORLDGROSS, NEW YORK  
TELEPHONE: (212) 679-0600  
TELEX: 23 61 29

BUENOS AIRES  
Larrea 744

GENEVA  
1 rue de Varembe

JERUSALEM  
4 Rotenberg Street

LONDON  
11 Hertford Street

PARIS  
78 Av. des Ch. Elysees


ROME  
Piazza Scanderbeg 51

September 29, 1982

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

Enclosed please find a copy of the draft response  
by IJCIC on the WCC statements on Lebanon and the  
Middle East. I will be calling you for your comments.

ANR SA  
  
Mark Friedman

MF:rp  
Enc.



DRAFT

Dear Dr. Potter:

I am instructed by a unanimous decision of IJCIC to convey to you our deep regret and indeed dismay at the way in which the director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the WCC has thought fit to describe "the new situation in the Middle East" at the CICARWS meeting on Lebanon on 5 July 1982.

We also take strong exception to the pamphlet compiled jointly by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, and other churches and Christian bodies, and issued under the title Invasion of Lebanon. Christian Reponse in Face of the Threat to Lebanese and Palestinian Existence.

While we recognize that the reading of the political situation in the Middle East and in other parts of the world is open to a variety of analyses we strongly feel that a body claiming moral authority like the WCC owes it to itself to avoid such radically one-side<sup>d</sup> interpretations.

We are <sup>clearly</sup> ~~at least~~ as concerned as you yourself are for "the establishment of a just peace in Lebanon and the Middle East as a whole", and it is precisely for this reason that we can not but deplore the language and arguments used in the above mentioned statements.

Bearing in mind the nature and mandate of IJCIC, we feel constrained to seek clarification from you in particular of the last paragraph of Dr. Koshy's statement. You will surely understand that it would be difficult for IJCIC to maintain with the WCC the type of relations we have had until now and to which both sides rightly attached such importance if we are told that "there are new considerations and (you) may need to seek new partners for dialogue."

Sincerely yours,

Memorandum from . . . .

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

One Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-0600

TO: Members of IJCIC

October 1, 1982

FROM: Mark Friedman

Enclosed please find a copy of the draft letter to Msgr. Torrella.  
Please call me with your comments as soon as possible.  
Hag Sameach.

MF:rp  
Enc.



DRAFT

Excellency,

On behalf of the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations I must express to you our deep concern and sorrow at the recent meeting of His Holiness Pope John Paul II and the leader of the PLO.

It is particularly regrettable that this should have occurred after years of progress in the Jewish-Catholic dialogue and immediately after the excellent meeting we had in Milano.

When a major issue with considerable <sup>moral</sup> implications and far-reaching <sup>practical</sup> consequences for the Jewish community arose it seems <sup>^</sup> ~~neither you nor we~~ <sup>^</sup> were consulted. <sup>^</sup> ~~neither you nor we~~ <sup>^</sup> were consulted.

*As you well know,*

There is an outcry in Jewish communities around the world asking what has the dialogue achieved and why should it be continued.

*and other*

*Secretary*

*our international agency*

We respectfully ask that you <sup>for a clarification of</sup> search for the cause for the breakdown in communications and process behind this series of events.

These events reflect a <sup>serious</sup> shortcoming in our <sup>relationships,</sup> dialogue, for they point out the consequences of not addressing political issues regularly. We see again that

~~no separation can be made between~~ religious and political issues and interests ~~are~~

Our dialogue must be supplemented in some way, perhaps through an additional instrumentality, to facilitate a periodic exchange of views and concerns on political <sup>and social justice</sup> matters at the highest level.

*Concerns*

We would be obliged if you would share these views with the competent authorities in the Vatican.

*profoundly intertwined and cannot be completely mentalized as if unrelated.*

*to ADLSCA*

Respectfully yours,

*John Dwyer*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Sept 1982

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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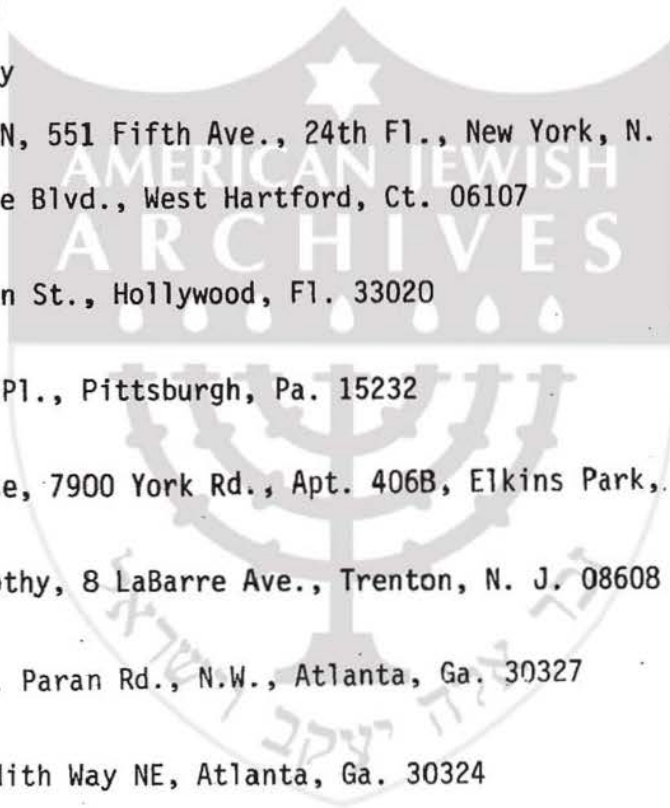
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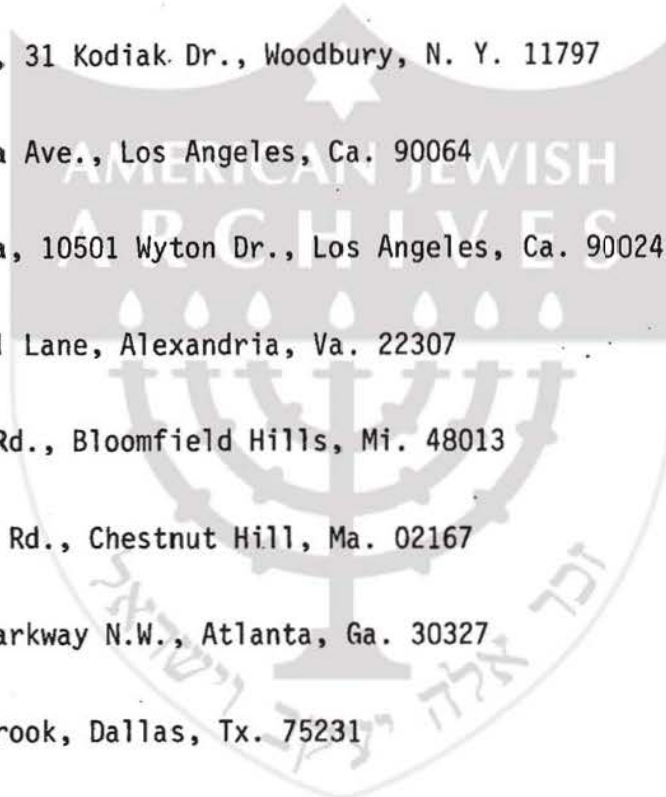
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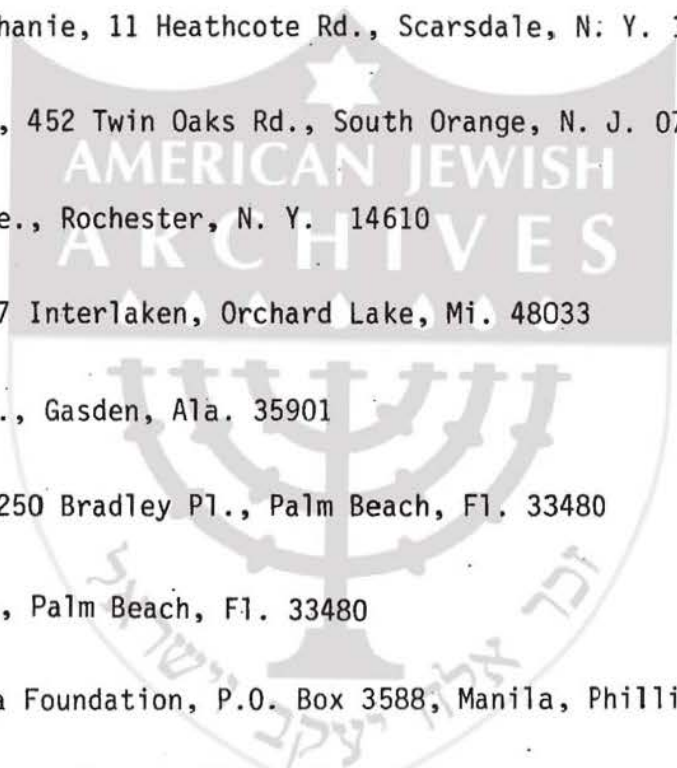
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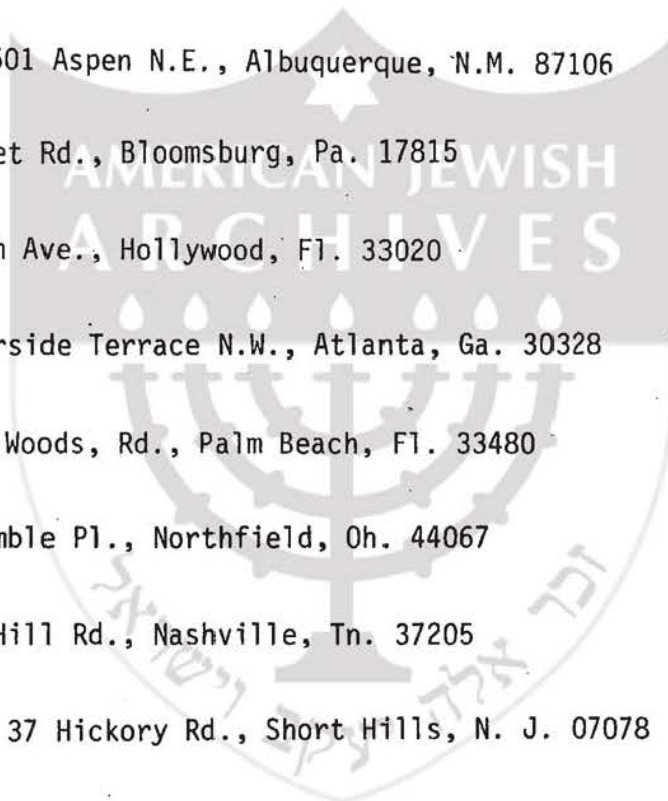
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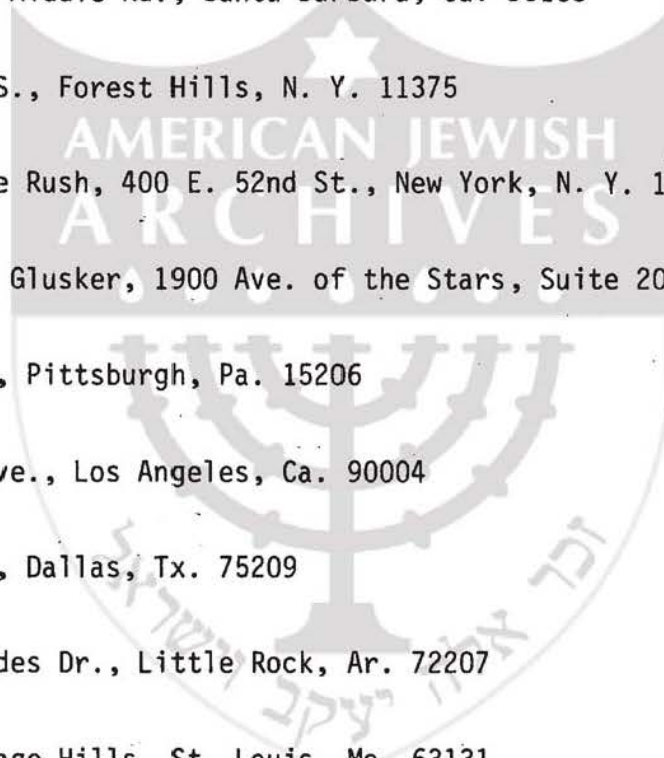
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September 1982  
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IJCIC

# ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

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

## MEMORANDUM

**To:** Dr. Gerhart Riegner  
**From:** Theodore Freedman  
**Date:** October 4, 1982  
**Subject:**

This memorandum proposes to raise some questions as to the conduct of our recent meeting in Milan and subsequent events, which suggest that serious consideration be given to the following by IJCIC members:

1. An evaluation of the Milan meeting: its content, structure, use of outside "experts," etc.
2. An examination of the so-called limitations imposed by the Orthodox members of the Synagogue Council regarding theological discussions. It would appear to me at least that there should be greater candor with our Orthodox brothers with a more open recognition that "theology" is in fact a part of the discussions.
3. IJCIC's serious differences with the Vatican which have not been adequately resolved; i.e., the failure of the Vatican to deal appropriately with the activities of Capucci; the meeting of the Vatican's Secretary of State with representatives of the PLO; the meeting of the Pope with Arafat.

Given the special concerns of IJCIC and its constituencies, the strong negative reaction and distress of the Jewish community over the most recent event and the fact that the PLO continues to be committed to the destruction of Israel, the murder of Jews outside of the Middle East, as well as the role of the PLO as the purveyor of worldwide terrorism, it behooves IJCIC to engage in a process of evaluation as to the nature of our relationship and the content of future meetings with the various Vatican Commissions.

Accordingly, I would suggest that until such an evaluation process can be engaged in by IJCIC, the proposed December planning meeting between representatives of the Commission and IJCIC should be postponed to some later date.

*Ted Freedman*

TF/mj *MICHAEL HAN*  
*SCR*

*Uca*  
*Rome*

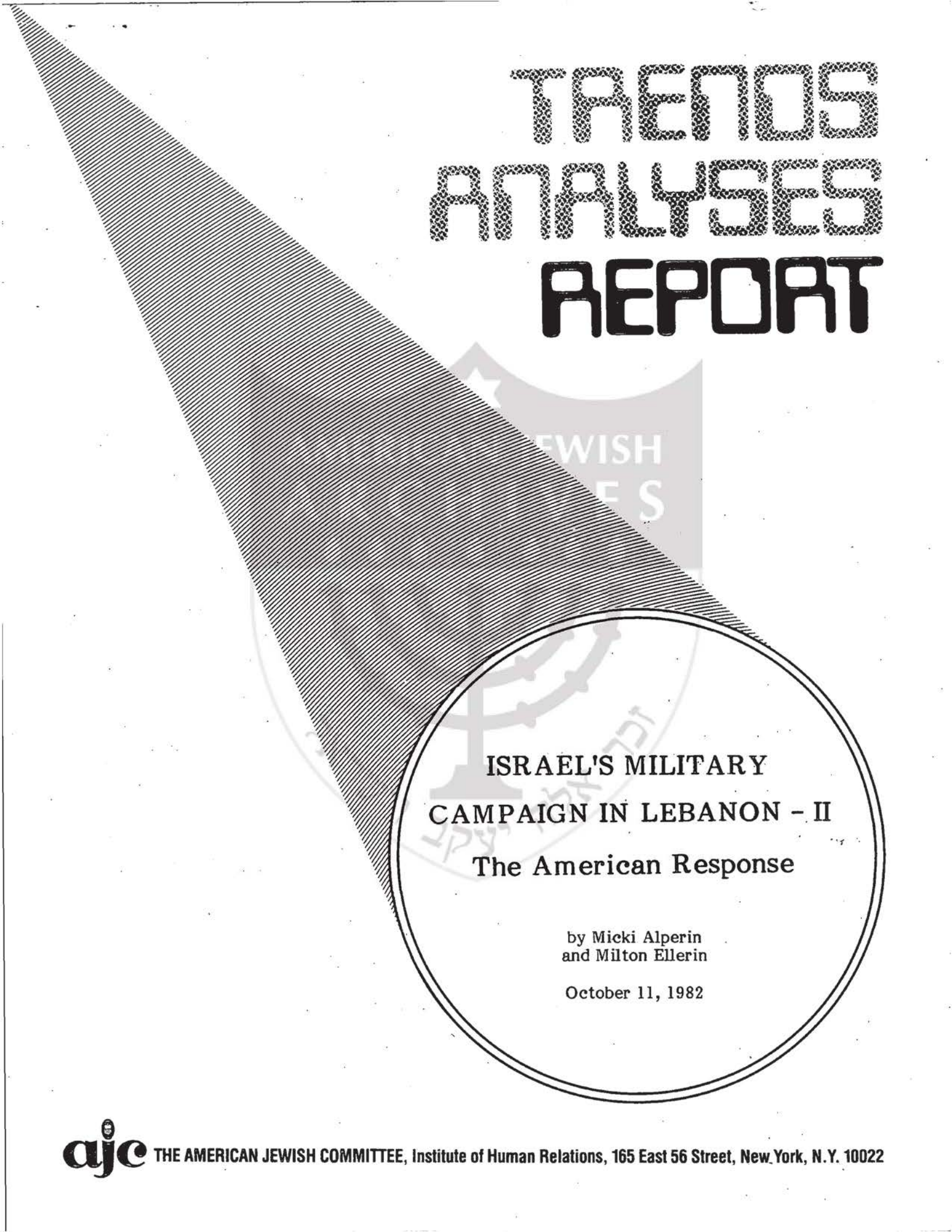
*Barel*

cc: Rabbi Walter Wurzburger, Dr. Joseph Lichten, Dr. Ernst Ehrlich,  
 Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder, Rabbi Leon Klenicki, *ADW*  
 Rabbi Israel Singer

*-WJC-*

*KR*

# TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT



ISRAEL'S MILITARY  
CAMPAIGN IN LEBANON - II  
The American Response

by Micki Alperin  
and Milton Ellerin

October 11, 1982



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

## REACTION TO ISRAEL'S MILITARY CAMPAIGN IN LEBANON--II

The following analysis of American reaction to Israel's military campaign in Lebanon examines opinions expressed in 43 newspapers from representative areas of the country (see Appendix), and it covers the period of June 22 through August 21, when evacuation of the PLO from Beirut began. Reaction to the emotion-laden events of September, i.e., President Reagan's proposal for resolution of the Middle East conflict, Israel's reentry into West Beirut following the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel, and the massacre of Palestinians in Shatila and Sabra, will be treated in a subsequent report.

Editorials, columns, political cartoons, and letters to the editor have been surveyed. No analysis of television coverage has been attempted, but there was a continuing impression that because of television's visual focus on the physical devastation and civilian anguish in Lebanon the average viewer could conclude that Israel's military operation was indiscriminate and disproportionate to the provocation.

The immediacy of events in the first weeks of the war elicited responses reasonably definable as support of, opposition to, or even-handedness regarding Israel's campaign. In the ensuing weeks, however, editorial comments were increasingly broadened to include numerous related topics and, in that process, it became more difficult to characterize a given editorial in terms of support for or opposition to Israel's actions. Generally even-handed editorial treatment was maintained, although its volume diminished somewhat during late June, July, and up to August 21. The balanced approach was intermittently impaired by condemnation of events such as the Israeli bombardment of residential areas in West Beirut in late July, the withholding of food, water and medical supplies from civilians, the advance over the "Green Line" into West Beirut on August 4, and the 11-hour bombardment of West Beirut on August 12 when negotiations for the withdrawal of the PLO appeared to be culminating. In addition to this event-oriented response, a number of issues received almost continuous attention: civilian casualties, Israel's alleged use of American weapons for offensive purposes in violation of existing agreements, and resolution of Palestinian aspirations for a homeland as the *sine qua non* for achieving peace in the Middle East.

Of the 167 editorials examined, 35 (21%) were preponderantly supportive and uncritical of Israel's actions: they endorsed Israel's use of military force to remove the PLO from Beirut and agreed with the WALL STREET JOURNAL's (7/21) opinion "that the PLO isn't likely to negotiate seriously as long as it believes the U.S. will restrain the Israelis from attacking." Moreover, while these editorials deplored the civilian casualties, they maintained that the numbers reported had been hugely inflated,



that the Israelis had attempted to minimize casualties and that ultimate responsibility for the bloodshed lay with Yasser Arafat, who, it was alleged, ransomed defenseless women and children so as to "have a ready-made propaganda weapon" (KANSAS CITY TIMES, 7/14). Also, they perceived a congruence of American and Israeli interests in eliminating the destabilizing influence of the PLO, proving the Soviet Union's power to be ineffective, and strengthening America's role in the Middle East. While these editorials were generally optimistic about new opportunities for peace in the Middle East, it was recognized that accommodation to Palestinian nationalism was still the central issue to be dealt with, and some suggested that "with the PLO out of business . . . , Israel is splendidly situated to show magnanimity--to concede broad autonomy" (DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 8/3).

Forty-nine editorials (29%) were clearly antagonistic on most issues, usually paralleling each other on several salient topics. THE BOSTON GLOBE (7/1) scored Israel for causing heavy civilian casualties and declared: "Sharon's relentless attacks have stretched far beyond the original 'limited' objectives . . . and have outraged much of the rest of the world." The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR (7/2) asked, "how long will Americans tolerate supplying virtually unlimited military aid to Israel when Israeli policy so often is at variance with the U.S. national interest?" Despite recognition that "the PLO since its inception has been a thoroughly despicable phenomenon," the BIRMINGHAM NEWS (8/5) maintained that "the wrongness of the PLO does not justify wrongness on the part of Israel." Charging that President Reagan "has indulged the Israeli strategists," the WASHINGTON POST (8/3) contended, "that makes the United States co-sponsor of a cruel attack on an innocent city."

A majority of 83 editorials (50%) were relatively balanced--positive and negative toward Israel depending on the topic, or condemning both Israel and the PLO and emphasizing the plight of Lebanon or the Palestinians. Nevertheless, it cannot be concluded that the overall impact of editorial opinion is one of even-handedness because the quantitative results belie a qualitative effect of disapproval. While a numerical majority of editorials strove to be impartial, the combined effect of consistently critical and relatively balanced editorials produced an impression of pervasive censure of Israel's actions, because many of the topics addressed were the same and received like treatment. For example, in an otherwise balanced editorial that took to task Israel's critics for having "erected a cynical double standard" in restricting their censure to Israel, the NEW YORK TIMES (7/1) reiterated the charges elsewhere leveled against Israel: "the Begin government, . . . lied at the start" about its military goals in Lebanon; "the slaughter in Lebanon was clearly dispro-

portionate to any immediate P.L.O. threat"; and "such brutal warfare requires more justification than Israel has so far provided." There was general agreement that Israel had achieved its primary goal in southern Lebanon--the elimination of terrorist attacks across its northern border--and that its advance toward and siege of Beirut was disproportionate to the provocation. Fearing an all-out attack on Beirut, a WASHINGTON POST editorial (6/25) contended, "That would be the ultimate barbarism." Lauding "Israel's desire to expunge PLO terrorism, restore Lebanese sovereignty, and protect its own population," the MIAMI HERALD (7/8) nonetheless demanded, "How much carnage is Israel willing to inflict?" The CHICAGO TRIBUNE (7/8) protested, "The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has cost the United States heavily in both cold cash and good will," while urging that the U.S. government obtain "a promise from the moderate Arab countries to stop bank-rolling anti-Israel violence."

In generally hostile and balanced editorials, the Israeli bombings of heavily populated residential areas in West Beirut on July 27, August 1 and August 4 evoked renewed expressions of horror at the devastation and killing. Those events also generated firm criticism of President Reagan for permitting the United States to appear "impotent in the face of aggression by its close friend and client" (CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, 8/3). Other editorials lamented the continuing violence but considered the possibility that "only the Israeli threat . . . makes the P.L.O. willing to consider withdrawal" (NEW YORK TIMES, 8/5). The WASHINGTON POST (8/8) agreed that the carnage should be protested, "but those very protests, encouraging the PLO to hang on and thus stir Israel to press harder, may have increased the casualties." The LOS ANGELES TIMES (8/4) and other newspapers castigated Israel and the PLO, who were both seen to be "demonstrably willing to sacrifice West Beirut."

On August 12, as Philip Habib's mediating efforts appeared to be bearing fruit, Israeli jets bombed West Beirut continuously for eleven hours and the Lebanese government suspended negotiations. The NEW YORK TIMES (8/13) registered the prevailing reaction: "much has been put in jeopardy. . . . General Sharon knows how to make war; he should no longer be allowed to divebomb the peace. For the first time, an outraged Mr. Reagan is saying out loud . . . that United States support may be firm but it is not unconditional."

Thus, understanding of Israel's goals in association with criticism of its tactics produced an ambiguous result that nonetheless contributed to a greater sense of disapproval than might be indicated by a mere tally of each type of editorial.

Columns, by nature more discursive than editorials, were even less accessible to clear categorizations. Few dealt exclusively with Israel's military actions: most presented a number of topics as inter-related, and rarely did all the topics in a given column generate comments that were uniformly favorable or unfavorable toward Israel. Given that qualification, of 122 national columns, both syndicated and local, 25 (21%) were more pro-Israel than not, that sentiment being expressed by means of concern with the PLO's challenge to Israel's right to exist; defense of the military action: "the scores of provocations were real, the threat was worsening, the retaliation was justified" (William Safire, NEW YORK TIMES, 7/2); optimism about new opportunities for peace in the Middle East; denials of the large numbers of casualties reported: "there has been no carpet bombing and little indiscriminate destruction" (Richard Cohen, WASHINGTON POST, 7/25); and apologies for casualties that did occur despite the Israel Defense Force's attempts to prevent civilian deaths. Of these 25 columns, 9 focused almost entirely on castigation of the PLO. Among the issues addressed were the PLO's terrorist tactics against Israeli civilians: "The PLO is the only political organization on Earth that as a matter of policy eschews battle with its enemies' soldiers for attacking its enemies' civilians. Now Israel has cornered these dreadful killers and is being diabolized" (R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., WASHINGTON POST, 8/9); the PLO's and Syria's oppression of the Lebanese since the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon: "Both armies laid waste to Lebanese territory long before the Israeli bombardment began" (Jack Anderson, WASHINGTON POST, 8/14); and the PLO's consequent disservice to Palestinians and their cause. Although not always specifically expressing support of Israel, these 10 columns were included as pro-Israel because their intent appeared to be to create a context and rationale that justified Israel's actions.

Thirty-eight (31%) of the columns examined were predominantly opposed to Israel's methods. These columns concentrated on civilian casualties; the use of American weapons, particularly cluster bombs, for offensive purposes; involvement of "the people of the United States whose taxes help pay for all this bloodshed" (Pete Hamill, PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS, 7/22); Israel's "contempt for American views" (Anthony Lewis, NEW YORK TIMES, 8/5); Israel's repressive treatment of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza; and its expansionism. Several columns perceived and were sharply critical of a lack of firmness in President Reagan's articulation of American policy and demands upon Israel. In the instance of the President's ostensible "coolness" toward Israel's Foreign Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, on August 2, Philip Geyelin was unconvinced: "For all the theater . . . Reagan said nothing to Shamir that could be read in Jerusalem as a threat of some U.S. action

to back up . . . deterrence--or of retaliation" (WASHINGTON POST, 8/6).

Forty-nine (40%) columns were relatively balanced in their approach toward Israel's actions in Lebanon, or they addressed specific aspects of the campaign, or explored scenarios for the future of the Middle East. Arafat and Begin were both blamed for laying waste to Lebanon and a number of columns resonated with Flora Lewis's estimate that "there is no virtue to support here. Let's just admit it and try to stop the slaughter" (NEW YORK TIMES, 8/6).

As has been indicated, an overwhelming majority of editorials and columns focused attention on three issues: the urgent need to remedy the Palestinian refugees' plight by seeking a resolution of Palestinian aspirations for a homeland, the heavy civilian casualties, and Israel's offensive use of American arms in apparent violation of existing agreements.

From June 22 through August 21, with few exceptions and regardless of opinions about the legitimacy of Israel's campaign, there was a broad consensus that "defeating the PLO will not solve the Palestinian problem" (CHICAGO TRIBUNE editorial, 6/26). Virtually all perceived an Israel-Palestinian settlement as a first step toward achieving a comprehensive Middle East peace, and they urged expedition of the Camp David process.

Those in support of Israel's move into Lebanon tended to recall the geopolitical history of the Palestinians' dispersion, to ascribe greater responsibility to Arab nations, who "resisted the resettlement of Palestinians within their own borders in good part because they felt that to allow this would be to accept tacitly the permanence and legitimacy of Israel" (LOS ANGELES TIMES editorial, 7/11), and to advocate a solution that requires absorption of the refugees in Arab countries. Some mirrored William V. Shannon (BOSTON GLOBE, 8/11) in urging Arab recognition of Israel, since "only if Israel's nationhood is recognized and accepted can it be expected to be generous and forthcoming in its approach to the problems of the Palestinian people."

