



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 100, Folder 2, General correspondence, memos & working papers, November-December 1984.

RUBLOFF

Abel E. Berland
Vice Chairman

1 November 1984

Mr. Alfred H. Moses
Chairman
National Executive Council
The American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Moses:

Last Friday evening Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum, an important staff member of the American Jewish Committee, was interviewed on Chicago's public television station. He made a statement in connection with the forthcoming election which distressed me very much. He expressed the opinion that Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan were the "lesser of the evils" as compared with the fundamentalists who were supporting President Reagan.

Rabbi Tannenbaum certainly did not represent me, a long time member of the American Jewish Committee, nor did he speak for me nor the other members with whom I am acquainted. His well known bias in favor of Mr. Mondale ill behooves an official representative of the AJC. His political and private opinions are his own business. When he advertises himself as an executive of the Committee, then it is quite another matter.

Rabbi Tannenbaum does not serve well either the American Jewish Committee nor the Jewish community at large by taking public positions on purely political matters.

Sincerely,



Abel E. Berland
(Dictated October 31, 1984)

STEERING COMMITTEE OF
AJC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Chicago, Illinois November 2, 1984

Revised Proposal for Creation of Special Committees for Regional Areas

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BACKGROUND: During the past year, the International Relations Department has expanded its program overseas as a means of seeking to realize more effectively the foreign policy objectives of the agency.

These objectives include: a) our support of the security and welfare of Israel; b) defense of the human rights of Soviet Jewry; c) assistance to endangered Jewish communities, such as, Syrian Jewry, Ethiopian Jewry; d) combatting international anti-Semitism, particularly in its anti-Zionist guise at the UN and other international agencies; e) helping to strengthen the internal spiritual and cultural life of overseas Jewish communities who request our assistance, such as FEDECO in Central America, the European Council of Jewish Communities, East European Jewry, etc.; f) advancement of universal human rights.

In the implementation of these programs, we have established in the past "special committees" of lay leaders and technical experts who have provided helpful policy guidance in a number of areas. This includes our Task Force on Soviet Jewry and the Administrative Council of the Blaustein Institute on Human Rights. We also had a committee supervising our programs in Latin America. (We had an ongoing program on Israel and the Middle East, and at the moment, see no need for a special group in this area.)

PROPOSAL: In light of these past experiences, we are now proposing that we institutionalize this approach in a serious way in several areas:

A) A Special Committee on West European Affairs

This committee would be headed by a knowledgeable lay leader. It would also explore our contacts with the EEC, North Atlantic Assembly, and European Parliament in terms of AJC program interests, especially Israel, Soviet Jewry, and human rights.

The Committee would make recommendations to the IRC as to the programs which should be implemented in these countries (such as The Nairobi Conference, human rights, Soviet Jewry, countering anti-Zionist propaganda, etc.) as well as with the pan-European bodies with which we have established relationships.

The Committee would also undertake to recruit lay members with special interests in this region - academics, AJC leaders and others with commercial, trade, media, or other connections.

Proposal for Special Committees/2

B) A Special Committee on East European Affairs

This committee would follow the model outlined above, but would concentrate on our contacts and relationships with Jewish communities and governments in East Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Poland.

The intention would be to bring together specialists in this region -- academics, AJC leaders and others who have working ties with these countries.

This committee might be separate from our special committee devoted to Soviet Jewry, although on some issues there would be communication and joint consideration of common concerns.

C) A Special Committee on Central America

The model would be the same as that suggested for West Europe. We propose reconstituting our present committee on the basis of our having intensified programmatically this year our activities with FEDECO, the central federation of Central American Jewish communities.

This committee will review our programs with FEDECO, help establish priorities, and strengthen our relationships with governments, human rights groups, and the appropriate desks in the State Department.

Here, too, the committee will seek to recruit people of special competence in Central American affairs.

D) A Special Committee on South America

The model will be the same as above with committee purposes applied to the special program needs of South American countries. The Committee would be asked to review the latest report on South America prepared by Marc Tanenbaum and Jacobo Kovadloff and make recommendations regarding IRD priorities in this region.

A key question would be consideration of the reopening of our office in Buenos Aires in some form.

Recruitment of persons of special competence or experience in South America would also be a major purpose of this committee.

E) Outreach to Foreign Diplomats in the U.S.

After a number of experiences, it is evident that there is much usefulness in advancing our overall program objectives in strengthening our contacts with foreign diplomats attached to the United Nations or assigned to embassies or consulates in the U.S.

This committee would consist of core people who have had long experience in working with UN Hospitality groups, and with diplomats from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Contacts with East and West Europeans would also be cultivated.

Proposal for Special Committees/3

IMPLEMENTATION: Assuming approval of these committees, we will need to consider staffing of these special groups as well as any budgets that might be required for administration.

Tentative Proposed Budget

Additional Secretary (East, West Europe)	\$ 15,500
Professional Travel (East, West Europe)	12,000
Additional Secretary (Foreign Diplomats, Africa, Asia, UN Corps)	15,500
Travel, Hospitality	25,000
Conferences	12,500
Publications (Newsletter)	15,500
	<hr/>
	\$ 96,000

mht:rpr

84-550-78

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, November 2 ... The City of Sweetwater in Florida has credited the American Jewish Committee with playing a key role in the passage on October 1 of a city resolution prohibiting city business from being conducted or city funds expended in connection with any meeting held at any private club that discriminates on the basis of "race, creed, color, national origin, sex, age, marital status or disability."

Noting that a recent study prepared by the American Jewish Committee, entitled Who Gets to the Top, "has confirmed a link between the executive level of corporate advancement and membership in social clubs," the resolution stated that such discrimination "is abhorrent to the American way of life."

It called for "full membership rights and privileges" to all since if "members of minorities cannot obtain membership in such social clubs, they are limited in their ability to progress to the higher levels of large corporations."

In a letter to William A. Gralnick, Southeast Regional Director of the American Jewish Committee, the city stated that the resolution "represents yet another affirmation of this City's position against discrimination and its desire to speak out against those whose intent by their actions would be to repress the freedoms which were granted equally to everyone by the Constitution of the United States."

Sweetwater thus becomes the third city in Dade County to pass such an ordinance, the others being Miami and Hialeah.

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

* * *

A, BIZ, Z
84-960-427

N015

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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

South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico S. D.F.

• *Sidney Liskofsky* 316

FYI





THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 5, 1984


Sidney Liskofsky, Esq.
The Jacob Blaustein Institute
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Sidney:

To follow up on your letter of October 1, 1984 and our telephone conversation, I just wanted to let you know that the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights is extremely interested in pursuing the recommendations that Bob Norris made concerning human rights education in our region. Our Board of Directors accepted those recommendations and authorized the Executive Director to implement them. She has in the meantime received another consultant's report based on visits in a number of other countries and on specific requests for curriculum assistance received from a number of governments. A proposal to the Blaustein Institute for additional funds is on the way and I shall transmit it to you as soon as I have seen it.

With very best regards,

Most sincerely yours,


Thomas Buergenthal
Dean

TB:bf

Washington College of Law
Office of the Dean

4400 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016 (202) 885-2605

P.C.

Condis

Fruiter

Leo News

Return for
only



JC/d1

*Consulat Général de France
à New York*

November 6th, 1984

Dear Mr. Tannenbaum,

I wish to apologize for the confusion created yesterday in your office when I first called in order to have a meeting organized next week for Mrs. ROUDY and later, had to call back to stop any attempt in that direction.

As the Minister would be in New York for a very short time only, it suddenly appeared that she would not be able to attend such a meeting except for a brief period before departing for the airport on Tuesday afternoon.

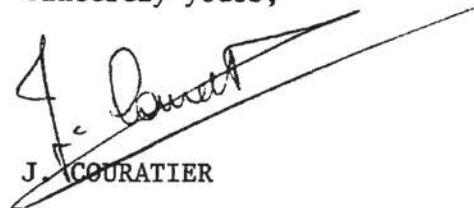
Such a rush would not be very productive in a matter of this kind and the Minister thought it more appropriate to postpone the meeting to her next visit sometimes in the spring of 1985.

Please again forgive this mishap.

Looking forward to the pleasure of working with you again,

I am,

Sincerely yours,


J. COURATIER

Mr. TANNENBAUM
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56th street. New York 10022

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 11/8

FROM: DAVID A. HARRIS

TO: KENNETH BANDLER
 DAVID GELLER
 GEORGE GRUEN
 ALLAN KAGEDAN
 JACOB KOVADLOFF
 SIDNEY LISKOFKY
 MARC TANENBAUM

For approval
 For your information
 Please handle
 Read and return
 Returned as requested
 Please telephone me
 Your comments, please.

REMARKS:

Copies distributed to:

Sidney

Allen

Leo Nevar

MHT

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W. • SUITE 412 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) 638-2256

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

November 6, 1984

Mrs. Faith Ryan Whittlesey
Assistant to the President
for Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Faith:

It is now almost twelve months since the Administration gave the required advance notice that it intended to withdraw from UNESCO at the end of 1984, because the organization has ceased to serve the purposes intended by its founders.

This decision has received support among the American people, including widespread support within the active pro-Israel community. In the words of a Washington Post editorial supporting withdrawal, UNESCO "got hijacked by a Third-World-Communist collective seemingly interested less in running good programs than in engaging in ideological disputation and living the high life."

We at AIPAC have followed the UNESCO issue closely, including the GAO investigation of the organization's questionable managerial practices.

I am writing to express my support for the Administration's position of December 21, 1983, and my fervent hope that the Administration will now fulfill its commitment.

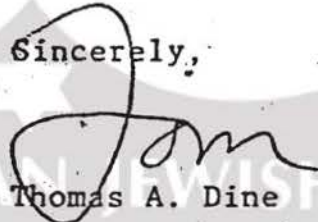
Faith Ryan Whittlesey

- 2 -

November 6, 1984

I am also writing to ask whether it would be possible to meet with Vice President George Bush to learn more about the Administration's intentions in this matter.

Sincerely,


Thomas A. Dine

TAD:af



NOV 19 1984 MR F. Muth

BAYERISCHES STAATSMINISTERIUM
FÜR UNTERRICHT UND KULTUS

MÜNCHEN, 6. November 1984
Salvatorstraße 2
Durchwahl 21 86 / 548

Nr. _____

(Im Antwortschreiben bitte angeben)

Per Luftpost

Mrs. Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 th Street

New York / USA

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

returned to Germany and after an other trip to Greece
at end of October I would like to say thank you again
for the usefull meeting in your office at October 4.
It was indeed a pleasure to meet you and the other
rabbis. During our discussion I mentioned the so called
"Bavarian way" in teaching the children of the migrant
workers in our country and I promised to send some
materials about that issue to you. Please find enclosed
these materials.

If you want to know more about that or to get other
materials, please let me know that and I will do my best.
I am so sorry, the materials are not in English, but you
can get them in Italian, Greek and Serbokroati~~n~~. One
booklet in Turkish is enclosed.

Sincerely yours

Anlagen

F. Muth

*Handlage folgt
gesondert*

from the desk of

WILLIAM S. TROSTEN

11/7/84



7, place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris
1, rue Miollis, 75015 Paris

adresse postale : B.P. 3.07 Paris
téléphone : national (1) 568.10.00
international + (33.1) 568.10.00
télégrammes : Unesco Paris
téléc : 204461 Paris

référence : SHS/HR/84/839/DIR/cp

23 October 1984

Dear Dr. Schoneveld,

Many thanks for your interesting information on the forthcoming international consultation on Jewish history in non-Jewish historiography and history teaching.

Having read this document it has occurred to me that you may be interested in being part of the project social, historical and economic factors leading to the classification of social, ethnic, religious or political groups.

and/

It would seem to me interesting to examine ways in which Jews are perceived as a separate "race" or in some cases ethnic groups in European history /the ways in which ethnic boundaries are maintained and the relationship between this and religion.

If you agree Unesco would offer a contract of the equivalent in local currency of \$ 1,500 for a paper of approximately 50 pages for this work. It should be noted that work on this subject is also being done with regard to racial classification in Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. The question of the classification "Semitic" therefore is in any case likely to emerge. Work will also be done on ethnicity in the Caribbean and on ethnic boundaries among Irish Americans and Hispanic Americans in the United States of America. I do hope that you can accept our offer and that we will hear from you shortly.

Yours sincerely,

M. O'Callaghan
Marion O'Callaghan
Director p.i.
Division of Human Rights and Peace

Dr. J. SCHONEVELD
General Secretary
International Council of Christians
and Jews
Werléstrabe 2,
6148 Heppenheim P.O. Box 305

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 8, 1984
to IRD FILE
from George E. Gruen
subject Meeting with Syrian Ambassador to the U.S.

In preparation for the November 18th International Conference on behalf of Syrian Jewry to be held in Paris, Nives Fox relayed to me the request of the Conference conveners that we request a meeting with Dr. Rafik Jouejati, the Ambassador of the Syrian Arab Republic in Washington, to discuss the current situation of the Jewish community. Accordingly, I set up the meeting and invited each of the American co-sponsoring organizations to send a representative. The ADL was represented by Kenneth Jacobson, their director of Middle East Affairs; Lilliane Shalom, the President of the American Sephardi Federation also wore the hat of the World Jewish Congress's American Section since Israel Singer could not attend. Stephen Shalom represented the Syrian Jewish community in the United States and I represented the American Jewish Committee.

The Ambassador, an affable and urbane gentleman (he studied at the New School and Princeton and has a doctorate in political science), received us in the second floor drawing room of the embassy, an elegant building in Georgetown that had once been the home of William Howard Taft. After welcoming us, the Ambassador pointed to the portrait of President Taft on the wall and said that Taft had made a condition of the sale of the house that his portrait remain on the wall in perpetuity.

I noted that the photograph of President Assad hanging on the wall opposite Taft -- as well as the picture that greeted us in the entry hall showing President Carter shaking hands with President Assad (at their meeting in Geneva in May 1977) -- symbolized periods when the United States and Syria had good relations and I expressed the hope that relations might again improve in the future.

Ambassador Jouejati responded that he shared this hope. In fact, he said that he had just delivered a message from President Assad to President Reagan congratulating him on his re-election and expressing the hope that the two countries could work together to solve the problems of the region. While he did not think the State Department would publish the text of the letter, he believed we would be interested in knowing its general thrust.

After some personal comments on Mr. Shalom's family background in the textile business in Aleppo, to which Ambassador Jouejati responded that his own family had been in the natural silk business, and some admiring comments by Lilliane Shalom on the artistic skills of Syrian artisans, we turned to "tachlis." I explained that the AJC's concern for the rights of the Syrian

Jewish community was a natural part of its historic mission to protect human rights at home and abroad. I added that the B'nai B'rith lodges had formed the Anti-Defamation League out of a similar concern.

I acknowledged that the situation of the Jewish community had improved under President Assad, who had ordered a stop to the most brutal and arbitrary police measures that had existed earlier. Stephen Shalom added that during his four visits to Syria he had received confirmation that the day to day life of the Jewish community had improved greatly.

Ambassador Jouejati said that he knew of members of the Jewish community in Damascus who were building new houses in the fashionable section of the city near the mountain and that they no longer lived only in the Jewish quarter. He said he was not aware that the Jewish community was subjected to any special restrictions.