Those who objected to Israel's military actions in Lebanon and those relatively even-handed more often minimized the historical foundation of the Palestinians' status or presented it in such a way that Israel's culpability was equal to or greater than that of Arab nations. Israel's management of the West Bank and Gaza was seen as repressive and an impediment to resolution of the problem: "Over the objections of the United States and Egypt, . . . Jewish settlements on the West Bank have proliferated.

Elected Palestinian mayors have been clumsily deposed" (PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE editorial, 9/12). James Reston (NEW YORK TIMES, 6/23) maintained that "[Begin] cannot get the United States to defend the rights of the Israeli people so long as he denies the rights of the Palestinians. That is the heart of the problem."

There was a strong sense of urgency about the issue and a perception that its resolution is crucial to terminating the cycle of Arab/Israel wars. Collateral to this was the notion that Israel had metamorphosed into "Goliath" and, having demonstrated its military superiority, could well afford to be magnanimous in its dealings with the Palestinians. Their yearnings for the rights to a homeland were frequently equated with the centuries-old experience of Jews, and that sentiment was reflected in a CHICAGO TRIBUNE editorial (6/76), among others, which posed the question, "Is it possible that Jews, of all people, will become the instrument of another nation's diaspora?" Acknowledging that the West Bank and Gaza are territorially inadequate for all Palestinians, the NEW YORK TIMES (7/11) asserted, "The Palestinians deserve a homeland that, like Israel, will be a beacon to a scattered people even if it cannot absorb them all."

This widespread focus on resolution of the Palestinian dilemma was a clear harbinger of future accelerated pressure on Israel to cooperate. It was equally clear that as Israel's chief ally and supplier of aid, the United States was perceived as the key agent in future negotiations.

The highly publicized civilian casualties were another topic that received almost continuous treatment throughout July and August. Israel was rarely excused from responsibility for them and they were universally deplored.

Generally pro-Israel or even-handed attitudes were demonstrated by assertions that the initial casualty figures released were, in all probability, highly exaggerated since they emanated from the Red Crescent, headed by Yasser Arafat's brother, and in any event no approximate count could possibly be taken until the war ceased. Visits to southern Lebanon and interviews with Lebanese were cited which seemed to substantiate casualty figures much closer to Israeli estimates and to demonstrate efforts by the Israeli army that were "carefully calculated to minimize civilian casualties" (WALL STREET JOURNAL editorial, 7/21), often at its own cost. In addition, reference was made to numerous reports that the PLO was "using the frightened citizens of West Beirut as a human shield (William Safire, NEW YORK TIMES, 8/5); that they prevented civilians from departing West Beirut

and deliberately placed artillery, ammunition, and command headquarters in civilian areas; and that many of the refugees depicted as fleeing the Israeli siege of Beirut were actually returning to their homes in southern Lebanon from whence they had run to escape PLO oppression. It was also pointed out that much of the destruction attributed to the Israelis was actually caused by the PLO prior to the Israeli campaign, and that far larger numbers of Lebanese civilian casualties were caused by the PLO during and since the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war.

Negative journalistic comments were marked by acceptance of the high casualty figures and graphic descriptions of civilian wounds, particularly those "of parents racing through rubble with bleeding children in their arms" (Mary McGrory, WASHINGTON POST, 7/4). Israel's siege of Beirut was consistently portrayed as "shockingly out of proportion to the threat" (COURIER-JOURNAL editorial, 7/7). Neither evidence that invalidated the initial claims of thousands of civilian casualties in southern Lebanon nor the PLO's deployment as the cause nor virtually unanimous agreement with Israel's goal of removing the PLO from Lebanon diminished the intense censure of Israel's tactics. Couched in terms that demonstrated a shattering of Israel's image as a "moral beacon," the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR (editorial, 8/13) asked, "Does Israel wish to be viewed as a nation that knows no limits to the suffering it is willing to inflict on innocent people?"

Another extremely sensitive topic was Israel's alleged misuse of American weapons in an offensive campaign, in violation of the U.S. Arms Control Export Act. The use of cluster bombs was considered particularly offensive, and the PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE (editorial, 7/22) deemed it "only one, . . . example of Israel's refusal to defer to a calculus of its security needs made in Washington." The WASHINGTON POST (editorial, 7/21), approaching the issue with less rancor, remarked, "they [cluster bombs] are not illegal or intrinsically more inhumane than other weapons. . . . Israel used them without political incident in 1973. Why the fuss now?" The issue of cluster bombs received very little attention among supportive writers, and those who did comment advocated reserving judgment until an investigation clarified the matter.

Related to Israel's use of American weaponry was its skill therein and its proven military capability. Philip Geyelin (WASHINGTON POST, 7/30) declared, "Israel is now Goliath, . . . unmenaced by Jordan or Syria or by any combination of Arab military might," and he speculated that Israel "is probably more capable of deploying more military force, faster, in almost any corner of the region than is the United States." Israel's

proress was further adduced by many as a reason for reevaluating the necessity for future shipments to Israel of U.S. weaponry and for urging a more balanced distribution of American arms in the Middle East. Another implication of Israel's unrivaled military superiority was that it invalidated any claim by the Begin Government that Israeli settlement or annexation of the West Bank and Gaza is necessary for Israel's security.

Supporters of Israel's actions in Lebanon tended to laud its demonstration of military skill and to assert the benefits for American interests in the region, as did the NEW YORK POST (editorial, 7/9): "the PLO's defeat has been a grievous blow to the Soviet Union."

Cartoons, more emphatic than the printed word by virtue of their visual character and the dramatic subject matter intrinsically suitable for treatment by them, produced a predominantly negative view of Israel's actions. Out of 81 cartoons examined, almost half (35) were clearly hostile. Of those 35, the vast majority dealt with the civilian casualties and destruction in Lebanon. Two of the most damning were: 1) Israeli tanks marked with Magen Davids positioned on a ridge overlooking the smoking rubble of a Lebanese town, with the horror-stricken wraith of a Jewish World War II concentration camp victim in the foreground, lamenting, "Oh my God" (PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, 6/25); and 2) Menahem Begin, a knife in his raised right hand, menacingly poised to sacrifice "LEBANON," in the form of a child bound to a rock, with the voice of God roaring from clouds above, "ENOUGH!" (LOS ANGELES TIMES, 7/7).

The next largest category of hostile cartoons depicted Begin and Ariel Sharon as militaristic, expansionist, deceitful, and recalcitrant; and others showed the United States supporting a destructive, irresponsible Israel, or Israel as a military superpower in the form of "Goliath," with vulnerable Palestinians pictured as "David."

Only 18 cartoons addressed topics that did not involve castigation of Israel. Twelve depicted Yasser Arafat and the PLO as defeated and powerless, with no support from other Arabs, or egregiously mistaken in not having recognized Israel on a diplomatic basis and, thus, being forced to "recognize" it at the end of a cannon. Six cartoons were clearly anti-PLO, most of them showing Arafat hiding behind wounded or dying civilians.

Letters to the editor were about evenly divided between those that were generally supportive of (76) and those that were hostile to (74) Israel. Very few (20) letter-writers exhibited a balanced viewpoint.

As in editorials and columns, the content of letters reflected concern with particular issues. Among those that approved of Israel's actions, written predominantly by Jews, the topic of civilian casualties received the most attention. Responding to criticism of Israel for inflicting huge numbers of casualties, many grieved for the death and destruction but asserted "the numerical impossibility" of the figures or reminded readers that "the terrible specter of loss of life came long before Israel's tanks crossed into Lebanon." Citing the enormous numbers of civilians killed and displaced in the 1970's during the Lebanese civil war, others wondered "where were the voices who now denounce Israel" when those victims suffered their misfortunes. A number of writers charged the media with bias and irresponsibility for disseminating unsubstantiated casualty figures and giving prominence to stories and pictures of the bloody details.

Many pro-Israel letters deplored the PLO as "the real culprit . . . , which deliberately used Lebanese civilians as a shield," and they castigated the media for presenting Yasser Arafat and the PLO as "moderates," omitting or minimizing the activities of "a PLO that plants bombs in buses and marketplaces" and whose covenant "is a blueprint for Israel's liquidation." Israel's campaign against the PLO was viewed by some as an opportunity "for bringing peace to the Middle East." Others asserted that "the Israeli expenditure [by the U.S.] represents about the best-spent dollars in our inflated defense budget" because the Israelis "are doing the world a favor by fighting terrorism."

Hostility toward Israel was expressed primarily in letters that decried Israel's use of American weapons and criticized "the [Reagan] Administration's tacit support for such actions." Some urged cessation of military aid to Israel, whether or not it would be used for defensive purposes, contending that the cost to American taxpayers is too great, particularly in a time of domestic economic difficulty.

Many critical writers resorted to the use of epithets such as "genocidal," "militaristic," and "terroristic" to describe Israel's actions. Some echoed one writer's remark that "Israel must realize that its actions are no more acceptable than were those of Hitler," and others drew an analogy between West Beirut and the Warsaw Ghetto. Some suggested that Menahem Begin, "a one-time notorious terrorist and extremist," was behaving in a manner consistent with his involvement in the Deir Yassin massacre of Arabs in 1948.



Another recurrent theme was that of ostensible amazement that Jews, "who suffered the indignities and cruelty of the pogroms in Europe have instigated their own 'program' of cruelty," the results of which would be as futile: "Palestinians cannot be blotted out by Begin, any more than Jews could be blotted out by Hitler."

During the period covered by this report, there was a moderate quantity of letters censuring Israel that were written by Jews. Among them was a letter from 40 members of the Greater Pittsburgh Jewish Community who declared "Menahem Begin does not speak for us," and called "for the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and for a halt in arms sales to all combatants." Other Jews, while "not in any way [calling] into question the existence of the Jewish homeland, condemned "the Israeli invasion as a betrayal of Jewish ideals."

A few writers, angered about United States involvement as a supplier of arms to Israel, expressed outrage about "the special [U.S.-Israel] relationship . . . due to the Jewish lobby in this country." One writer, indignant about "the cold-blooded testing of American technology against the refugees of Palestine," and U.S. inaction, demanded, "does our government not wish to offend Jewish voters?"

Relatively even-handed letters, while lamenting civilian casualties, acknowledged the necessity for Israel's campaign against the PLO. Letters of this type were concerned with historical perspective, the merits of both Israelis' and Palestinians' claims, and some suggested that since "clearly, neither the Arabs nor the Israelis are capable" of resolving their conflict because "the issues are too heated, the hurt is too deep, the problem is too complex," the two superpowers (the U.S. and Russia) "will have to start talking . . . before progress can be made toward that elusive peace." Other writers advocated that the United States take the lead to devise a plan for peace in the Middle East.

Israel's campaign in Lebanon continued to elicit a vigorous response from American-Arab and pro-Arab organizations. During July and August, their continuing efforts to seize what they perceived as an opportunity to influence American opinion regarding the Arab-Israel conflict were manifested in public demonstrations, mass mailings to political leaders, petitions, and full-page ads in newspapers across the country. This amplified campaign confirmed a conclusion arrived at in the initial report that ethnic Arab groups now represent a significant political force to be confronted on the American scene.

By no means monolithic, the Arab-American community's response to Israeli and United States actions ranged from neutral to scathing. Proceeding with its earlier program, the American Lebanese League (ALL), whose primary concern is restoring a strong central authority in Lebanon, came out openly proclaiming the Israeli action as a "prelude to liberation." In full-page ads that appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES and other papers in mid-July, the ALL demanded: "The PLO Must Quit Lebanon!" and described Beirut as a city "held hostage by PLO criminals."

More typical, however, of the anger within the Arab-American community was a series of ads placed in July by the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), led by former Senator James Abourezk and Dr. James Zogby, former professor of history at Shippensburg State College (PA) and a Palestinian rights activist. In huge letters, the ad's headline read, "Should (Atlanta's) taxes be used to kill people in Lebanon?" According to the WALL STREET JOURNAL, the ad, which called for an end to U.S. foreign aid to Israel, appeared in 60 cities around the country, including Cleveland, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Phoenix, San Francisco and Wichita.

Many Arab groups, irate about what they perceived to be a lack of U.S. restraint of Israel, called for significant reductions in U.S. aid to Israel, an end to U.S. arms sales to Israel, and Arab sanctions against the U.S. The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), the registered lobby of Arab-Americans, urged the U.S. to recognize the PLO and to negotiate directly with it, and continues to stress the theme that American interests in the Middle East are being severely damaged by Israel's actions. The NAAA and other Arab groups paid particular attention to American Jewish criticism of Israel. The July 15 issue of "Political Focus," the NAAA newsletter, devoted two full pages to statements by various Jewish writers, including Nahum Goldman, Pierre Mendes-France and Philip Klutznick.

Arab-American groups also conducted public briefings on the Lebanon crisis and submitted testimony to Congressional hearings. The main points raised in these efforts were, again, the issue of terrible civilian casualties, Israeli inhumanity, and the need for the U.S. to be involved not just in relief efforts but in pressuring Israel.

Alongside intense efforts to mobilize on the grassroots level, the Arab community engaged professional public relations experts to assist in its campaign to sway American opinion. For example, it was revealed early in July that the activities of the Arab Women's Council, composed of 24 wives of Arab ambassadors and 80 Arab-Americans, were being coordinated by Gray & Co.

Furthermore, a report in AL MAJALLAH (7/17-23), an authoritative Arab journal published in London, indicated that a major new public relations effort to create a more pro-Arab American policy is now being planned.

As the Israeli bombardment of West Beirut intensified, and the devastation of civilian areas was graphically portrayed on nightly television news programs, overall Congressional support for Israel continued to erode. Some of the more outspoken critics, such as Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield, called upon President Reagan to demand an immediate cessation of hostilities and urged that if Israel did not comply, the President should lead a call for international sanctions, a freeze on all U.S. military supplies and a reassessment of all future military aid to Israel.

Rep. Nick J. Rahall of West Virginia asked for, and secured, the co-sponsorship of a dozen Congressmen for his bill demanding an investigation to determine whether or not Israel violated existing military agreements by using U.S. arms and military equipment for the invasion.

In mid-August, North Carolina's Senator Jesse Helms vented his anger towards Israel when, during the course of an interview on television, he insisted that the U.S. threaten to and, if necessary, actually break diplomatic relations with Israel unless it ceased its pressure on West Beirut.

Perhaps more than by any other event, the Congress was angered by reports that Israel utilized cluster bombs in its siege of Beirut in apparent violation of its agreement with the United States. Hedrick Smith, NEW YORK TIMES Washington columnist, concluded on July 20 that "Israel's support in the Congress has significantly eroded to its lowest point."

Staunch friends of Israel, such as Senator Henry Jackson, took Israel to task for failing to consult with the United States about its military action, and California Senator Alan Cranston publicly declared he would vote to censure Israel if it was determined that the Israelis had used cluster bombs in the shelling of West Beirut. Few if any of Israel's usually firm supporters spoke on its behalf on the floor of the Congress.

As the siege of Beirut came to a close and the PLO evacuation began, Congress and Administration officials, perhaps with an eye on the forthcoming elections, began to draw a distinction between support for Israel and disagreement with the policies of Prime Minister Begin and Defense Minister Sharon, and there was little or no evidence of support for the PLO.

It was also apparent, as proclaimed by Senator Paul Tsongas, that in the Congress, the "love affair with Israel," which reached its zenith during the administration of Golda Meir, "is gone." There was some sentiment that aid to Israel should be reduced, in part because its demonstrated military prowess and superiority diminished its need for substantial military aid. It is still unclear, however, if the attacks on Israel were anything more than rhetorical criticism or if in fact there was a shift in substantive support. Informal observers of the Washington scene were inclined to believe that despite all the adverse comments Israel could still muster a majority in the Congress.

During the period covered by this report, the leading polling organizations attempted to assess public opinion about various facets of the military campaign. Harris, Roper, Gallup, Merit Opinion Survey, NBC, and ABC-WASHINGTON POST were among the more prominent agencies reporting. Because the various polls asked different questions, or when similar, they were nuanced, it is impossible to determine conclusively if the Israeli campaign in Lebanon seriously eroded pre-existing sympathy or friendship among Americans toward Israel.

A Harris poll conducted from June 18-21 found overwhelming support (76%--14%) for Israel's stated objective in invading Lebanon if it resulted in the removal of all foreign powers from that country. In response to the same question during the period from July 9-14, support dropped significantly from 76% to 44%, with 36% registering disapproval. Between July 12-15, "The Merit Report: A Public Opinion Survey" simply asked if the interviewee approved or disapproved of the invasion. Fifty-two percent disapproved, 24% approved and 24% had no opinion. Gallup, conducting a survey for NEWSWEEK August 4-5 asked, "Do you approve or disapprove of Israelis sending troops into Lebanon?" In response, 60% disapproved, 30% approved, and 10% had no opinion. Yet, when the same poll asked if Israel was justified in invading Lebanon to remove the PLO, 47% felt the invasion was justified, 41% felt it was unjustified, and 12% had no opinion. The Associated Press-NBC opinion survey, conducted August 9-10, found that 51% disapproved of the invasion, 25% approved, and 16% were not sure. (Fifty-nine percent indicated that Israel's actions in Beirut had "gone too far," 18% believed that Israel had not gone far enough, 7% indicated that they were "about right," and 16% were not sure if the Israelis had gone too far.)

A WASHINGTON POST-ABC poll revealed that on August 17, 41% of those polled felt the invasion was not justified, while 37% felt that it was. A Harris poll conducted August 5-10, asking

the same question about the invasion as it did on July, revealed that 43% approved and 42% disapproved, a finding not materially different from their July poll. Significantly, when the Harris interviewers asked for an opinion on the assertion that Israel's move into Lebanon was justified because it was "right to take defensive action against the PLO because it had bases there from which Israeli villages were being shelled," 57% agreed, 28% disagreed. While the Harris poll revealed significant support for Israel's actions against the PLO, 52% of those interviewed believed that "it was wrong to kill thousands of Lebanese civilians."

In addition to significant misgivings about the justification of the invasion of Lebanon, all poll data revealed that Americans were strongly opposed to sending a peace keeping force to Lebanon, had reservations about sending military supplies to Israel, and were seriously concerned about the heavy civilian casualties. Nonetheless, in mid-August both the Harris and the WASHINGTON POST polls, the only ones asking about overall sympathy or support for Israel, as opposed to the PLO or Arabs, reported that despite some erosion, support for Israel remained high. The Harris organization in its August 5-10 sampling, found that 59% considered themselves pro-Israel, 15% pro-PLO and 10% neither. The WASHINGTON POST-ABC sample revealed that in response to the question, "In the Middle East situation are your sympathies more with the Israelis or the Arabs," 52% were more sympathetic to the Israelis, 18% to the Arabs and 16% to both or neither. These findings deviated only minutely from the findings of a similar question asked in March, 1982, before the Lebanon campaign, when 55% were pro-Israel, 18 pro-Arab, and 13% both or neither.

Based on the poll data published while the siege of Beirut was unfolding, and despite disapproval of various facets of that campaign, it would appear that a majority of Americans remained sympathetic to Israel.

As particular events claimed headline attention in American newspapers, press reactions at times seemed to suggest that American public opinion might be changing in a way that would erode support for Israel, alter U.S.-Israel relations, and possibly have an adverse impact on American Jewry. While a majority of editorial opinion and columns was even-handed, the overall effect was one of criticism of Israel's actions in Lebanon. Yet, letters to the editor reflected a fairly even distribution of viewpoints, and public-opinion polls indicated sustained sympathy with Israel among Americans despite reservations about specific issues. Undoubtedly more significant was the noticeable erosion of support expressed in Congress, but it was not clear whether or not that erosion would be translated into concrete decisions to reduce or withhold aid to Israel.

As the departure from West Beirut of the PLO began, the climate of opinion became less charged with judgments about particular incidents and more reflective about possibilities for peace in the Middle East. By late August, it was not yet possible to evaluate what long-term domestic effects there might be on policy toward Israel. As stated at the beginning of this report, the events of September, which again exacerbated tensions and produced a vast quantity of opinion, will be analyzed in a subsequent report.



Appendix

NEWSPAPER SOURCES

NEW ENGLAND (Massachusetts, Connecticut)

The Boston Globe  
Boston Herald  
Boston Herald American  
Christian Science Monitor  
The Day (Connecticut)

MIDDLE AND CENTRAL ATLANTIC REGIONS (Pennsylvania, D.C., New York, New Jersey)

Nassau edition, Newsday  
The New York Daily News  
New York Post  
The New York Times  
The Philadelphia Inquirer  
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette  
The Pittsburgh Press  
Wall Street Journal  
The Washington Post

SOUTHEAST REGION (Florida, Alabama, Georgia)

Atlanta Constitution  
Birmingham News  
Miami Herald  
Miami News

MIDWEST REGION (Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan)

The Call and Post (Cleveland)  
Chicago Sun-Times  
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Cleveland Plain Dealer  
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Detroit News  
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The Pike Press (Pittsfield, IL)

SOUTHWEST REGION (Texas, Arizona, New Mexico)

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NEWSPAPER SOURCES (CONTINUED)

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(Oregon, Washington, California)

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The Oregonian  
San Diego Union  
San Francisco Chronicle  
San Francisco Examiner  
Seattle Post-Intelligencer



October 11, 1982

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Quantity price on request



RABBI DAVID L. GREENBERG, D.D.

740 E. VASSAR

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA 93704

PHONE (209) 229-1425

10/19/82

Dear Mr. Tannenbaum,

The enclosed news item ~~was~~ appeared in the Fresno Bee commemorating its 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary as a newspaper, and the Forum of Better Understanding was selected as one of the main community events for this year 1937.

You may be interested to know that the program was inspired by the materials sent me in the 1930's by the American Jewish Committee & the visit of a trio (Rabbi - Priest + Minister) sent by the AJC under the aegis of the National Conference of Jews & Christians. The priest became ill and as Msgr. Dowling substituted for him. Subsequently our local trio was formed and we broadcast every week for 17 years.

There is an art sculpture erected to commemorate the introduction of ecumenism in Fresno.

With kindest regards

Sincerely  
David L. Greenberg

4/17-18/83



THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

WASHINGTON REGION

# BROTHERHOOD THROUGH EDUCATION

Kalman C. Szekely  
Executive Director

1402 -3rd AVE., SUITE 1326  
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98101

October 21, 1982

(206) 622-7310

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

In preparing for the Clergy training session to be held in February, and the Religion workshop to be held during the Conference in April, the Religion Committee has identified the following as potential themes and questions:

### Clergy Session:

General Theme: "Bringing Jews and Christians Together Theologically on the Holocaust: Understanding God After Auschwitz."

### Questions:

- 1) How can I believe in the God of Auschwitz?
- 2) If I must believe, how do I love the God of Auschwitz?
- 3) If God is just, how do Jews find justice in the Holocaust?

### Conference Workshop:

General Theme: "Role of Christianity in Holocaust."

- What Christian clergy and laity did and did not do.
- Sources of "Christian anti-semitism" in the New Testament and Christian Tradition.

The Committee has requested that I write you for your opinions and comments regarding these topics, and to solicit your suggestions either for expanding the topics, or for different topics.

The Committee meets next on November 8, 1982. It would be very helpful if you were able to respond prior to that time. However, if your schedule will not permit that, please feel free to respond whenever you have the opportunity.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

*Kalman C. Szekely*  
Kalman C. Szekely

Project Director, Seattle Holocaust Study Project

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Executive Board
- Irving Mitchell Felt  
President
- Dr. David Hyatt

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Prepared by Mimi Alperin & Marilyn Braveman

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10/29/82  
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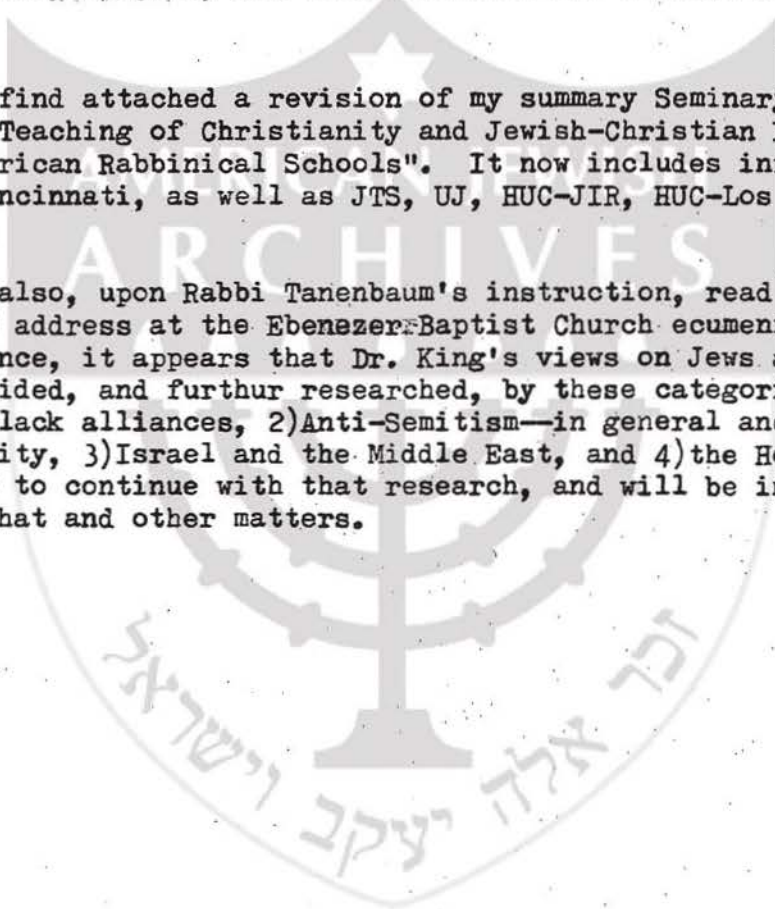
**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** October 31, 1982  
**to** ✓ Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Ms. Judith Banki  
**from** Sam Weintraub

**subject** Seminary Project, and research about Dr. Martin Luther King

Please find attached a revision of my summary Seminary Project paper, "The Teaching of Christianity and Jewish-Christian Relations at Major American Rabbinical Schools". It now includes information about HUC-Cincinnati, as well as JTS, UJ, HUC-JIR, HUC-Los Angeles, RRC, and YU.

I have also, upon Rabbi Tanenbaum's instruction, read his January 1980 address at the Ebenezer Baptist Church ecumenical service. At first glance, it appears that Dr. King's views on Jews and Judaism might be divided, and further researched, by these categories: 1) Need for Jewish-Black alliances, 2) Anti-Semitism—in general and in the Black community, 3) Israel and the Middle East, and 4) the Holocaust. I'd like now to continue with that research, and will be in touch this week about that and other matters.



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, NY 10022

National Women's Issues Committee Meeting  
November 5, 1982  
NEC, Beverly Hilton Hotel  
Los Angeles, CA

Minutes

About 50 AJC women and men from around the country attended this meeting, which was geared to reviewing past national and chapter activities and identifying continuing and future issues.

I- Keynote: Joy Picus, Member, Los Angeles, City Council - Ms. Picus gave a brief overview of the elections, noting that the "gender gap" appears to be real and that more women and young women are voting in increasing numbers for candidates who support their issues -- child care, domestic violence, economic equality for women, legal services, tax credits for volunteer work etc. They also differ from men voters, particularly in disagreeing with the President's economic and defense policy. Although it has been hard for women candidates to raise money in the past, now women are forming Political Action Committees to support women candidates.

She views the major women's issue of 80's to be equal pay for work of comparable worth, noting that most women are still employed in sex-segregated, low paying jobs. When men were secretaries in the early 1800's, these jobs were viewed as apprenticeships for higher positions. But when Katherine Gibbs began to train women to be secretaries and they went into the work force, they were paid lower salaries because they "didn't need the money." By the late 1800's, when the field was dominated by women, salaries were lower and the work less prestigious. A similar pattern occurred in teaching. Women teachers still earn less than their male counterparts.

Women are still, by a large, in nurturing jobs -- nurses, social workers, teachers, etc. where people are supposed to be working "for the love of it," not money. It will be difficult to determine just how to reward people appropriately for the skills involved in this work, but Ms. Picus is sure it can be done and will be done.

II- Mimi Alperin, Chair of the National Women's Issues Committee described the structure of the Committee and the work of the program Commission Committees on Women's Issues and called attention to the plethora of materials distributed in the hope that they would provide ideas for chapter programs.

She then introduced Fran Kittredge, chair of the Women's Campaign Board, who announced that the multigenerational Board composed of 82 members, over 40 of them active, raised \$455,770 in 1980; \$514,788 in 1981 and \$556,393 in 1982. Two months into the 1983 campaign year, which starts in the Fall of 1982, they have already raised \$350,000. This comes mostly from women whose husbands are not active and might not support AJC. Members are also active in developing the Left/Right Digest, the Oral History Library and the Women's Interreligious Dialogue on the Middle East.

Next, Ms. Alperin asked Rita Hauser, chair of the Foreign Affairs Commission to report on its activities. Ms. Hauser noted that there was nothing unique to women at this time, although the Commission will get involved in the upcoming Women's Decade Conference in Nairobi. We will try to counter anti-Israel, anti-U.S. actions, but there is little chance of success. Ms. Hauser also noted that the Foreign Affairs Steering Committee is heavily male-dominated and urged women to learn more and participate more in foreign affairs. She agreed with Ms. Picus' statement that the gender gap is based to a large extent on issues of war and peace and that women are anxious about the use of force as a way to solve foreign affairs. The same dissonance exists in Israel.

Middie Geisberg of Los Angeles was asked to report on the Chapter's 6th Annual Catholic-Jewish Women's Dialogue Conference. This year the theme was "In Search of Peace." Planning was particularly difficult because of sensitivities on both sides about Lebanon, but over 200 women attended this very successful forum.

Mimi Alperin announced that this year's focus would be on economic issues effecting women, pay equity (we will distribute discussion guides to Chapters), Social Club Discrimination (we will have a consultation on December 14). She also noted that social club discrimination is a long standing program of AJC, but that once Jewish men began to get into clubs, the issue was pretty much dropped. We will also deal with the problems of elderly women, pension and social security discrimination, the threats to equality contained in the so-called Family Protection Act and any attempts to limit psychological and financial access to freedom of choice.

Marilyn Braveman announced that Mainstream will be published in a new form, still to be finalized, that staff and lay leaders will form an editorial Board and requested that articles or ideas for articles be sent to her.

In discussion from the floor, it was suggested that the issue of seniority vs. affirmative action in layoffs needs to be addressed. It was also observed that the struggle for state E.R.A is highly sensitive and that we should lay the groundwork for passage carefully rather than risk early defeat. In response to a question about whether or not AJC should hold meetings in unratified states, Marilyn Braveman noted that the National Organization for Women sees no reason to continue that policy.

There was also discussion about whether or not there should be separate women's groups and Committees. An AJC representative from Tulsa noted that, as a woman professional realtor, she was still barred from National Association of Realtors membership. We will look at what happens to women's issues in the AJCongress now that they have integrated the Women's Division.

Susan Wohlaner from Denver announced that the Chapter was conducting a workshop on discrimination against older women with Kathie Shattuck, Vice Chairman of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and that Ms. Shattuck was available to other AJC Chapters for similar programs.

Prepared by Marilyn Braveman

National Women's Issues Committee

AJC National Executive Council

November 5, 1982

A g e n d a

- I- Keynote . . . . . Joy Picus, Member, Los Angeles  
City Council

"Economic issues will bring together activists from every racial, religious, and ethnic background as the focus for women's coalitions across the United States in the 1980."

- II- AJC National Priorities & Programs. . Mimi Alperin, Chairperson  
National Women's Issues Committee

"With representatives from chapters across the United States, we have the opportunity to accept the challenge of our mandate and to provide leadership for all women from all walks of life and effect change."

-- Francine Kittredge, Chairperson  
AJC Women's Campaign Board

-- Rita Hauser, Chairperson  
AJC Foreign Affairs Commission

- III- AJC's Chapters - Discussion

We call your attention to the newsletter which lists national program emphases and Chapter activities which you may be interested in adapting for your Chapter's use.

MB/ar

82-620-45

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Prepared by Mimi Alperin & Marilyn Braveman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 5, 1982  
to Field Offices  
Staff Advisory Committee  
from Hyman Bookbinder and Howard Kohr HB+HK  
subject Washington Update

The Congress returns to Washington for a lame duck session of three weeks starting on November 29th. The main focus of this session will be the 10 appropriation bills that Congress failed to pass before it left for the election recess. To provide interim funding for the bulk of Federal programs, Congress passed a continuing appropriations resolution. This funding will expire on December 17th. So between November 29th and December 17th Congress must pass the remaining appropriation bills or another continuing resolution. Most observers feel that only a few of the appropriation bills will pass and that Congress will have to pass another continuing resolution to take care of the controversial appropriations.

Among the controversial appropriation bills that must be passed are the Defense department, energy programs, food stamp programs, foreign aid, and health, education and welfare programs. In addition to these controversial bills, other controversial measures that may be taken up include: another attempt at a balanced budget amendment, enterprise zone legislation, reform of the federal regulation making process, and a major reform of existing immigration laws. Only the federal regulation reform bill and the immigration bill appear to have any chance of passing. There simply will not be sufficient time to give adequate consideration to more than the absolutely critical bills.

Some important issues of specific interest to the Jewish community which may come up in the lame duck session include: tuition tax credits, which has already passed the Senate Finance Committee. It may come to the Senate floor but if it does Senator Hollings (D., South Carolina) is expected to filibuster. The Committee-passed bill includes credit up to \$300 a year for each child in private elementary or secondary school. We are on record opposing tuition credits.

The Foreign Aid Bill includes military and economic aid to Israel and Egypt. Foreign aid authorizations have been pending in both houses since May. Neither Senate nor House appropriation sub-committees have written an aid bill for 1983. The House Foreign Affairs Committee recommended \$1.7 billion (\$750 million-loan,

\$850 million-grant) in military aid and \$785 million in Economic assistance for Israel (total \$2.485 billion). (\$1.5 billion of the total is in the form of grants.) The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee recommended \$1.7 billion (\$850-grant, \$750-loan) in Military aid and \$910 million in economic aid for a total of \$2.6 billion. The administration is requesting \$2.485 billion with \$1.7 billion in military aid (\$500 million-grant, \$1.2 billion-loan) and \$785 million (\$525-grant, \$260-loan) in economic assistance. Most observers feel that neither an authorization nor an appropriation bill will be passed this session thus putting foreign aid in the continuing resolution at the FY 82 levels of \$2.2 Billion. We urge you to contact your senators asking them to support the aid levels recommended by the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committee. You also should urge them to vote against amendments to cut aid to Israel specifically or any cuts to foreign aid that do not exempt Israel.

The National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) has just launched a major national effort, including expensive newspaper advertising, calling for an end to aid to Israel because of its activities in Lebanon. This NAAA campaign must be counteracted by pro-aid forces.

The Immigration Bill (Simpson-Mazzoli) will come to the House floor early in the lame duck session. The House Judiciary committee made some substantial revisions to the original House Bill (Simpson-Mazzoli) and it is now significantly different from the Senate-passed bill. The Judiciary Committee restored the 5th preference for brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, maintained the current 2nd preference system, and deleted the admissions ceiling of 425,000 by maintaining the current law. These changes along with some others in the asylum and legalization sections are ones the AJC has supported in our public testimony. Both the Judiciary Committee and Senate versions of the bill contain employer sanctions and some kind of I.D. system (AJC is neutral on this issue.) Amendments will be offered on the floor of the House to restore the ceiling on legal immigration and to include refugees in an overall immigration ceiling. Please contact your representative urging them to oppose these amendments. Our final position on the passage of this important bill will be determined in large part by what happens on the House floor. [Even if the House passes a bill it must go to a conference committee to work out the differences with the Senate version.] This issue is one of our top priorities in the lame duck session!

The Social Issues. School Prayer and Abortion Bills are not likely to come before the Congress until the beginning of the next session of Congress in January. The Senate tabled a proposal to ban abortion and with 3 procedural votes it laid aside a measure on school prayer. The issue of busing may still come up on the House floor on a bill to remove the federal court's authority to hear cases.

### Looking Ahead

Issues that we are almost certain to see in the next session of Congress include:

- (1) The Social Security system, which may require some immediate financial relief. The President's National Commission and Social Security reform is expected to issue its recommendations before the end of the year.
- (2) The social issues such as abortion, school prayer and busing. President's constitutional amendment calling for voluntary school prayer will be re-introduced and attempts by Senator Helms (R., North Carolina) and others will be made to restrict abortions and the use of busing.
- (3) The Economy. High levels of unemployment will be the dominant concern. Efforts will be made to decrease the size of the federal deficit. Heated debate will surround such issues as further domestic spending cuts, limiting the growth of defense spending and finding ways of raising revenues.
- (4) Arms sales to Jordan. The administration is expected to make a request for F-5G fighter planes and mobile Hawk missiles. The request is expected sometime in early 1983.

### Elections

It is not clear just how the election results will affect any of these issues when the new Congress convenes in January. While the over-all numbers may suggest likely trends in the broad areas of domestic policy, specific issues will be affected by changes in Congressional committees and in the views held by the new members in the Congress whose views are yet to be revealed on some of the more controversial subjects.

There are a number of interesting results of the election: The Senate remained a Republican majority (54-46). The House picked up 26 new Democratic seats giving Democrats an even larger majority (267-166 -- with two seats in Georgia to be filled on November 30). Exit polls conducted by ABC (sample size 22, 960) estimated that voters preferred Democratic to Republican House candidates by 57-40 percent. Every demographic group -- Hispanic, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, men, women, young and old, except those with \$40,000 or more income per year -- preferred Democrats. Unemployment was identified by 43% of the voters as the nation's most serious problem. Inflation was identified as the next most serious problem (17%). In those districts with unemployment rates of 10% or more,

61 of the 101 Republican candidates were defeated. Finally, ABC polling data revealed that union members cast 41%, women 53%, elderly 19% and Blacks 15% of the Democratic vote. Which voting bloc made the difference in specific races is not known. Other exit polls are not yet available.

There will be nine new Jewish members of Congress, two Senators, (Chic Hecht, R-Nev. and Frank Lautenberg, D-NJ) and seven Representatives (Berman, D-Calif; Boxer, D-Calif; Erdreich, D-Ala; Levine, D-Calif; Levin, D-Mich; Sisisky, D-Va; and Smith, D-Fla). This brings the total of Jewish Senators to eight and the number of Representatives to thirty.

The "Friends of Israel" were very successful this time in both Senate and House races. In addition, several outspoken critics of Israel were defeated. This Congress should be more sympathetic to foreign aid for Israel; for getting tougher with the UN; moving toward strategic cooperation with Israel and moving ahead with the peace process.

There will be at least nine new members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and with the addition of Democratic seats in the House, more Democratic committee seats. There is no change in the House Foreign Operations Committee, but it too will most likely, add new Democratic seats.

In the Senate, the Foreign Relations Committee maintains its nine to eight Republican to Democratic ratio. A replacement for Senator Hayakawa (R-Calif.-retired) must be found. There is no change in the Senate Foreign Operations Committee.

A number of referendums were on state and local ballots this time. Voters in California, Mass., Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, N. Dakota, Oregon and Rhode Island and the District of Columbia, approved nuclear-freeze proposals along with voters in about 30 cities and counties. Arizona and one county in Arkansas and one in Colorado defeated the measure. In California, strict gun control legislation went down to defeat. In Mass., voters approved by a 2-1 margin a measure to restrict construction of nuclear power plants and disposal sites for low-level nuclear waste. Idaho and Maine voters endorsed future construction. Voters in Alaska refused 3-2 to end state funding for abortion. Portland, Oregon and two Vermont towns called for an end to U.S. aid to El Salvador. What the impact of these referendums will be on shaping national policy is unclear.

Finally, while it is true that the "new right" political organizations suffered major setback this election it is too early to "count them out". They still have some very influential supporters in the Congress and are still able to raise large sums of money. Thus it is likely that they will continue to have an impact on the national debate on the social and economic issues that are vital to their agenda. In response, we must maintain our efforts and continue to be vigilant on the issues that effect our interests.

# The Congressional Agenda

## Major Legislation of the 97th Congress, 2nd Session

As of Oct. 15, 1982

(Number at end of each item indicates most recent Weekly Report page reference)

Bill and Background	House	Senate	Final
<b>First Budget Resolution.</b> (S Con Res 92) Establishes binding budget levels for the 1983 fiscal year beginning Oct. 1, 1982. (1508)	Passed 6/10/82	Passed 5/21/82	Cleared 6/23/82
<b>Omnibus Reconciliation.</b> (HR 6955) Provides \$13.3 billion in spending reductions in fiscal 1983-85. (2047)	Passed 8/10/82	Passed 8/11/82	Signed 9/8/82 PL 97-253
<b>Finance/Ways and Means Reconciliation.</b> (HR 4961) Provides for \$98.3 billion in tax increases and \$17.5 billion in spending reductions in fiscal 1983-85. (2035)	Passed 12/15/81 (different text)	Passed 7/23/82	Signed 9/3/82 PL 97-248
<b>Debt Ceiling.</b> (H J Res 520) Increases the temporary ceiling on the national debt to \$1.29 trillion. (2358)	Passed 6/23/82	Passed 9/23/82	Signed 9/30/82 PL 97-270
<b>Supplemental Appropriations.</b> (HR 6863) Provides \$14.2 billion in supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1982. (2237)	Passed 7/29/82	Passed 8/11/82	Veto overridden 9/10/82 PL 97-257
<b>Balanced Budget Amendment.</b> (S J Res 58, H J Res 350) Requires Congress to adopt a balanced budget each year unless three-fifths of members approve deficit spending. (2687)	Rejected 10/1/82	Passed 8/4/82	
<b>Immigration Revision.</b> (S 2222, HR 6514) Tightens federal immigration laws to curb entry of illegal aliens. (2688)	Judiciary approved 9/22/82	Passed 8/17/82	
<b>Nuclear Arms Resolutions.</b> (H J Res 521) Expresses congressional sentiment on nuclear arms talks with the Soviet Union. (2683)	Passed 8/5/82	Foreign Relations approved 6/9/82	
<b>Defense Authorization.</b> (S 2248) Authorizes defense procurement, personnel, research, operations and maintenance for fiscal 1983. (2059)	Passed 7/29/82	Passed 5/14/82	Signed 9/8/82 PL 97-252
<b>Clean Air Act.</b> (HR 5252) Reauthorizes and revises the Clean Air Act. (2684)	Energy & Commerce markup to continue	Environment approved 8/19/82	
<b>Tobacco Program.</b> (HR 6590) Revises the federal tobacco program by requiring tobacco producers to reimburse the government for losses under the price support loan program. (1729)	Passed 6/21/82	Passed 7/14/82	Signed 7/20/82 PL 97-218
<b>Housing Authorization.</b> (HR 6296, S 2607) Reauthorizes housing and other programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for fiscal 1983. (2686)	Banking reported 5/17/82	Banking reported 5/28/82	
<b>Bus Deregulation.</b> (HR 3663) Removes many government controls on the intercity bus industry. (2134)	Passed 11/19/81	Passed 6/30/82	Signed 9/20/82 PL 97-261
<b>Telecommunications.</b> (S 898, HR 5158) Deregulates telecommunications and reorganizes American Telephone & Telegraph Co. (2138)	Withdrawn by sponsor 7/20/82	Passed 10/7/81	
<b>Regulatory Reform.</b> (S 1080, HR 746) Revises rule-making authority of federal agencies. (2685)	Rules took up 9/30/82	Passed 3/24/82	
<b>Nuclear Waste.</b> (S 1662, HR 7187) Establishes a timetable for evaluation and selection of potential sites for permanent disposal of radioactive waste. (2684)	Debate began 9/30/82	Passed 4/29/82	
<b>NRC Authorization.</b> (HR 2330) Reauthorizes Nuclear Regulatory Commission and allows interim licensing of nuclear plants. (2684)	Conference report pending	Conference report adopted 10/1/82	

## Status of Appropriations 97th Congress, Second Session

Funding for agencies whose fiscal 1983 appropriations bills had not cleared by Oct. 1, 1982,  
was included in a continuing resolution (H J Res 599 — PL 97-276). (p. 2623)

Appropriation Bills	House	Senate	Final	Weekly Report Page
Agriculture and related agencies (HR 7072, S 2911)	Passed 9/21	Passed 9/28		2434
Defense (S 2951)		Committee reported 9/23		2649
District of Columbia (HR 7144, S 2917)	Passed 9/30	Committee reported 9/16		2648
Energy and Water Development (HR 7145)	Committee reported 9/21			2371
Foreign Aid				
Housing and Urban Development, Veterans, NASA (HR 6956)	Passed 9/15	Passed 9/24	Signed 9/30 PL 97-272	2432
Interior and related agencies				
Labor, Health and Human Services, Education (HR 7205)	Committee reported 9/29			2697
Legislative Branch (HR 7073, S 2939)	Committee reported 9/9	Committee reported 9/22	Full-year funding included in PL 97-276	2624
Military Construction (HR 6968)	Passed 8/19	Passed 9/27	Cleared 10/1	2655
State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary (HR 6957, S 2956)	Committee reported 8/10	Committee reported 9/24		2436
Transportation and related agencies (HR 7019, S 2914)	Passed 9/21	Committee reported 9/22		2375
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government (HR 7158, S 2916)	Committee reported 9/22	Committee reported 9/16		2378



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** November 16, 1982  
**to** Harold Applebaum  
**from** Judith H. Banki  
**subject** Attached

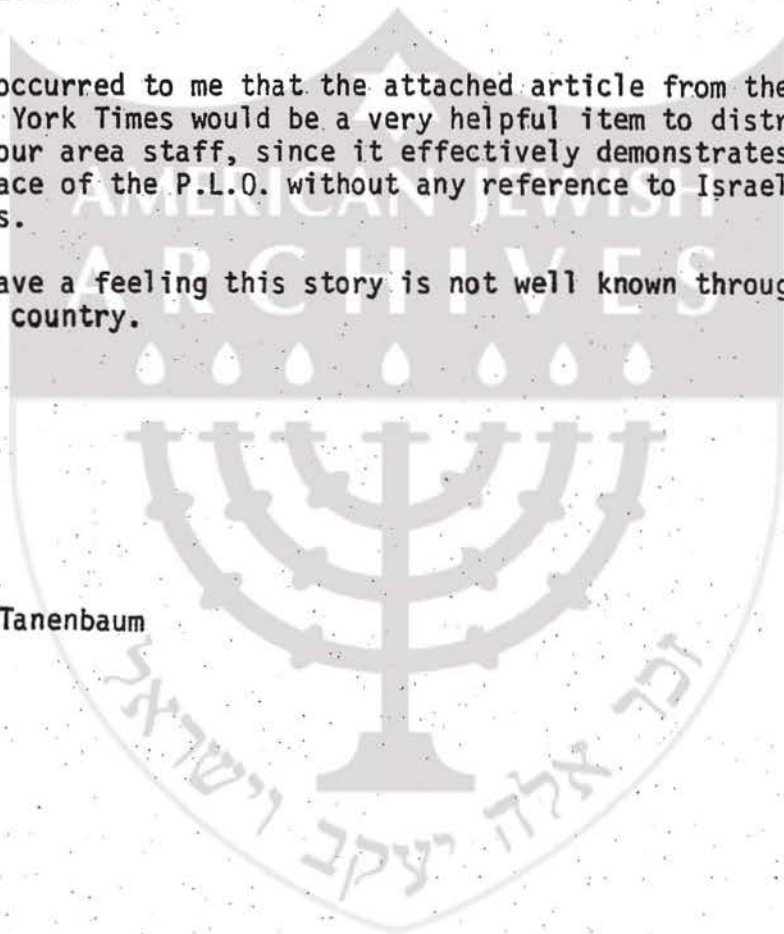
It occurred to me that the attached article from the New York Times would be a very helpful item to distribute to our area staff, since it effectively demonstrates the menace of the P.L.O. without any reference to Israel or Jews.

I have a feeling this story is not well known throughout the country.

JB:ln

enc.

cc: Rabbi M. Tanenbaum



## P.L.O. USED SCHOOL RUN BY U.N. AGENCY

Relief Group Says Guerrillas  
Gave Youths Arms Training

10-27-82

By BERNARD D. NOSSITER

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 26 — A trade school near Beirut run by a United Nations relief agency was used by the Palestine Liberation Organization for military courses for 781 students over two years, according to a report by the agency.

The report by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, which has been caring for Palestinians since 1950, said the Siblin Training Center allowed armed P.L.O. instructors to live in the camp, store arms in a basement that was barred to United Nations employees and send radio messages from it and conduct military classes for young men and women studying trades. Diplomas were withheld from vocational graduates until they had served a year with the guerrilla organization, the report said.

"The center's premises were evidently used to provide systematic military training to the center's students," the report on an internal inquiry said.

The 2,000-word document said that "the agency is satisfied that its training center in Siblin was misused" and that an "obvious violation of agency regulations" took place. The report said, "It is clear that for around two years prior to 1982 a parallel program of organized military training by the P.L.O. had been carried out within the center's premises which is totally incompatible

## P.L.O. Trained Youths at U.N. School Near Beirut

Continued From Page A1

with the agency's status and functions."

In Vienna, where the agency has its headquarters, Olof Rydbeck of Sweden, the commissioner general, said in a telephone interview that this "was a most regrettable thing" and added, "I am very concerned that it could happen."

"The special position given to the P.L.O. created special problems," he said. He meant that the region south of Beirut was under the control of the P.L.O. and, when the camp authorities

needed the police, they were forced to turn to the guerrillas. "I don't think it could happen again," Mr. Rydbeck said.

His agency's report on Siblin charged that "the military training within the center's premises and the control exercised by the P.L.O. military personnel over certain parts of the premises was known to those in the center."

Siblin's principal, a Palestinian whom the agency will not name, has been suspended. The school's two chief instructors and two officials from Unrwa's Beirut office also face charges, Mr. Rydbeck said.

The agency began its inquiry into Siblin last summer after Israel complained that the school was a cover for a P.L.O. training camp. According to American diplomats, nothing was heard of the investigation until this month. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the United States delegate, then wrote Mr. Rydbeck, saying that the United States was holding up a \$15 million payment until the study was completed.

The United States this year is contributing \$67 million, or more than a third of the \$181.6 million budget for the agency.

The report was dated Oct. 18 and reached Washington the next day.

United States law prohibits payments to the agency unless it "takes all possible measures to assure" that no funds reach refugees receiving military training by the P.L.O. or any other "terrorist" organization.

### Arrival of the P.L.O.

The agency report described how the P.L.O. came to Siblin sometime after September 1979. Factional clashes had broken out among the students, 594 men and 187 women, and the school authorities invited the P.L.O. military police to maintain order. Terry Davidson, the agency's spokesman, said the P.L.O. was the effective authority south of Beirut.

The P.L.O. members, however, stayed on. Never fewer than 6 and sometimes as many as 15, all armed,

they commandeered three ground-floor rooms and the basement and usually kept them locked.

The report said the P.L.O. commander, Abu Walid, took over one room as his office and distributed uniforms from another. In the locked basement, one agency staff member saw 500 Kalashnikov automatic rifles, 20 rocket-propelled-grenade launchers, ammunition for both and radio equipment to send and receive messages.

All the school's young men drilled between 7 and 9 A.M. or after 2 P.M. All the young women, day students, trained two hours each Friday.

The curriculum, the report said, consisted of "lectures on military subjects, physical fitness programs, instruction on dismantling, assembling and main-

tenance of hand weapons and on the production and use of explosives." Two manuals on explosives were found at the school.

At the same time, the youths pursued courses in 15 trades and training as teachers. How many diplomas were held up until the men and women had served their time with the P.L.O. is not known, but Mr. Davidson said it was "dozens and dozens." The agency's field director in Beirut, Robert Prevot, learned of this last May, and the report said he complained to the P.L.O. The study said, however, that Mr. Prevot insisted he knew nothing of the military training at Siblin and that he had retired to France.

Look for Science Times on Tuesday

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** November 18, 1982  
**to** Area Directors  
**from** Yehuda Rosenman  
**subject** AJC Programming on "New Pockets of Jewish Energy"

I am pleased to send you a copy of the report of our study on "New Pockets of Jewish Energy." This was a pilot study which explored the process enabling individuals to feel more deeply about their Jewish identity than they did in the past.

Although the study was conducted in Boston, New York and Philadelphia, we feel that its implications apply nationally and to many types of Jews.

Therefore we would like to suggest the following program possibilities:

1. AJC outreach

A study of this nature will be of great interest to younger Jews, involved in professional activities, who have not as yet identified the extent and content of their Jewish activities. The study speaks to them in the context of "here are a group of people--just like you and me--who have revitalized their lives by intensifying their Jewish commitments." In other words, it connects the intelligent Jew to the Jewish community. In that sense, the study may be used in tandem with outreach efforts to involve new people in AJC activities and to bring them closer to the Jewish community. In turn, such individuals may find programs within the AJC through which they may revitalize their own Jewishness, e.g. the Academicians Seminar in Israel.

2. Impact upon communal leaders

The study should be brought to the attention of leading figures within the Jewish community, who are involved in outreach efforts and attempts to intensify Jewish commitments. These should include rabbis, Hillel directors, academicians, and staff people of Jewish communal agencies involved in programmatic activities. The study may be sent to them, as a catalyst for their further thought and action.

3. The media

All of the interviews contain human interest material, which may be utilized as stories within the local Jewish newspapers. At the very least, the local media should be informed of the study's release and its availability.



4. Conference

The national office will be convening a conference of key communal professionals, academicians, rabbis and others who should be interested in this study to discuss its findings and to focus on its implications for Jewish programming and policy planning. Chapters may consider sponsoring a local conference along these lines in order to focus attention upon the local dimensions of these questions. For instance, all communities are concerned about the large number of unaffiliated Jews. Your local conference could focus on the implications of this study for outreach programs to the unaffiliated.

The national office will be pleased to provide consultation and assistance in carrying out program possibilities. Please keep us informed as to what is going on in your area and how we may be of assistance to one another in enhancing these program possibilities.



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82-750-155

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Hilda Katz Blaustein Staff Institute  
December 5-8, 1982  
The Jeronimo's, Walker Valley, N.Y.

## PARTICIPANTS

Arthur Abramson, *Seattle*  
Harold Applebaum, *National*  
Shula Bahat, *National*  
Andrew Baker, *Washington, D.C.*  
Evan Bayer, *National*  
Steven Bayme, *National*  
Herman Blumberg, *Boston*  
Hyman Bookbinder, *Washington, D.C.*  
Ellen Cohen, *Houston*  
Eugene DuBow, *National*  
Donald Feldstein, *National*  
Arthur Feuer, *National*  
Sherry Frank, *Atlanta*  
Murray Friedman, *Philadelphia*  
Joyce Galpern, *Pittsburgh*  
William Galnick, *Miami*  
George Gruen, *National*  
Milton Himmelfarb, *National*  
Selma Hirsh, *National*  
Abraham Karlikow, *National*  
Sonya Kaufer, *National*  
Haskell Lazere, *National*  
Irving Levine, *National*  
Jonathan Levine, *Chicago*  
Bernice Newman, *Westchester*  
Samuel Rabinove, *National*  
Bernard Resnikoff, *Jerusalem*  
Yehuda Rosenman, *National*  
Marilyn Rothman, *National*  
James Rudin, *National*  
Seymour Samet, *National*  
Neil Sandberg, *Los Angeles*  
Phillip Saperia, *New Jersey*  
Philip Shamis, *National*  
Phyllis Sherman, *National*  
Adam Simms, *National*  
David Singer, *National*  
Diane Steinman, *Denver*  
Marc Tanenbaum, *National*  
Milton Tobian, *Dallas*  
William Trosten, *National*  
Ernest Weiner, *San Francisco*  
Morton Yarmon, *National*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Hilda Katz Blaustein Staff Institute

December 5 -- December 8, 1982  
The Jeronimo's, Walker Valley, N.Y., (914) RE 3-1219

SCHEDULE

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 5

10:00 A.M. Bus leaving for The Jeronimo's from 165 E. 56 Street, New York

12:00 Noon Check in at The Jeronimo's

12:30-1:30 P.M. Lunch

1:30-1:45 P.M. Welcome  
*Donald Feldstein*

1:45-4:00 P.M. Opening Plenary Session  
*"Changing Trends & Characteristics of the  
Jewish Community in the U.S."*

*Presentation: Milton Himmelfarb  
Responses & Implications for AJC: Neil Sandberg  
Discussion Leader: Yehuda Rosenman  
Conclusions: Evan Bayer  
Reporter: Ellen Cohen*

4:00-5:45 P.M. Free

5:45-7:00 P.M. Dinner

7:00-9:15 P.M. Plenary Session  
*"The AJC--Philosophy, People, Program --  
Strategies for the Future"*

*Presentation: Bill Trosten  
Chapter Perspective: Joyce Galpern  
Discussion Leader: Marc Tanenbaum  
Conclusions: Phil Saperia  
Reporter: Bernice Newman*

9:15 P.M. Social Time

Monday, December 6

8:00-9:00 A.M. Breakfast

/more/



Tuesday, December 7 (Continued)

10:45-11:00 A.M.

Break

11:00-12:00 Noon

Plenary Discussion Continued or Small Groups

A. *New Approaches to Media & Public Education*B. *Influencing Political Leadership*C. *Working with Hostile Audiences*

12:00 Noon-1:00 P.M.