I said that Jews still faced discrimination with respect to inheritance and disposal of property. He said he was not aware of this and promised that if we gave him specific instances he would transmit the information to his government. He added that personally he believed there should be no restrictions on the Jewish community.

We then focused on our major concern, namely the ban on emigration. Stephen Shalom described the continuing refusal to allow whole families to travel together and the history of the efforts that led to permission for 14 Jewish women to come to the U.S. to be married. The Ambassador asked how many other such women who could not be married in Syria there were and we said about 400. He said he had not realized the extent of the problem. (An interesting sidelight occurred when he asked whether the inability to marry was a result of Government decree and Steve explained that it was a matter of religious concern within the traditional Jewish community which opposed intermarriage. Dr. Jouejati said he knew that while Muslim men may marry Christian or Jewish women, they (the Muslims) will not allow their women to marry non-Muslims. The reason is that under Islamic law the woman assumes the religion of her husband.)

Steve then went on to trace the origin of the Syrian Jewish community in the United States and other Western hemisphere countries, since the 1910's, making the point that they were still a closely-knit community even after several generations. He further stressed that the "maidens" who came to the U.S. had remained here and none had gone on to Israel. He added that there were now some 25,000 Jews of Syrian origin in Brooklyn alone and there were also about 10,000 in Mexico and smaller communities in other Western hemisphere countries.

I reminded the Ambassador that during his meeting with President Carter, President Assad had promised to permit other Syrian Jews to emigrate "for humanitarian reasons on a case by case basis." Unfortunately, very little has been done to implement this promise despite repeated requests from Syrian Jews in Syria to join relatives here as well as interventions by the State Department on the basis of information they have received. (HIAS submitted a detailed list a few years ago based on interviews with the Syrian Jewish community in Brooklyn). I noted that it had taken several years of repeated efforts before permission was granted this year for the two youngest Barakat children to join their invalid mother who has been under medical treatment.

Ambassador Jouejati appeared genuinely sympathetic and made it clear that he would do what he could to end the restrictions. He also expressed annoyance at the difficulties he encountered sometimes from officials in the bureaucracy in Damascus. That he has only limited influence quickly became apparent when the Shaloms asked what was the status of their application for a visa to Syria. Stephen Shalom had submitted his application more than a month ago through the office of Congressman Stephen Solarz, as he had done previously with no difficulties. This time apparently this raised a red flag in Damascus. Ambassador Jouejati explained that when Solarz had last visited Syria he had made some positive statements on the improvement of the position of the Jewish community, but following his return to the United States he had written some articles sharply critical of the Syrian Government.

Stephen Shalom explained that his visits were always nonpolitical and that he had refrained from any public statements. His concern was with the welfare of the Jewish community and his fact-finding trips were devoted to reviewing their educational, medical and other needs which were being aided through an annual donation of \$300,000 from the JDC, which was transmitted through a Syrian Jewish group here that he heads. I added that I could attest to the long-standing commitment of the Shalom family to the welfare of the Jewish communities in the Middle East. When I was in Morocco I met the principals of the network of Jewish schools that had been established by Mr. Shalom's father following World War II. (Before our meeting Stephen asked me whether he should ask the Ambassador about the possibility of getting a more favorable rate for the dollars transmitted to Syria since there is now a big disparity between the official rate for bank transfers and the black market rate. I said that in Morocco the JDC had worked out with the Government a "preferential rate" for transfers for its charitable activities. He thought of asking for a similar official preferential rate in the meeting with the Syrian Ambassador but then decided against bringing this up.)

The Ambassador said that he had endorsed the Shaloms' request for a visa but that the matter was being handled by some "petty bureaucrats" in Damascus who were making difficulties. (I knew that Assistant Secretary Richard Murphy had asked his deputy Robert Pelletreau to endorse the Shalom request and we all assumed that Jouejati would be able to issue the visas to Mr. and Mrs. Shalom while we were at the Embassy. The Shaloms had wanted to go to Syria now so that they could come with fresh information to the Paris conference.) Mrs. Shalom pointed out that she had finally managed to convince Stephen to go with her to visit Morocco, her family's country of origin, and now she wanted to go with him to retrace his family's roots in Syria.

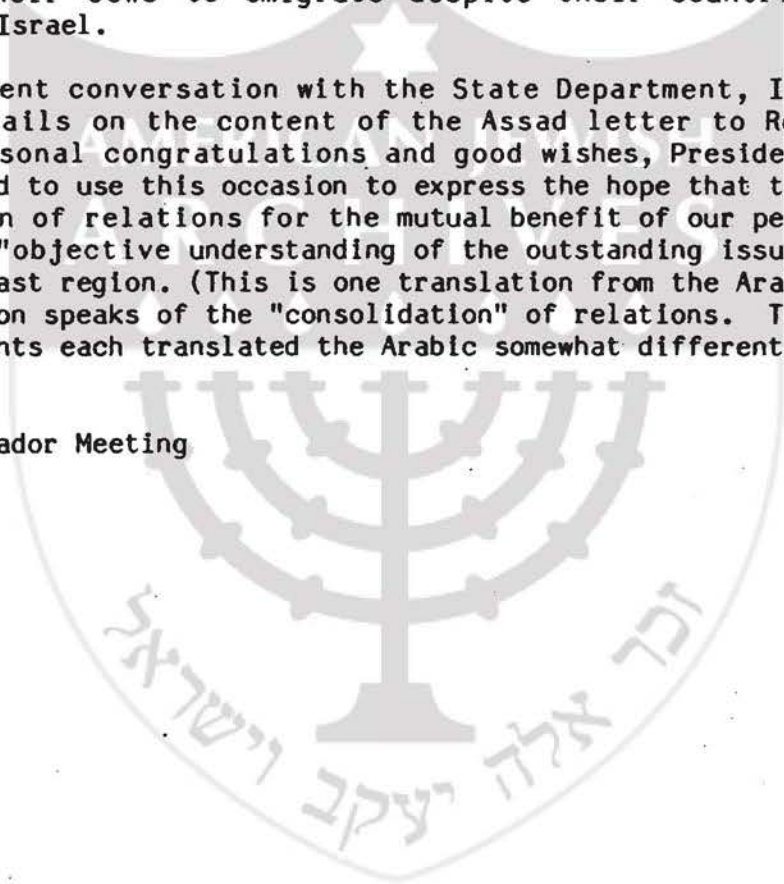
Lilliane Shalom asked the Ambassador whether he had heard about the forthcoming meeting in Paris and he claimed that he had not. She and I both pointed out that we sought accurate information on the situation of the Jews because we did not wish to score propaganda points against Syria but simply to restore the human rights of the Jewish community. I said that I believed that removing the restrictions imposed on the Jewish community would remove an unnecessary irritant in American-Syrian relations. Kenneth Jacobson reinforced this point by noting that President Reagan's re-election had demonstrated the extent to which the American people were concerned with traditional values. Syrian action permitting reunion of families would certainly be well received by American public opinion.

Ambassador Jouejati said that he was very eager to improve relations and repeated that he personally would do whatever he could to have the existing restrictions removed. He asked us to furnish him with whatever detailed information we could. I left with him the list of restrictions we had recently prepared (copy attached). He thanked me for arranging the meeting and he said that he would like us to keep in touch with him.

P.S. When we caucused before the meeting, we decided that we would not get into any specific political issues of U.S.-Syrian or Israeli-Syrian relations unless the Ambassador raised them as some officials have in the past as justification for restrictions on the Jewish community. Interestingly, Ambassador Jouejati did not attempt to tie the Jewish community to the Arab-Israel conflict. The matter only came up in passing when Stephen Shalom pointed out that all the other Arab countries, including Iraq, had permitted their Jews to emigrate despite their countries' official hostility to Israel.

In a subsequent conversation with the State Department, I received additional details on the content of the Assad letter to Reagan. After offering personal congratulations and good wishes, President Assad said that he wished to use this occasion to express the hope that there would be "an evolution of relations for the mutual benefit of our peoples" on the basis of an "objective understanding of the outstanding issues" affecting the Middle East region. (This is one translation from the Arabic original. Another version speaks of the "consolidation" of relations. The Syrian and U.S. Governments each translated the Arabic somewhat differently.)

M081-Syrian Ambassador Meeting
11/13/84 gn/sm



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

SUMMARY OF RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING
THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF SYRIA

The Syrian Jewish Community, numbering some 4,500, suffers from egregious violations of its human rights, in breach of covenants ratified by Syria. Jews are the only religious community who as a group are totally forbidden to emigrate. Jews are required to leave a substantial monetary deposit and close family members behind before being permitted to travel abroad, even for brief periods. The Syrian authorities have even denied appeals from Syrian Jews for permission to be reunited with close family members who are abroad.¹

In addition, Jews are barred from employment in government offices, public bodies such as banks, and suffer from discriminatory economic and legal practices, restricting their rights to dispose of property through sale or inheritance.²

The identity cards of Jews used to carry the notation "Musawi" (Arabic for Jew) in large red letters. While now the word "Musawi" is written in smaller letters in black, Jews are still singled out, because the line for religious identification is normally left blank on the identity cards of Muslim and Christian Syrians.³

NOTES:

International legal instruments violated -

1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 14(1).
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 12(2).
2. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 7, 21(2), 23(1).
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 5(e)(i).
3. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 7.
International Covenant, Article 26.
International Convention, Article 2(1)(2), (b), (c) and (d).

October 26, 1984

84-580-39

NOV 15 1984

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 9, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum / David Harris
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Personnel

I should appreciate it if you would bring me up to date with respect to personnel developments.

If there are any discussion of or leads on the political man in the Israel office, I would like very much to hear about it.

If Marc is not available to respond promptly to this memo, I am requesting that David drop me a brief line.

Thanks.

MBR:vn



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 12, 1984
to Department Heads and Supervisors
from Marilyn Rothman
subject Winter Vacation Schedules

I am enclosing a list of the vacation balances as of October 26th for staff members in your department. Simultaneously, the individuals listed will each be receiving a memorandum from Personnel, advising them of unused vacation time and requesting that they send you their winter vacation schedules for your approval by December 7th. Personnel should receive "Vacation Request Forms" no later than December 21st.

Staff members with large balances must be urged by you to use up their time so that it will not be forfeited.

Now that the number of secretaries remaining in your department has been reduced, it is imperative that you review all vacation requests very carefully. It is your responsibility to see that you have adequate staff coverage and that their requested vacations do not conflict with your department's peak priority periods. As you know, we do not replace a staff member who is on vacation with temporary help.

It has come to my attention that an increasing number of staff members are taking vacation time without your prior approval. As a result, the Personnel Department is not notified in advance. We learn about it from our time sheets, after the fact. Will you please discuss this with your staff and advise them of the proper procedure and the necessity of adhering to it.

I urge your cooperation. Thank you.

MR:mf

84-850-15

FOR YOUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 12, 1984
to Area Directors
from Marc Tanenbaum
subject Specialized Task Forces of the AJC International Relations Department

During the recently-concluded NEC meeting in Chicago, the International Relations Commission unanimously approved a proposal introduced by our chairman, Leo Nevas, for the creation of a set of task forces focusing on specific regional areas of concern to our department. A copy of the proposal is attached. (Not incidentally, four former AJC Presidents and Howard Friedman participated in the discussion and gave their approval to the proposal.)

To implement the proposal, we need your help and cooperation in identifying appropriate lay leadership as candidates for membership in these regional task forces. All candidates will be screened and selected by the National Office, therefore, it is important that you not discuss the possibility of selection with a prospective nominee. Each task force will be under the chairmanship of an AJC leader knowledgeable in the region.

We are looking for persons who have one or more of the following qualifications: 1) academic knowledge in international affairs, regional studies, etc.; 2) business or other professional ties with particular countries or regions; 3) foreign service or similar experience; or 4) other involvement in foreign affairs, including membership in world affairs councils, overseas experience and knowledge of foreign languages.

The prospective nominee should be prepared to give quality time, that is, attendance at the few meetings that will be held each year when discussions will take place to help shape our program priorities. There will also be missions travelling to each of the regions for consultations with top government, other political, religious, cultural and Jewish community leaders.

We believe that the creation of these task forces offers an exciting and important new dimension for AJC lay members to the international work of our agency. Consequently, we ask that you give your full and prompt attention to this memo and refer to us your chapter's carefully screened recommendations for membership. To assist in the process, I enclose a questionnaire which should be filled out separately for each candidate.

Our goal is to announce the establishment of the task force by January. Many thanks for your invaluable cooperation.

MHT:RPR

84-550-85

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNING NOMINEES FOR
REGIONAL TASK FORCES OF THE AJC
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION
=====

I Name of candidate _____

II Profession _____

III AJC involvement locally and nationally _____

IV Does nominee have academic, business, foreign affairs or other professional involvement in any of the following area? If so, please specify.

- a) Western Europe
- i) Regional groupings such as the European Economic Community, European Parliament, Council of Europe, NATO, North Atlantic Assembly, etc.
 - ii) Individual countries such as Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland or Turkey

- b) Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia)

- c) Central America (Caribbean nations, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama)

Questionnaire/2

- d) South America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela)

- e) Other international and regional agencies, including the United Nations and its affiliated agencies, Organization of American States, Organization of African Unity, Dartmouth Conference, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and Inter-American Development Bank

- f) Contact with foreign embassies, consulates, missions, trade offices or other foreign representatives in the U.S.

- V Languages spoken (French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, etc.)

- VI Other relevant information (e.g. overseas experience, publications, professional memberships, etc.)

Questionnaire/3

VII Task Force for which the nominee should be considered:

Western Europe _____

Eastern Europe _____

Central America _____

South America _____

Outreach to Foreign Diplomats in the U.S. _____



Submitted by _____
(please print)

AJC Chapter _____

rpr

84-550-86

STEERING COMMITTEE OF
AJC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Chicago, Illinois November 2, 1984

Revised Proposal for Creation of Special Committees for Regional Areas

= = = = =

BACKGROUND: During the past year, the International Relations Department has expanded its program overseas as a means of seeking to realize more effectively the foreign policy objectives of the agency.

These objectives include: a) our support of the security and welfare of Israel; b) defense of the human rights of Soviet Jewry; c) assistance to endangered Jewish communities, such as, Syrian Jewry, Ethiopian Jewry; d) combatting international anti-Semitism, particularly in its anti-Zionist guise at the UN and other international agencies; e) helping to strengthen the internal spiritual and cultural life of overseas Jewish communities who request our assistance, such as FEDECO in Central America, the European Council of Jewish Communities, East European Jewry, etc.; f) advancement of universal human rights.

In the implementation of these programs, we have established in the past "special committees" of lay leaders and technical experts who have provided helpful policy guidance in a number of areas. This includes our Task Force on Soviet Jewry and the Administrative Council of the Blaustein Institute on Human Rights. We also had a committee supervising our programs in Latin America. (We had an ongoing program on Israel and the Middle East, and at the moment, see no need for a special group in this area.)