Lunch

1:00 P.M.-2:45 P.M.

Plenary Session

*"The AJC & Israel: Ties, Tensions & Opportunities"*

*Presentation: Art Abramson  
 Discussion Leader: Irving Levine  
 Conclusions: Sherry Frank  
 Reporter: Sam Rabinove*

2:45-4:15 P.M.

Plenary Session

*"Jewish Communities Abroad -- AJC's Role & Responsibility"*

*Presentation: Andy Baker  
 Discussion Leader: Mort Yarmon  
 Conclusions: Bill Gralnick  
 Reporter: Phil Saperia*

4:15-6:00 P.M.

Free

6:00-7:15 P.M.

Dinner

7:15-9:15 P.M.

Plenary Session

*"The Status of Jews -- Friends & Foes in the 80's"*

*Presentation: Harold Applebaum  
 Response: Murray Friedman  
 Discussion Leader: Haskell Lazere  
 Conclusions: Herman Blumberg  
 Reporter: Adam Simms*

9:15 P.M.

Social Time



Wednesday, December 8

8:00-9:00 A.M.

Breakfast

9:00-11:15 A.M.

Plenary Session

*"Looking Ahead: Prospects & Challenges for the Organization"*

*Presentation: Donald Feldstein*

*Discussion Leader: Selma Hirsh*

*Reporter: Sonya Kaufer*

11:15-11:30 A.M.

Break

11:30 A.M.-12:00 Noon

Concluding Remarks

*Donald Feldstein*

12:00 Noon-1:00 P.M.

Lunch

1:00 P.M.

Departure for New York



#82-315-154  
December 1, 1982

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** December 20, 1982

**to** Donald Feldstein

**from** George Gruen

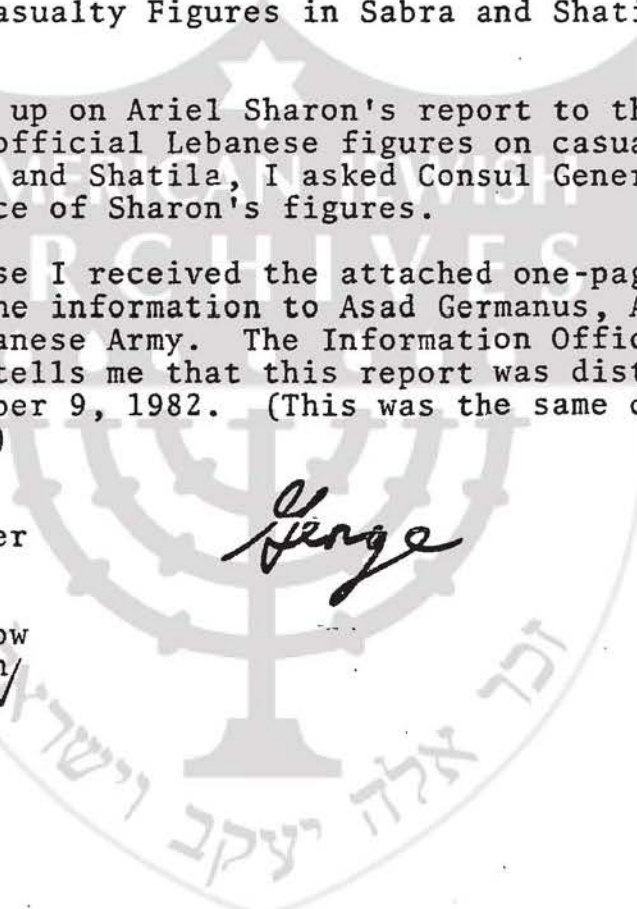
**subject** Lebanese Casualty Figures in Sabra and Shatila

Following up on Ariel Sharon's report to the Presidents Conference citing official Lebanese figures on casualties in the massacres in Sabra and Shatila, I asked Consul General Naftali Lavie for the source of Sharon's figures.

In response I received the attached one-page report, which attributes the information to Asad Germanus, Attorney-General of the Lebanese Army. The Information Office of the Israeli Consulate tells me that this report was distributed to the press on December 9, 1982. (This was the same day Sharon spoke in New York.)

cc: Hyman Bookbinder  
David Geller  
Lois Gottesman  
Abraham Karlikow  
Sheba Mittelman  
Marc Tanenbaum ✓  
Mort Yarmon

*George*





הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

December 9, 1982

THE TOLL OF VICTIMS IN THE BEIRUT CAMPS AMOUNTS TO 479

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE LEBANESE ARMY, MR. ASAD GERMANUS, WHO WAS IN CHARGE OF INVESTIGATING THE MASSACRE IN THE TWO PALESTINIAN REFUGEE CAMPS, SABRA AND SHATILA IN BEIRUT, PUTS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF VICTIMS AT 479.

According to reliable sources in Beirut, the report of the Attorney-General of the army, which has not yet been officially published, is based on the body count which was conducted by the Lebanese Red Cross, the International Red Cross, the Lebanese Civil Defense, the medical corps of the Lebanese army and the relatives of the victims. The procedure of the body count lasted between September 18, 1982 and September 30, 1982.

Following are the figures based on this investigation:

- 1) Palestinians - 328, among them 313 men (including 21 of unidentified nationality), 7 women and 8 children.
- 2) Lebanese - 118, among them 98 men, 8 women and 12 children.
- 3) Syrians - 7 men.
- 4) Algerians - 2 men.
- 5) Iranians - 21 men.
- 6) Pakistanis - 3 men.

THE REPORTS OF THE LEBANESE SECURITY AUTHORITIES OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1982 INDICATE THAT DURING THE DAYS OF SEPTEMBER 16-18, WHEN THE MASSACRE WAS COMMITTED, A BATTLE TOOK PLACE IN THE TWO CAMPS,

For Your Information

## CULTURAL PLURALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Silvano M. Tomasi, cs

*The National Catholic Conference of Bishops' Committee's on Social Development 4,500 word statement made in January 1981, was designed to devote greater attention to the ethnic diversity of Contemporary America. The central part of the statement is reproduced here. Complete copies are available from the Office of Publications, U.S. Catholic Conference (1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005).*

*Statement of the Committee on Social Development and World Peace of the National Catholic Conference of Bishops.*

We urge all Americans to accept the fact of religious and cultural pluralism not as an historic oddity or a sentimental journey into the past, but as a vital, fruitful and challenging phenomenon of our society. Americanization does not call for the abandonment of cultural differences but for their wider appreciation. We solicit the help of all thoughtful citizens of this republic in an effort to blot out of public and private life the stains of ethnic prejudice and discrimination. This element becomes all the more despicable when linked, as it too often has been, to anti-Catholic "nativism".

We ask that the public and private sectors give consideration to those ethnic groups who have too long been unrepresented in large and important areas of American life. With special urgency we call public attention to the continued immigration of the large Hispanic population, one of the oldest ethnic American groups, which is just now beginning to receive appropriate recognition.

### CHURCH AGENDA

Within the Church itself we have a task set before us that cannot be taken lightly

Parishes must not fear to be centers of cultural as well as spiritual inspiration, relating the customs and folkways of people to contemporary gospel teaching. This may often require special language provisions in catechesis and worship. Insensitivity on the pastoral level can alienate even the most devout.

Church organizations, whether local or national, should encourage participation in the wide range of opportunities offered by the ethnic diversity of the people of God in our country.

Church schools and Catholic education on every level, must strive to make Catholics more conscious of the broad range of cultural experience available in our multiple Church traditions. This should not be limited to history, but related also to contemporary ethnic expression.

In the life of the Christian family an opportunity of singular

importance is provided for the inculcation of values in the developing minds of the young. Here parents can eradicate stereotyping and develop appreciation of the principle of human diversity, which will be enriched by the growing experience of the youthful mind.

Liturgical life, so fruitful a vehicle for understanding, should reflect the Catholic traditions of the whole human family helping to promote the community of all. The feast of Pentecost itself might appropriately suggest both liturgy and celebration acknowledging and rejoicing in the variety of ethnic riches.

Seminarians must take special care to include the history of the ethnic communities and their cultures in the training of young men for the ministries, as already directed by the Conference of Bishops (Program of Priestly Formation, 1976, pp 542-557 and *passim*). Moreover, the seminary environment itself must be such as to include broad ethnic appreciation. In this connection, the several religious orders, which have so effectively supported ethnic identity in the seminaries, should be lauded for their fidelity and foresight. Eastern Catholic Churches — their origins and Church practices — can also be made familiar in the Western Church, even where certain disciplines and theological insights of these "sister Churches" may appear unusual.

Leadership positions in Church life should be open to those of all ethnic backgrounds who are canonically eligible and qualified. The Spirit blows when and where He wills.

We remind social service agencies, public and private, and human service systems generally, of their obligations to respect the diverse traditions of their clientele and be responsive to their special needs. All aspects of public policy should be attentive to these concerns. We call attention, in particular, to juvenile justice and criminal justice systems to bring understanding to their responsibilities under the law.

Aware of the powerful effect of the mass media, we encourage a wider public expression of Church life in all its forms, with a special emphasis on pluralism within the Church as it manifests itself in the arts, literature and devotional practice. We must censure the practice of stereotyping ethnic groups in a negative and often offensive manner. Even when this is done for humor and entertainment, it betrays a lack of sensitivity which society should not accept.

A thoughtful development of the relationship of theology and cultural pluralism, already discussed at meetings of the Catholic Theological Society of America, should be further promoted. We commend and encourage new studies in this area which cannot fail to give depth and meaning to public dialogue and understanding. □

Interreligious Affairs Department  
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

Rabbi Tanenbaum-

You may be  
interested in the  
attached.

Judith Banki

12/8/82 St. L Globe-Democrat

# Support of Israel eroding, priest says



**Rev. John T. Pawlikowski:** 'Policies are on a disaster course.'

An increasing number of Christian supporters of Israel are beginning to reassess their position in light of present policies of the administration of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, especially the one concerning land rights on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, a Roman Catholic expert on Christian-Jewish relations said here Tuesday.

"Some of the policies are on a disaster course," said the Rev. John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M.

"AS I GET increasing literature from the Israeli government suggesting, for example, that Jordan is a Palestinian state — part of which I can agree to — the bottom line seems to be, 'Therefore, the West Bank and Gaza are ours.'"

Unless "the growing, almost impromptu, annexation policy of the West Bank by virtue of the increased settlement policy" is stopped, Father Pawlikowski said, he fears that "the possibility of any kind of meaningful negotiation in the West Bank will be simply irrelevant."

Father Pawlikowski spoke to 12 members of the St. Louis Chapter of the American Jewish Committee Tuesday during a luncheon meeting. He is professor of social ethics at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago and

author of several books on Christian-Jewish relations, including the recently published "Christ in Light of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue."

THE CHRISTIAN-JEWISH dialogue that started in the 1950s and '60s still exists, despite some tension recently caused by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and Pope John Paul II's meeting with Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, Father Pawlikowski said.

The fact that Christians and Jews have passed the "euphoria stage" of their discussions and are now willing to openly discuss the difficult questions shows a maturity in their relationship, he said.

Father Pawlikowski will speak on "The Catholic Church in Light of the Holocaust" at 2:10 p.m. Thursday in Room 201 of Busch Memorial Center, 20 N. Grand Blvd., at Laclede Avenue on the campus of St. Louis University.

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Marc Tanenbaum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STAFF ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
Meeting of December 13, 1982

Summary

Present

Donald Feldstein, Chairman  
Harold Applebaum  
Eugene DuBow  
Milton Ellerin  
Arthur Feuer  
David Geller  
Sonya Kaufer  
Haskell Lazere  
Irving Levine  
Yehuda Rosenman  
Marilyn Rothman  
Seymour Samet

Philip Shamis  
Phyllis Sherman  
Marc Tanenbaum  
William Trosten

Guest

Theodore Ellenoff

Absent

Lee Billig  
Milton Himmelfarb  
Abe Karlikow



I. GOOD AND WELFARE

Marilyn Rothman announced that there would be a meeting of staff to discuss financial and other arrangements that they may wish to make in anticipation of retirement. New developments in tax sheltered annuities and other such matters will be presented by a team of experts in financial planning.

Dr. Feldstein said that his memo re staff attendance at the Board of Governors meeting did not apply to department heads who are free to attend the meeting should they choose to.

There was some discussion on the possibility of overlap and/or confusion of responsibility between AJC's Foreign Affairs Department and that of the new American-Israel Institute staffed by Bert Gold and Selma Hirsh. SAC was concerned that there might be misunderstanding about who speaks for the agency on a major area of AJC's concern. Dr. Feldstein said that the Institute's Advisory Council at its first meeting made clear that it did not intend the Institute to be a policy-making body. Dr. Feldstein saw the Institute, which is an arm of the AJC, as a way of reinforcing AJC's work in this area. He recognized, however, that there needs to be some clarification of areas of responsibility, but he did not think that this would constitute a major problem.

II. PUBLIC POSITIONS TAKEN BY INDIVIDUAL LAY LEADERS AND STAFF

SAC discussed the conditions under which an individual staff member or lay person can speak or write publicly on a matter of concern to the agency when such expressions may cause potential problems for the agency. Distinctions

were made between use or non-use of AJC identification and, of course, between statements which might run either contrary to AJC position or cause confusion about AJC's point of view, and those on which AJC had not taken a position.

SAC was presented with the 7/27/70 statement on the subject by the Committee on Staff Roles (see attachment). One SAC member felt that very strict restrictions should be placed on individual staff or lay expression of opinion, even in areas where AJC's point of view was not clearly spelled out. All were agreed that the agency name belongs to the agency, and that individuals should not use agency identification when speaking out in a way that is contrary to existing AJC policy. Certainly, they should not do this in fields outside their expertise. On the other hand, some felt that the shading of issues by individual staff might have positive results. It would indicate that AJC, for one thing, is an agency that allows diversity.

It was suggested that a new study committee be formed to make policy in this area, but it was decided that this would not be necessary since the 1970 study covered the problem adequately. There was no sympathy for a proposal that there should be a moratorium on all individual public expression by staff or lay leadership.

In summary, Dr. Feldstein said that it was clear, in his view, that when there is an agency position that has been clearly enunciated, staff and lay leadership should never use their AJC identification when expressing contrary views. On the other hand, he did not believe that one should completely restrict freedom of expression. And certainly not in areas where there is no clear agency position. In the gray areas, staff should always inform the Executive Director when they intend to sign public statements that may create any problems for the agency. As for our lay leadership, Dr. Feldstein said that he would review existing practice and any past Board decisions on this matter to see if anything further was required.

### III. VEHICLES FOR SHOWING AJC'S DISTINCTIVENESS

Mort Yarmon discussed some of the ways in which he lets the AJC family, the Jewish community, and the outside world know about AJC "doings." This takes the form of press releases of AJC activities and such publications as AJC's Leaders' Digest. Sonya Kaufer reported that the Leaders' Digest was well received and that we get about 30 to 100 responses asking for materials from each issue.

Many expressed the view that there was inadequate reporting to membership of unique AJC activities. On the other hand, a few thought that we were sending our membership too much material. The problem identified was that our material is not focused properly. It should highlight basic themes, AJC's unique areas of emphases, or its special approach to its work. Some suggestions for vehicles to accomplish this were offered, such as reinstating News and Views or a publication that might be called "This Week at AJC." It was also recommended that we might expand Leaders' Digest to include highlights of AJC work, which could be sent to the VIP list. It was pointed out that we are not utilizing audio-visual material to tell our story. It was recognized



that there are different problems for the different audiences that we try to reach. Distinctions need to be made in the types of materials we send and the messages they carry. It was agreed that a staff task force on communications ought to be formed to consider the matter and, in particular, what is fed to fundraisers.

#### IV. THEODORE ELLENOFF REPORT ON MEETING WITH CONSERVATIVES

Theodore Ellenoff was asked to report on a meeting of Jewish and non-Jewish conservatives. He said that the attendees at the meeting had obviously worked together before on issues of common concern; they knew each other well. There were representatives of the Orthodox Jewish community, establishment Jewish communal organizations (who were there primarily as observers), neo-conservative writers and intellectuals, and Jewish and non-Jewish figures who are active on the political scene, including well known figures of the political new right. The group had in common a desire for greater impact on the Reagan Administration. Jews have complained that they have little access to the President and little impact. The New Right has ready access to the Administration and yet no power or impact. These representatives of the New Right obviously would like to coalesce with the Jewish community on issues high on their agenda, but it is not clear whether such a coalition is possible. Partly this is because it is not clear that each side can deliver to the other side what it wants.

SAC agreed that it was important for there to be continued contact with this group, but that coalition probably was not possible. Maintaining contact is particularly vital because it is likely that the New Right will mount a very strong populist campaign for the 1984 election that will have important implications for Jews. The campaign themes may be very close to the late 19th century populist movements, e.g., "a curse on all elites," that created vicious forms of anti-Semitism at that time. Another important reason to maintain dialogue is to help downplay the Christian thrust of the movement. The anti-elitist, anti-establishment populist movement may not fly if it has an anti-Semitic overtone, but there is still this danger to be alert to. The danger of coalition is that it is not clear who will be able to co-opt whom.

So in sum, it was suggested that we continue to maintain dialogue, but that we be very cautious in entering into any alliances.

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and institutional objectives must also be taken into consideration.

With the increasing importance of the electronic media, individual ability to communicate should be an additional factor in determining the AJC spokesman when the use of such media is involved.

In interpreting AJC services to potential donors, it is proper and effective practice to select and emphasize those activities which are deemed to be of greatest interest to the group concerned. However, any aspect of the agency's program should always be fully reported in response to questions from the audience.

✓ C. Taking a Public Position on Issues

Examining the conditions under which a professional staff member can speak or write publicly on a matter of immediate or potential concern to the agency produced many complex philosophical, ethical and practical questions for the committee. These questions arise out of the difficulties in reconciling the needs of the AJC as the employing organization with the individual needs of the professional staff employee.

In this discussion, the basic objective of the committee was to encourage freedom of expression for professional staff while protecting the agency from possible embarrassment, a task involving the application to any given situation of common sense and a spirit of mutual respect, trust and recognition of needs between the agency and the professional staff.

All members of the committee maintained that professional staff should have complete freedom of expression, including the right to dissent from established agency policies, within professional staff circles, at meetings of professional associations and when writing in professional journals. Positions contrary to agency policy, however, should be clearly designated as "private". Although it was recognized that statements before professional societies may sometimes get into the public press, it was felt that the agency should be prepared to accept whatever risks were involved in encouraging such freedom of professional expression.

There was also general agreement that acceptance of paid

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employment with the agency implied giving hostages to fortune although there were some differences about the extent involved. Thus, it was the consensus that a professional staff member could not take a public position in the community, either through speech or writing, against an agency policy when acting as an agency representative. In addition, a majority of the committee felt that this principle should also apply to professional staff members when acting in their private capacities as citizens i.e. one could not divorce the public expression of personal views on matters of agency concern from one's professional responsibility to the goals of the agency. A few held, on the contrary, that professional creativity demanded that there be no such restrictions on a staff member's right as a private individual to give public expression to his views. All agreed, of course, that staff members should be encouraged to write or speak out in support of established agency policies.

In regard to matters potentially related to AJC concerns but on which the agency has not taken a position, it was agreed that there should be no restrictions on the freedom of staff to write for publication or speak out. This principle should also apply when a staff member writes in a field not germane to AJC interests. Under either of these circumstances, however, the committee felt that the views expressed by the staff member should be identified as those of an individual.

It was felt, however, that when writing about an issue on which the agency has taken no policy position, or in a field which appears to be not germane to AJC interests, the staff member should be sensitive to potential problems relating to AJC concerns and notify the agency if in his professional judgment such a potentiality existed. Similarly, it should be the professional responsibility of a staff member, who intends to lend his name with agency identification to a public advertisement dealing with a subject of this nature, to notify the agency in advance if in his judgment possible difficulties might be created for the agency as a result. Staff members should be expected to accept full responsibility for their actions in relation to the agency after publication or other expression of their views on these matters.

In the possible instance of a staff member who may also be a member of another organization, including perhaps one with political or ideological coloration, it was agreed unanimously

that he should be free to speak to the community on behalf of that group on subjects unrelated to AJC concerns so long as the principles of the group are not in conflict with those of AJC.

The role of Commentary editorial staff was introduced into this discussion. It was recognized that special situations could arise where individuals holding positions on both the editorial staff of Commentary and on the regular professional staff of the agency might find themselves in conflict with their dual professional responsibilities. It was felt, however, that this represented a special administrative problem for management decision.

#### D. Advancement of Professional Skills

As the pace of change accelerates, requiring new methods and skills either to foster or inhibit social change, the responsibility of staff and agency toward the maintenance and advancement of professional skills has become a significant issue. The question was raised as to what professional skills are specifically related to AJC, inasmuch as staff come from many disciplines, and have jobs with a great variety of components. It was acknowledged that there is no curriculum or any single source of training which would be applicable to all professional positions, and that it is the staff member's responsibility to keep up-to-date in his own particular field. The agency's responsibility in the area of staff training was expressed in principle in the agreement with the Staff Organization that "it is the intent of the Committee to encourage and make possible opportunities for advancement of its professional members which will enhance their professional capabilities". The committee endorsed that statement.

The group felt that there may be an even greater need today for re-training of staff based upon new emphases in the agency, as for example, new approaches to leadership development. The opinion was expressed that the agency does not now do enough to encourage staff to seek training. It should consider some form of recognition or reward, such as including this aspect in performance evaluations and providing the necessary subventions. It was also pointed out that the agency appears to have been discouraging one form of staff training, i.e. attendance at those professional conferences which, while not precisely in the immediate area of the person's AJC assignment, present an

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Date: 12-22-82

To: Marc Tanenbaum  
From: Harold Applebaum

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For your information

For approval

Please handle

Please talk to me about this

Read and return

Returned as requested

Your comments, please

Per your request

REMARKS:



X. Tamarbaum

file  
Cleveland  
memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** December 15, 1982  
**to** Harold Applebaum  
**from** Marty Plax  
**subject** Meeting with Bahai

Last week there was a letter to the Editor from an Iranian physician appealing to Jews and Christians to pray for the Bahais in Iran. We sent him a note of understanding for the problem and offered to speak with him if he desired. He called and we met yesterday.

Prior to the meeting, Lois Gottesman contacted us and indicated that caution was necessary, given the precarious position of the Jews in Iran. When we met, I indicated our concern with the Iranian Jews, but suggested that I might be able to act as a conduit to Christians in town who might give more publicity to the situation in Iran.

I didn't realize, at the start, how complicated the situation with the Bahais is. My initial response was that they have a temple in Haifa and that at some time there may be some publicity for Israel. However, when Dr. Derakhshan started speaking about the Jews and Bahais, he indicated that his mother's mother was Jewish and had fled to Israel. It suddenly dawned on me that we have an inter-marriage issue on top of the political concerns.

We concluded the meeting by his agreeing to send me materials from their headquarters in Wilmette and I would speak with some Christians about spreading the word, to the degree they were willing to do so.

Dr. Derakhshan indicated that we were the only group to respond to his letter.

cc: Lois Gottesman



# The American Jewish Committee

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MARC TANENBAUM

"FYI"

December 20, 1982

Dear Colleague:

I am pleased to send you the enclosed summary of the essence of the discussion at the AJC Consultation on U. S. Policy and the Peace Process in the Middle East, which we held here in November.

You will remember that it was agreed that this would be an informal discussion with no publicity, and therefore this summary is being sent only to the participants and to American Jewish Committee officers and key staff members.

I wish to acknowledge the help of my associate Lois Gottesman in arranging this consultation and the assistance of my colleagues David Geller, Drora Kass and Lois in sharing the rapporteurial assignments with me. In editing the summary, I have tried to accurately reflect the exchange of ideas on the complex issues discussed. However, this informal summary has not been reviewed by the participants and they are not responsible for its contents.

Our thanks once again to you for your participation and your contribution to our thinking on these important issues.

Cordially yours,

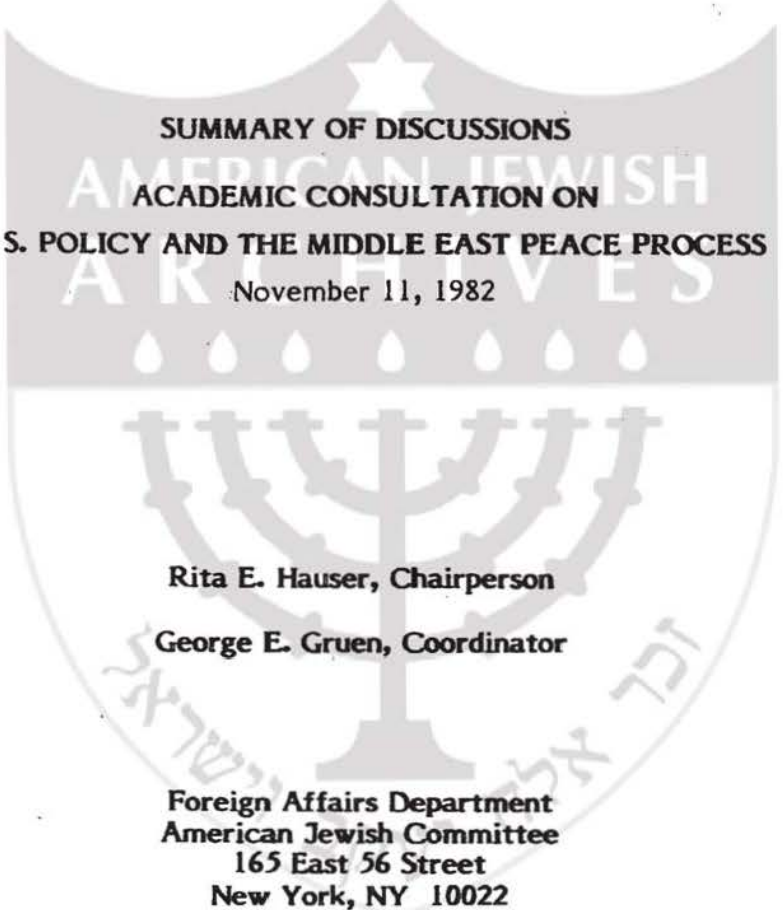
*George*  
Dr. George E. Gruen  
Director, Middle East  
Affairs

GEG/EL  
enc.

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**SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS**  
**AMERICAN JEWISH**  
**ACADEMIC CONSULTATION ON**  
**U. S. POLICY AND THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS**  
**ARCHIVES**  
November 11, 1982

**Rita E. Hauser, Chairperson**

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November 11, 1982

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Prof. J. C. Hurewitz, Columbia University

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SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS AT AJC CONSULTATION ON  
U. S. POLICY AND THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

NOVEMBER 11, 1982

I.A. The Effect within the Middle East of Recent Developments

Prof. Haim Shaked opened the morning discussion with a brief analysis of the effects of the war in Lebanon. He cautioned that it is still too early to tell whether the Lebanese war has created enough change and turbulence in the region to make the future substantially different from the past. Expectations of change, aroused whenever there is a major war in the region, don't necessarily come to pass. Nevertheless two points are clear: 1- The peace with Egypt, though fragile, still holds, despite a major and prolonged Lebanese crisis. 2- The only game in town with regard to the solution of the Arab-Israel conflict is still the one managed by the U. S. Despite the criticism of the Camp David process, Washington is increasingly seen as playing a central role, while the Soviet Union is out of the picture.

There are several other developments in the Middle East arising out of the events of the past summer: First, for the immediate future, Lebanon is on the road to relative stabilization; even with all the problems it faces, Lebanon has improved its ability to maneuver within the Arab world. Ironically, this means that Lebanon will appear to be less positive in its relations with Israel, and thus the result of the war will be a lessening of the

close relations Israel had earlier established with the Lebanese Maronites and particularly the Phalange. Second, with regard to Syria, although Syria has failed in its plan to establish a Greater Syria (including Lebanon), President Assad does not seem to be in a more precarious situation than before. The convergence of forces within Syria is not necessarily going to lead to destabilization of the region any more than was the case before the latest crisis in Lebanon.

Third, Jordan -- which since 1967 has oscillated between two trends: complete, gradual disengagement from the West Bank and the Palestinian issue (in the past advocated by Crown Prince Hassan) versus continued close relations with the West Bank (advocated by King Hussein)-- now is leaning toward the second option. Shaked commented that in his opinion there will be a systematic, concerted attempt by Jordan for more integration rather than disengagement, and perhaps even some agreement with the PLO on the West Bank.

Fourth, Israel, which started "Operation Peace for Galilee" as a strategic war to open up options, has ended up with more rather than less constraints on its ability to maneuver given the domestic problems and international criticism. The immediate results of the war are thus the opposite of the Begin Government's original intentions, though in the long term these may be realized.