PROPOSAL: In light of these past experiences, we are now proposing that we institutionalize this approach in a serious way in several areas:

A) A Special Committee on West European Affairs

This committee would be headed by a knowledgeable lay leader. It would also explore our contacts with the EEC, North Atlantic Assembly, and European Parliament in terms of AJC program interests, especially Israel, Soviet Jewry, and human rights.

The Committee would make recommendations to the IRC as to the programs which should be implemented in these countries (such as The Nairobi Conference, human rights, Soviet Jewry, countering anti-Zionist propaganda, etc.) as well as with the pan-European bodies with which we have established relationships.

The Committee would also undertake to recruit lay members with special interests in this region - academics, AJC leaders and others with commercial, trade, media, or other connections.

Proposal for Special Committees/2

B) A Special Committee on East European Affairs

This committee would follow the model outlined above, but would concentrate on our contacts and relationships with Jewish communities and governments in East Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Poland.

The intention would be to bring together specialists in this region -- academics, AJC leaders and others who have working ties with these countries.

This committee might be separate from our special committee devoted to Soviet Jewry, although on some issues there would be communication and joint consideration of common concerns.

C) A Special Committee on Central America

The model would be the same as that suggested for West Europe. We propose reconstituting our present committee on the basis of our having intensified programmatically this year our activities with FEDECO, the central federation of Central American Jewish communities.

This committee will review our programs with FEDECO, help establish priorities, and strengthen our relationships with governments, human rights groups, and the appropriate desks in the State Department.

Here, too, the committee will seek to recruit people of special competence in Central American affairs.

D) A Special Committee on South America

The model will be the same as above with committee purposes applied to the special program needs of South American countries. The Committee would be asked to review the latest report on South America prepared by Marc Tanenbaum and Jacobo Kovadloff and make recommendations regarding IRD priorities in this region.

A key question would be consideration of the reopening of our office in Buenos Aires in some form.

Recruitment of persons of special competence or experience in South America would also be a major purpose of this committee.

E) Outreach to Foreign Diplomats in the U.S.

After a number of experiences, it is evident that there is much usefulness in advancing our overall program objectives in strengthening our contacts with foreign diplomats attached to the United Nations or assigned to embassies or consulates in the U.S.

This committee would consist of core people who have had long experience in working with UN Hospitality groups, and with diplomats from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Contacts with East and West Europeans would also be cultivated.

Proposal for Special Committees/3

IMPLEMENTATION: Assuming approval of these committees, we will need to consider staffing of these special groups as well as any budgets that might be required for administration.

Tentative Proposed Budget

Additional Secretary (East, West Europe)	\$ 15,500
Professional Travel (East, West Europe)	12,000
Additional Secretary (Foreign Diplomats, Africa, Asia, UN Corps)	15,500
Travel, Hospitality	25,000
Conferences	12,500
Publications (Newsletter)	15,500
	<hr/>
	\$ 96,000

mht:rpr

84-550-78

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Nov. 14...While supporting the U.S. Government's "decisive and firm position of withdrawing from UNESCO if appropriate reform is not accomplished," the American Jewish Committee has called upon President Reagan's Administration "to postpone by a year a decision to withdraw from UNESCO."

This AJC decision is based on the fact that "positive" developments took place at a recent UNESCO Executive Board meeting in Paris at which Western proposals to reverse the politicization of the body were considered. President Reagan is scheduled to review his decision to withdraw the United States from UNESCO as of January 1, 1985.

The AJC's National Executive Council made its views known in a resolution adopted recently in Chicago. It underscored that "if in another year real improvement is not apparent" in the depoliticization of UNESCO, America's "firm posture (regarding withdrawal) should be maintained and implemented."

The AJC resolution was formulated by the International Relations Commission, whose chairman is Leo Nevas of Westport, Conn., and whose director is Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the National Executive Council, the largest policy-setting body of the American Jewish Committee.

In urging that the withdrawal decision be postponed for a year, the AJC resolution noted that President Reagan had originally announced his intention to withdraw if the "agency failed to reverse political tendencies inimical to democratic values as well as to reform its management and budgetary practices."

The resolution continued: "Currently the U.S. Government is assessing the results of the recently concluded UNESCO Executive Board meeting at which

more....

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 207 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel

South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

reform proposals submitted by the U.S. and several West European states were considered.

"These proposals, in addition to addressing questions of budget and management, were intended to reverse the politicization and anti-democratic direction of the agency, initiatives we wholeheartedly support. Reports of the Executive Board meeting indicate that positive developments occurred although unresolved issues remain. In light of the tentative but nonetheless generally positive results of that meeting and our traditional support for the ideals and purposes of UNESCO and for institutions of genuine international cooperation, the American Jewish Committee calls on our Government to postpone the decision on withdrawal for one year."

The text noted that during this period there will be opportunity to assess the willingness of the member states and of the Director-General to comply with the letter and spirit of UNESCO's constitution, and in particular to avoid political issues that are outside the agency's jurisdiction.

"There will also be several more occasions," the resolution stated, "to pursue proposals for reform at next year's Executive Board meeting and especially at the next biennial General Conference, UNESCO's highest policy-making body, in 1985. At that time, our Government will be in a better position to evaluate more definitively its future relationship with UNESCO."

The statement concluded: "Meanwhile we acknowledge and support our Government's decisive and firm position of withdrawing from UNESCO if appropriate reform is not accomplished. That posture should be maintained and implemented if in another year, real improvement is not apparent."

The National Executive Council, chaired by Alfred H. Moses, is composed of the AJC's Board of Governors, chapter presidents, as well as members-at-large. Some 300 NEC members took part in the UNESCO vote at the Chicago meeting.

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

* * * * *

PHILLIPS - VAN HEUSEN CORPORATION

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10104 / (212) 541-5200

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 14, 1984

Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mark:

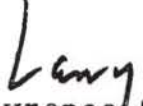
Larry Simon, formerly of Oxfam, has discussed his project and interest with me and it relates very much to my conversation with you this morning about a conduit for Ethiopian relief.

I know Larry is waiting for a call from you and I hope you will have a chance to contact him.

If you have lost his number, it is (617) 492-5929.

Best regards.

Sincerely,


Lawrence S. Phillips

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Nov. 14...Noting the perilous situation facing Jews in Syria and the Soviet Union, the American Jewish Committee has called upon all Americans who support human rights to continue to speak out on behalf of Jews in both nations, and who are denied their rights to emigrate as they continue to suffer from discriminatory abuses in business, employment and education.

In addition, the AJC's National Executive Council, which passed unanimously the resolutions decrying the human rights violations, issued a special appeal to the Soviet Government "to heed the multitude of appeals and petitions from throughout the world and release Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner, whose struggle for human rights in the USSR and for world peace touches us all."

At the same time, the NEC urged the U.S. Government "to continue to express to the Soviet leadership at every opportunity the concern of the American people for the Sakharovs, and the need for immediate and independent confirmation of their status."

Regarding the 4,500-member Syrian-Jewish community, who are barred from employment in government and banking and suffer restrictions on their rights to sell or inherit property, the AJC called upon Syria to live up to its obligations undertaken in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and to allow Jews the right to join their relatives in countries where they may live in freedom and free from fear.

In the Soviet Union, the National Executive Council voiced "its grave concern" over the serious deterioration of the situation of Soviet Jews, including the virtual shut-off of emigration, the campaign against Jews by the media, and

more....

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 207 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel

South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

rising incidences of forced entry into the homes of Jews where religious items are either seized or destroyed.

The resolution also expressed "special concern" over new statements by police officials who have alleged that Jews use drugs for their religious practices.

"We acknowledge with gratitude," the text continued, "the persistent efforts of our government to maintain this issue as a priority on the agenda of U.S./USSR relationships. We call upon the U.S. and other Western delegates to the Madrid Review Conference follow-up meetings in 1985 — the Human Rights Meeting in Ottawa and the Cultural Forum in Budapest — to insure that the issue of Soviet Jews receives the attention it merits."

In addition, the resolution, prepared by the AJC International Relations Commission, headed by Leo Nevas of Westport, Connecticut, and directed by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, called on scientists, educators, and religious and ethnic groups to continue to speak out on behalf of Jews deprived of practicing their professions, cultural traditions, religious beliefs and ethnic heritage.

The text ended with an appeal to the Soviet Government "to forsake its anti-Jewish policies and to abide by the international treaties and conventions to which it is a signatory."

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

* * * * *

#84-960-449

A, EJP, REL, Z

(34/cpa)

TED WEISS

17th District
New York

Chairman
Subcommittee on
Intergovernmental
Relations and
Human Resources

2442 Rayburn Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
202/225-5635

Patricia S. Fleming
Administrative Assistant

NOV 19 1984



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Committees:

Foreign Affairs

Government Operations

Children, Youth and Families

National Commission
on Working Women

Executive Board Member,
Congressional Arts Caucus

Secretary, New York State
Congressional Delegation

November 14, 1984

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

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Because of your concern with the security and economic well-being of Israel, I thought you might find of interest the enclosed. I made these published remarks during consideration of H.R. 5377, the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area Act.

As you probably know, the legislation authorizing the President to negotiate a free trade agreement with Israel was signed into law on October 30. A free trade area will bring significant advantages to both the Israeli and American economies.

Israel, which is beset by an 800 percent annual inflation rate, faces formidable obstacles to economic recovery. Economic boycotts by neighboring Arab states, expenditures for its security, and an enormous per capita foreign debt are the most significant of Israel's economic problems. A free trade agreement with the U.S. will help Israel ease its balance-of-payments deficit and develop its high-technology industrial sector.

The United States would gain unrestricted access to an \$8 billion Israeli market. The Department of Commerce estimates that the increase in U.S. exports to Israel resulting from a free trade agreement could generate an additional 40,000 jobs in our country.

I appreciate your interest in this important issue. Please be sure to communicate with me on matters of mutual interest.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ted Weiss".

TED WEISS

Member of Congress

TW/el

District Offices

37 West 65th Street, New York City 10023 212/787-3480

4060 Broadway, New York City 10032 212/927-7726

131 Waverly Place, New York City 10011 212/620-3310

490 West 238th Street, Bronx 10463 212/884-0441

655 East 233rd Street, Bronx 10466 212/652-0400

Congressional Record



STATEMENT OF REP. TED WEISS IN SUPPORT OF FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 5377, a bill to provide the President with the authority to negotiate a free trade agreement (FTA) with Israel. The creation of a FTA between the United States and Israel would not only generate more jobs in the United States by insuring us a permanent share of the Israeli market, but help bring stability to an export-oriented Israeli economy.

The United States and Israel are not just strategic allies but economic partners as well. Despite its small size and population, Israel ranks as the second or third largest importer of U.S. products in the Middle East. Of the \$8 billion in goods imported by Israel, American exporters supply 20 percent. These imports bring substantial benefits to the American economy and our workers. The Department of Commerce estimates that 40,000 to 50,000 American jobs are dependent on exports to Israel.

The American share of the Israeli market is now being threatened by the creation of a free trade arrangement between Israel and the European Common Market. As a result of this agreement, which will be completely phased in by 1989, the Common Market's share of Israeli imports has already increased, from 33 percent in 1980 to just over 40 percent in 1983.

Without a similar trade arrangement between Israel and the United States, American exports will be replaced by European goods, resulting in a loss of American jobs and an increase in our already expanding trade deficit. We cannot be sanguine about losing the \$400 million trade surplus that we now enjoy with Israel.

For Israel, a free trade agreement with the United States would considerably aid its proposed export-led recovery. Growth in Israel can only come from greater industrialization, which

requires an ever expanding export market. In the long term, Israel plans to rebuild its economy around its natural, comparative advantages—its human resources and the high-technology goods that they can produce. Israel has staked its economic future on production for international high-tech markets, not on flooding markets with inexpensive, labor-intensive goods.

By securing Israeli access to a targeted and narrow high-tech market in the United States, the free trade agreement will ensure increased Israeli exports, enable it to reduce its debt burden and over the long term assist Israel in reducing its dependence on foreign aid. For the United States, the free trade agreement will expand the American share of the Israeli market, increase U.S. jobs, and ensure a continued trade surplus with our Middle East ally.

I urge adoption of H.R. 5377.

DAVID GELLER

*Thought
you'd like to
see this*

more



Seminar on "Zionism Equals Racism"—An Assault on Human Rights

Sponsored by

B'nai B'rith International
1640 Rhode Island Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 857-6600

• **World Jewish Congress**
1 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016
(212) 679-0600

• **World Zionist Organization**
515 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 752-0600

November 15, 1984

Dear Friend:

Nine years ago, on November 10, 1975 the United Nations passed the infamous resolution equating Zionism with Racism. To formulate an effective response to this problem, our three international organizations have chosen the auspicious occasion of Human Rights Day, Monday, December 10, 1984, as the most appropriate time to co-sponsor a notable national one-day Symposium in Washington, D.C.. Its purpose will be to analyze the national and international effect of this resolution and to design an educational and informational program of events and activities for the tenth year since its passage, to counteract the effects of this resolution.

We have obtained the full cooperation and interest of the Administration and the State Department. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams will host our meeting in the Department of State's Loy Henderson Conference Room. The Symposium will begin at 10:00 A.M. and close at 5:00 P.M., with a luncheon session.

We expect foremost experts on this subject to confer with us and to assist in formulating an effective campaign of action. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Ambassador Max Kampelman, Ambassador Meir Rosenne, Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams, former Australian Ambassador to the U.N. Owen Harries and Ambassador Thomas Koh of Singapore, have accepted.

Invitations have been extended to Secretary of State Shultz, Senator Patrick Daniel Moynihan, Governor Mario Cuomo and other highly qualified public figures.

We cordially invite you to participate in this important Symposium. It will be restricted to a small number of top organizational leaders, members of academia and others who are concerned with this issue.

We sincerely hope you will join us and would appreciate hearing from you immediately on the enclosed card. After hearing from you we will send you credentials and security clearance.

Sincerely,

Gerald Kraft
B'nai B'rith

Edgar Bronfman
World Jewish Congress

Bernice Tannenbaum
World Zionist Organization

December 10, 1984 • 10 A.M.-5 P.M.
at the U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DAVID GELLER

*Thought
you'd like to
see this*



More

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

CONGRESO JUDIO MUNDIAL

1211 GENÈVE 20 1, RUE DE VAREMBÉ CASE POSTALE 101 TELEPH. 341325 TELEX 28 98 76	NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 ONE PARK AVENUE TELEPH. 679-0600 TELEX 23 61 29	LONDON W1Y 7DX 11, HERTFORD STREET TELEPH. 491-3517 TELEX 21633	75008 PARIS 78, AV. CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES TELEPH. 359.94.63 TELEX 650320	JERUSALEM P. O. B. 4 2 9 3 4, ROTENBERG STREET TELEPH. 635546-635544
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November 19, 1984

WJC GOVERNING BOARD

January 26-28, 1985

VIENNA, AUSTRIA

The Executive of the World Jewish Congress, in announcing the convening of the WJC Governing Board in Vienna, has invited the American Section to designate the representatives from the United States.

The American Section welcomes your participation as part of the United States delegation, and is pleased to advise you of some of its highlights:

- * As an unprecedented event, the opening session will be held at the Schonbrunn Castle - the historic summer residence of the Hapsburg Emperors - where the delegates will be received by the Austrian Chancellor.
- * The deliberative sessions of the meeting will make major policy decisions for the WJC affecting the world Jewish agenda, including: Middle East, Soviet Jewry, East-West relations, endangered Jewish communities, United Nations, anti-Semitism, and human rights.
- * Participants will include representatives of Jewish communities from all parts of the world, including, on this occasion, those of the East European countries.
- * The American delegates will be received by the Mayor of Vienna at the historic City Hall, and meet with the U.S. and Israeli Ambassadors to Austria.
- * Reception by the Jewish community of Vienna, including an orientation of points of Jewish interest.

In addition, following special arrangements with the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, details are being finalized for a special fact-finding mission of the American Section to East Europe for those wishing to go on from Vienna following the Governing Board.

Participants will be staying at the Vienna Hilton. By decision of the WJC Executive, participants are responsible for expenses. Preferential rates are being arranged and will be available shortly.

The American Section Secretariat is required to determine the status of U.S. participants to the Governing Board. Therefore, those planning to attend should kindly advise Ms. Sharon Cohen at (212)679-0600 for details and credentials as soon as possible.

Lord Lever of Manchester
Chairman
Governing Board

Edgar M. Bronfman
President
World Jewish Congress

November 16, 1984

Dear Ms. McFarlane:

Recently, the National Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee adopted a series of resolutions on international relations issues. ~~of vital concern~~. I have the honor of transmitting these resolutions to you, in the hope that they may, in some way, assist in the foreign policy planning process.

May I take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the valuable contribution of Howard Teicher, a member of your staff, to a recent American Jewish Committee Consultation in the Middle East.

We are looking forward toward continuing fruitful consultation with you on international relations matters.

Sincerely,

November 16, 1984

Dear Mr. Wick:

Recently, the National Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee adopted a series of resolutions on international relations. ^{ISSUES}

I have the honor to convey these resolutions to you. They indicate some of the foreign policy concerns of a group of Americans devoted to ~~a secure and vibrant America's~~ ^{security and well-being} and to promoting human rights across the globe. I hope they may be of some use to you in your vital work in ~~transmitting and interpreting the views and concerns of Americans to the~~ ^{worlds internationally.}

Sincerely,



Dear Mr. Secretary:

We were gratified to learn that you will be continuing in your office. We deeply appreciate your consistent support for the security of Israel, the rights of Soviet Jews, and for the advancement of human rights *everywhere*. Your recent ^{*address Monday*} ~~speech about~~ terrorism has cut new ground in national discussion on this most vital subject.

Recently, the National Executive Council of the ^{*ewish*} American ~~Journal~~ ^{*about international relations issues*} ~~Committee~~ adopted a series of resolutions ^{*on these resolutions*} ~~on these resolutions~~, ^{*these*} which I have the honor of transmitting to you, ~~indicate the vital concerns~~ ^{*and*} ~~of the leadership of the American Journal Comm.~~ ^{*that*} I hope they may contribute in some way to ~~future~~ foreign policy planning.

Sincerely,



Letters also to

Michael Armacost, State (UNESCO)

Walter Raymond, NSC (UNESCO)



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 11/19/82

FROM: GEORGE E. GRUEN

TO: KENNETH BANDLER
 DAVID GELLER
 DAVID HARRIS
 ALLAN KAGEDAN
 JACOB KOVADLOFF
 SIDNEY LISKOFKY
 MARC TANENBAUM

For approval
 For your information
 Please handle
 Read and return
 Returned as requested
 Please telephone me
 Your comments, please

REMARKS:

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 19, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum
from George Gruen
subject

I am enclosing response from Professor Sammy Smooha outlining the project title and table of contents of his book Social Research on Ethnic Relations in Israel: A Selected Annotated Bibliography, 1948-1984.

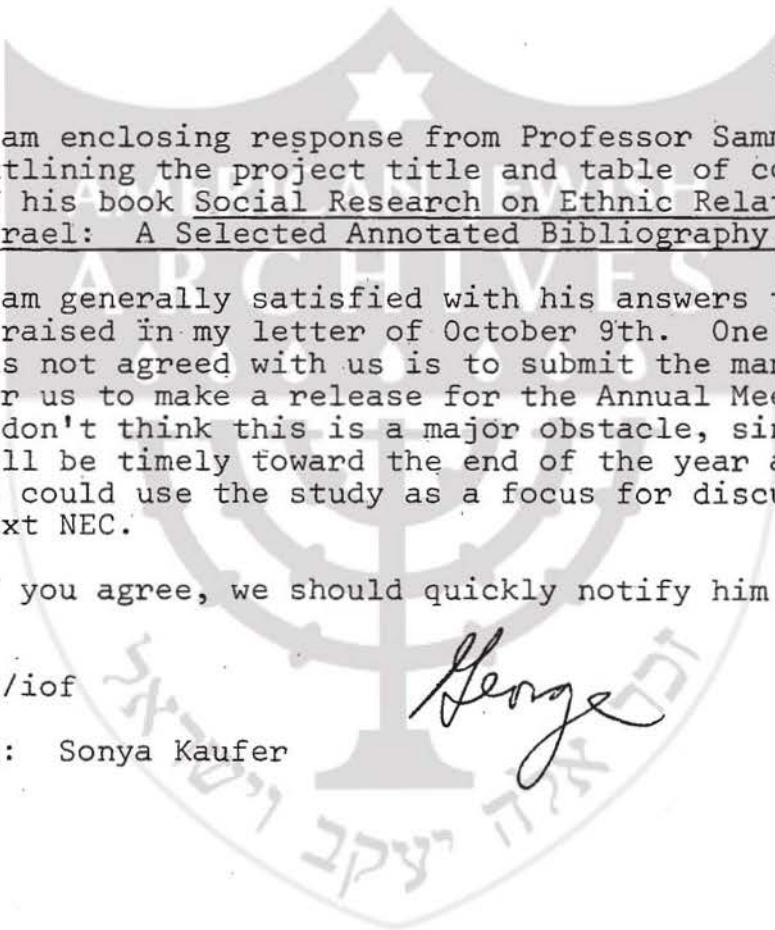
I am generally satisfied with his answers to the questions I raised in my letter of October 9th. One area that he has not agreed with us is to submit the manuscript in time for us to make a release for the Annual Meeting in May. I don't think this is a major obstacle, since the issue will be timely toward the end of the year as well. Maybe we could use the study as a focus for discussion at the next NEC.

If you agree, we should quickly notify him to proceed.

GG/iof



cc: Sonya Kaufer





Dr. George E. Gruen, Director
Israel and Middle East Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 St.
New York, NY 10022
U.S.A.

November 6, 1984

Dear Dr. Gruen,

This is a response to your letter of October 9, 1984, addressed to Mrs. Nina Weiner and a copy of which was forwarded to me. The following clarifications concur with talks held with Mrs. Weiner in June and with Mr. Gabriel Malka in June and again on November 5.

1. The tentative title and table of contents of the book are as follows:
Social Research on Ethnic Relations in Israel: A Selected Annotated Bibliography, 1948-1984.

Acknowledgments

Ethnic Relations in Israel

Guide to the Bibliography

Abstracts of Selected Research Publications

Other Publications

Directory of Active Researchers

Index

2. Acknowledgments will be made as requested.

3. A review essay on ethnic relations in Israel will be added.

4. Around 150 abstracts of the most representative publications on ethnic relations or Oriental Jews in Israel will be prepared. They will cover the fields of sociology, anthropology, political science, psychology and education. Criteria of selection of publications are scientific merit, readability, availability, recency and appearance in English. It is expected that most abstracted publications appeared during the last decade and about half are available in English journals or books. The abstracts will constitute the greater part of the book.

5. Around 300 additional publications without abstracts will be listed. They will include scientific and other useful sources. Criteria of inclusion are similar to the above.

6. The book will be written in English. Titles of Hebrew publications will appear both in their original Hebrew form and translated English form.

7. A directory of active researchers (including institutional affiliations and mailing addresses) will be included.

8. An author and subject index will be appended.

9. The work will be published as a paperback book of approximately 150 pages.

10. The final manuscript will be submitted by the end of June, 1985. Typesetting and production, to be done in Israel, will be completed by the end of 1985.

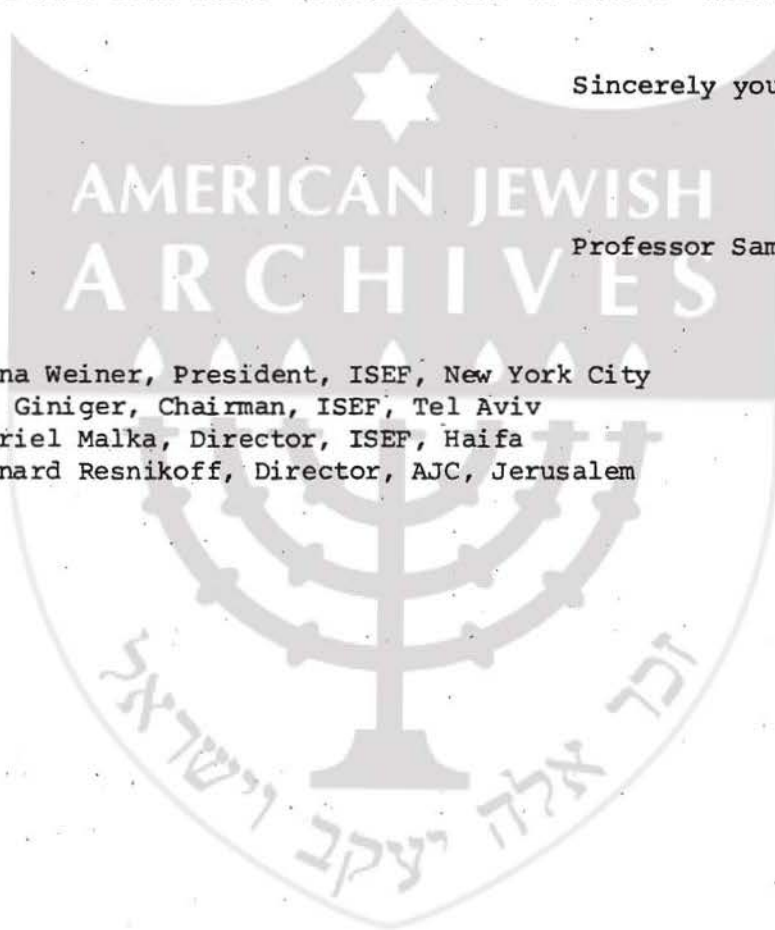
Hope you will find these clarifications in order. With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Professor Sammy Smooha

cc: Mrs. Nina Weiner, President, ISEF, New York City
Mr. Ami Giniger, Chairman, ISEF, Tel Aviv
Mr. Gabriel Malka, Director, ISEF, Haifa
Dr. Bernard Resnikoff, Director, AJC, Jerusalem





The American Jewish Committee

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

October 9, 1984

Mrs. Nina A. Weiner
President
International Sephardic Education Foundation
1345 Avenue of the Americas - 45th floor
New York, New York 10105

Dear Nina:

I am pleased that we had a chance to talk, albeit briefly, to bring each other up-to-date regarding possibilities of future joint projects. I had a very good discussion with Dean Gabi Malka at Haifa University. I discussed the proposals with Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum and, as I mentioned to you on the phone, the International Relations Department of AJC agrees in principle to co-sponsor with ISEF Professor Sammy Smooha's annotated bibliography and analytical review of the literature on the ethnic and social cleavages within Israeli Jewish society, including also economic, educational and cultural aspects of the problem as well as the political implications of Ashkenazi-Sephardi friction.

Gabi Malka indicated to me that the required budget for this project is \$7,000, of which \$5,000 represents the honorarium to Professor Smooha and \$2,000 is the cost of publishing 1,500 copies of the report. The AJC would agree to pay half of this sum, it being clearly understood that this would be our total contribution and that ISEF agrees to cover any additional costs should the editing, proofreading and printing entail additional expenses.

Before we can finalize AJC's participation in this project we will have to receive written confirmation from Professor Smooha of the terms of our understanding as developed in my conversations with you and Gabi, as well as answers to the questions below that have been raised by my colleagues in the International Relations and Publications Departments. (Since Professor Smooha was out of the country at the time, I was unfortunately unable to discuss this directly with him during my brief stay in Israel.)

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October 9, 1984
Mrs. Nina A. Weiner

1. We would like to receive an outline or table of contents to indicate the scope of the bibliography and how Professor Smootha plans to categorize the subject matter. I understand that the bibliography will be in English and is to contain some 700 items written in Hebrew, English and possibly other languages. Of these about 150 of the more important items will be summarized at some length, with the summary of those originally published in Hebrew to be lengthier and more detailed than those that are available in English. In selecting the items for inclusion every effort will be made to assure that the full spectrum of views on controversial issues will be represented. It would be helpful if Professor Smootha could indicate which items are of a scholarly nature and represent relatively objective factual analyses and which are in the nature of advocacy journalism and partisan or polemical in character.

2. The study should be timely and up-to-date. We expect that the bibliography will concentrate on works published in the past few years and include items published during 1984. Works that are more than 10 years old should generally not be included unless they are classic studies, comprehensive overviews or seminal works. Will works published in Israel in other languages than Hebrew and English be included? Will Professor Smootha include significant articles that have appeared in Western Europe or North America? Our Publications Department believes that the practical usefulness of this bibliography will be greatly enhanced for American readers if it includes major articles that have appeared in the United States or are available in American libraries.

3. Professor Smootha's introductory essay is a crucial part of the book. Since we are not interested simply in providing a reference work for librarians and scholars, but seek to facilitate practical efforts to help bridge the gap and increase intergroup understanding, it is important that Professor Smootha distill from the literature he has reviewed certain findings, tentative conclusions and possible recommendations. For example, in what areas is there a consensus that the problem is lessening, in what areas is it sharpening, on what subjects is there still wide disagreement, where are there statistical indices that are clear and unambiguous, on what subjects are the figures lacking or inconclusive? What are the alternative scenarios that emerge from the literature, what are the various policies advocated by different authors and what groups support them? Finally, what are Professor Smootha's own recommendations for areas of additional study and practical action by governmental and non-governmental agencies?

4. Since we would like to issue the study at the time of our national Annual Meeting, which is scheduled for the first week in May 1985, we would ideally like to have several hundred printed copies available for distribution in New York by mid-April. In any case we must have a copy of the finished, edited typescript of the manuscript, including the introductory essay, in our hands by mid-March. This would give us and ISEF an opportunity to prepare our own brief preface as well as to prepare press releases and other possible activities surrounding the publication of this study.

October 9, 1984
Mrs. Nina A. Weiner

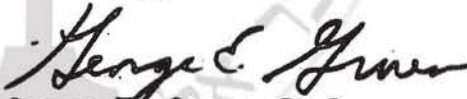
5. I have given Ms. Ayelet Angel three samples of annotated bibliographies on other subjects that have been published by the American Jewish Committee. Our Publications Department strongly recommends that all the items in Professor Smooha's bibliography be listed completely in terms of details of publication. In cases where the work is in Hebrew or another foreign language, the original title or transliteration of it as well as the translated title should be included so that a researcher can readily track down the original article. In addition, you will note that each item in the sample bibliographies is numbered and that the subject and author index is also coded by item for ease of reference.