Fifth, there is a kind of mirror image of this going on inside the PLO, with Fatah (the faction headed by Arafat) now trying to disengage from the more extremist groups (such as

Habash's and Hawatmeh's) in order to maximize its political gains from the war in Lebanon. For example, a recent presentation by Professor Walid Khalidi, a leading Palestinian intellectual with close connections to Fatah, was far more conciliatory than the official, PLO hard line, and may reflect the discussions and debate going on within the PLO. The immediate goal of the PLO, strategically speaking, may be to gain recognition from the U. S.

One question to bear in mind, Shaked said, is whether we are now witnessing a further "Palestinization" of the Arab-Israel conflict. It is possible that the conflict has now entered a new phase, though embryonic at this point, in which it will become easier to resolve the Arab-Israel conflict by concretizing it and creating a clear agenda. However, this would pose some fundamental problems for Israel, since it goes to the heart of Zionist ideology and would reopen the old Zionist debates as to the nature and objectives of Israel's society.

All of these developments are taking place in an inter-Arab context that is completely fragmented. There may now be a realignment within the Arab world: in the past a fragmented Arab world united around the extreme rejectionists (Libya or Iraq) as the lowest common denominator, whereas now the consensus role seems to have shifted toward the so-called "moderate" Arab states. If this is indeed the case, it is a very important development, and may explain the outcome of the latest Arab League summit meeting in Fez.

As for the Reagan plan, Shaked felt that it may serve a function similar to the U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 in that it too offers a centrist position. The Arabs feel it gives

them too little. Israel thinks it gives the Arabs too much. He recalled that everyone was also unhappy with 242, yet it provided the basis for peace. The Shultz style is quite different from that of Haig and may turn out more effective.

In conclusion, Shaked said, one must remember that this being the Middle East, the unexpected can always upset things. For example, the Iran-Iraq war could go several ways and there is no way to predict the outcome. Right now it depends very much on the personalities of the two countries' leaders; and if one of them goes, there will be a very different situation. Also, it is uncertain whether the Lebanese war of 1982 will act as a catalyst for change, as did the 1973 war, or whether it will lead to a new freeze or stalemate, like that after the 1967 war. Finally, there is one major aspect of the situation that should be dealt with and that is the impact of Lebanon on the configuration of support towards Israel both within and outside the Jewish community in the United States, and particularly how it affects the situation on college campuses. The latter question should be examined in greater depth at a subsequent consultation.

B. Post-Lebanon Trends in U. S. Middle East Policy

Prof. J. C. Hurewitz briefly discussed post-Lebanon trends in U. S. Middle East policy, commenting that in his opinion, we are now at a crossroads. Clear U. S. leadership could produce constructive results if there is cooperation on all sides and if the Reagan Administration "stays the course." This

is not certain, however, seeing as how it took 18 months for the administration to focus seriously on the Middle East and stop blaming "the mess" in the Middle East on the Carter Administration.

The U. S. is engaged in the politics of mutual exclusion with the Russians, and it appears that it has been successful -- for the moment -- in this. But, he cautioned, you can't eliminate a superpower. There is another possible explanation for the relatively restrained Soviet behavior during the Lebanese crisis. With its two clients, Syria and the PLO, located at a substantial distance from the USSR, probably the best course for the Soviets was in fact to stay out of the fray in view of Israel's military superiority in the immediate area of the conflict. But the Soviet Union still has a role to play in the Middle East and will reassert itself at some point.

Another problem for the U. S. is how to deal with its allies on the Middle East -- they don't agree with us or even with each other on how to deal with the Middle East. In the 1956 Suez crisis where the U. S. took primary responsibility for crisis management in the region, we humiliated our British and French allies. We did better during the Lebanese crisis of 1958. Now, the U. S. is still the crisis manager in Lebanon, but feels it would be better to share the risks and responsibilities with our allies. This is the meaning of the multinational peace-keeping force.

The U. S. also faces a problem in how to deal with the second Begin administration in Israel -- especially an administration "with the tact of Begin, the clemency of Sharon and the elegance of Shamir." There is a problem in public relations and a breakdown in communication; there is a sense that there is no real reporting on the U. S. to the Israel Government and there is selective hearing of what does get through.

In Hurewitz's opinion, the Reagan plan is not a final plan, but a first position designed to bring others to the negotiating table. Begin's rejection of it may also be a first hard bargaining position. There are a number of things to keep in mind: One is the cost to Israel of the Lebanese war, which Hurewitz estimated to be about \$1 billion a week during the heavy fighting and between \$300-400 million a week during the lulls. What's the impact of this on Israel's indebtedness? On inflation? The Begin Government will have to deal with this problem and if the U. S. is to provide alleviation for Israel's economic problem, there should be some accommodation by Israel to American concerns. Another point to remember is that the bottom line for Israel is security, and the Reagan Administration has made clear its commitment to assure Israel's security. But the U. S. assesses security very differently from the way Israel does: Israel measures security literally with a yardstick (e. g. the Taba dispute), but one can argue that peace with Egypt gives more security than a few additional yards on the Gulf of Eilat.

Israel is militarily very strong today but this is not the issue, for it doesn't give Israel security in the long run. You can't solve the Palestinian issue by military means, as Sharon apparently believed. The Begin government, Hurewitz believes, neglects political and diplomatic means to safeguard Israel's interests. For example, the PLO's tactic is to make Israel a pariah nation in the international community, like South Africa; and Begin doesn't begin to deal with this politically and diplomatically. In this international sense, Israel's position is clearly weaker than it was on June 5 (before the start of Operation Peace for Galilee).

For the immediate future, Hurewitz foresees a period of very hard bargaining, just as there was after past wars. For example, in 1956 Ben Gurion reversed himself and agreed to leave the Sinai after receiving a strong cable from President Eisenhower on November 7. What people tend to forget is that Israel didn't actually leave the peninsula until March 1957, after hard bargaining over security arrangements. The Begin government will try to maintain its ideological purity regarding ultimate control of the West Bank. Our role should be to look at these issues squarely and realistically, if we want to have any influence. For example, regarding settlements, with the present policy there are two possible outcomes--Israel will try to assimilate a very large Arab population with a very high birth rate, thus resulting in an eventual Arab majority; or Israel will try to induce the Arabs to leave, as advocated by Meir Kahane. Begin has used up a lot of political capital in the United States and will face



serious problems with the American public and even within the Jewish community if he pushes either of these.

Discussion: Risks and Opportunities

Prof. Michael Curtis observed that there are unparalleled opportunities to move forward now. For example, though the signs are mixed, there is the possibility of greater accommodation between Syria and Israel, if the problem of the Golan can be solved. In view of the alternatives, it is in Israel's interest after all that Hafez Assad remain in power; so it may be possible for Syria to be the second country to sign a peace treaty with Israel. Re Lebanon, Curtis felt it was premature of Israel to expect to be able to sign a peace treaty with Lebanon. Israel should be encouraged to pull out of Lebanon quickly, settle for a security zone in the south, and leave the Lebanese fractionalized political structure to be worked out among the Lebanese. He added that Lebanon, like Northern Ireland, may just not be resolvable.

As for Jordan, Curtis observed that it is in a position of change and that King Hussein is at last making a move, recognizing that his own kingdom is in danger. He must move to counter Sharon's thesis that Jordan is Palestine and one way to resolve the Palestinian problem is to overthrow the Hashemite kingdom.

Curtis believes the Reagan administration is designing a variety of pressures against Israel. In view of high unemployment and the unpopularity of foreign aid, the Administration may

scale down aid as a form of pressure on Israel and the American Jewish community has to be prepared for this possibility. Another issue is that of settlements, which is now coming to a head, and the Jewish community, which has avoided it in the past, must now come to grips with it. A decision will have to be made either to support Israel's present policies or to oppose them. Presently the number of settlers is 25,000; but if the goal of 100,000 is reached, then it will be practically impossible to withdraw them, and the political problem will become more acute. Curtis disagreed with Hurewitz's comment about a communication problem, arguing that the Israelis are well-informed about U. S. opinion, e.g. in meetings of APPME with Israeli officials. The reports go on to Jerusalem but the Begin government has made a conscious choice not to heed the warnings, based on its own views as to Israel's objectives and the role of the Diaspora as an instrument rather than as a partner.

Mrs. Rita Hauser then turned the group's attention back to Lebanon, citing a meeting of experts with the State Department, shortly before Bashir Gemayel's assassination, in which she and others had urged that the U. S. should first have concentrated on resolving the problems in Lebanon, including Syrian and Israeli disengagement, before embarking on a solution to the complex problems of the Palestinians and the West Bank. There was a dispute as to whether Syria might now be ready to make a deal, and she asked for comments on this.

Prof. Amos Perlmutter commented that in his view there is no such entity called Lebanon either in terms of society or a

nation-state. Amin Gemayel is in effect only the mayor of Beirut. The only two people who believe that it is possible to reconstitute Lebanon are Reagan and Begin. Perlmutter believes that there will be three Lebanons, and disagreed with Shaked's scenario of relative stabilization, except perhaps for Beirut.

It is Syria and Israel -- the two powers around Lebanon -- who must reach an accommodation, and the U. S. now has all the cards in its hands if it knows how to play them correctly. Since 1973 Syria has been a status quo power and its cautious behavior during the Lebanon war proves this is so. As the Palestinian issue becomes essentially an Israeli domestic problem par excellence (the "Palestinization" of the conflict), it should be easier to reach an agreement between Syria and Israel involving, perhaps, a Bekaa for Golan trade-off. The U. S. should send a Habib or a Kissinger to try to forge an agreement.

Israel's annexation of the Golan shouldn't be seen as an insurmountable obstacle; after all, Golan is not Eretz Yisrael and it was not annexed forever. One has to accept that Syria will have to have a role in Lebanon -- with some kind of presence in the east, just as there will have to be some kind of Israeli presence in the south. Both sides have hard decisions to make. Begin and Assad are both ideologues, but Begin has in the past demonstrated a capacity to compromise. The Israeli high command is ready for an accommodation with Syria, and, Perlmutter said, it has a great deal of influence

on the government. He feels the best route now is to seek an Israeli-Syrian accommodation, which will also provide a way to begin solving the Lebanon problem, starting with some mutual troop withdrawal.

As for the Palestinian issue, Perlmutter commented that this was a problem for the long-term and wouldn't be quickly solved by King Hussein coming to the table with or without the PLO. The Lebanon war has changed the map in the Middle East, but Israel cannot take political advantage of its actions, while Jordan and the U. S. are trying to make strategic gains at her expense. This was another reason, in Perlmutter's view, for Israel now to seek accommodation with Syria, thus strengthening Israel's position in dealing with the Jordanians and others on the Palestinian issue.

On Israeli domestic politics, Perlmutter remarked that Begin is the one representing the symbols of the Israeli nation, and this appeals to the electorate and strengthens his position. After the commission of inquiry, Labor will become weaker, not Likud, because the peace movement will likely break away, contributing to the fragmentation of Labor.

Mrs. Hauser mentioned a conversation she had had with an aide to President Amin Gemayel, whose reputation with the Phalange was as the treasurer and "baksheesh-payer" while Bashir was the gunman and the thinker. According to this Lebanese Christian source, their plan is to retain the multinational force for as long as possible, thus enabling Amin to

consolidate his power, get the Palestinians out, and work out some accommodation with Israel. Lebanon sees itself as a player in its own right. The aide outlined a scheme for creating a Christian-controlled Lebanon by following the Zionist example of ingathering of exiles, which would attract Christians from throughout the Middle East and overseas, increasing the Christians' numerical strength and influence, backed by a strong military. However, most members of the group felt this was just not a realistic plan.

Prof. Itamar Rabinovich observed that it was useful to compare the situation in the Middle East before and after the Lebanon war. Before the war the U. S. had an advantage over the USSR in the Arab-Israel arena but no coherent policy. The Iran-Iraq war was the dominant issue. A "moderate" pragmatic Arab bloc, consisting of Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, was beginning to crystallize. Egypt was looking for a way to return to the Arab fold through this bloc (for example, by providing military assistance to Iraq). Following Sadat's assassination, it was expected that destabilization would occur in several other Arab countries, e. g. Syria and Iraq. A war in Lebanon was widely expected.

Now, since the war, a number of new developments have occurred, which are positive. The Iran-Iraq conflict has been overshadowed. The American advantage has grown, though the opportunities may be missed, and there is a more coherent U. S. policy. The moderate Arab states have been reinforced

and the PLO and Syria have been weakened; evidence of this is the fact that the second Fez meeting of the Arab League accepted what had been aborted by the Syrian rejection of last year's Fez conference. The potential for instability in the Arab world still exists, but much less has surfaced than was expected during a time of crisis and humiliation for the Arabs analogous to the situation in 1967. The Begin government has been weakened and is now a lame duck government.

The effect of these developments could be movement toward Jordan or toward Syria. The U. S. prefers Jordan, which after all is pro-Western, moderate, and interested. As for the Syrian option, it could also solve the problem of Lebanon, in a "package deal". It would be easier to deal with Syria (from Begin's point of view) since Golan is not part of Eretz Yisrael, and Jordan's demands are too high. Jordan wouldn't enter into negotiations with Israel, in Rabinovich's view, without an advance guarantee that it would receive a big slice of the West Bank and this is something the current Israeli government could not agree to.

However, the Syrian option is also not a sure thing. Because the Begin-Sharon government is weakened, the chances of reaching an accommodation with Syria are not so good. When there was a credible Israeli threat to the Syrians in the Bekaa Valley, the U. S. could use that as a way to bring Syria in; now that Sharon lacks a mandate to threaten Syria in the Bekaa, there is

thus less pressure on the Syrians and less inclination on the part of Assad to deal with Israel.

As for Lebanon, Rabinovich disagreed with Perlmutter, saying that there is an entity called Lebanon, which has existed for many years, and just as in the early 1960's Lebanon played an active role, it will do so again. Lebanon's tactic is playing the "politics of the weak," i. e. playing off several countries against each other in order to maximize its advantages. Sharon's war aims were based on very shallow political thinking, pinning all of Israel's hopes on one man, Bashir Gemayel. With his assassination, and the election of Amin Gemayel, the whole picture has changed. Israel has given Amin better cards -- a real chance to rebuild Lebanon. Amin is gaining control of the Phalange party apparatus. He believes in using power and knows how to do it. As a result of the war, there is a change in the Lebanese equation -- there will be more assertiveness of the state in Lebanon, less PLO and Syrian control, and increased Israeli influence. With the situation still fluid, the best role for the U. S. would be to help in reaching a Syrian-Israeli accommodation by playing its cards correctly and effectively.

Prof. Avner Yaniv noted that a fundamental change has been taking place in the Middle East, from allegiance based on the family and pan-Arabism to allegiance to a specific territorial state. When no state was legitimate, neither was a Jewish state. Now when states become increasingly legitimate, so does a Jewish state, at least in the long run.

Yaniv agreed that Syria is the pivot in the current situation. The so-called moderate states are not capable at this time of any effective move without Syria. Yaniv disagrees with Rabinovich about Syria's ability to act effectively now, because of its recent defeat. Once the Syrians overcome the problems with the SAM defenses, they may resume some fighting against Israel as a possible prelude to negotiations. Lebanon can be turned into an Israeli/Syrian "Sinai" buffer zone. Lebanon will have to pay a price to Israel in terms of security in the southern area, either through effective demilitarization or a multinational force.

As for the Reagan plan, it was wrong for the U. S. to hurry to attempt a broader solution, without having resolved the Lebanon withdrawal issues. It should be remembered that the Sadat trip to Jerusalem was not an initiative of the U. S. but an initiative that started in the region and then the U. S. got into the game. The Reagan Plan is not a plan but an attempt at taking the initiative and providing the Arabs, post-Beirut PLO withdrawal and pre-Fez summit, with an indication of where the U. S. stands on the issues as a litmus test for Arab responses.

There is a paradox in Israeli politics -- peace is impossible with Labor in power and Begin in opposition; so with Begin in power there is, in fact, a better chance in the search for peace, because Begin can make decisions that others would find more difficult. This was true with regard to Sinai; the question is does this hold up with regard to the West Bank? Yaniv felt there has been too much emphasis on personalities: the in-



cursion into Lebanon was not the private war of Begin and Sharon but had the full backing of the Government and most of the Israeli population. The primary purpose of the Lebanese operation was not political; it was in fact a military solution to a military problem -- the rapidly increasing strength of the PLO in armaments and capability.

As for the Israeli settlements in the West Bank, Yaniv said that as an Israeli he personally opposed the policy, but as a political scientist he recognized it as an effective way to exert pressure on the other side to hurry and come to the negotiating table.

After all, Sharon's settlement policy in northern Sinai put the pressure on Egypt to come to the negotiating table. It should be remembered that the settlements which have been set up by the Likud government are generally bedroom communities. The ideologically motivated new agricultural settlements are sparser and not as successful as those which were set up by the Labor government in the Jordan Valley.

On the results of Fez II, the most recent Arab League summit meeting, Yaniv's view is that Fez II represented a 90% withdrawal from the 1974 Rabat decisions, which had made the PLO sole, legitimate Palestinian spokesman and, though Fez did not embrace the Reagan plan, it did not explicitly reject it either. He doubted that the PLO or Hussein was courageous enough to make a Sadat-like move.

Prof. Hurewitz remarked, regarding the Christian "Zionization" of Lebanon, that we should remember that Christian groups in Lebanon are not homogeneous. For example, the Greek Orthodox -- who are more numerous than the Maronites -- have usually allied themselves with the Moslem nationalist elements. Hurewitz disagreed with Perlmutter; there is a Lebanon and it can survive if helped by regional elements and the international community. Notwithstanding the French/Maronite differences with the Sunni Moslems, they did nonetheless have a mutual interest in a Lebanese state. But the U. S. must play an active role as it did in 1958 when Abdul Nasser sought to challenge the system established in 1943. In 1975 the U. S. was not prepared to take action and regional realities took over, marked by Syrian intervention and civil war.

Accommodation between Syria and Israel is possible not only due to the Syrian defeat but also because the Israeli economy is hurting as a result of military expenditures and the problem of *yeridah* (emigration).

Dr. Adam Garfinkle commented that for the Reagan plan to succeed there must be a resolution of the Lebanese situation and a new Israeli government because the problems in Lebanon can be used by Begin to fight the Reagan plan. Another problem is that Syria is left out. Syria will attempt to control much of the PLO and continue to exert a veto power on Jordan. Assad will not find it possible to negotiate with Israel for peace, since Assad has to demonstrate his fidelity to the Arab and Palestinian cause.

Prof. Uri Ra'anan's view was that there is no such thing as a Reagan plan. What does exist is (1) a Reagan speech, (2) the talking points sent to the parties, (3) the policy statements by Secretary Shultz. The language used in the three was not the same on some crucial points. The positive reactions of The New York Times and the Israeli Labor Party were directed at the Reagan speech.

For example, the Reagan speech spoke of "true peace," (the Arabs at Fez offered non-belligerency, not peace ); the speech called for "normalization" (and here we should remember the Egyptian experience, where the Egyptian government never lived up to the Camp David Agreements regarding normalization), and for security arrangements ("on-the-ground" security and not simply international guarantees). The Reagan speech differs from the Rogers concept of "insubstantial changes" in the border. The "Talking Points" differ *inter alia*, because they omit normalization as a specific criterion. Ten days after the Reagan speech, Secretary Shultz in a policy statement also omitted mention of normalization, and a few days after that, in another policy statement, he omitted security, but spoke of "the quality of peace."

Re Jerusalem, Reagan in his speech said Jerusalem must remain undivided but the final status will be determined by negotiations. Secretary Shultz, in testimony on September 10 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said "We do not recognize unilateral acts with regard to the final status of Jerusalem."

Re the Palestinians, Reagan's speech said the U. S. would not support a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, nor would it accept annexation by Israel. The Talking Points focus on the fact that the U. S. will not support Israeli sovereignty over the territories, they mention some association with Jordan at the end of negotiations, but don't completely close the door on the possibility of the process leading to a Palestinian state at some time subsequent to the negotiations.

Regarding the settlements, first of all we must differentiate between various groups of settlements -- those in the Jordan Valley, others such as Gush Etzion, Merchav Yerushalayim, and those in the mountain ridges. In the Reagan speech it says the U. S. will not support additional land for settlements and calls for confidence-building acts. The "Talking Points" call for a settlement freeze and preclude extra-territorial sovereignty for settlements in the West Bank.

How does one explain these differences? The answer is a combination of bureaucratic confusion and lack of sophistication in diplomatic negotiation. There were at least seven persons who helped draft language for the various documents. The result is a "seven-headed hydra" that lacks precision or consistency. The present administration, in this important area of foreign policy, has still not gotten itself together. Some Israelis console themselves into thinking that the variety of policies can mean greater flexibility but Ra'anah believes that the variety of policies may enable the Arabs to push the

Administration closer to the Fez solution rather than in the direction of a genuine peace acceptable to Israel.

Prof. Stephen Cohen observed that we are in a "time-out" period, because we have to wait for the results of the commission of inquiry in Israel, and for a stabilized situation in Lebanon. In the meantime, he sees no U.S. pressure on Israel until the spring of 1983 when it becomes clearer what the status of the government there will be.

Syria is extremely important at this time and the present situation is the best for pushing a Syrian-Israeli accommodation. Syria is worried about being left out, especially when it sees Jordan "coming in." Also Israel may be thinking more about negotiations involving the Golan and Bekaa.

Lebanon also needs a period of "time-out." Unlike Bashir Gemayel, who had strong backing and was prepared for his role as President, Amin is not ready. Furthermore, the fluid situation in Lebanon is consistent with the U. S. desire to keep things under control and still fluid, until the right pieces fall into place.

The Christian ingathering theory ("Zionization") is a threat which Amin wields in order to bring the Moslems into line. He would really like to consolidate the middle class and invite greater Moslem participation within the country but not in setting the terms of its foreign policy. The Moslems have in the past wanted closer ties with the Arabs, while the Christians want to maintain links with Israel and the West. Amin also wants to keep the Multinational Force for a longer period of time, in order to assure U. S. involvement.

The PLO is completely disaffected with the Arab states. These states now want to use the Egyptian approach, which is to split the PLO and bring a politically-oriented, non-terrorist PLO into talks with the U. S. The Palestinians do not consider Jordan or Syria as better options, each of which needs certain elements of the Palestinians to go along with them. The PLO for its part is trying to maintain some unity. The result will be either stalemate or an offer which will induce some party to get involved. In this regard, Reagan has given Jordan some good cards to play, which balance the Syrian card, i. e., the PLO groups under the Syrian aegis. Cohen feels that Jordan remains the best option for the U. S. and Israel because the Palestinians in the West Bank have a better understanding of their situation and are best able to think pragmatically and to reach an accommodation with Jordan.

## II. Implications for the American Jewish Community and Israel-U. S. Relations

Dr. Nathan Pelcovits commented that the next step of the Reagan plan has been sidetracked. Peacekeeping in Lebanon has now become a core problem of American policy. Earlier, the U. S. had hoped to proceed simultaneously on two tracks -- (1) the Reagan initiative for bringing in Jordan and resuming West Bank autonomy talks, and (2) the removal of foreign forces and the reconstruction of Lebanon.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir has said: no multinational force and no UNIFIL in southern Lebanon within range

of Israel. That is probably almost non-negotiable. Yet a new multinational force (MNF) is necessary to help preserve peace and to restore Lebanon's sovereignty and authority in the areas north and east of Beirut.

How many troops would be necessary? Some public figures have talked of 30,000 troops, others of 60,000. In Morocco, the figure that has been mentioned is between 20,000 and 40,000. If Israel is to withdraw, one has to have some kind of strengthened peacekeeping force. In early November there was word of an expansion of the tasks of the U. S. marines and an extension of the MNF. In Washington there is a plan floating around -- a double partition "tryptic design" that would cover three areas of Lebanon: A MNF to supervise disengagement in the southernmost part of Lebanon (including elements from Western Europe, Greece and possibly even Arab countries); a long-range MNF presence with the Lebanese army and some kind of role for Haddad's forces on the southern strip. A middle strip -- the Beirut-Damascus highway -- to be patrolled by a reconstituted UNIFIL. And north of this, an expanded MNF, similar to the one in the Sinai, but without the political underpinnings.

Pelcovits said that what was envisaged was something ten or twelve times bigger than the present size of the forces. The problem is that Congress has to support this if it is to work. The Administration said that the U. S. forces will remain in Lebanon as long as it is necessary to police the foreign troop withdrawal, but earlier had said the major mission would be ac-

completed by the end of the year. The Administration has thus far skirted the need for Congressional approval under the War Powers Act by first stressing that the operation would be completed in less than 60 days and then by implying that the nature of the U. S. peacekeeping role was limited and did not involve any "imminent involvement in hostilities." If the scope and duration of the U. S. involvement is expanded it will have to obtain Congressional backing. The State Department is trying to be sensitive to what it sees as a change in policy priorities -- of sidetracking the Reagan initiative and concentrating on Lebanon troop withdrawal. They see this as a twofold issue: How to maintain momentum on the peace process, while bringing stability to Lebanon.

#### Discussion

Dr. George Gruen inquired what size and composition of forces did the Administration envisage in the southern area of Lebanon, since Israel has made it abundantly clear that it would not trust UNIFIL again in view of its failure to prevent PLO incursions in the past? Dr. Pelcovits responded that no design for the composition of the force has yet been put together. There is pressure from Gemayel to bring in as many other countries as possible, but Israel's objections will prevent any countries unfriendly to Israel from participating in the south.

Dr. Cohen remarked that we have an example here of how a strong person interacts with a weak administration. The MNF was a temporary measure used by Bashir Gemayel in agreement with Israel. Bashir got along with the Lebanese army, but Amin



doesn't have control of this army. He wants to use the MNF in order to gain time and assert his authority over the Lebanese forces. The Reagan Administration doesn't have a clear idea of what it wants. This might provide an opportunity for Israel to come forward with an initiative for resolving the problem.

Pelcovits stated that UNIFIL was originally intended to help stabilize the situation and train the Lebanese army. Now the idea is that the MNF can help restore political stability. The Lebanon reconstruction fund involves \$10 to \$15 billion including reconstituting the army. Gemayel is looking to the Arab states and friendly European countries, such as France, to join the U. S. in providing funds.

The Reagan Administration is accepting Amin Gemayel's myth that you have to have many countries sharing the military responsibility. Spain is interested, for example, because this gives it a chance to operate in the Third World and provides the Spanish army with a role. Greece is also mentioned.

This will cause additional strains in American-Israeli relations, not only in terms of the make-up of forces but also in terms of the U. S. need to be responsive to Gemayel's wishes. There's a perception of a non-parallelism of interests between Israel and America, at least in terms of priorities.

The thinking of persons such as George Ball is that Israel has caused this problem, so "let's take the cost out of its hide by cutting the Israeli appropriation by the amount allocated

for refugees in Lebanon." Or maybe Congress will say "let Israel do the dirty work for us in the south," deal with the 400,000 refugees, maintain security and undertake the reconstruction.

The peace-keeping aspect highlights a change in the perception of the security needs and risks of Israel. If one had to pick a major point of difference between Israel and the U. S. post-Lebanon, it would be the perception of whether Israel has become a Goliath or is still a David. Yitzhak Shamir says that Israel remains a small vulnerable country committed to defend itself. This is a two-edged sword. To the extent that the Congress perceives a strong Israel as a strong ally that is good. But if it is that strong it no longer needs the kind of military aid we have been giving it in the past.

Maynard Wishner inquired whether Congress might regard funding the U. S. force in Lebanon as contributing to Lebanon's stabilization rather than as securing Israel's frontier. Pelcovits said one could envisage the U. S. as the leading power in the south of Lebanon and France as the power in the north. He added that the concept of external security guarantees was again being revived. This raised the possibility of Soviet involvement which was undesirable from the U. S. standpoint. AJC should point out as we did some years back that external guarantees are no substitute but only a supplement to security arrangements on the ground among the parties directly involved.

Avner Yaniv said that everything hinges on whether Israel and Syria will withdraw from Lebanon. Three conditions

have to be fulfilled for the MNF plan to be considered by Israel: It will have to be a very long way from Israel's border, the majority of its composition will have to be American, and Israel will have to be confident that there is a stable Lebanese government to deal with on the other side. Nathan Pelcovits responded to this last point, saying that it is not a matter of a stable government. The Israeli position has been that the peacekeeping force has been ineffective. A local authority has to evolve that will take the responsibility to prevent terrorism and maintain stability. Mrs. Hauser doubted whether any Lebanese government could control the entire country. The refugees were both a political and a financial problem. If Israel decides to build houses for them but Amin Gemayel wants to drive the Palestinians out, there will be no solution. It is questionable whether the Saudis are prepared to resettle the Palestinian refugees. The Saudis may help rebuild Lebanon as a center of capitalist enterprise.