6. We assume that it would be cheaper to produce the bibliography in Israel, but we would want to be sure that the product is typographically attractive and editorially accurate. Since we may have to draw upon special funds for this project, it is essential that we have included in the publication a reference that it was made possible by a special grant from the Ruth Samuel Fund of the American Jewish Committee.

I had a very useful discussion with Ms. Angel about ISEF's programs and our budget committee will review the information we have received from her about the Shabbatot Iyyun to determine whether and to what extent we will be able to include this worthwhile project in our program for next year. I will let you know as soon as the committee has reviewed the various proposals it has before it.

Best wishes for a healthy and happy New Year to you and your family and continued success in your vital work.

Cordially,



George E. Gruen, Ph.D.
Director
Israel & Middle East Affairs

GEG/tp

cc: Mr. Ami Giniger, Chairman, ISEF Israel
Mr. Gabriel Malka, Director, ISEF Israel
Prof. Sammy Smooha, Department of Sociology, Haifa University
Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff, Director AJC Israel office

NOV 22 8 1984

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES
5828 SOUTH UNIVERSITY AVENUE
CHICAGO • ILLINOIS 60637

MARVIN ZONIS

312-962-8753

November 20, 1984

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

Dear Marc: AMERICAN JEWISH

I appreciated very much your kind words about my speech in Chicago. Perhaps someday we'll have the occasion to discuss it together. My own sense was that there was something terribly wrong- as if I had committed a breach of etiquette. Perhaps that is not the case. Perhaps people were expecting an indictment of Islamic fundamentalism. Perhaps it was just "old hat" But I will get the text typed up and forwarded to you.

I thought our forum on the Middle East was very useful for me. I hope the AJC felt likewise. I am taking the liberty of attaching my expenses as I'm not sure to whom they should be sent.

Sincerely,



*Your expenses
to
Ken*



DEUTSCHER EVANGELISCHER KIRCHENTAG
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Juden und Christen

Anschrift:
D. Martin Stöhr
Evangelische Akademie
Arnoldshain
D - 6384 Schmitten 1
Telefon 06084-514

Edna Brocke M. A.
Ludwig-Richter-Ring 98
Telefon 02841-31033
4130 Moers 1

NOV 26 1984

November 20, 1984

Dear Jim,

there are several items of shared interest on which I want to inform you today. I hope we can communicate to each other the newest and up-dated state of affairs.

On Thursday, Nov 22, we will have a meeting of the Jewish-Catholic group of the Central Committee of German Catholics. Michael and myself intend to bring up the Oberammergau question again and give the material which you and Judith have sent (and given) us. Maybe a new initiative will bring about renewed activities on the part of the official institutions of the Catholic Church in Germany.

About two weeks ago we (that is Martin Stöhr and myself) met Rolf Rentdorff in Jerusalem. By the way: the tour of our delegation was of great importance and I would say also of great success, both in terms of our group, the guests and visitors, as well as in terms of the Israeli partners with whom we met. Rolf Rentdorff reported to us about his meeting with you and with Bill Trosten. What we learned from his report is that we can count on a delegation of AJC to be with us May/June next year.

Now let me tell you what we have thought might be an interesting program for your delegation and please let me know what you would like to change or to bring in instead.

- Wednesday, May 29: Arrival in Frankfurt.
Stay overnight in Arnoldshain.
- Thursday, May 30: Travelling to WORMS (old Synagogue, Jewish cemetery, Raschi-Lehrhaus, Mikve) and to HEIDELBERG (Hochschule für jüdische Studien).
Stay overnight in Arnoldshain.
- Friday, May 31: Flight to BERLIN.
Meeting with Mr. H. Galinski, Jewish community.
Kabbalat Shabbat - Pestalozzi Str.
- Shabbat, June 1: West BERLIN.
- Sunday, June 2: Visit to East BERLIN
The Jewish community (meeting with representatives of the community); The Jewish cemetery in Weißensee; visit to the Synagogue, Ryke Str; meeting with Christians interested in interreligious dialogue.
- Monday, June 3: Flight to DÜSSELDORF.
Düsseldorf will be the 'foothold' until the end of the visit.
Late afternoon: reception in the Jewish community of KREFELD.
- Vorstand:

Edna Brocke M.A., Prof. Dr. Dietrich Goldschmidt, Pfarrer Otto Schenk,
Akademiedirektor D. Martin Stöhr

Regional and lokal church leaders will be invited, and also members of the Society for Christian Jewish cooperation.

Tuesday, June 4: Reception in BONN at the house of the representative of the Protestant Church in Bonn.

Visit to the Bundestag and to other political institutions in Bonn.

Wednesday, June 5: At 6:00 p.m. opening of the "Kirchentag" in Düsseldorf.

Thursday, June 6:

through The Kirchentag in Düsseldorf.

Sunday, June 9: Flight from Düsseldorf to N.Y.

Well, that is roughly what we have planned for your group. I would appreciate your comments and remarks.

As you see, we expect a group of mainly Jewish members, interested in interreligious dialogue but also interested in the situation of the Jewish communities in this country.

The members of the delegation do not necessarily have to speak or understand German, yet it would be of some help if there would be at least some German-speaking people in the group.

With warmest regards from Michael and myself and looking forward to have you with us soon again,

S h a l o m,

Edu

בניגון שלום חמה ממיכאל ומיני
במקום שמיכאל בקוב. גם אגודת

עדין

CC: Mr. W. Trosten
Rabbi M. Tanenbaum
Dr. M. Stöhr

NOV 28 1984



משלחת ישראל לעצרת הכללית
של האומות המאוחדות

ISRAEL DELEGATION TO THE
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

20 November 1984

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

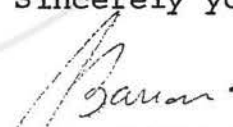
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum,

Please find here enclosed the statement I made in the
Special Political Committee on November 20. It contains, I
believe, the fundamental elements of Israel's case.

I will mail to you from Lisbon the book on Israel-Latin
American Relations.

Sincerely yours,


Joel Barromi
Ambassador

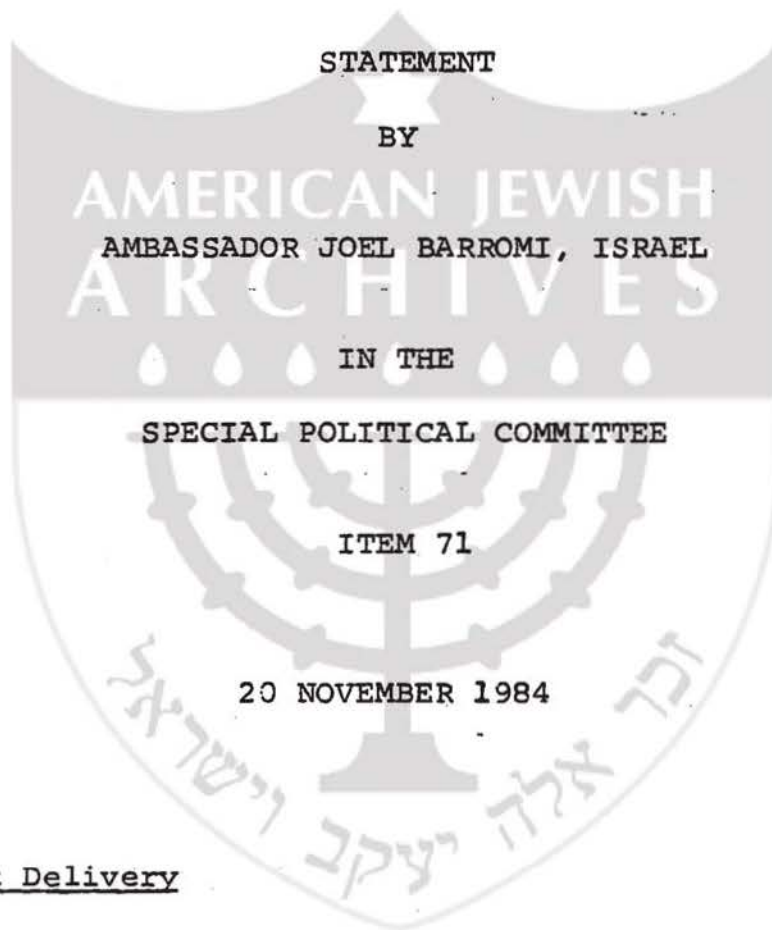


המשלחת הקבועה
של ישראל לאומה המאוחדות

PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500



Check Against Delivery

This committee has been overburdened this year as in the past years by semantic and pseudo geographical debates. How should we call the area to which the report relates? Should we say Judea and Samaria or West Bank? What is the proper name of the ancient city lying southeast of Jerusalem? Hebron, as recorded in the book of Genesis, or rather Al-Khalil?

The Special Committee to investigate Israeli practices, too, seems to be in a quandary. One of the witnesses quoted in the opening paragraph of the Report (paragraph 32) spoke against the "Judaization" of the area. He complained that an Arab town called El-Majdal has now an Israeli name, Ashkelon, and that Jerusalem is now called Orshalim (sic). We wish to ask in the first place why is Judaization per se bad and Arabization per se good? The Arabs initiated their invasion of the Middle East in the middle of the seventh century. They occupied the Holy Land in 640 CE where Jews had been living for close to two millenia. They did it by might and not by right. The inhabitants were at times forced to embrace Islam. Those who resisted were compelled to accept the status of subjected people, the Dhimmi. May I be allowed to call the attention of this Committee to an important book on this subject "Le Dhimmi" by Bat Yeor, published in Paris in 1980. The Dhimmi lost the ownership of their lands and were submitted to special taxes and to segregation. Geographical names were changed. The Hebrew town of Midgal became Al Majdal. Hebron became Al Khalil. Jerusalem became Al Quds.

The Arab conquest continued and soon engulfed all North Africa. There too the Arabization was carried out and successfully completed. Later the Arabs occupied by sword and fire Spain and Portugal, and parts of France and Italy. Those countries were returned to Christendom after long, devastating wars.

It would be unwise to pass value judgements on historical processes of this magnitude. The Arab empires knew periods of splendor and of cultural creativity. My point is only that Arabization meant the occupation of foreign countries and the violent disruption of previous life style, religion, and culture, including geographic names. It meant also loss of rights and at times harsh oppression for the conquered peoples.

Let us now return to our witness. He spoke of Al-Majdal. But Al-Majdal was nothing else than the ancient Hebrew town of Migdal. Migdal was located in the vicinity of a major city, Ashkelon, which in a certain epoch was inhabited by the Philistines to whom I shall soon refer. In recent decades a sprawling urban center has grown up in the same area of Migdal and Ashkelon. Is it wrong that it should be named now Ashkelon?

Is it wrong that the City of David be called in Israel "Yerushalaim" as it was known when the great King and poet reigned? Yerushalaim is the name given by the Hebrew Bible and has been the central theme of Hebrew liturgy, prose and poetry for 3000 years. Should Israel disavow it and call the city "Al Quds"

as it was named under Arab and Turkish rule? Indeed, the Iranian representative did just that in the 32nd plenary meeting of this General Assembly. He repeatedly referred to Al Quds when he moved to reject the credentials of Israel.

I submit that these are not innocent exercises. They are part of a campaign aimed at ensuring acceptance for a number of misconstructions and falsehoods which gradually creep into U.N. language, jargon and documentation. The purpose is to affect moral and judicial perceptions and to influence political thinking.

Let us take for instance the term Palestine. Arab propaganda has been trying to spread two deceptive notions:

The first is that Palestine is an Arab word. The second is that Palestine was the original name of the land of the Bible.

The political implications of these two false premises are obvious. They want the world to believe that the Arabs managed somehow to arrive in our country ahead of the Jews, and to establish their own homeland there. In PLO-inspired literature the Canaanites and the other heathen nations who inhabited the land at the time of the Patriarch Abraham are tersely defined as Arabs. The Israelite eras from Moses to the kingdom of David and Solomon, and from them up to Judas Maccabeus and Bar Kochba, are blandly disposed of as a brief, ephemeral period.

I repeat: There is nothing naive in these startling assertions. The political consequences follow immediately. Article 20 of the Palestinian Covenant squarely states that "the claim to historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history." Yasser Arafat during his visit to Rome in 1982 even called the apostle Peter "the first Palestinian" trying to convey the impression that the Galilean fisherman was in fact an Arab and possibly a PLO sympathizer. The next step in the game of semantic fiction is to insinuate that there was once a mythical, lost but ever-shining, Arab kingdom or Republic of Palestine, later dismantled by Zionist invaders. This imaginary concept gave birth to other myths such as the lost Arab civilization of Palestine and the Arab character of Jerusalem.

Professional P.R. executives may by these tricks easily confuse public opinion and hoodwink those who do not recall the facts of a remote epoch. It is sad that echoes of these disreputable techniques should be heard even here in the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Needless to say, the word Palestine has no Arab origin whatsoever. It came from the Philistines, a seafaring tribe of Greek ancestry, with no kinship to the Arabs, who seized the coastal strip of Israel and lived there up to the tenth century BCE.

The land at large was first called Canaan, then Israel or Judea. The name Israel appears in a monument as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century BCE on a stele erected in honour of Pharaoh Meneptah. The text reads: "Israel is laid waste, his seed exists not." More than 1500 years later, in 135 CE the Roman Emperor Hadrian made a further determined attempt to obliterate the Jewish people. He razed Jerusalem, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of persons, outlawed the Jewish religion and imposed on the country a new name of Greek root, Syria - Palaestina. (Syria too, by the way, is a Greek name, and was an area of Greek culture as evidenced by the beautiful archeological relic displayed in the delegates lounge, a gift of the Syrian Arab Republic.)

After the Arab invasion, the land was ruled for most of the time from faraway Damascus, Baghdad or Cairo. Under the Turkish rule it was usually part of the Syrian province, the "vilayet" of Damascus. It had no political, administrative, or cultural life of its own and it was a stagnant, scarcely inhabited and decaying area. The name Palestine, as an administrative designation for the whole country, was reintroduced by the British after the first World War. Soon afterwards the League of Nations entrusted them with the mandate for Palestine with the specific purpose of reconstructing therein a national home for the Jewish people. In other words when the international community, 62 years ago, endowed Palestine with a special legal status, it did not dis-

card a previous local Arab entity, for the simple reason that it never existed. The League of Nations took over a forlorn Turkish province and recognized it as the ancient Jewish homeland where Jewish national rights had to be restored.

It is important to give some thought to the Mandate of the League of Nations. Its third preambular paragraph stated:

"Whereas recognition has hereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country".

Indeed the historical connection of the Jewish people with its land is the root of the matter and there is little wonder that the Palestinian National Covenant attempts to negate it.

The League of Nations took into account Arab concerns as well. Article 25 of the Mandate allowed the Mandatory power to postpone or withhold the provisions regarding the Jewish national home "in the territories lying between the Jordan and the Eastern boundary of Palestine." It was within this legal framework that Transjordan was set up as a separate district, in the eastern region of Palestine. In 1946, two years before the foundation of Israel, Transjordan attained independence, and later became the Kingdom of Jordan. That is to say, in the territory of ancient

Palestine, which was once Israel, two states emerged more or less at the same time: an Arab one and a Jewish one; both people attained national expression on the soil of the historical Jewish homeland.

I deem it necessary to recall these definitions and developments because, as I said, they have a bearing on present problems. May I be allowed to make in this context an additional remark. In our time the expression West Bank or West Bank of Jordan is in general use in political literature and has been invested with a kind of hallowed character. What is normally forgotten is that the term West Bank has no historical or legal validity of its own. It is in fact devoid of logic from a geographical viewpoint. Strictly applied it would include the whole of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba and to Tel Aviv. The expression West Bank gained currency when Jordan annexed in 1951 the Arab areas it had occupied in 1948. But even then it was not used as a legal or administrative concept. Jordan divided the territory into three districts, Nablus, Al Quds, and Al Khalil. Israel reintroduced the historical terms of Judea and Samaria which were in force during the British Mandate, and which were used in basic UN texts and resolutions such as resolution 181(11).

The question for us can be left at that. If however the UN wants to apply rigorous legal criteria to this matter it should

first declare null and void the denominations employed under the Jordanian rule, since they originated from an illegal act of annexation.

The range and the complexity of these questions certainly made very difficult the task of the Special Committee. My delegation understands the predicament of its distinguished members. The Special Committee had to cope with an arduous political and judicial problem and was hamstrung by an illegal and unjust mandate. Resolution 2443 which set up the Committee did not leave it the freedom of discovering its own truth. It instructed the Committee to report on Israeli practices - or malpractices - affecting human rights; moreover, it prevented the Committee from examining the plight of the Jews in Arab countries, thus arbitrarily restricting the scope of the humanitarian resolution 237 adopted by the Security Council on 15 June 1967. All this made impossible any cooperation on the part of Israel. Subsequent General Assembly resolutions, all based on the principle of sentencing before trial, further limited the freedom of action of the Special Committee. The best course for the members of the Committee would have been to relinquish such an ungrateful assignment. Unfortunately, they did not feel able to do so and we certainly will not question their motivations and intentions.

An example of the Special Committee's dilemma may be seen

in paragraph 29 of the Report which reads "The Special Committee has taken particular care to rely on information that has not been contradicted by the Government of Israel or that is commonly considered as reliable by that Government." This was a praiseworthy attitude, had it been really applied. Unfortunately the Special Committee followed the negative jurisprudence and practice laid down in past years and based its report to a great extent on a display of press items, many of which are patently unreliable. The Committee possibly failed to properly interpret the style and nature of the Israeli press, its vigor, its stridency, its passionate outbursts, so characteristic of a democratic society.

Freedom of press in Israel obviously applies to newspapers and periodicals published in Arabic. Some of them are clearly inspired by the PLO. The Special Committee apparently blindly trusted those organs. In paragraph 285 of the Report, for instance, we read that prisoners in the Ashkelon prison complained of having been victims of medical experiments. The source is the Arab daily Al Fajr, published in Jerusalem. The Special Committee could not honestly consider this hair-raising charge as reliable. Medical experiments on prisoners were unknown in the civilized world until Nazi Germany set up its dreadful concentration camps. Who would agree in Israel to perform medical experiments on prisoners? Would this be in keeping with the ethics and the high standards of the Israeli medical profession which enjoys such a high reputation in the world? The Special Committee has extensively traveled in the Arab countries. It could have checked the veracity of or

the likelihood of this contention with the numerous Arab patients who each year flock from all Arab countries to receive treatment in Israel.

Moreover, the Israeli prisons are under the supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross and are periodically visited by its delegates. The ICRC publishes reports on these activities. Nothing would have been easier than to check.

We take no exception to the publication of serious press items which are critical of government policies. This is a normal feature in a democratic society, and we bear no grudge against the Special Committee for having highlighted it. We do object however to the technique of selection. In the whole Report there is not a single item of a positive or equanimous character. There is not a single press item on the improving quality of life in certain areas, or at least on the successful protection of life, security and economic activity, under the constraints caused by terrorist provocations.

Yet topics like these are amply debated from different viewpoints by the Israeli press, of all political hues. The Special Committee on the other hand is sensitive only to certain colours. In consequence, the landscape is for it uniformly bleak and grim, with no light at the end of the tunnel.

The Special Committee seems to have been particularly naive in the examination of witnesses. I have already referred to the charge of "Judaization." Another charge is cultural deprivation and lack of books (paragraphs 33 and 34 of the Report). When Israel took over the administration of the territories, it found there plenty of anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic literature. In 1968 a UNESCO commission of three experts, one of them a Turkish Muslim, prepared a report on textbooks used in schools in UNRWA camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Judea, Samaria and Gaza. Among the criteria that the commission set was that:

"All terms contemptuous of a community as a whole should be prohibited since this, obviously intolerable in itself, can among other consequences lead to the violation of the most sacred rights of the individual. Hence, liar, cheat, usurer, idiot - terms applied to Jews in certain passages and part of the deplorable language of anti-Semitism - cannot be tolerated."

Of the 127 textbooks examined, the commission recommended that, on the basis of these criteria, 14 be withdrawn entirely, 65 used only after modification and 48 be retained as were. The report was presented to the 82nd session of UNESCO in Paris on April 4, 1969. UNRWA books were certainly not the only example of anti-Semitic literature that circulated in Arab countries. The notorious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" was published in Cairo as early as 1927. Today,

the largest publisher of this infamous libel in the Middle East is Saudi Arabia.

Nazi classics and neo-Nazi writings are widespread in the Arab world. A more recent crop of anti-Semitic literature has been produced by the PLO.

Does the Special Committee expect Israel to freely allow this kind of offensive publications? Incitement to racial hatred and racial propaganda are forbidden under article 4 of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Books which aim at incitement, at times bearing innocent-looking titles, are not available in Israel nor in the Israeli administered areas and rightly so. Their absence cannot be considered by any means as a cultural deprivation.

As a matter of fact, cultural activity in Judea, Samaria and Gaza has reached a level unknown in the past. In 1967, there were no universities in these areas. Today there are four universities and a number of institutions of higher learning with a total enrollment of 14,000 students. These institutions employ teachers from all over the world. I wish now to refer to a study on "Academic Freedom under Israeli Occupation" published last month by the World University Service (UK) and the International Commission of Jurists following a visit to the territories by a special mission in 1983.

We certainly cannot subscribe to many legal appreciations and judgements contained in this study. Let us take for example

the contention that the Arab universities should "reflect the widespread desire for some kind of statehood." Here we beg to dissent. Universities should be centers of learning, of free exchange of ideas. They must not become political organizations. Their purpose is to seek truth and knowledge and not the implementation of a political program. It is certainly inadmissible to transform the campuses, in the name of academic freedom, into bases for incitement and violent or terrorist actions. The whole matter requires wisdom and self-restraint. Students' political activism is widespread in today's world, and it is not easy to cope with it. Certain manifestations can be tolerated, unless they overstep the limits of the preservation of public order. This is what the Israeli authorities have been doing all through the years.

On the other hand the study on "Academic Freedom under Israeli Military Occupation" gives a full account of the establishment of universities and other institutions under the Israeli administration. It registers their swift growth. It recognizes that Israel has not interfered directly in academic matters. It stresses that "censorship of foreign books is within Israel's right in international law." (p. 75) It refers to the opinions of outstanding authorities in international law such as Von Glahn, and the UK Manual of Military Law, which agree on the same basic principle, namely that "schools and educational establishments must be permitted to continue their ordinary activities, provided that the teachers refrain, if so required by the occupant, from referring to politics and that they submit to inspection by the authorities appointed." (p. 29) I am quoting from the UK Manual of Military Law. The study also

recalls the opinion of Dinstein concerning the admissibility of derogations from the provision of Human Rights instruments. Such derogations are admitted "in cases where human rights are abused to bring about their ultimate overthrow (e.g. if a teacher tries to inculcate antisemitic theories)." And further on "It is clear that the occupant is entitled to ascertain that teachers do not indulge in political incitement against it under the guise of education." (p. 31)

The study describes the procedure for admission in Arab universities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, namely the examination taken at the age of 17, known as Tawjih. In Judea and Samaria the examination "is regulated under Jordanian law and is organized under the auspices of the Jordanian Ministry of Education. In Gaza it is administered by Egypt and takes a slightly different form." (p. 41) The universities admit only candidates who get an average mark of 70 percent or above. Among the institutions of higher learning the highest academic standards have been attained by the Bir Zeit University. It has a staff which includes many foreign teachers and a library with 75,000 volumes, 55,000 of which are in the English language. (p. 45) Is this cultural deprivation?

A large part of the Report of the Special Committee deals with acts of the military authorities or courts on a wide range of questions, such as requisitions, taxes, travel restrictions. The Special Committee notes that the interested parties have the right to file a petition challenging such orders or sentences to Israel's Supreme Court, but seems to be skeptical about the Supreme Court's action and effectiveness. See for instance paragraph 152 of the Report. We do not think that

this is fair. The Supreme Court does play an active role in ensuring justice for all. I shall give an example of the rigorous and careful reasoning of the Supreme Court.

In Sallah Baranseh v. O.C. Central Command, Sup. Ct. Cases 36 IV, p. 242 (1981), the Supreme Court, referring to a case of police supervision order imposed under Regulation 110 of the Defense Regulations, stated inter alia

"...the power defined in Regulation 110 cannot be used to punish a person for past acts or serve as a substitute for criminal proceedings. The power is preventative, that is to say it is directed towards the future and may only be used if such is necessary in order to avert an anticipated danger. It is of course possible that the evaluation of a situation with regard to the future is based on acts done in the past; it could hardly be otherwise, for a logical conclusion drawn by the holder of power must be based on facts, and no facts are as indicative of possible future occurrences as past facts, whether they concern acts that were brought to completion or whether they point to preparation for the commission of acts endangering public safety or the defence of the state." (p. 249-250)

The Supreme Court later on observed:

"There can be no doubt that the said regulation 110 confers a far-reaching power which should be used with due caution and with specific attention to the observance of the precondition of justifying its exercise. For this reason the Court should examine the exercise of that power with due diligence."

In other words the Supreme Court made clear that orders of police supervision and restriction of residence to a specific location under regulation 110 cannot be a substitute for criminal proceedings. They are justified only to prevent acts which would endanger public safety and the defense of the state. The admissibility of these orders is in each case thoroughly and judiciously scrutinized.

The creation of the Karp Commission whose Report is attached to the Special Committee's Report is proof of the Israeli Government's sincere concern with the standards of police investigation, even in difficult and complex situations such as those which arise from severe breaches of public order. The Karp Commission indeed discovered serious shortcomings and recommended new procedures and guidelines. Since the publication of its Report much has been done in this area.

Needless to say, whenever a case reaches the Court, judicial procedures are scrupulously respected, whether in technical cases such as tax evasion or illegal building or in the gravest questions, such as terrorist outrages and political murders.

No Israel representative will claim that no faults can be found in the state of affairs in the territories. However, the way to judicial redress, be it slow or painstaking, is always open to all.

The Special Political Committee should always remember that most of the security problems that the Israeli administration faces originate not from the territories, but from abroad. Political agitation is relentlessly planned by foreign-backed and foreign-financed agencies which openly advocate "armed struggle" against Israel. They operate networks of hardened cadres and hit men. They dispose of an unlimited amount of money to promote their plans, to influence and corrupt. They often act under the guise of cultural or beneficent institutions according to a well-known technique. Murder squads take care of recalcitrant elements and of political opponents.

Even in the prisons the actions of the terrorist organizations continue. They try to organize riots and strikes. Those who are accused of good relations with the authorities are murdered by self-appointed "revolutionary" tribunals. Paragraph 302 of the Report mentions the case of a prison inmate who was seriously injured by other detainees.

Members of the Special Political Committee who had the patience to carefully read the list of incidents given in paragraphs 84 and 85 of the Report can perceive the extent of terrorist activities. I would add that the list is not complete. For unknown reasons the Special Committee did not mention the outrage perpetrated on 2 April 1984 in downtown Jerusalem when three terrorists opened fire in a central intersection of the city, killing one person and wounding 47.

It is against this background that the firmness, fairness and the restraint of the Israeli administration has to be appreciated.

Paragraphs 155-176 of the Report deal with "the Jewish underground." I want to make crystal clear that the rule of law is equally and strictly applied in the case of offenses committed by Jews. The police have long been investigating the activities of fanatical Jewish fringe groups in Israel. Whenever prima facie evidence was collected the suspects were arraigned and in certain cases stiff sentences were handed down. On October 28, after an attack against a bus carrying Arab workers, which left one dead and 10 wounded, the Prime Minister of Israel reiterated the Government's firm intention to spare no efforts until the culprits be brought to trial. Indeed one suspect is already facing trial in this matter. Let me reiterate that the Government of Israel will safeguard life and rights of all inhabitants and will not tolerate illegal

activities against any particular sector of the population.

A draft-law against racial incitement will soon be presented to the Knesset.

Paragraphs 177-243 of the Report bear the heading "Information Affecting Certain Rights." The claim is made that the rights to freedom of movement, to freedom of education and to freedom of expression are unduly curtailed.

I have already referred to some of these topics. I would add a legal point, namely that the civilian population of Judea, Samaria and Gaza enjoys rights which go beyond the provisions of the IVth Geneva Convention. I will give three telling examples:

- a) The freedom to travel abroad including the "Open Bridges Policy" under which more than one million persons per year cross the Israeli-Jordanian lines, in spite of the continuation of the state of war between the two countries.
- b) The burgeoning trade with Jordan and other Arab countries disregarding the state of war existing between Israel and those countries.
- c) The fact that capital punishment was never applied even in cases of extreme gravity, such as mass murder.

There is something which is more important than legal provisions. This is the quality of life. I maintain that even under the present trying circumstances, namely the constraints and anguish caused by terrorism, the quality of life is steadily improving in the territories. I could bring testimony from scholars, clergymen, parliamentarians, trade unionists, writers and journalists from all the democratic countries who have visited Israel and recorded their impressions and observations. Let

us take however a UN document, which brings the signature of no less a person than that of the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (letter to the UN Secretary-General dated 8 August 1984, Document A/39/403 of 26 September 1984).

The letter is accompanied

by three annexes. The first is the "Report on the Situation of Workers of the Arab Occupied Territories." It was published by ILO on the basis of the visit of a fact-finding mission which took place between February 23 and March 4, 1984. The Report contains valuable factual information, even if we may disagree with certain judgements. In paragraph 19 for instance, we read "the unemployment rate, which fell from 4.1 per cent in 1970 to 1 per cent in 1982 was 1.5 per cent of the active population (3400 persons) in January-September 1983." It will be recalled that in 1967 under Jordanian rule, the unemployment rate was 10 percent and in Gaza it reached 47 percent. One point five percent is one of the lowest unemployment rates in the world. It is much lower than the average in Israel which is 7 per cent.