Professor Itamar Rabinovich stressed that for the Syrians security arrangements in the Bekaa valley were vital. The Shi'i are an important element in the social realities of Lebanon, particularly in the south and east. In recent months more than 40,000 have returned to Nabatiye. As for the Palestinian refugees they are also stratified. Those who came as refugees in 1948-49 have interacted well and been accepted by the local people. In 1970 Palestinians with weapons came from Jordan and formed an elite. Now those who have connections

with Amin Gemayel will have influence.

He added that the Commission of Inquiry and the serious debate in Israel as to the cost versus the benefits of the Lebanon operation will be an important political issue in the forthcoming elections. Consequently, Begin will insist on strong security and political arrangements with Lebanon to justify the war.

Israel has inherited the problem of maintaining peace between the Druze and the Maronites. He recalled that in 1975 Assad quoted Jumblatt (the late Druze leader) as having told him, "this is all a blood vendetta going back 120 years." Consequently there will be no neat solution for Lebanon. The Israelis are likely to get the Americans angry over what appear to be minor issues.

Prof. Perlmutter said there are two separate issues: the Syrian-Israeli and the Jordanian-Palestinian. For the Syrians the prime military problem is the Bekaa Valley. It is the soft underbelly of Syria and also "the bread basket," i. e. hashish smuggling route for the Syrians. For Israel, whatever arrangements are made in southern Lebanon, Israel will have a political and security influence there for the foreseeable future and, it therefore has to bear some of the economic burden and concern for the refugees, etc. It is in Israel's interest to make a deal with Syria.

The curvilinear view of the State Department doesn't see this at all, but focuses on the details of the Reagan plan. Israeli-American relations will be on the rocks because of minor

disputes, like the make-up of the MNF. Perlmutter was doubtful that Hussein and the PLO would accept the Reagan plan and enter Camp David talks. As for Israeli politics, Sharon is not out of the game, whatever the inquiry comes out with, and Sharon may head his own ticket and win seven or eight seats.

### III. Discussion of Conclusions and Recommendations

Rita Hauser commented that there is a difficult period ahead for American-Israeli relations in addition to differences of opinion stemming from the Reagan plan. She added that when she met Cheysson in Paris he was trying to put together an international consortium to help Lebanon and considered an Israeli-Syrian deal in Lebanon unacceptable to France. It was possible that we will have a status quo and a carving up of spheres of influence in Lebanon with no real progress toward peace. What are the recommendations as to how the American government should proceed?

Abraham Karlikow asked whether there were any guidelines or measuring rods to use in assessing proposals and policies regarding Lebanon. Perlmutter responded that he preferred that Israel didn't play a role in trying to put Lebanon together, since he did not believe there was a society or government in Lebanon.

Haim Shaked pointed out that stability or instability in Lebanon were relative concepts. Since World War II very few countries have disappeared from the face of the map. On the other hand, for many years, Lebanon was fragmented, yet it

managed to function as a state. It won't be Canada, but it can be more stable than in the 1970's. As for the Syrian option, there's nothing new in that idea. His guess was that a Syrian option was only wishful thinking. (Dayan at one time proposed removing some settlements from the Golan, but Dayan is dead.)

It's not easy to reach a solution if one regards all Arab states as a given and Israel as a variable. Israel is as much a given as they in terms of its interests and policies.

While there are problems, events in the Middle East have not been moving against basic Israeli interests of survival and ability to protect its interests. We should address ourselves to U. S.-Arab relations and actual policies, where we can have some influence. Concrete illustrations:

1. American Jewish support for the rehabilitation of Lebanon helps to strike a positive note and is not detrimental to the long-term interests of Israel.

2. We should keep reminding the peacemakers that any time a policy relating to security addresses itself to only one or two actors, it will upset the whole system and result in counteraction. One should not ignore the effect upon Israel of deals with Saudi Arabia and Morocco. Conversely, one cannot look at Israel and Jordan in isolation from the broader system.

3. One should talk of "rehabilitation" not "relief" in Lebanon.

Prof. Ra'anan said he was concerned with the ingrained lack of patience in this country and the obsession with finding a quick fix or technical solution to every problem. One cannot have a peacekeeping force in heavily populated areas where there isn't a chance of effective demilitarization. These "solutions" will aggravate the situation on the ground as well as relations between Israel and America. We are undermining the major point: the peace camp has always maintained that it's either peace or territory. And here we are brushing aside a country like Lebanon and saying that it's not an integral unit -- yet, this is the one place where there isn't a territorial claim by one side against the other. It is morally wrong to brush aside the idea of a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon. Otherwise, we would in effect be ratifying the view of Tehiya that the exchange of territory for peace is not feasible since the Arabs are simply unprepared to make peace under any circumstances.

In response to a question by Maynard Wishner as to whether the Begin settlements policy foreclosed opportunities for future flexibility, Ra'anan noted that the Yamit and other Sinai settlers were evacuated even though both the Labor and Likud governments had been absolutely definite that these settlements would be permanent. Yaniv added that according to American estimates the total number of Israeli settlers in the territories was only 25,000.

The vast bulk of these are in the area that Labor would retain under a territorial compromise. One should also distinguish between settlements in the Jordan Valley, those in the Etzion bloc -- which was on privately owned Jewish land already before 1948, and those in the built-up suburbs around Jerusalem. Mr. Wishner wondered whether the figure of 100,000 settlers by the end of the decade projected by Meron Benvenisti would constitute a critical mass.

Prof. Yaniv said that we should point out to Washington that the U. S. benefitted from Israel's action in Lebanon. The U. S. should not push Israel out of Lebanon too soon for the result would be a heavier burden to the U. S. We can say to Israel that in the south, "Haddad can do it for you. Say you want a peace treaty with Lebanon but don't actually do it, it might foreclose an agreement with Syria," which will take time.

Mr. Wishner said that Lebanon will resist anything other than tents for the refugees. The American Jewish community has so far contributed \$1 million toward rehabilitation efforts in Lebanon. The Lebanese are telling the world to solve the refugee problem and too high a profile for Jewish efforts may be regarded as an indirect indictment of Israel.

Walter Stern suggested that the U. S. should press the Saudis. The American claim that the Lebanese can't sign a peace treaty because of fear of the Saudis doesn't hold water. The Saudis don't want Syria or Iran to overtake or undermine Lebanon. Because of the Iran-Iraq war the Saudis are fearful of Khomeini. Israel stands as a bulwark between the Saudis and Iran. This is leverage. We ought to be



pressing the U. S. to pressure the Arabs rather than Israel. We should reinforce the positive aspects of the Reagan plan and press for direct negotiations and talks with the Arabs.

Mrs. Hauser said that everyone agrees that there is a difficult period for Israeli-American relations ahead. What should the AJC do in light of this?

Alfred Moses said that while there would be some friction over Lebanon, the real tension between the U. S. and Israel will only emerge once the Jordanians move. He did not think this was likely soon.

Dr. Adam Garfinkle said that there was no political base for the reconstruction of Lebanon. As to the West Bank, Jordan will bite and try to negotiate by proxy as much as it can -- it will not be able to get a final settlement but it will get the Hawk missiles, planes etc. He wondered if one could make a distinction between the rehabilitation of Lebanon and relief for the Palestinian refugees. He suggested that we urge the Arabs that time was running out and they had better enter negotiations with Israel if they hoped for any results.

Prof. Stephen Cohen said one should also pay attention to style. It is important to avoid the style of "militant alienation" on the part of the American Jewish community from the U. S. government on the issues that will be coming up, e. g. the Jordanian arms deal, the composition of the MNF, or the specifics of the Reagan plan. Similarly, we should avoid becoming alienated from Israel. The rehabilitation

of Lebanon is not only humanitarian, it has great political implications. The present situation allows for the formation of relations with important elements there. For example, the proposed rural development bank is a way of developing new conduits and alliances. There are important elements in Lebanon who want to make relations with Israel organic, and Jews with international business connections may be helpful in this regard.

Cohen also urged that we must maintain a balance between Lebanon and West Bank issues. There's a lesson to be learned from the transition from the Carter administration to that of Reagan. A positive approach to revitalize Camp David will get Israel better deals on the other issues including those relating to Lebanon.

If the Syrian option is seen as a way to avoid dealing with the Palestinian issue, it won't work. If it is viewed as a more successful way for a better deal on the Golan Heights and the West Bank, then it creates competition between Jordan and Syria for the West Bank. The AJC should be the exception to other Jewish organizations and should be ready to engage in examining and presenting initiatives in regard to the West Bank. Most of the American Jewish community will avoid that. The AJC can be a voice for the return to the Camp David process from which everyone has run away. Mrs. Hauser noted that AJC had repeatedly done so.

Abraham Karlikow pointed out that our problem with the Camp David process is that if we conclude that Israel

is violating it and say so we alienate Begin. We have to wait until Jordan moves forward and then can say something if Israel fails to respond. We should push for the rehabilitation of Lebanon -- yes, even if it's a myth. We have failed in pushing for a peace agreement between Israel and Lebanon. We should bring it up as a goal. We should advocate the resettlement of the Palestinians in Lebanon as the Jewish refugees from Arab countries have been resettled in Israel and other countries.

Mrs. Hauser added that the refugees were a world problem but it was hard to get others to take their fair share. Karlikow also advocated an early Israeli pullout from Lebanon to avoid constant problems. A Lebanese army friendly to Israel is the only logical solution.

Mr. Jerome Goldstein said that he generally endorsed the analysis of Moses and Garfinkle. He felt that the best deal Israel will get is the Reagan plan, but that's a hard thing for Israel to say.

Prof. Sara Reguer agreed that the issue of the West Bank was the biggest potential clash between Israel and America. She agreed that the Palestinian refugees should largely be resettled in Lebanon.

Dr. Pelcovits said he was not sure how much further we can go than reiterating our faith in Camp David and criticizing Arab failure at Fez to join the process. We ought to make more distinct the emphasis on the Palestinians as a refugee problem. The UN will continue to press "the inalien-

able rights of Palestinians." Over the next month or two we will have new efforts to renew and enlarge the mandate of UNIFIL? Can one create a UNIFIL or MNF presence which will be more acceptable to Congress, one that will entail less U. S. involvement? This is based, of course, on the premise that Israel should disengage. Is Congress willing to contemplate a long-term expensive U. S. involvement? If not, Congress should come up with an alternative. We will have to also be concerned with the level of U. S. aid and revival of "guarantees," as part of a search for soft options.

Regarding settlements, we should be more sympathetic to Israel's position on this, since their scope is not as grandiose as some have made it appear.

Alfred Moses reported on his meetings last month in Jordan. His conclusion was that the King won't be able to come with a proposal that will excite the Israeli public. He may come back from Washington saying enough to move the ball from Jordan to the U. S. and ask the Americans to pressure Israel to respond. The Jordanians are heavily dependent on Saudi money. The Saudis won't move as long as the Palestinians won't agree. And Arafat won't agree to be subservient to Hussein. There won't be the assurances that Hussein needs. We should shift from pressuring the Israelis to keeping the pressure on Hussein. Until Hussein responds positively and adequately there is no point in our prodding Israel in view of the democratically elected government which enjoys majority support.

Yaniv noted that the Palestinians depend on Syrian support, which brings us back to the issue of Syrian-Israeli relations.

Cohen noted that sometimes, as was the case with Egypt, the objective situation brings about a radical change in policy even when there is strong ideological opposition to change.

Mrs. Hauser adjourned the meeting at 4 p. m.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
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# CENTRO PRO UNIONE

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TELEFONO 656.44.98

Rome, December 20th, 1982

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
National Director  
Interreligious Affairs  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56 Street  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc,

Your welcome letter reached me just as I was leaving for a week in Venice for the annual consultation on the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity in January. I asked Sever Voicu, our librarian, to call your secretary to indicate my acceptance of your proposal, and my agreement that the first week in May would be the better time for both of us. Thus I understand a general agreement on our part to look forward to:

1. A colloquium on the general subject of human rights, which will avoid entering into particular political subjects (which would involve diplomatic and jurisdictional problems for me here);
2. the colloquium to be largely organized by you, with this office responding as far as possible to your initiatives;
3. that this Centro is the site, and is free the entire first week of May, 1983, but that May first should be avoided because it is a legal holiday when all transportation of the local sector is not in service;
4. that we could pay up to three hundred dollars towards the cost of simultaneous translation service if needed, but beyond that point we would either have to do without or find other funds;
5. that we would arrange for the translation service if necessary;
6. that the Centro would offer a reception as part of the colloquium;
7. that we would request a private papal audience during the program (and of course, that depends on the disposition of the Vatican);
8. that the program be jointly sponsored by the American Jewish Committee's Office for Interreligious Affairs and the Centro Pro Unione, and if you think a good idea, possibly also by SIDIC if they so desire;
9. that we would discuss how best we can use publicity and/or publication of papers from the program. (We will be happy with publicity, as long as it observes our limitations as indicated in 1. above).

I hope that is helpful generally. A good time to phone me, if necessary, is at the Convento (656-44-98) at 1 P.M. Rome time (dinner), or in the evenings. I'm generally at the office (659-552) from 3 to 6 P.M. Rome time.

I think this is the time for a human rights program here, as a healing factor which would be much appreciated by both Jewish

./.



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Rabbi Tanenbaum - 2/

and Catholic constituencies, both locally and internationally.

From the personal standpoint, how happy I would be to entertain you at our house, Marc, and I hope you will want to stay with us during your visit. In this day of women's lib, why don't you bring along your hard working-secretary and Inge? Ah well, we can always dream.

When you have further plans established, I'll get in touch with Jorge Mejia to see if he'll work with us.

Looking forward to hearing from you (and remember to send a copy of any communication by separate post in case of loss in Italian mails),

Sincerely, Your friend,

*Charles*

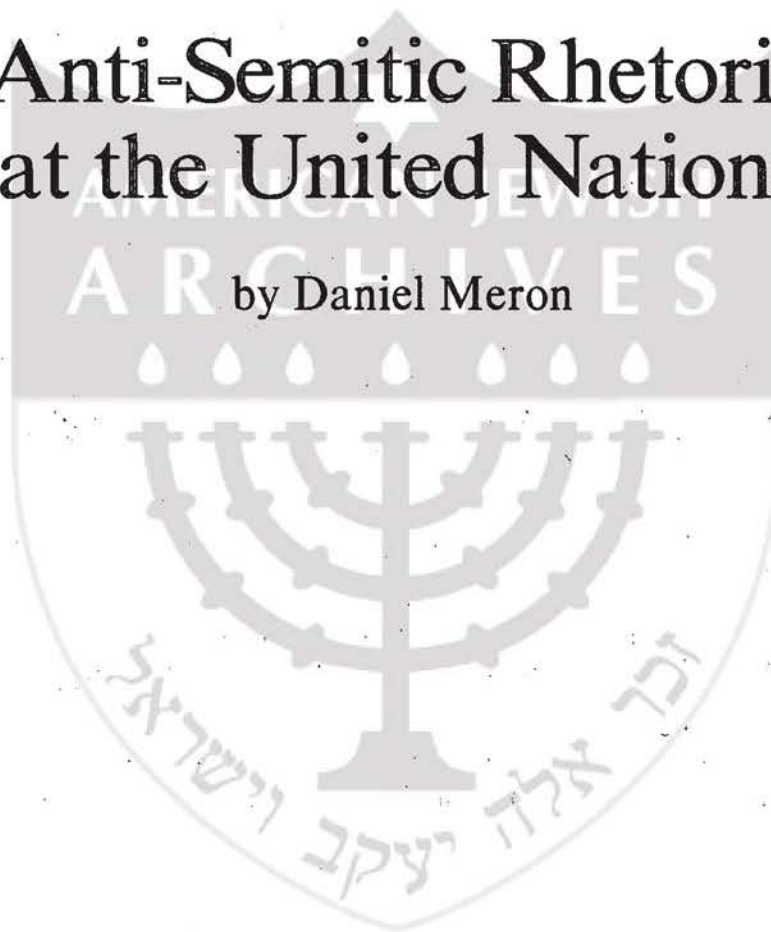
(Rev.) Charles Angell, S.A.  
Director



THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

# Anti-Semitic Rhetoric at the United Nations

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
by Daniel Meron





## 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:

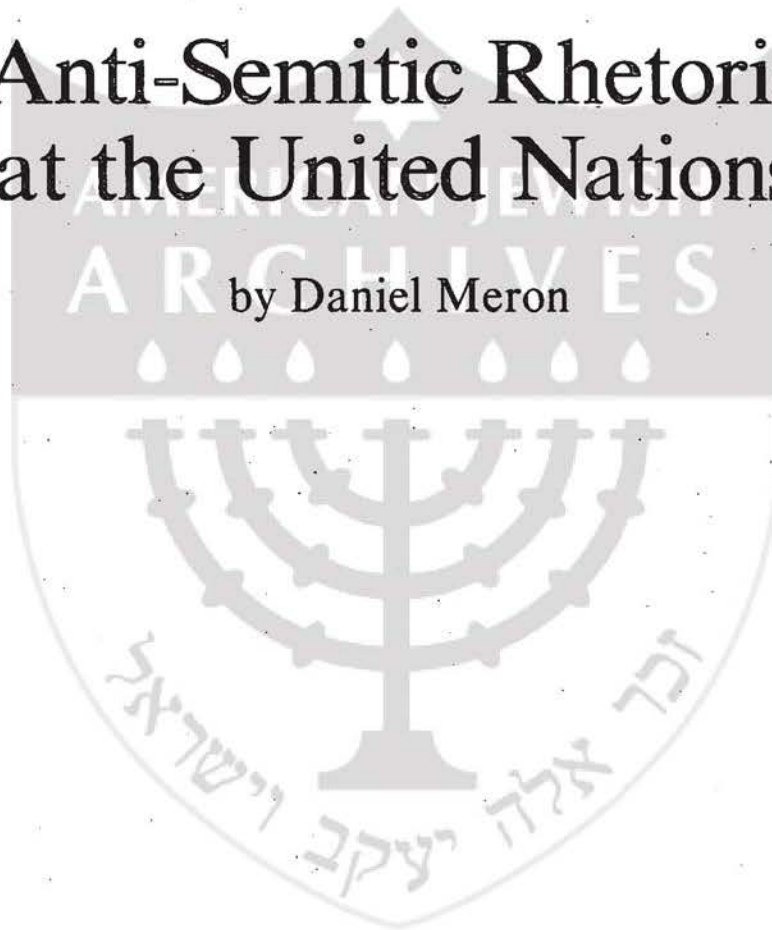
- a) scholarly endeavors designed to clarify basic human rights concepts or issues;
- b) educational and training programs to promote wider knowledge and use of international human rights principles and institutions, to develop a critical public constituency capable of extending and improving them, and 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.

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THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

# Anti-Semitic Rhetoric at the United Nations

by Daniel Meron



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

## FOREWORD

Particularly since 1975, when the General Assembly adopted a resolution equating Zionism with racism, some representatives of Arab and Soviet bloc governments have used UN bodies as platforms for anti-Jewish statements. Yet there has been little systematic analysis of such speech. As part of our UN-related activity, the Jacob Blaustein Institute engaged Daniel Meron, a Harvard College undergraduate, as a summer intern to undertake as a case study a systematic survey of the records of one General Assembly and of selected Security Council sessions during 1982, to determine the extent and character of anti-Jewish manifestations during that session.

Mr. Meron was confronted with the complex relationship between traditional, unequivocal anti-Semitism, newer anti-Zionism, and attacks on Israel, as have been previous analysts of anti-Semitism at the UN. His research yielded relatively few examples of crude, classical anti-Semitism; anti-Zionist and anti-Israel statements were much more pervasive. The research also showed that anti-Semitic speech was restricted mainly to a few Arab states and the PLO with some objectionable rhetoric coming from the Communist bloc (including Cuba). It indicated that within the anti-Zionist rhetoric there was a discernible strain of traditional anti-Semitism.

Mr. Meron also analyzed the principles in international legal documents, mainly the Convention on Racial Discrimination and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, that might be used to combat anti-Semitic rhetoric.

Annexed to his paper is a list of examples of the several types of statements: some unequivocally anti-Semitic, others anti-Zionist or anti-Israel with or without anti-Semitic overtones depending on interpretation.

It is pleasing to bring this interesting research paper by a Blaustein Institute intern to your attention.

*Sidney Liskofsky*  
Program Director

## ANTI-SEMITIC RHETORIC AT THE UNITED NATIONS

In recent months there has been renewed controversy over anti-Israel rhetoric in the United Nations. Representatives of Israel and Jewish groups in the United States have claimed that virulent anti-Israel statements made by delegates were also anti-Jewish. "In an effort to combat what they see as persistent anti-Semitism at the United Nations,"<sup>1</sup> American Jewish leaders met with Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and urged him to do his utmost to try to put an end to outbursts<sup>2</sup> such as the statement made by the representative of Libya, Mr. Treiki, who accused American Jews of being pornographers and of attempting to "debase" the American people.<sup>3</sup> Many delegates, however, view even such outbursts as mere "diplomatic indiscretions"<sup>4</sup> or as acceptable political criticism of Israel not directed against Jews in general.<sup>5</sup> The question is, which statements constitute acceptable criticism of Israel, and which utterances should be condemned as anti-Semitic? For analytic purposes this paper distinguishes between three different types of rhetoric: those statements explicitly using the term "Jews" or "Jewish," those about "Zionism" or "Zionists," and those referring to Israel.

### Anti-Jewish Speech

Article 1 (1) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (hereafter the Convention) defines "racial discrimination" as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms. . . ." <sup>6</sup> (emphasis added) Article 4 (a) prohibits "dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination, as well as all acts of violence or incitement to such acts" against any group on grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin.<sup>7</sup>

The definition of racial discrimination prohibits distinctions which have "the purpose or effect" of impairing the equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.<sup>8</sup> The prohibition of racial propaganda in article 4 is broader and includes the dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or which promote hatred. Thus, under article 4, it is not necessary to demonstrate adverse impact, or even intent to promote racial discrimination or violence, in order to prohibit racist propaganda.

Under this Convention, virtually any invidious distinction on the basis of race, either in law or in propaganda, is almost per se invalid. This conclusion is also supported by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 2(1) of the Covenant requires a state to "ensure to all individuals within its territory... the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without

distinction of any kind, such as race, colour... religion, etc.."9 Article 24(1), discussing the rights of children, prohibits any "discrimination on grounds of race, colour, religion, national origin, etc."10

In short, the protections in the Racial Convention (and the Covenant) against racial discrimination, hatred and propaganda are so far-reaching that, according to some members of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which implements the Convention, any statement insulting or maliciously ridiculing individuals belonging to certain groups is punishable.11

Accordingly, it can be safely warranted that criticism of "Jews," the "Jewish lobby" and perhaps even invidious reference to Israel as the "Jewish State" (as opposed to criticisms [of specific individuals or] of the policies of the Israeli government ) are prohibited by international human rights law.

#### Anti-Zionist Rhetoric

There is controversy over whether virulent attacks on "Zionism" are anti-Semitic. The thesis that anti-Zionism as well as anti-Israel tirades are equivalent to anti-Semitism has been advanced by Yehuda Z. Blum, former representative of Israel to the United Nations, in a letter to the Secretary General dated 16 January, 1984:

Throughout all these years the State of Israel and the Jewish people have been under no illusions with regard to the true intent and purpose of the "anti-Zionist" and "anti-Israel" outbursts at the United Nations and elsewhere. It has been well understood by decent people everywhere that behind the "anti-Zionist" and "anti-Israel" tirades there lurks anti-Semitism, pure and simple, and that "anti-Israel" and "anti-Zionist" slogans are being used by closet and crypto-anti-Semites to disguise their true intentions. . . .12

Blum, here, argues that the "true intent" of "anti-Zionism" is to foster anti-Semitism, and that criticism of Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, is in itself anti-Semitic.

As noted above, article 4(1) of the Convention condemns "all propaganda... which attempt to justify or promote racial hatred or discrimination in any form."13 Thus, under the Convention, anti-Zionist rhetoric intended to promote hostility towards Jews in general would be prohibited. But how does one demonstrate intent? The difficulty of demonstrating such intent is compounded because some delegates who virulently criticize Zionism and Zionists deny any hostility towards Jews.

Idi Amin, in an address to the General Assembly in 1975, for example, said:14

The United States of America has been colonized by the Zionists who hold all the tools of development and power. They own virtually all the banking institutions, the major manufacturing and processing industries and the major means of communication. . . I call upon the

people of the United States of America. . . to rid their society of the Zionists in order that the true citizens of this nation may control their own destiny and exploit the natural resources of their country to their own benefit.

The similarity between this statement and the propaganda of the Nazis is quite striking. There can be little doubt that when Idi Amin speaks of Zionists owning all the banking institutions and not being true American citizens he is referring to Jews and is intentionally using traditional Jewish stereotypes. Yet, just a few sentences later he says: "I like the Jews but I do not approve of zionism [sic]."<sup>15</sup> Even though so invidious a statement might be considered to demonstrate intent despite the disclaimer, how does one prove this? Given the difficulty of proof it would appear that an argument based on intent is not helpful for Blum's argument.

Blum's second argument poses another difficulty: The enemies of Israel, he implies, are engaging in "ideological and political anti-Semitism" by denying the right to Jewish self-determination, as by the expression "Zionism is racism" which defames the ideology of "Jewish peoplehood."<sup>16</sup>

First of all, it is not clear that the denial of the right to Jewish self-determination is equivalent to anti-Semitism. If it is, are Israelis who deny the Palestinians the right to their own state, racist? Secondly, not all Jews accept Zionism. In fact, some feel that Jewish cultural and religious identity can best be maintained in the diaspora. Are those groups that are most vocal in their opposition to the state of Israel, such as Neturei Karta, anti-Semitic? Rabbi Elmer Berger, a longstanding anti-Zionist activist, stated in a speech at the University of Kansas on October 21, 1982 that "the racist/theocratic character of Zionism complicates any process which contemplates peace through reasonable territorial adjustments."<sup>17</sup> Though Rabbi Berger may be misguided, should one label him<sup>18</sup> an anti-Semite? Thus, any flat equation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism is problematic.

Again, perhaps the best approach would be one based on the Convention. As Jack Greenberg observes, the Convention distinguishes between purpose and effect when dealing with discrimination.<sup>19</sup> An act or statement which has the effect of promoting racial hatred or discrimination, even if intent is lacking, would still be prohibited under Articles 1(1) and 4(1).

This emphasis on effect is not unique. Indeed, a number of Supreme Court decisions on discrimination have construed certain statutes as forbidding discriminatory effect irrespective of intent.<sup>20</sup> Federal employment guidelines, moreover, also prohibit practices with discriminatory effect, regardless of intent.<sup>21</sup> By this approach, it would be enough to demonstrate that hostile criticism of Zionism in general, as opposed to specific policies of Israel, is likely to promote racial hatred, and thereby bring it within the prohibition of the Convention. It would be sufficient to show such a likelihood without demonstrating a "clear and present danger."

If the assertion that "the Zionism equals racism resolution has had the effect of promoting, sustaining and legitimizing anti-Semitism in various parts of the world"<sup>22</sup> is correct, then not only those who cite it but the resolution itself is condemnable under articles 1(1) and 4(1) of the Convention.

#### Anti-Israel Statements

As with anti-Zionist Statements, Ambassador Blum, in the letter quoted above, complained that anti-Israel "tirades" were really "smoke-screens" for anti-Semitic slogans and as such should be prohibited.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, any attempt at limiting anti-Israel criticism, no matter how virulent, on the grounds of anti-Semitism, raises serious problems.

It could be argued that the Convention's broad prohibition of propaganda whose effect is to promote racial hatred, would prohibit the anti-Israel rhetoric Blum complains of. But that would require proof of impact. Surely some criticism of Israel, even harsh criticism, is legitimate. How, then, does one determine which statements constitute legitimate criticism and which should be prohibited? Because such statements would have to be addressed on a case by case basis, impact would be very difficult to measure. How can one demonstrate the effect of one statement?

One solution might be to prohibit not particular statements but certain types of statements. For example, statements denying Israel's very right to exist would be ruled anti-Semitic in effect and prohibited. Blum himself seems to do just that when quoting, as an example of an anti-Semitic remark, one by the Iranian Foreign Minister, referring to Israel as a "cancerous growth" that must be removed.<sup>24</sup> However, if this remark is anti-Semitic, then is Neturei Karta also anti-Semitic, since it objects to the very existence of the State of Israel?

Another type of prohibited statement might be one comparing Israel to the Nazis, on the ground that this comparison is an intentional attempt to demean the atrocities committed by the Nazis by claiming that their crimes are no different from Israeli policies, and as such is intended to cause pain to all Jews. A statement such as that made by the representative of Syria, Mr. Khaddam, that "Israel has. . . exceeded all the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis . . ." <sup>25</sup> would then be prohibited. This is a weak argument, however, not only because of the difficulty of demonstrating that the use of Nazi metaphors are intended to have these effects, but because not only Israel is compared to the Nazis. Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani, the representative of Iran, for example, compared both Israel's and Iraq's leaders to the Nazis. He stated: "if Nazi criminals deserved--and of course they did--to be condemned and punished by international bodies, why then should not Saddam Hussein and Begin be punished in this Assembly for their war crimes?"<sup>26</sup>

These difficulties lead to the conclusion that anti-Israel criticism cannot be prohibited on the grounds of anti-Semitism. One must look elsewhere for a solution, perhaps to Article 20(2) of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states that "any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be

prohibited by law."<sup>27</sup> Statements such as "the Zionist entity. . . should be removed like a cancerous tumor,"<sup>28</sup> therefore, could be prohibited as providing an incitement to violence and advocating national hatred against Israel. Thus, even virulent criticism of Israel which could not be termed anti-Semitic, could still be prohibited as advocacy of national hatred against that state.

As this paper has shown international legal instruments, if used properly, may provide an effective means to combat anti-Jewish rhetoric at the UN.





ANTI-JEWISH, ANTI-ZIONIST AND  
ANTI-ISRAEL SPEECH, 1982

**Anti-Jewish Rhetoric**

Iraq  
Mr. Al-Hadawy  
A/37/PV 87, General Assembly

"Jewish financial influence had increased in the United States because of war conditions and their aftermath, when the United States adopted an open-door policy towards Europe, which had been destroyed by the war. The Jewish societies succeeded in lessening discrimination against Jews in some parts of the country and hastened to impose their absolute domination on finance, the mass media and various sectors of public opinion. They gained positions in the American Congress, the White House and the Department of State. Those who needed the support of the political personalities involved hovered around them, and the influential Jewish lobby appeared on the scene."

Nicaragua  
Mr. Chamorro Mora  
A/37/PV. 96, General Assembly

"It is difficult to believe that a people that suffered so much from the Nazi policy of extermination in the middle of the twentieth century would use the same fascist, genocidal arguments and methods against other people."

PLO  
Mr. Abdel Rahman  
S/PV. 2375,  
pp. 72

"Crime, drug taking, prostitution, are the trademarks of the society that he and his colleagues declare that they want to establish for the Jewish people."

Syria  
Mr. El-Fattal

"Are not the forces of pressure -- that is, the Jewish Lobby in the United States -- the obstacle preventing the restoration of stability and security in Lebanon? . . .

The voice of Rabbi Schindler confirmed what we have stated, that is, that the Jewish Lobby, in spite of its strength, is not the only giant beast imposing its will on the United States Administration.

[Continues by explaining that Jewish Lobby is only successful because the best interests of the U.S. are best served that way.]

#### Anti-Zionist Rhetoric

Cuba  
Mr. Roa Kouri  
A/37/PV. 86, General Assembly

"Once again the Zionist authorities have shown their racist sadism and their profound contempt for the most cherished values of mankind."

Cuba  
Mr. Malmierca  
A/37/PV. 23, General Assembly

"Hitler would have had much to learn from the madness of Messrs. Begin and Sharon.

The Zionist genocide in Beirut is the direct result of the United States government's policy of force, violence and repression."

Djibouti  
Mr. Farah  
A/37/PV. 16, P. 106, General Assembly

"During the first half of this century the Nazis, in their . . . campaign for racial superiority, arrogated to themselves the right to determine who should live and who should be deprived of life. They institutionalized terror and mass killing as means of achieving that goal.

"In the second half of this century the Zionist neo-Nazis have espoused a similar concept, although more limited in scope . . .

These Zionists have unfortunately made us relive a tragedy which history wished to bury at Nuremburg and which we thought had been removed from our memories forever."

Iraq  
Mr. Al-Hadawy  
A/37/PV. 87, General Assembly

"It [Zionism] is a racist, imperialist, political movement that distinguishes between Jews and non-Jews, believes in the purity of the Jewish race and is based on terrorism, repression, treachery and expansion, just as Nazism distinguished between the Germans and the non-German races and resorted to terrorism, repression and expansion. Since its inception in 1947 the Judenstadt has been guilty of putting into practice all these evils."

Jordan  
Mr. Nuseibeh  
S/PV. 2396, Security Council

"This has been the incessant pattern of murder and destruction which the Zionist Nazi racist gangs have been perpetrating against the Palestinian people ever since . . . Menachem Begin desecrated the hallowed soil of the Holy Land when, in 1943, he arrived in Palestine as an immigrant."

Syria  
Mr. Abouchaer  
A/SPEC/37/SR. 27 para. 20, Special Political Committee

"Israel, acting from the hatred of humanity dictated by its Zionist ideology . . ."  
"The Zionist usurpers, the enemies of mankind."

Syria  
Mr. Khaddam  
A/37/PV. 8, pp. 84-85, General Assembly

"Much suffering and bleeding continue as a result of the plots of world Zionism to establish a racist empire starting in Palestine and extending to other parts of the world, defined by Zionist doctrine as being from the Nile to the Euphrates . . ."

Syria  
Mr. Khaddam  
A/37/PV. 8, p. 83, General Assembly

"The racist regime in Pretoria, like the racist Zionist regime in Palestine, has not only detonated explosive situations of conflict and tension, but its practices have always been an affront to humanity and a blot on its history."

Syria  
Mr. El-Fattal  
A/37/PV. 93, General Assembly

" . . . Zionism with its racist, expansionist nature and its past and present crimes against international peace and security . . ."

Libya  
Mr. Treiki  
A/37/PV. 96, General Assembly

"The General Assembly has recognized that Zionism is a form of racism and that the fascist Nazi regime in power in occupied Palestine is a racist regime."

**Anti-Israel Rhetoric**

Angola  
Mr. Jorge  
A/37/PV. 16, P. 92, Current Assembly

"The brutal armed invasion carried out by the racist and fascist Tel Aviv regime, with the full and shameful connivance of the United States Administration . . ."

Cuba  
Mr. Lopez Del Amo  
A/37/PV. 93, General Assembly

"In the course of recent months the international community has witnessed acts of barbaric behavior, acts of extermination by Israel, comparable only to Nazi-Fascist actions during the Second World War."

Iran  
Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani  
A/37/ PV. 41 p. 16, General Assembly

"If Nazi criminals deserved -- and of course they did -- to be condemned and punished by international bodies, why then should not Saddam Hussein and Begin be punished in this assembly for their war crimes?"

". . . the innocent Iraqi subjects and residents who had been expelled from Iraq . . . because of the Iraqi regimes' racist commitment."

Jordan  
Mr. Nuseibeh  
A/37/PV. 92. General Assembly

"It [Israeli expansionism] is extremely reminiscent of the rise of Nazism in its theoretical conceptual creed of racism, expansion and hegemony, which subsequently erupted one of the most devastating wars of this century and the total breakdown of the League of Nations and international law as arbiters of relations among nations. That is not a vain and propagandist analogy, for while the motivating theoretical frameworks are identical in both movements and cataclysmic culmination of one came with the massive deluge of the Second World War . . . the, second namely the Israeli-Zionist thrust, is in the middle stage of its unfolding, stupendous as the early stages have been."

Jordan  
Mr. Nuseibeh  
S/PV. 2388, p.7, Security Council

". . . the Israeli Nazis are at the present continuing to perpetrate their barbaric assault on and genocide against the capital of the independent sovereign state of Lebanon . . ."

Morocco  
Mr. Boucetta  
A/37/PV. 17, p. 52, General Assembly

"The abominable massacre planned by the Israeli army of occupation in the camps at Sabra and Shatila claimed more than 4,000 victims among innocent unarmed Palestinians, including women, children and old people. It reminds us of a similar massacre carried about by Menachem Begin in the Palestine village of Deir Yassin in 1947, and it transcends in atrocity and the manner in which it was committed the deeds of the Nazis during the Second World War."

PL0  
Mr. Terzi  
S/PV. 2379, p. 87, Security Council

"Did they provoke the attack in order to bring us back to a state of war? Is the criminal mentality of the Nazis still there?"

PL0  
Mr. Terzi  
S/PV. 2380, p. 22 Security Council

". . . the developments in Jiddah . . . were answered by the neo-Nazis with some savage attacks which caught unaware scores of Beirut civilians who had hoped to benefit from the relative calm to secure basic needs."

PLO

Mr. Terzi

S/PV. 2388, Security Council

"The members of the Herut party and the Irgun Zvai Leumi are known for their identification with Hitlerian doctrines and policies."

Saudi Arabia

Mr. Allagany

S/PV 2325, pp. 13-14 Security Council

"It has constantly used the highly publicized Nazi practices against Jews as an excuse for its excesses in Palestine but has failed to realize that its atrocities against the Palestinian people . . . were not incomparable to the atrocities attributed to the Nazi regime during the Second World War."

Syria

Mr. Khaddam

A/37/PV.8 pp. 91-92, General Assembly

"Are the Israelis committing their criminal acts to serve their racist Zionist interests or on behalf of the United States and its interests? If Israel's crimes against the Arabs are not committed on behalf of the United States or its interests, why does it provide this support and backing to Israel?"

Syria

Mr. El-Fattal

A/37/PV. 40, General Assembly

"Foremost among such [racist] regimes are those of the governments of South Africa and Israel, which are guilty of the most invidious and murderous acts against the people under the yoke of occupation."

Syria

Mr. Khaddam

A/37/PV. 8, General Assembly

"No country in the world -- either in the ancient or in the modern world -- has a record as dark as Israel's. It is a record abounding in racist crimes, acts of aggression, wars and crimes against humanity. Israel has thus exceeded all the crimes perpetuated by the Nazis and the fascist forces during the first half of this century . . . In spite of all this the Israelis still claim that they want peace. Is that any different from what Hitler and the Nazis used to say when they were destroying towns and villages and killing the civilian population, including women and children?"

Syria  
Mr. Khaddam  
A/37/PV. 8, General Assembly

"In a notorious statement, reminiscent of the Nazi concepts which were denounced by all mankind, the Israeli Minister of Defense [Sharon] states that he believes that Israel's lebensraum will stretch to include Pakistan in the East and North African countries in the West."

Syria  
Mr. Khaddam  
A/37/PV. 8, pp. 88-90 General Assembly

"Then came the horrible massacres perpetuated by the Israeli forces of occupation in the refugee camps of Sabra, Shatila and other localities. Israeli forces murdered, slaughtered and mutilated more than 1,000 innocent Palestinian citizens, mostly women and children, in a bloodbath reminiscent of the massacre of Deir Yassin, perpetuated by Begin on 9 April 1947. This horrible carnage, which exceeds Dir Yassin and all the crimes of Nazism, confirms that a genocidal war of extermination is being waged by Israel against the Palestinian and Labanese people before the very eyes of the whole world."

Sudan  
Mr. Osman  
A/C. 1/37/PV. 13, Government Committee

" . . . my delegation cannot fail to express regret at the fact that the two racist regimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv have found the means to acquire and manufacture nuclear weapons."

Uganda  
Mr. Irumba  
Security Council

". . . the twin brothers in the furtherance of racism and aggression --namely, Israel and Apartheid South Africa -- have persistently and arrogantly flouted numerous resolutions of the security council and the General Assembly."

Ukrainian, SSR  
Mr. Martynenko  
General Assembly

"The tragedy of Beirut has brought back to the memory of mankind the darkest scenes from the past -- the bloody crimes of the Nazis in the second world war . . .

Such brutal behavior by the aggressor would not have been possible without the political protection and extensive military and financial aid Israel has been receiving from its influential American benefactors."

U.S.S.R.  
Mr. Gromyko  
General Assembly

"Could Israel commit aggression and perpetuate genocide against the Palestinians but for its so-called "strategic consensus" with the United States?"

March 1985

85-900-16





NOTES

- 1 Note: Throughout this paper the term "anti-Semitic" will refer to its commonly accepted meaning of "anti-Jewish."
- 2 Richard Bernstein, "Jewish Groups Press UN Chief on Anti-Semitism," The New York Times, 19 June 1984.
- 3 UN document, A/38/PV.88, pp. 19-20.
- 4 The New York Times, 6.19.84.
- 5 The New York Times, 6.19.84.
- 6 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 1(1).
- 7 Convention, Article 4(a).
- 8 Convention, article 1(1).
- 9 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 2(1).
- 10 Covenant, Article 24(1).
- 11 UN document, GAOR, Supp. no. 18 A/32/18, para. 84.
- 12 Letter addressed to the Secretary General by the Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations, Yehuda Blum, dated 16 January 1984.
- 13 Convention, Article 4(1).
- 14 UN document, A/PV. 2370, pp.71-72.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Letter circulated by Professor Irwin Cotler, dated March 6, 1984.
- 17 Amy Kaufman Goott and Steven J. Rosen, eds., The Campaign to Discredit Israel (Washington: AIPAC, 1983), p.100.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Jack Greenberg, "Race, Sex, and Religious Discrimination in International Law," in Human Rights in International Law: Legal and Policy Issues (T. Meron ed., 1984), vol. II, p.322.
- 20 See Board of Education of the City of New York v. Harris, 444 U.S.130 (1979).
- 21 See Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 1607.3: "The use of any selection procedure which has an adverse impact on the hiring, promotion, or other employment or membership opportunities of members of any race, sex, or ethnic

group will be considered discriminatory..." 29 CFR 153 (1978, rev. 1 July 1983).

22 Ibid.

23 Blum letter, p.4.

24 Blum letter, p.3.

25 UN document, A/37/PV.8.

26 UN document, A/37/PV. 41, p.16.

27 Covenant, article 20(2), (emphasis added).

28 UN document, A/38/PV.102.



RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

I. Choice of Research Period. The most accurate method of determining how prevalent is anti-Semitic rhetoric at the UN was to examine as thoroughly as possible, one complete year of meetings rather than random meetings covering a number of different years. After comparing the sources available, both at the United Nations library and at the N.Y.U. library, I chose the UN's 37th year, covering January 1 to December 31, 1982 and including the 37th session of the General Assembly. The reasons for this choice of this time span was the following:

(1) The 37th year (1982) is the most recent for which reasonably complete records exist, and the most recent year for which a complete index exists. This index was important in that it greatly facilitated my research. Furthermore, a number of documents, such as the summary records of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, can only be obtained by requesting the records from the UN librarian using the exact call numbers which are identifiable only through the index.

Finally, the 37th year saw the invasion of Lebanon in June, as well as the siege of Beirut, the tragedy of Sabra and Shatila in September, and the shooting of Arab worshipers at the Temple Mount by Alan Goodman, incidents certain to provoke sharp reactions at the UN.

Method of Research. The first step was to read all debates indexed under the headings of "Israel," "The Middle East," "The Palestinians," etc., using the index to proceedings of the General Assembly and the separate index for the Security Council. I also read records of meetings which discussed South Africa and Apartheid, nuclear weapons in the Middle East and the debates on the Iran-Iraq war. In this research, I read the statements of all delegates, particularly though not exclusively, of the Arab countries and the Soviet bloc. These debates include discussions in committees that report to the plenary of the General Assembly, though (with the exception of the First Committee), no verbatim records exist for these bodies.

On completing these records, I skimmed the records of all the other meetings of the General Assembly and Security Council in search of other discussions involving Israel. I found, indeed, a considerable number of relevant meetings which were not indexed, especially of the Security Council. By the time I had completed my research, I had read well over half the records of the General Assembly and the Security Council. My final step consisted in reading all of the records of meetings of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People during 1982 that were available at the United Nations library.

Choice of Library. In my research I used both the UN library and the N.Y.U. library. The N.Y.U. library is the more pleasant of the two, is quieter and stays open much later at night. It has complete records of the General Assembly plenary, the Security Council, and theoretically all the General Assembly committees. In practice, however, its records of committee meetings are not complete.

The United Nations library, on the other hand, has as complete records as one can find, and its librarians are more knowledgeable than N.Y.U.'s. Its drawbacks, however, are its limited accessibility, which is restricted to delegates, staff, relatives of staff, as well as selected doctoral and post doctoral students.



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# **JEW** **AND** **HISPANICS** **IN AMERICA**

**THE MEETING OF  
TWO HISTORIC CULTURES**

**A Report of  
The Houston Conference on  
Hispanic-Jewish Relations**



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



Edited by the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, American Jewish Committee. Transcripts edited by Lori Santo.

## OUTLINE

- I. PREFACE
- II. A GUIDE TO THE PARTICIPANTS
- III. INTRODUCTION: THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE
- IV. A LOOK AT TWO IMMIGRANT GROUPS: JEWS AND HISPANICS
  - Some Comparisons and Contrasts
  - The Jewish Experience
  - The Hispanic Experience
- V. ISSUES IN THE ACCULTURATION/LIVES OF IMMIGRANTS
  - Homeland
  - Language
  - Education
  - Family
- VI. IMMIGRATION TODAY
- VII. PLURALISM AND POLICY: IRVING LEVINE
  - Introduction
  - Professionalism and Ethnicity
  - Ethnicity and Foreign Policy
  - Language Policy
  - Ethnicity and Economic Activity
  - Strengths and Strategies



## PREFACE

In April 1981, under the auspices of the Houston Chapter of the American Jewish Committee and the Immigrant Aid Society of the Americas, a two day Hispanic-Jewish Conference on Immigration and Acculturation was held in Houston, Texas.

The unique dialogue which was carried on between scholars, leaders and laypersons from two of America's most prominent ethnic groups created a rare occasion for the kind of "ethnic sharing" that is much needed both to recount the historical lessons of the past and to refuel faith in the possibility for problem solving today.

While the Hispanic-Jewish Conference featured presentations on the history of Hispanics and Jews in the settlement of Texas, the Conference also emphasized the total immigration and acculturation experience of the two groups.

Both Hispanics and Jews retain a commonality of experience in their strong desire to retain their unique cultural and historical identity, while at the same time they strive for absorption into the economic and cultural mainstream of American life. Both share religion as a foundation upon which they have built their values and institutions in this country. So it is once again appropriate to take a closer look at what is happening in the two communities.

The Texas Committee for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Humanities funded this unique meeting. Their support for the conference is greatly appreciated. This report of the highlights of the conference was also made possible by their generous grant.

Leonel Castillo  
Linda K. May  
Co-Chairpersons  
Hispanic-Jewish Conference

## A GUIDE TO THE PARTICIPANTS

1. **Dr. Lawrence Fuchs** Former Director of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy
2. **Roy Walter** Chief Rabbi, Congregation Emanu-El, Houston
3. **Irving M. Levine** Director, Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, American Jewish Committee
4. **Dr. Margarita Melville** Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Houston
5. **George Valdez** Deputy Director, Community Development Division of the Mayor's office.
6. **Leonel Castillo** Former Commissioner, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service
7. **Cecelia Brodsky** Older Jewish immigrant
8. **Manuel Crespo** Older Hispanic participant
9. **Dr. Guadalupe Quintanilla** Assistant Provost and Associate Professor of Spanish University of Houston

## INTRODUCTION: THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

Lawrence Fuchs: Migration is as old as human history. It is part of our story because human beings have the capacity to choose and to seek change. They have always chosen to improve their lot when they can.

Today, migration is more extensive than ever before in history. In the United States alone last year, we accepted over 200,000 refugees, approximately 500,000 immigrants, and 135,000 people who arrived as special interest category. In addition, there are a great many other people who come to the U.S. outside of the regular immigration process. Since its early beginning, the United States has always been a focal point. Forty million persons have come here, about 15 million have left, with periodic temporary flows back and forth across the Canadian and Mexican borders. Indeed, it is a truism to say that we are a nation of immigrants.

Until 1928, immigration to the U.S. was relatively open. The literacy requirement that was put into the law in 1917 was aimed at keeping out Jews, Greeks, Italians, Slavs and Poles — but some still came illegally. All ethnic groups, including Jews, have had some illegal immigration. One group which had a fairly substantial early illegal immigration was the Chinese because Chinese laborers were barred from entry as a class by law in 1882.

The feeling of exclusion from society, of not having a chance to control one's destiny is, by and large, the major motivation which propels people to migrate.

Roy Walter: Sometimes the desire to leave is deep-seated and planned for over time. Sometimes, it is triggered by an event which highlights the feelings of cultural separateness. In all cases, it is a difficult choice, as people don't just walk

away from their past. Even when they leave a land of oppression, all immigrants leave with some degree of regret.

When immigrants arrive in their new land, there is a new building, instead of an old familiar building; there is a new home instead of an old home; there are new faces instead of old faces; very often there is a new language instead of a very familiar one. Perhaps, hopefully, they will find a community of people who have come from the same land as they — and this will help make them feel less foreign in their new land.

While immigrants leave a great many important things behind, the fact is that they bring with them a great deal more than their physical possessions. They bring cultural baggage: a way of thinking, a way of deciding, a way of loving, a whole way of living. Much of the sustenance of people in a new land is provided by continuing the old ways that they bring with them.

Fuchs: Members of all immigrant groups find themselves caught between two cultures. Even as they seek comfort in their own kind, and from their old culture, their children venture out to meet others in school or on the street. One immigrant historian has written, "Those who came simply sought security in a well defined group identity, Irish in Boston, German in Cincinnati, Scandinavian in Minneapolis, Poles in Chicago." For virtually every group there were immigrant banks, aid societies, nationalistic organizations, cooperative stores and foreign language churches and synagogues. In every case, the mission was to help each immigrant group maintain a sense of ethnic identity and adjust to the new social conditions of America. There were many other organizations that served diverse roles; to get a newcomer across the sea or to help him find lodging, to give him

basic language training, or to locate a job for his particular skill or to supply support. Some were informal, such as the Mexican pateróni system. Others were public and institutional.

## A LOOK AT TWO IMMIGRANT GROUPS: JEWS AND HISPANICS

### Some Comparisons and Contrasts:

Fuchs: Every immigrant group has a special experience, depending on what they bring with them, and on what the setting is when they come. Two of the most significant ethnic groups in the country, even though they are not the largest, are the Mexican-Americans, 8.7 million and the Jews, of whom there are 5.8 million.

Both the Jews and the Mexicans who came to the U.S. as immigrants have been quite poor by U.S. standards. Most people are fairly aware of the statistics on Mexican-Americans who have been more contemporary, but I don't think many people realize just how poor the Eastern European Jews were. Eastern European Jews who came in the 1890's and the first decade of the twentieth century, when U.S. migration was the heaviest, were to a very considerable degree pauperized by the May laws of 1882 in Russia. In 1901, at the height of Jewish immigration, the average earning of Boston's Jewish immigrants was \$396 a year, as opposed to \$515 a year for Irish immigrants, who were also poor.

Disdain was a common attitude toward both Jews and Mexican-Americans. Persecution was a common experience too. The Jews did not complain about segregated schools in those days; they were thrilled just to have public schools. But they did protest police brutality which they experienced to some extent in every large city where they were located, although, not as extensively as that

experienced by Mexican-Americans. They complained too about immigration officials who detained them for long periods of time at Ellis Island, where some were treated rather cruelly. Most of all, they complained about the quotas, which kept their children out of certain colleges, or from being employed in some businesses. They were also exploited by employers, and some of those employers were Jewish, just as some Mexicans exploit fellow Mexican nationals in this country.) The union movement was quite young and they were often paid substandard wages and worked in very bad conditions. In these respects, the experiences of the two groups were comparable. But perhaps from a human point of view, the most important similarity which exists among almost all immigrants is the sense of personal and familial estrangement, of being caught between cultures. Jewish associational life was particularly strong because it came out of a deep and long tradition of communal action. That is something that I don't think any other ethnic group can quite expect to match. Associations between the immigrants called "landsleit" were drawn from the clusters of their fellow townsmen. The landsleit met the immigrant's initial problems of adjustment through mutual aid.

The Jews overwhelmingly migrated to the cities. There, they could develop more easily and effectively whether through trade union activity or landsleit communal organizations. They had very high rates of naturalization because they had no place else to go. The permanency of their migration was combined with their commitment to education. They had the opportunity to send their children to good schools and they were able to send them full time, not part time, as so many people do in agricultural communities regardless of their ethnicity. Permanent urban settlement encouraged effective organizations and effective educational participation. This encouraged effective naturalization and political participation.

The Jewish immigrant experience thus had a more permanent character than has been possible for Mexican immigrants up to now.

There were three main keys to Jewish economic mobility: First, the economy was shifting from an agricultural to an industrial base, to commercial and service opportunities - the very things Jews had been forced to do in Europe where they had not been allowed to own land, or permitted to work in many professions. Second was a deep cultural commitment to education, (at a time when education was rapidly becoming a cultural necessity.) Third, none of this would have been nearly as significant if the Jews had been ambivalent about their choice to come to the U.S., to become Americans, and to participate fully in American economic and political life.

To a large extent, Mexican migration has been ambivalent about coming here, staying in and committing itself to the U.S., its values, and the ambiance of life here. This ambivalence is reinforced by the proximity of the country of origin. Proximity not only encourages ambivalence, but it encourages language maintenance, which is a good thing, but which inhibits acquisition of effective English, which is a bad thing, because it cuts down opportunities and it cuts down choices, both in the economic and political realm. To a large extent, Mexican migration has been agricultural migration, reinforcing the temporary character of migration, even internally - people follow the seasons and the crops, which makes associational and communal life much more difficult to sustain. All of these factors have kept families - wives and children, from migrating and reinforce the ambivalence. And the resultant low rates of naturalization, the difficulty of committing kids to full time school - all of these factors have been a part of the Mexican experience - in ways that were not true for the Jews. But the

demographic facts are changing for Mexican-Americans. It is a more urban migration now, and families who intend to be permanent residents are coming here.

### The Jewish Experience:

Fuchs: Then, as now, foreigners were not always welcome. The Jews' ways were very strange and Frederick Jackson Turner, the late 19th century American historian, expressed a rather typical view after taking a walk through the Jewish ghetto in Boston's North End. Turner was repelled by the foreignness of the Jews:

"I was in Jewry, the street consecrated to old clothes, pawn-brokers and similar followers of Abraham. It was fairly packed with swarthy sons and daughters of the tribe of Israel. . . such noises, such smells, such spice. The street was filled with big Jew men, long bearded and carrying a staff as you see in the pictures, and with young Jews and maidens, some of the latter pretty, as you sometimes see a lily on a green muddy slime."

Henry Pratt Fairfield said of the Jews that they "were particularly unassimilable because they asserted their nationality in the midst of other nationalities. Even rabbis and prominent figures urged their people to remain distinct. . . and aspire to become more Jewish. Such persons constitute an undeniable menace to American national stability."

Hostility to Jewish immigration was so strong that even in 1938 and 1939, as the news of the brutality against the Jews in Nazi Germany came to reach the American people, public opinion polls still showed very large majorities of Americans against accepting a single refugee, a single immigrant beyond the small number limited by the National Origins Quota system. In 1939 Congress, despite urging, refused to admit to this country 20,000 Jewish orphans for whom sponsors had already been found.



Today, Jews are thought to be well to do, and many of them are. But when they came, most were very poor. Today, Jews are thought to be very apt practitioners of birth control, and most of them are. But when they first came, they had very large families. Today, Jews are thought to be extremely well educated and most of them are, but in 1919, one of the last years of very heavy migration of Jews from Eastern Europe, 22% of the heads of Jewish immigrant households were illiterate. This was despite the fact that literacy was highly prized, especially for the men, who were expected to read Torah.

One effect of their poverty was that the Jews lived in extremely crowded living conditions. (In 1910, 540,000 Jews lived in a 1.5 square mile area of N.Y.'s Lower East Side. A 1908 survey of 250 families from that area showed that 50% of those families slept three or four to a room, nearly 25% had five or more to a room. Only 25% had two to a room.) There is no major black neighborhood in the U.S. today that has anything close to that density.

Once the Jews came, they knew they were here to stay. This was a force for strength in terms of the next generation. It made the break with the past very strong and it made the children of the immigrants want desperately to be what used to be termed "100% American."

Irving M. Levine: When the Jews came, the idea was not to use the public schools for the expression of their culture. That was done communally through the creation of the after-school Hebrew schools. They felt that they could do it more appropriately that way. Besides, they were intimidated, actually frightened of entering into the American system and making too many demands. Today, we have a different sense of the possibilities of cultural pluralism, which makes their

extreme fears hard to understand. Ironically, although the Jews like Horace Kallen gave birth to the concept of cultural pluralism in the U.S., Jews still had great difficulty in pressing for recognition of Jewish identity in the public arena. Instead, they adapted as well as they could to American norms, and left it at that.

Fuchs: Probably no group in American history has been as captivated, as romanced by American ideals as the Jews in the U.S. Probably no immigrant population has put in as much time reading about it, writing about it, talking about it, and reinterpreting the American ideal in the light of their own experience here.