In continuation, the Report notes: "There has been a levelling of the gross national product on the West Bank, which was roughly the same in 1982 as in 1980, whereas in Gaza it rose on average by 2 per cent a year in 1981 and 1982. The annual rate of increase in per capita expenditure on consumption was around 1 to 2 per cent on the West Bank and 1 per cent in Gaza, between 1980 and 1982. Taking the period 1968 - 1982 as a whole, the annual average growth of the gross national product in these two territories was 10 per cent (8 per cent

per capita) and that of private consumption 9 per cent (6 per cent per capita)." In paragraph 37 the ILO Report describes the special voluntary sickness insurance scheme introduced in the territories in 1978 which currently covers 43 percent of the population of Judea and Samaria and 64 percent of that of Gaza. As indicated in the Report, the monthly premiums are low (about 8 dollars per family in Gaza and 12 dollars in Judea and Samaria). Arab workers in Israel receive medical care for themselves and for their dependants under collective agreements made by the Israel General Confederation of Labour -- Histadruth -- with the employers. Altogether, 68 percent of the population of the territories now has medical coverage.

Another significant feature is vocational training. Paragraph 27 in the Report acknowledges that the number of trainees increased by 8 percent between 1981 and 1983. Five new courses were introduced in 1983.

Other noteworthy data brought forward in the Report are the 40 percent increase in the value added in agriculture between 1976 and 1982 in Judea and Samaria and the doubling of agricultural production in real terms between 1970 and 1980.

Equally illuminating is the second annex to the letter of the Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, namely the Report on Health Conditions of the Arab Population in the Occupied Arab Territories, Including Palestine, prepared by a Special Committee of Experts of the World Health Organization. The Committee consisted of

Dr. Traian Jonescu (Romania), Dr. Soejoga (Indonesia) and Dr. Madiou Touré (Senegal). It visited the territories from 5 to 11 April 1984. The Committee met with the health programming committees recently set up by the Israeli authorities which include Arab physicians and discussed with them a project for restructuring of hospitals (paragraph 2.2.1).

Three structural levels are planned in Judea and Samaria. There will be two hospitals of the highest level in the health hierarchy of the region: Ramallah Hospital, which will increase from 124 to 160 beds, and Beit Jallah Hospital. At this level, there is also the psychiatric hospital in Bethlehem, where the new section can accommodate 82 beds. At the second level there is the Hebron Hospital, at the third level the Tulkarem, Jenin and Jericho Hospitals. The last one should become a public health center, keeping a few beds for emergencies. Its largest section, the orthopaedic department, will probably be converted into a physical rehabilitation center. In Gaza, the project in progress scheduled for completion in 1986 is the large Sheefa Hospital which will constitute a high technology referral center. It covers an area of 6000 square meters and has four stories.

Quality of life is made of these things. Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to go on a little further even at the price of being tedious. Paragraph 2.2.2 of the WHO Report refers to the activities for increasing health manpower, such as postgraduate training for nurses in Gaza, new types of training programs for qualified nurses, training in intensive coronary care and courses for sanitation engineers. A nursing school to be sponsored by

UNDP will be established in Bethlehem for Judea and Samaria. Two courses in resuscitation were given and a further course will start later. Furthermore, the number of maternal and child health centers has increased and the vaccination program for infants has produced substantial results (paragraph 3.2). Altogether 90 percent of the population of the territories has been vaccinated against diptheria, tetanus, tuberculosis and measles. Among school-age children, 96.6 percent had antibodies for poliomyelitis (paragraph 3.3.2). The hygiene in the schools examined by the experts committee seemed good and the health status of children seemed satisfactory (paragraph 3.2.2). Noteworthy efforts have been made to promote environmental health, through sanitation and drinking water supply, clinical and bacteriological control of central sources, control of the salinity of water from underground sources, inspection of markets and food stores.

The third annex is a Report by the Director-General of UNESCO. According to the well known practice introduced in UNESCO in recent years, the Director-General did not publish the Report of a mission composed of members of the UNESCO secretariat which visited the territories from 21 March to 6 April 1982. He found fit to summarize its findings in a short paragraph and to recapitulate according to his judgement the main points of its conclusions. The UNESCO figures however do not tally with our records. According to our statistics pre-university school enrolment increased between 1967-1968 and 1980-1981 by 85 percent

while the UNESCO report registers 4.8 percent (paragraph 33 only).

It will be noted that the WHO report mentioned improvements in the supply of drinking water. Claims of shortage of water in many Arab towns and villages are referred to in paragraph 39 of the Report of the Special Committee on Israeli Practices. Let us clarify this point. When the Israeli administration was established in 1967 the water supply was insufficient. Water was often polluted. There was an urgent need for water planning and sanitation. Israel enforced sanitation controls, introduced water meters and in 1977 instituted a system of licenses for drawing water in Judea-Samaria. The ceiling allotted to each owner was ten percent higher than the quantity he pumped in the previous year. It has to be recalled that in the first decade of the Israeli administration, the area under irrigation in the territories had been expanded by 160 percent. Moreover, the new irrigation techniques allow for continuously growing outputs with reduced amounts of water. I have already quoted the ILO report with respect to the overall increase in agricultural produce in the territories. Another significant aspect is domestic water consumption. In 1966 in Judea and Samaria, it was 5 cubic meters per person per year. In 1980 it reached more than 20 cubic meters per person.

The question of water is interwoven with the question of the Jewish villages. We have read the relevant paragraphs of the Report and have heard the statements of many representatives. None of them has explained why the Jewish people has no right

to a presence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. There are at present 23,000 Jews who live in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, alongside 1,250,000 Arabs. They almost exclusively use lands which had not been cultivated before. Most Jewish villages are located on the top of rocky hills or in the Jordan Valley which until 1967 was barren and considered uncultivable. The land they till was mostly state domain. In paragraph 272 of the Report, based as usual on a summary of an Israeli press item, it is stated that 40 percent of the land in the West Bank (2,150,000 dunams) was available for Israeli use. As a matter of fact, out of a total of more than 5 million dunams only 250,000 dunams of state domain are to be allotted to Jewish villages, the present ones and those planned for the future. That is to say less than 5 percent of the total.

The establishment of villages and urban quarters in certain areas has manifold motivations. It is connected with the deep emotional attachment to sites hallowed by Jewish history and religion. There is no reason why Jews should be excluded, for instance, from the city of Hebron where they have lived all through the ages, and from which they were removed by a savage pogrom in 1929. Hebron, as is well known, contains a religious site - the Cave of Machpelah, which is reputed to be the Tomb of Abraham. The access to it had been denied all through the centuries to Jews and generally also to Christians. The book "Le Dhimmi" to which I have referred before describes (p. 218) how an exception was made in 1862 by a special "firman" or decree of the Sultan in favour of the Prince of Wales. The

personal safety of the Prince was ensured by an impressive display of armed forces in the face of the hostility of the population; this amounted in practice to a military occupation of the city. In 1967 the Cave of Machpelah was opened to all visitors and special arrangements were made to enable both Moslems and Jews to hold their prayers there. A religious discrimination which had lasted 1266 years had come to an end. The UN, which adopted in 1981 a declaration against religious intolerance, should find no fault with that.

There are of course other reasons for the establishment of villages in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. This chain of outposts along the border and in other sensitive areas has proved remarkably effective as a warning stations network for preventing the infiltration of terrorist squads, for blocking the way of access and retreat to marauders and saboteurs. Israel is certainly entitled to provide tranquility and defense in the areas under its control. The Israeli Government has repeatedly stated that these villages will not be an obstacle to peace.

I have presented to this Committee Israel's viewpoint on a number of issues and I have provided it with relevant data on many subjects. May I be allowed to ask a fundamental question. Do the Arab states really hope to achieve by this and other debates the negation of Israel's rightful position in the community of nations? Do they really intend to attain a legitimation or at least a justification for the terrorist activities of the PLO? They have even seized a portion of the UN budget and

administration, the so-called Division for Palestinian Rights, to spread anti-Israeli propaganda. Do they believe that this will be of any avail?

There is a group of radical Arab states, such as Libya, Syria and Iraq, which have been consistently engaged in the promotion of terrorism in the Middle East and around the world. For them, terrorism abroad and at home has become a "raison d'être" of their own regimes. The 1983 and 1984 reports of Amnesty International contain strong indictments against them. These reports tell us of gruesome executions, detentions, sadistic tortures, and brutal repression of minorities and political opponents. In those unfortunate countries, human dignity is constantly violated. Their representatives have been most vocal in this debate. But the record of their regimes stands against them and their words carry no conviction.

Is, however, this unrelenting political warfare against Israel in the real interest of the Arab peoples as a whole and of the Palestinians in particular? The Arab leaders rejected all political plans submitted to them, many of which were obviously in their favour. They spurned in 1923 the proposal of the British Mandatory Administration to set up a legislative council. In 1931 they rose against the MacDonal White Paper. In 1937 they dismissed a partition plan proposed by a Royal Commission of Inquiry which would have granted them the overwhelming majority of the territory of mandatory Palestine. In 1947 they bitterly fought against the UN Partition Plan. They have always believed in mob violence and bloodshed. In 1921 the Arabs attacked

the Jewish quarters of Yafo and Jerusalem. They killed the well known writer and humanist Haim Brenner. They attacked again Jewish urban areas and villages in 1929, 1936 and 1937, in frenzied orgies of murder and destruction. Long files of graves in the cemeteries of our country bear mute testimony to those horrors. In 1947 the Arab states stepped in and launched a concerted military aggression. New attempts to eliminate Israel or curtail its territory by a planned military onslaught were made in 1967 and 1973. Every Arab attack hardened the hearts, made the chances of peace recede, created a new situation of military preparedness and an armaments race, raised the level of the minimum exigencies of security, including its territorial aspects.

Since the early years, the Jewish authorities earnestly sought to establish contacts with the Arab leadership and to avoid the impending confrontation. One of these initiatives was taken in 1934 by David Ben Gurion. He met Auni B y Abdul Hadi, leader of the nationalist party in Palestine, the Istiqlal and Mussa Alami, the outstanding representative of the Arab Palestinian moderate wing who later earned a well deserved reputation for his philanthropic work in favour of the Arab youth. Both rejected the offer of a political agreement. Mussa Alami told Ben Gurion that the Arabs did not want economic cooperation with the Jews; he would much prefer Palestine to remain poor and desolate for another hundred years.

Fifty years have elapsed since that luckless meeting, marked by endless wars and suffering. Should this be allowed to go on forever? A turning point was the 1979 Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. The Rejection Front set up in 1978 in Baghdad to block the road to that peace has in the meantime crumbled. The PLO is in disarray, torn by internal strife and bewildered by rivalries between the Arab states. Its standing has been affected by the general revulsion in the world against terrorism. Today, the Middle East is ripe for change. Its peoples deserve a better deal. It is high time to open a new chapter in overall Israel-Arab relations.



To Marc Tanenbaum



University of Swaziland

TEL. MATSAPA 84011/2/3
TELEX: 2087 WD

KWALUSENI CAMPUS
P/BAG KWALUSENI

Southern Africa
November 20th, 1984

Sidney Liskofsky Esq.
Program Director
Jacob Blaustein Institute for Advancement of Human Rights
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
NEW YORK
New York 10022
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

I am a 39-year old Ghanaian lawyer presently engaged in the teaching of law at the above-named institution. I hold the BA and LL.B degree of the University of Ghana (Legon) and the LL.M degree of the University of Virginia School of Law (1973). I have been teaching Law in Southern Africa in the last eleven years (in Lesotho 1973-77, and in Swaziland since 1977). I am an advocate of the High Court of Lesotho and a member of the Enforcement of Human Rights Committee of the International Law Association.

My research interest is in the area of Human Rights. I am currently doing research in connection with the writing of my SJD degree dissertation for the University of Virginia School of Law under the supervision of Professor Richard B. Lillich. My thesis is titled "Human Rights in Africa: The case of Ghana. This piece of work, aimed at providing source material for the teaching of human rights in African Law Schools for the advancement of human rights, involves, inter alia, the evaluation of African human rights instruments and the role of African organizations in the promotion and protection of human rights in Africa. Two chapters of the dissertation are being devoted to an assessment of the new African charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. Attention is also focused on the historical and contemporary Ghanaian situation from which certain conclusions would be drawn and tested to see the extent to which other African nations could learn any lessons from the Ghanaian experience of experience from elsewhere.

I wish to apply for research/travel funds to enable me to complete the study and have the dissertation published. I am planning to visit Ghana during the Christmas vacation to collect some more research. I am also seeking travel and research funds to visit University of Virginia School of Law in June and July 1985 for purposes of completing the research and the writing of the dissertation in Charlottesville, Virginia.

I should be very grateful if you would inform me whether your Institute might be willing to consider such a request for research and travel funds and what procedures I should follow to send a formal application to the Institute.

Yours sincerely,


P.K.A. AMOAH
Head-Law Department.

PKAA/js.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 21, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Jacobo Kovadloff
subject

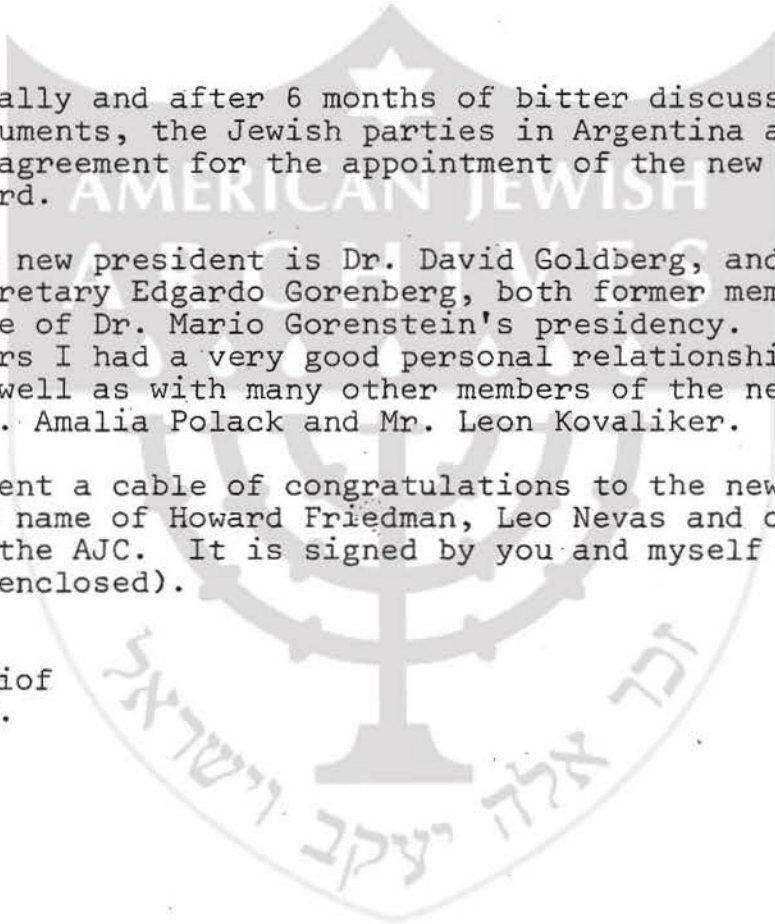


Finally and after 6 months of bitter discussions and arguments, the Jewish parties in Argentina arrived to an agreement for the appointment of the new D.A.I.A.'s board.