Levine: We need to understand that the U.S. has had a strong pull for Jews around the world - in that sense it is like Israel for Jews. In fact, even with a tremendous affinity and loyalty to Israel and the concept of a Jewish homeland there, many Soviet Jews are choosing the U.S., and not only Soviet Jews, but Jews from many nations are still choosing the U.S.

#### The Hispanic Experience:

Dr. Margarita Melville: Spaniards and Mexicans settled in the Southwest even before some of the settlers came from the Eastern coasts. For two hundred years Mexicans and Spaniards lived in what is now the U.S. Southwest, acquired in the War with Mexico in 1848. In that sense, Mexicans have a very early beginning in America.

A treaty was signed that stated there would be respect for the property, language and religion of the inhabitants of this territory. In a sense, (when we speak about Mexican migration, we speak of a people who were already settled in an area whose territory reverted not too long ago to a different nationality.) This is a component

of Mexican history that really affects the concept of the pull of the home country. Immigration began, properly speaking, as people of Mexican descent, who were residents of both Mexico and the U.S. began to travel from one side of the border to the other. The pull is experienced sometimes from one side and sometimes from the other.

The river tends to draw people together, rather than to separate them. The Rio Grande River drew people to both sides. Then people began to go back and forth in a constant flow without any sense of "which side do I belong to?" The concept of immigration blurs when you look at it that way. People go back to sleep in Mexico and come over to work in the U.S.

Until the late 1920's, the border between Mexico and the U.S. was open, much as the Canadian border is today. The border was closed when the Depression began. Because of severe unemployment, the U.S. decided to close the border and put up border guards. Mexican labor has been welcome in the U.S. most of the time, fitting in when we need it, getting rid of it when we don't need it. In Mexican migration the constant is the movement back and forth.

Today, the reason we continue to tolerate undocumented workers at a certain level is simply because they are needed here. They are needed so that U.S. citizens can continue a certain economic standard. I'm not suggesting that it's an even exchange, or that it could be controlled. It is a very difficult problem. Many Mexicans want to come to this country legally and there are many workers who are here with residence permits who want their families to join them. Thus, many of the undocumented people who are here are simply the wives and children of legal

residents who come here to be a whole family unit. The waiting period in this country for becoming legal from Mexico, depending on your qualifications, is from five to seven years. Sometimes undocumented people who are working here are simply waiting for legality to take place. No Mexican wants to be here without papers. They all would like to be resident aliens, but that's difficult.

The majority of Mexicans who have been here for a while aspire to permanent resident status, because that assures them of a lack of harrassment, availability of jobs, and access to basic services, such as an education for their children and health care for themselves and their families. But they do not understand why they should go to the trouble to gain citizenship. The only advantage is the right to vote, and that, for many of these people, doesn't make any difference at all. They feel, "Why go through the hassle of being naturalized?" They think that permanent resident status is sufficient. Besides, there is a history of deportation of Mexicans. In 1929 and 1930, half a million Mexicans, some of them having always lived there, were put on trains and put over to the other side. During Operation Wetback in 1954, over a million people were sent back to Mexico, including some who were U.S. citizens but were not able to prove it. They did not have a lawyer and they didn't have the ability to say, "I have a right to be in this country."

Leonel Castillo: Mexicans take longer than other groups to become U.S. citizens - up to thirteen years on the average. Mexicans have strong national pride. They want to die Mexican. (There is a myth that if you are to become an American citizen, you will have to spit on the Mexican flag. Of course this is not true, but it is still believed in the Mexican community.) The Mexican has the additional problem of facing a very unresponsive federal bureaucracy. Unlike what happened

with the Irish and some of the other groups, there is no effort in the U.S. to Americanize Mexicans. Today, if someone from Houston for example, wants to become an American citizen, it will take approximately twenty-two months. This is because there is no staff to process applications, and there are no political machines in the Southwest, that push to naturalize the Mexicans, such as those which existed in Mayor Daley's Chicago and in New York years ago. And so, they do not get pulled into the naturalization process.

It is easy to get into the U.S. and it is relatively difficult to be deported. If you have no lawyer to defend you, you might stay at Deportation for a long time. From there, it's relatively hard to get naturalized. As a result, the population of people in limbo is growing rapidly. This situation has never happened to this extent in our history, and this is very important. We have a large group of people coming in who aren't coming in through the natural immigration process.

We have to build an enormous network of social services, information services, political action groups, advocacy groups — and all very soon because many of the people who are coming are already in line. The waiting period in Mexico is already seven years long. Unless we change the law, there are some people who will not be able to come for seven years. Until very recently there was not one Mexican immigrant aid group in the U.S. that spoke on a national level. That's all to be created. It's also fascinating that the Hispanic Immigrant Aid groups that are forming are usually just little adjuncts of something else — some group that had many other agendas, so it becomes difficult to separate out immigration issues from the other issues.

Melville: An essential ingredient of self-development and productivity has to do with self-image and feeling good about oneself, knowing that you can, that there is hope, that there is possibility. There are so many elements within our society that make Hispanic people feel inferior. It is something that we have to work very hard to overcome so that people begin to feel good about themselves and say "I am somebody; I can do it." We have to try to transmit to our Mexican children the feeling that "I got where I was in grade school - that being an American is a great thing." Then as they are incorporated into American society, they will feel good about themselves and become productive citizens who are part of the society.

### ISSUES IN THE ACCULTURATION/LIVES OF IMMIGRANTS

#### Homeland:

Melville: There is a pull from both sides. The pull that the U.S. exerts that brings people from so many nations is jobs, and the pay level of those jobs. The U.S. has one of the highest standards of living in the world. Mexico, even though it is an industrialized nation, stands in contrast to the U.S. as a consumer society. For example, until recently one could own a car in this country for \$500. How much would you have to pay for an equal car in Mexico? It's an impossibility.

What is the pull of Mexico? The pull of the home country is a sense of belonging, avoiding discrimination, being able to live according to your tradition, and very important, being able to make yourself understood by speaking your own language. One can survive in the U.S. without speaking English, but it is very difficult. It is difficult to learn English because there isn't a lot of opportunity. Besides, it takes a lot of time and commitment and it is not a comfortable thing to do. So it's always much nicer to go back to Mexico.

Another pull toward Mexico is our common history. Tradition, the whole process of gaining one's culture means that you learn certain values and certain goals, from your parents which become part of your subconscious. This is a very definite pull to the homeland.

Levine: There has been nothing comparable to the emergence of Israel, except the tragedy of the Holocaust, in terms of building contemporary Jewish identity. One must take the Holocaust and the emergence of Israel together as the two most significant forces in the building of contemporary Jewish identity. The identification with the survival of Israel is visceral and physical; it is personal, not just political. This creates a very strong identification, including guilt of not being there and all the issues that emerge for many ethnic groups about dual loyalty. In the U.S., we really don't have to resolve that loyalty one way or the other. We can have all kinds of loyalties. We may have a dominant loyalty as citizens of the U.S., and a cultural, religious and personal identification with our own people wherever they are around the world. I believe that Jews, if they had to make the choice, would choose to be citizens of the U.S. They don't want to make the choice; they don't think anybody ought to make them make the choice, and they hope that it will never happen that way. But there are all kinds of identifications that people make throughout their lives and I think it is unfair to face people with dichotomous choices. That's not really the way life is.

Walter: Whether they come to this country in their young years or are born here, the children of immigrants have no real touch with the homeland itself. It is a vicarious old world experience which is passed on to them, and they quickly discover that they live in two worlds. The two worlds may sometimes overlap; very

often they conflict. The second generation, the children of the immigrants become the focus of the conflict between the old world and the new world. The generation which has come has a lot of bright precious memories. The second generation has only the memories of other people.

Language:

Brotsky: We could not get into the mainstream of American life when we did not speak English. We could not read the newspapers; we could not express our opinions about anything. After we mastered the English language, then life was much easier.

Crespo: I made up my mind I was going to speak English...and I say that anyone that makes up his mind to do something can do it. It may be hard, but you can do it. I didn't attend school in this country. I went to one class, but I was so ashamed that I never went back.

Levine: Linguistic relationships are among the most subtle and complicated of all interpersonal contacts, yet public policy and attitudes towards foreign speakers hardly take this into consideration. In order to understand the crucial impact that language has on people's sense of themselves and others, we must gain greater familiarity with research on this subject. Most current policy discussions on language assume that speech serves merely as a convenient vehicle for describing the objective world. It makes little difference in this conception whether this describing is done in English, Spanish or Vietnamese. Teaching immigrants and refugees English is viewed as nothing more than giving them a new way to articulate the same thoughts they conveyed in their native tongue. Linguistic



study will argue against this assumption. The thrust of scholarship in this field has proposed that language serves as more than a passive method of expressing ideas. On the contrary, it plays a key role in changing attitudes and perceptions. Language creates our world as well as reflects it.

Dr. Quintanilla: When we talk about presence, the way people speak and look at each other, that itself is language. This changes as one learns from one's culture. For example, most Hispanics speak very loudly and frequently. They all speak at the same time. In different societies, when somebody asks a question, the person waits to respond to that question. That can tend to create misunderstandings as one attempts to acculturate into the other community. Language itself and the way one is taught to express oneself in one culture affects one's performance in the other culture.

Language is the most important component of the acculturation process. In the schools, for example, many children are tested as they are being acculturated into the school system, and the kinds of questions asked, combined with the confusion of language comprehension, sometimes result in placing these children in classes for the mentally retarded or for the slow learner. Generally, the problem is that there is confusion in terms of meaning and the transposition of meaning through the language. The new language (English) plays tricks on the children. Gesture, or body language, is quite different in different societies. The same gesture can mean one thing in one culture and an entirely different thing in another one. There is a lot of misunderstanding of body language from one culture to another, and this body language has a very important impact on the learning process of people in the acculturation process.

There are many examples of conceptual cultural differences expressed linguistically. For example, time is an important concept in all contemporary societies. When my watch is working, we say it is running. In Spanish, we say, "My watch is walking." In German it marches. Every language reflects that culture's concept of time, and different time concepts create a conflict in the acculturation process. To Hispanics, time is there to use globally and to be enjoyed. Time in this society is to be moved by.

The concept of health is another component of the acculturation process which has a language component. In the process of dealing with physicians in the society, many Hispanics have problems explaining what the situation is in terms of the care that they have received in the community and from the so-called "faith-healers." There is also a big problem here in Houston because of the large numbers of people who come to the Medical Center who do not speak English. In the interaction between nurses, patients and physicians difficulty with words and difficulty with body language and cultural process are easily revealed.

Let me just touch some of the points relating to the concept of ethics. Ethical values, the concepts of religion, the concept of sex roles, who's a hero and who's not — all are important ideas that are learned through the language. Also the taboos of our society — what is taboo to talk about and what is not — is acculturated through the language. How we feel, how we own things, ceremony — all of these important components of living, one learns through language. And when an immigrant moves into another culture, we need to understand not only his words, but the message he gives through his own expression — through his own culture.

Melville: I think the problem is that from the very beginning there has been such a misunderstanding about bilingual education. In practical terms we don't really have a bilingual education — we have a transmission program from monolingual in Spanish to monolingual in English. The idea is to try to make the children understand what the teacher is saying, so they have someone to translate for them. During the first year, they hear more Spanish, and they gradually move into an all English classroom. The thrust of bilingual education has been an early exit from it.

Levine: The growth of Hebrew has been phenomenal in the Jewish community in the last twenty-five years, primarily because of the emergence of Israel. A language which had been a dead language was revived after thousands of years, and it inspired people. There is a Jewish revival among young people, and Hebrew has become one of the symbols of that revival.

When you take a look at the Jewish community, and its attitude towards contemporary bilingualism, which they interpret to be primarily for Hispanics, there is surprisingly little sympathy. There is a contemporary hostility that we find among educated Jews toward bilingualism even though in political centers such as the American Jewish Committee, we have a very moderate to progressive bilingual policy. I have studied this attitude because Jews are liberal on most issues and one wonders why on this issue they seemed to be classically assimilationist. I have come to the conclusion, along with many of my other colleagues, that it relates to a sense of loss - to the fact that we so quickly gave up Yiddish and played such a little role in this country in the restoration of Hebrew. Language is tied into the psyche of the Jewish people in the most intensive ways. In a sense, we bought the assimilationist model — we would outdo the Americans in

the mastery of their language, literature and culture. There was a rapid disintegration of our own capacity to hold on to our language and have it survive. There is resentment that others who have more recently arrived will try to do with their home language what we failed to do with ours. This feeling of loss does not always operate on the most conscious level; but I do think that this attitude will shift among younger Jews whose interest in their own cultural and linguistic heritage is growing.

Education:

Levine: We know that the educational system does not make the proper contacts between the culture of the home, the culture of the streets and the culture of the school. Faced with successive and serious failures, our schools still find it difficult to acknowledge that different peoples learn in different ways, and that schools must tune in to cultural differences and make adjustments in their teaching styles. There need to be differential analyses of individual children and groups of children. And they need to be taught to their strengths and not to their weaknesses. With contemporary technology and psychology we should be able to do that.

Brodsky: When we reached New York, the first thing I asked was, "Do you have a bookstore around here? I don't know how to speak English, because they did not teach English in Russian school." They took me to a bookstore. With pride, I bought an English grammar book and an English dictionary and I armed myself with knowledge.

I was educated by my father who was a very broad-minded person. His philosophy was that you should talk honestly, keep your ethnic identity without any shame, and

if necessary, speak out for the rights of people. I have kept this philosophy all my life.

Valdez: When we were growing up, a decision was made to work in the fields because we really couldn't make it anymore on what my father was earning. This was quite an adjustment for all of us in the family. But we had a goal - that we were going to make it in this country one way or another, and that we were going to emphasize education. When we had to travel North, (we would leave in April) we would leave school before it ended. We would come back in November and the first semester of the school year was already closing. So you ask, if you were emphasizing education how come you were taking all this time to work? Well, the fact is that when we came back to school, we worked twice as hard. We eliminated what we considered subjects that were not of any interest such as physical education. I felt I had done enough physical work. We emphasized college courses such as biology, science, algebra. We stayed after school, and we asked the teachers to give us extra work so that we could catch up with the other students. We were "A" students after we came back.

The schools in Texas were not aware of the needs of migrant children, much less the needs of students who did not speak English. The teachers were unaware that I did not speak English, and for the first two years, I went through the school system with the teachers not knowing that I did not speak English. This was really very very sad. The mentality was, "Why should we worry about these children, since they are going to leave to do migrant labor?"

Family:

Walter: It seems to me to be almost a given both for Jews and Hispanics that one of the things that they bring with them is their concept of family. It is a close family structure in an extended family grouping. Although they may have left their families behind, they bring their ideas about family with them. This means a system in which there is a matriarchal or a patriarchal head. It means generations in the same trade, in the same house. It means a certain kind of respect for your elders. It means that you are very much a part of your family; it shapes your identity. Then they come to this country and all those ideas of what family is versus what family has to become in the new country create problems. There is something that exists now in contemporary America that did not exist when Jews first immigrated to this country, and that is ethnic pride. At the turn of the century and for many decades thereafter, the prevailing philosophy was of America as a melting pot, with an idea of a uniform American character, and a uniform American way of doing things. Today, we are much truer to the pluralistic society that this country was founded on than was true at the turn of the century. There is a desire to maintain differences, even though we identify ourselves as one nation. This does not totally eliminate the problem of the second generation of being caught between the old world and the new but I think in all fairness, we must acknowledge that it does soften it just a bit.

America today has a strong non-religious nature. Both Hispanics and Jews come from very strong religious ties. What happens is that the secular society diffuses both traditional and religious values. In a sense, it dereligionizes them. Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal are all part of the value system of America, but identified as secular values much more than as religious values. The good person is independent of the religious person in this society, therefore, not only is

attendance at the synagogue or church challenged by the society, but the whole lifestyle pulls away from religion. The central institution of the second generation, the institution of the public school, does not limit itself to five days a week anymore. Now they have weekend activities, pulling children away from the church and synagogue and the opportunity to be exposed to religious values. Society's emphasis is set in terms of money, power, and popularity, rather than in terms of the quality of the human being. Although this certainly exists in all cultures, we cannot overlook the power and success of these values in American society. I should not overlook the particular importance of television which has been so successful in presenting this point of view. For people who come from religious societies, where the very nature of life is defined in religious terms, this becomes an enormously volatile issue. Children feel they can get their values from a secular society, but when they come from a religious society, this creates turmoil. The secular society pulls against the family itself. The percentage of activity which the secular society offers apart from the family is enormous. It makes enormous demands on people's time — business as well as social. Because success is so important, you will go where the job is, where the money is, and family traditions of centuries, of working in a particular trade are ended. High mobility dissipates the family. Formerly, families were used to living in the same region for generations, surrounded by their extended family, grandmother and grandfather, uncle and cousin. But our highly mobile society changes that, as family members must leave the group and settle elsewhere. This breaks up the very dreams upon which the move to America was forged. They came to establish new homes in greater opportunity, only to find that here, in grasping that opportunity, the family-falls apart. Thus, the concept of what family is and how it operates is destroyed to a great extent by the fabric of the society.

When people come from a culture that is highly traditional to a culture that is quite non-traditional, one which by its nature casts off old customs and takes on new ones, from a culture where something old is sacred and wonderful because it endures, to a society where customs are cast off because they are old - then they will focus their problems in the family because that's where the old comes into conflict with the new.

The fact is that the children will probably become much more educated than their parents. So children look down on their parents; they are embarrassed by accents, by old ways of doing things, and while this is (less true today because of cultural pride,) I think nonetheless it is still an issue. The second generation wants to become Americanized; they want to be part of the Great Society and they feel that this can only be done by turning away. They are a generation of transition, not here and not there. They don't have that memory and yet they keep being told that they do have that memory - in a way they want it and in away they don't.

### **IMMIGRATION TODAY**

Levine: We have more diversity in our immigration today than we have ever had before in American history. While prior to 1970, nearly 3/4 of our immigrants came from Europe, at present over a third come from Asia and more than 40% from Latin America. Never before has the nation had to deal with something like the unprecedented level of racial, ethnic and linguistic pluralism with immigrants coming from so many different continents.

Fuchs: I think that we are living in a time of growing xenophobia. At least for the next few years (and I would not predict beyond that period) we are going to hear



people talk against immigrants and refugees somewhat more than they did in the seventies. One of the reasons is that our economic situation is difficult and uncertain for many people. There is a mistaken idea that immigrants are simply mouths to feed, that they take something from the U.S. There is a feeling that the economic pie is fixed; there are only so many jobs, and immigrants take away jobs from Americans. It is not realistic or accurate, but it is there. That is why, particularly among the unemployed or among those who are entry level workers, there is the most skepticism and most hostility toward immigration. There is not a sufficient appreciation of the strengths that immigrants bring to this country - not only culturally but in terms of their spirit. They bring much as contributors to economic growth and development of society.

The scale of illegal immigration contributes to the problem. There is a large group of people who are in fear of the authorities, and they are living as if under glass. They are exploitable and many are exploited. There is fear and anxiety on the part of others that the scale will get even larger — and this is not only perpetuating an underclass which is bad for them, and bad for Americans, but it is also setting up a severe disregard for the law — immigration law specifically — casting a cloud over legal immigration.

Castillo: The new immigrant groups are different because they can come in and if they wish to, they can live here for ten or twenty years without ever learning a word of English. They can maneuver much more easily in many places in Spanish. That wasn't as true in the past; you had to learn English. The new immigrants all have radios and hear in Spanish what's happening in the U.S. They also have access to telephones, which means that the immigrant is able to stay in touch with anyone

anywhere. On the other hand, they are not highly literate nor do they read a lot. Their news comes from radio. The new immigrant groups, especially those from Latin America, are not as eager to become U.S. citizens. Despite being eligible for citizenship, many of them do not become citizens.

Fuchs: Americanization has become a dirty word — it ought to be revived. It does not have to be a bad word, if in one's concept of Americanization, one includes respect for the person, as well as respect for the quality of each human being, equal dignity for every person, opportunity and freedom for those persons. Then Americanization is something to be proud of. Assimilation is not something that excludes or cuts off, but adds on — that's the great opportunity for immigrant groups today as compared to when the Jews first came. In order to get in, the Jews had to get out. Dual loyalties were not accepted. They had to make a bargain with America. It doesn't have to be that way today. But there's a great need for transitional help to make the most of the Americanization process. The Jews gave up more than the Mexican Americans have to give up, and the Jews have been struggling in the third and fourth generations to recapture things that were lost.

Levine: I think we have some good new studies about what happens to new people who come and are separated from their own community as opposed to being clustered. People who are clustered have a much healthier acculturation. The U.S. policy to take Vietnamese and settle them around the country as single families is a disaster. All of those families suffered terribly from the sense of distance. They eventually cluster anyway — they move from overly isolated situations. The individualistic approach to people that we have evolved in this country doesn't

work. It is well motivated, and carried out by good people but it is not what's needed. The barrio, the ghetto, is preferable as a support system for people who are trying to make it in a new land.

## PLURALISM AND POLICY: IRVING LEVINE

### Introduction:

While there has been strong and justifiable demands by blacks and other non-whites, white ethnic groups did not have ethnic agendas that sought much from the government. They were looking for little but recognition. It was not in their tradition to look to government for help. When cultural recognition finally came, through the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1974, it only provided \$1.5 million nationally for some programming in schools. Within a 30-day period, one thousand organizations applied for that \$1.5 million. What was really interesting is that these formerly "invisible" organizations used this little bit of money to create an ethnic renaissance especially in the creation of new school curriculums. In the past ten years, white ethnic interests joined those of non-white ethnics in a panoply of activities. Despite criticism and fear, despite those who said, "You're creating fractionalism, separatism, balkanization of the society," nothing quite like that actually happened. What really happened was a celebration of pluralism.

One result of this new pluralism is the boost it gave to "neighborhoodness." We had thought integration was solely a matter of numbers alone, that the goal of integration was a designated mix even though the neighborhood or the school might be destroyed in the process. We should be more realistic today. The word integration should mean — a modicum of separatism, a modicum of mixing and giving choice to previously discriminated and excluded peoples. We know that

there is a psychological and even an economic need to cluster. We even know that in some cases clustering is survival. We also know that there is a need for open communities and anti-discrimination, and a capacity for people to move out of what they often think is the mobility trap. There are some people who do not want to be touched by their ethnic associations, especially if to do so is not as promising as moving out into the general society. Truthfully, a theory of integration should incorporate all those processes and not any one abstract idea that doesn't make any sense to people anyway. We get into trouble when we try to fit people into categories which have nothing to do with the reality of American history, or the realities of their lives. We mean well, but we're not very smart when it comes to the managing of American pluralism.

This notion of pluralism is very complicated. It is based on a realistic view of what this country is about. Our country is not only about individualism. One of the essential ingredients in the way that this country was formed was by cohesive groups creating a community. We must get away from this concept of extreme individualism and understand the concept of personal identity as the individual within the core of the community. We must realize that group identity is as important as individual identity. You cannot be a healthy personality unless you can recoup your tradition — your racial, ethnic, communal tradition, and integrate all that into your personality. You must know about your background and be ready to use it honestly, without shame. Identity means much more than individual self-actualization alone, which can lead to narcissism. Identity is always related to one's family, community, and history.

### Professionalism and Ethnicity:

We have found that professionalism too often did not allow for ethnicity. Professionals may begin as ethnics but often in the past moved out of their group to become middle class professionals. The abstract training of professionalism is designed to eliminate a sense of rootedness. It is a trade-in, whereby the professional trades in ethnic baggage for professional prestige, professional style and professional techniques.

### Ethnicity and Foreign Policy:

It is often difficult for an ethnic group to get a clear message across. It is often distorted and seen as a special plea. In matters of U.S. foreign affairs, Washington views ethnic lobbying efforts with suspicion. Yet, foreign policy in the U.S. from the beginning of the republic has often been determined by the needs of one or another domestic interest groups. Humane foreign policy often grows out of the prophetic understanding of groups in this country that are in better touch with events overseas. American blacks understood more clearly than whites did what the African Liberation Movement was about. Mexican Americans really understand the nature of relationships with Mexico. Jews are knowledgeable advocates on Middle East issues. If the U.S. is successful in world diplomacy, it will be because of the kind of sensitivity that is transmitted from special ethnic interests to the general public.

### Language Policy:

Regrettably the bilingual strategy in the Hispanic community is in trouble. Since Hispanics are becoming isolated on this vital issue and are experiencing heavy attacks by both liberals and conservatives on bilingualism, a different strategy has

to be created, seeking new coalitional partners. Bilingualism ought to become part of a broader drive to create a more widespread "language competency" in this country.

For example, it is often a matter of life and death to have language competency in the fields of health, welfare and mental health. This is no longer as controversial an issue as it once was. Thus the need for language competency in these areas should make for allies who may not be too supportive on the public education front but see the practical need for language skills in their own fields of practice. Another consensus point in the language area is the recognition that we cannot compete in world markets if our businesspeople show language incompetence. We are being beaten out constantly by the Japanese, Germans and others because at one time, when American imperialism reigned, we could say, "Speak to us in English or don't speak to us at all." Today with the Third World rising, they're saying, "Speak to us in our language or you don't get our oil or our copper." Our business people are the worst trained in the world, linguistically.

Those who demand bilingual programs should be a little more pluralistic. Their approach should be: "if you teach our children to be language competent, retaining as much Spanish or as much of the native language as possible, we will be satisfied, and we will join you in a drive for a national language policy that takes into account other needs for language competency. We will do it in a way that will cost you the least amount of money rather than the most amount of money." Such an approach, which recognizes financial realities today, has a chance. Otherwise, bilingualism will lose.

It might also be a mistake to have the single strategy of focusing only on the public schools. A lot of language maintenance ought to be by voluntary action of the groups themselves. A group that shows itself to be interested in preserving its own culture through private means has a better chance of mobilizing its people to push it into the public sphere. A group that moves only in the public sphere to achieve its goals is not going to prevail in the long run. There has always been a very close relationship between how much volunteerism took place in this society and how much public acceptance followed.

The Jewish community has a need for Soviet and other immigrant Jews to get language training. Most communities have agencies that specialize in this field. They ought to be brought into multi-ethnic alliances around the issue of language competency. There is a lot of potential advocacy on the language issue provided that it is broad enough in its goals.

We ought to also offer whatever linguistic competence we have to the society as a whole. Young people who grow up in homes where languages other than English are spoken, should be trained to enter into our diplomatic corps and for international business careers. We have a wealth of talent of untapped people who come from the various ethnic groups who should be in the foreign affairs field, both in the government and private enterprise.

#### Ethnicity and Economic Activity:

There are vast differences in the capacities of the various ethnic groups to generate small business activity. The question is, "Can we devise the kind of support programs that would help people make up for certain kinds of communal

deficiencies?" They're not really communal deficiencies, in the sense that they were natural to the system that the people lived under in the old country. They become deficiencies in this society. Ethnic group achievement in this country develops unevenly. Certain groups seem to leap ahead and other groups seem to lag. Those who lag do so largely because they are rural groups who are not accustomed to urbanism. The kind of urbanism that they face in the U.S. is so extreme in its demands, that it destroys the morale of many and puts some in more or less a permanent state of depression. People become culturally alienated from their surroundings; their children are being educated in what appears to them to be an unnatural way. One of the highest correlations for poverty is psychological depression; people who just can't mobilize themselves because they're literally depressed in a clinical way. One of the biggest problems in our society is cultural insensitivity, and we've got to do something about it because we're hurting a lot of people who need not be hurt.

This country does not need zero population growth. We need a slow, steady growth of population. Growth means dynamism; growth means consumers; growth means producers; growth means that as hungry people come in from overseas with many talents they can put to work to produce at a level that others who have been here for three or four generations, will not. It may be that we are getting a better day's work at a lower pay from recent immigrants than we get from many young people who've grown up in the suburbs. Perhaps the reason the economy in this country has not declined as much as it should have, is that there are a lot of productive people who work hard and spend everything they make. Perhaps, as has been proven with other immigrations they are less a burden than they are an asset. This does not mean that we should countenance promiscuous and illegal immigration,



but it does mean that we should put this issue in balance. Bringing in 800,000 people in this country each year, many of whom are refugees, whose lives were in danger, means that this country is still a haven, and as long as the world knows it, our national posture as a beacon of liberty has some credibility.

Strength and Strategies:

We are still not adequately using the strengths of ethnic organizations. The history of immigration indicates that while the government, voluntary organizations and ethnic organizations must work together, there is less emphasis on the role of ethnic self-help groups than there should be. These groups may not have the financial resources, but they create a necessary communalism for new immigrants that no other institution can achieve. Not every group will work in the same way. There are strengths and weaknesses in each group. But we ought to be in a position to teach people to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses of their own groups, so they themselves can make up the deficits. There is no more noble work in the world than the bringing of your own people into this country and resettling them. For this country to lose that spirit would be a blow to one of the great purposes for which this country still exists.

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