The new president is Dr. David Goldberg, and the general secretary Edgardo Gorenberg, both former members at the time of Dr. Mario Gorenstein's presidency. Through the years I had a very good personal relationship with both as well as with many other members of the new Board like Mrs. Amalia Polack and Mr. Leon Kovaliker.

I sent a cable of congratulations to the new Board on the name of Howard Friedman, Leo Nevas and other officials of the AJC. It is signed by you and myself (copy of cable is enclosed).

JK/iof
 Enc.



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165 EAST 56 ST
NEW YORK NY 10022

THIS IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

TDMT NEW YORK NY 11-20 0346P EST
INT DR DAVID GOLDBERG, PRESIDENTE DAIA
PASTEUR 633

BUENOSAIRE (ARGENTINEREPUBLIC)

EN NOMBRE DEL PRESIDENTE HOWARD FRIEDMAN, DEL TITULAR DE LA COMISION
DE RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES, LEO NEVAS Y DEMAS AUTORIDADES DEL AJC,
COMO EN EL NUESTRO PROPIO, EXPRESAMOS A USTED Y SUS COLEGAS DEL NUEVO
CONSEJO DIRECTIVO DE ESA INSTITUCION AMIGA, NUESTRAS SINCERAS
FELICITACIONES POR VUESTRA ELECCION Y FORMULAMOS VOTOS POR EL EXITO
DE VUESTRAS FUNCIONES Y LOS VEHICULOS DE AMISTAD Y COOPERACION QUE
NOS LIGARAN SIEMPRE.

MARC TANENBAUM, DIRECTOR DEL DEPARTAMENTO DE RELACIONES
INTERNACIONALES Y JACOBO KOVADLOFF, DIRECTOR ASUNTOS SUDAMERICANOS Y
MEDIOS EN ESPANOL

COL 633

15:45 EST

MGMCOMP



MS 84

Memo

November 21, 1984

TO: Members, NJCRAC Israel Task Force

FROM: Charney V. Bromberg

RE: Arab Arms Sale Item on Israel Task Force Agenda for December 5, 1984

The enclosed article by Leslie Gelb in Sunday's New York Times is a compact summary of this key agenda issue. I hope this stimulates some internal discussion in your agency prior to the December 5 Israel Task Force meeting.

CVB/gl
 Enclosure
 ITF.NJ



PLENARY SESSION

Arab Requests for Arms Being Weighed by U.S.

By LESLIE H. GELB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17 — With the Presidential election behind them, Reagan Administration officials say they are once again looking at multibillion-dollar requests from Saudi Arabia and Jordan for advanced weapons.

To Israeli and American officials, the decisions will have profound implications for the regional military balance, the Israeli economy and the Middle East peace process.

Administration officials indicated that approval was likely for additional high-performance aircraft and a variety of missiles for the Saudis, and for new kinds of mobile surface-to-air missiles and air-defense radars for the Jordanians.

Israeli officials and American backers of Israel have been telling White House and State Department officials that the quality and quantity of these arms would be a serious blow to Israeli air power and thus to the heart of Israeli military superiority.

Economic Threat Seen

The Israelis also say they would have to spend a lot more to counter these new weapons. This would happen at the very time Jerusalem and Washington are hoping to see further cuts in Israel's military spending to cope with that nation's economic crisis. Even without approval from the Administration of new arms for Arab nations, Israeli officials have said their Government will ask for an increase in United States military and economic aid, which is now at \$2.6 billion.

"All of these decisions were postponed because of the elections," a State Department official said, "and the key issue now is how to approach Congress."

The main options are sending all major Israeli and Arab arms requests to Congress early in February, when Administration officials say they feel President Reagan's power will be at its height, or having them trickle out over the course of the next year or two to avoid a single all-out fight. Some Administration officials would also like to join proposed Middle Eastern requests with a list of proposed arms sales worldwide.

The main push for the new arms sales is said to be coming from military and civilian leaders in the Pentagon, and from parts of the White House and State Department. Some officials said the sales were necessary to keep the Russians out of the Jordanian market, where they have recently made inroads, and to maintain good relations with Arab moderates and a positive climate for reconsideration of President Reagan's Middle East peace plan. Under that plan, Israel would allow the association of the West Bank and Gaza Strip with Jordan in return for peace.

Jordan Looking to Soviet

How successful the United States would be in discouraging new Soviet arms sales to Jordan remains to be seen. On Friday King Hussein was quoted as saying that his country had begun looking to the Soviet Union as well as Western Europe for weapons because Washington had imposed "conditions" that he found "unacceptable, humiliating and prejudicial to our national honor."

The King, speaking in an interview with the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram, did not disclose the conditions.

Earlier this year the Administration refused to supply Jordan with Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. King Hussein later accused the United States of a pro-Israel bias and said Washington had "lost its credibility" in the Arab world.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz is described as generally in favor of the Saudi requests but reluctant to upgrade Jordanian arms, especially given King Hussein's criticisms of the Reagan peace plan.

The 'Wish Lists'

What is called the Jordanian "wish list" includes 6 mobile improved Hawk surface-to-air missile batteries, with the hope of ultimately getting as many as 26 batteries; 36 F-16 fighter aircraft, with the eventual goal of 72 of these or the somewhat less-advanced F-20; 4 C-130 Hercules air transports; M-1 Abrams tanks; TPS-43 and TPS-63 air-defense radars, and Stinger shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles.

To the Israelis, the most objectionable item is the F-16's, which would be a significant improvement over the

F-5's Jordan now has. The officials said the Administration was unlikely to approve the F-16's, but the mobile improved Hawks could well be approved. These are almost as worrisome to the Israelis as the F-16's. Jordan now has Hawk batteries that are cemented down facing Syria.

The Saudi requests are mostly for upgrading existing weapons or buying additional weapons. Their "wish list" includes 25 to 40 F-15C's or F-15E's with land-attack ability, with the goal of 60 F-15's in addition to their current force; MER-200 multiple ejection bomb racks for the F-15's, and additional fuel tanks to extend their range as well as more Awacs radar aircraft to control them. The Saudis are also seeking 1,000 Stingers and 2,000 Sidewinder AIM-9L and AIM-9P air-to-air missiles to add to their current stocks of both missiles.

The Saudis have also asked for M-1 tanks and M-2 Bradley infantry fighting vehicles.

In addition, Administration officials expect the Saudis next year to raise again the question of buying and co-producing 80 to 120 F-20A's as replacements for existing F-5E's.

Israeli military planners say most of these requests would cut into Israel's qualitative edge, particularly with regard to Jordan, and would damage Israel's position relative to the Saudis in both type and quantity of weapons. Administration officials understand that the key to Israeli war plans is to establish immediate air superiority in order to compensate for lesser numbers of ground forces and weapons.

To Israeli military experts and to military experts at the American-Israeli Political Action Committee in Washington, there are no sound military reasons for such new American arms sales. These experts contend that the weapons would make sense only for use against Israel, and that even with the new arms, Jordan could not defend against a Syrian attack without American and Israeli help. They say the new arms for Saudi Arabia would be more than enough to deal with Iran, which has depleted its armaments, and not anywhere near enough to worry the Soviet Union.

No Analyses Completed

Pentagon officials concede these points, but said the additional features would raise the stakes for Syria or any other nations contemplating an attack. These and other officials also acknowledged that no careful analyses had been done on the military effects of the prospective sales. By law, such analyses must be included in the presentation of the proposed sales to Congress.

Administration officials said there was no talk about using the arms sales to press Israel into making negotiating concessions to the Arabs on the West Bank. "That just wouldn't work," a State Department official said.

Nor are Administration officials clear on how far Israel or its American supporters are prepared to go to prevent the prospective arms sales to the Arabs. "One doesn't bargain with the Israelis, of course," the official said wryly, "but there will be a penalty for the sales once we decide to make them."

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE: 11/21/84

FROM: GEORGE E. GRUEN

TO: KENNETH BANDLER
 DAVID GELLER
 DAVID HARRIS
 ALLAN KAGEDAN
 JACOB KOVADLOFF
 SIDNEY LISKOFKY
 MARC TANENBAUM

- For approval
 For your information
 Please handle
 Read and return
 Returned as requested
 Please telephone me
 Your comments, please

REMARKS:

*Ken prepared this with
my guidance and revisions.
Please approve for
submission as copied.
Does this need Gordis' OK?*

George

SADAT'S LEGACY

By Kenneth Bandler
Research Analyst
Middle East Affairs
American Jewish Committee

Seven years ago this month the President of Egypt boarded a plane in Cairo, flew to Israel and addressed the Knesset in Jerusalem. Within hours the conventional wisdom of how to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict had been dramatically transformed. The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty that resulted from Anwar Sadat's bold initiative was not the product of American or other third-party coercion. Rather, it was the result of Egypt's willingness to recognize Israel and to enter into direct negotiations with the Israeli Government.

Today, more than five years after Egypt was suspended from Arab and Islamic organizations for signing the treaty with Israel, a number of Arab countries are seeking a rapprochement with Cairo. In September Jordan became the first of the 17 countries that broke diplomatic relations with Egypt to restore them. Iraq may follow suit after the forthcoming resumption of its diplomatic relations with the United States. Saudi Arabia has been muted in its declared opposition to the timing of the Jordanian action.

These countries are interested in returning Egypt to the Arab fold mainly to bolster their positions vis-a-vis Iran and Syria. They fear the intentions of the Islamic fundamentalist government in Tehran, as well as those of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. The ascendancy of either one or both of these countries in the region is not in the interest of Egypt or any of the Arab countries that is moving to renew ties with Cairo.

The warming of relations between Egypt and other Arab countries, therefore, should not be viewed as the latter's acceptance of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Their hostility towards Israel has not ended, and they still oppose

direct peace negotiations with Israel. Indeed, barely a week after announcing the resumption of diplomatic ties with Egypt, Jordan's King Hussein categorically rejected the offer of Israel's National Unity Government to talk peace.

The Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty has endured the assassination of Sadat, the completion of the total withdrawal of Israeli forces and civilians from Sinai, and the war in Lebanon. Arab leaders viewed each of these events as opportunities for President Hosni Mubarak to "correct" his predecessor's policy, to abrogate the peace treaty, and then return Egypt to the Arab fold. Mubarak, however, has repeatedly reaffirmed Egypt's commitment to a peaceful relationship with Israel.

In Arab capitals, nevertheless, the view persists that the peace treaty is an aberration in Egyptian policy which either Mubarak or a future leader will rectify. While holding this view, Arab leaders who profess to seek a peaceful resolution of the conflict have spent the past five years reaching out to nearly every country in the world except Israel in a supposed effort to gain peace.

A number of proposals by third parties, including the Fahd Plan, the Reagan initiative, the Fez Plan, and the recently revived Soviet proposal for an international conference, have been put forward. While third parties can play a helpful role once negotiations are underway, as the United States did with Egypt and Israel, the initiative for holding peace talks must come from the parties directly involved in the conflict.

The record clearly shows that in the absence of a willingness of both sides to negotiate, third party efforts do not stand much chance of success. This fact is not limited to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Iraq-Iran war has entered its fifth year despite the numerous efforts by the United Nations, the Islamic

Conference Organization, the Gulf Cooperation Council and a host of other organizations and individual countries to mediate and bring about a peaceful resolution.

Despite all the attempts by the U.S. and other countries to move the stalled Arab-Israel peace process forward, no progress will be made until an Arab leader accepts Israel's longstanding offer to explore together ways to achieve a comprehensive and durable peace. The answers for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict do not lie in Washington, Moscow, or any other capital outside the Middle East. The proper address, as Sadat knew and demonstrated, is in Jerusalem.

11/21/84

84-580-43

M024-Sadat's Legacy-gn





DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT CENTER (AU)
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, AL 36112

2/28/85

23 November 1984

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th St
New York NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum

We are delighted that you have accepted an invitation to speak to the Air Force Chaplain School on 28 February 1985 on the subject of "Ministry in Pluralism". The three hour instruction block will be held from 1:00 p.m. with a ten minute break after each fifty minute segment. Your host for your visit will be Ch Boggs.

The objective of this period is for each student to comprehend effective ways to supervise a chapel ministry in light of the pluralism of our culture.

The Advanced Chaplain Course is designed for senior majors and lieutenant colonels with eleven or more years service. The class size is about thirty students. The classroom configuration will be tables and chairs in a u-shape. Overhead, slide, and 16mm projectors are available along with flip charts and chalkboard.

Please address any classroom requirements and your travel plans to your host or to:

Chaplain, Major, Benjamin Perez
Advanced Course Manager
LMDC/HCP, Building 833
Maxwell AFB AL 36112
(205) 293-7705

We look forward to seeing you on 28 February 1985.

Sincerely

DONALD J. HARLIN, Chaplain, Colonel, USAF
Commandant
Air Force Chaplain School

TRANSPORTATION FACT SHEET -- GUEST LECTURERS

You are scheduled to speak at the Air Force Chaplain School. In the interest of saving the government money and making things as easy as possible for you, we will be providing you with an airplane ticket. This way we will be able to take advantage of government discounts that you, as a civilian, are unable to get. However, we do want to accommodate your wishes as much as possible in this. For this reason we would like for you to fill in the information below and return this sheet to LMDC/HCP, Maxwell AFB AL 36112 as soon as possible.

NAME:

ADDRESS:

I wish to depart my home on _____ on or about _____.
(date) (time)

If you have already made reservations, please note the time, airline and flight number below:

I wish to return home on _____ on or about _____.
(date) (time)

If you have already made reservations, please note the time, airline and flight number below:

If there is anything that we can do to make your trip more comfortable, please indicate below:

NOTE: Please be aware that you can cash in your ticket with us, modify it in any way you wish, however it will all be done at your own expense. Air Force Regulations require that we use the most economical, direct transportation available. We hope that this change in policy will not inconvenience you. You are a valued resource and we appreciate all that you have done in support of the Air Force Chaplain School.

DEC 05 1984

Rabino Henry I. Sobel

São Paulo, 26 November 1984

Mr. Jacobo Kovadloff
Director of South American
Affairs & Spanish Media
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
U.S.A.

Dear Jacobo,

I can't thank you enough for your letter dated 16
November re Comentário in Portuguese.

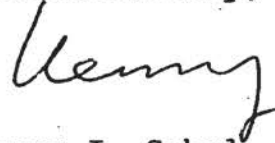
Both Benno Milnitzky and I were relieved to learn
that there was no commitment on the part of the AJC. Marc Tanen-
baum knows the reasons for Benno's opposition to the idea; we
spoke about it during his visit last August.

Mr. Knoplich announced the "agreement" as a *fait
accompli* at a recent public meeting. Which left some of your good
friends understandably uneasy.

I truly appreciate your clarification and I ask
you to please accept our heartfelt thanks for your sensitivity.

Benno joins me in a warm embrace.

Affectionately,



Henry I. Sobel
Rabbi

c/c Dr. Benno Milnitzky, President,
Confederação Israelita do Brasil
Rabbi Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum ✓


Congregação Israelita Paulista - Rua Antônio Carlos, 653 - São Paulo 01309 Brasil - Tel. 256-7811

HIS/po

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 26, 1984

to Marc Tanenbaum

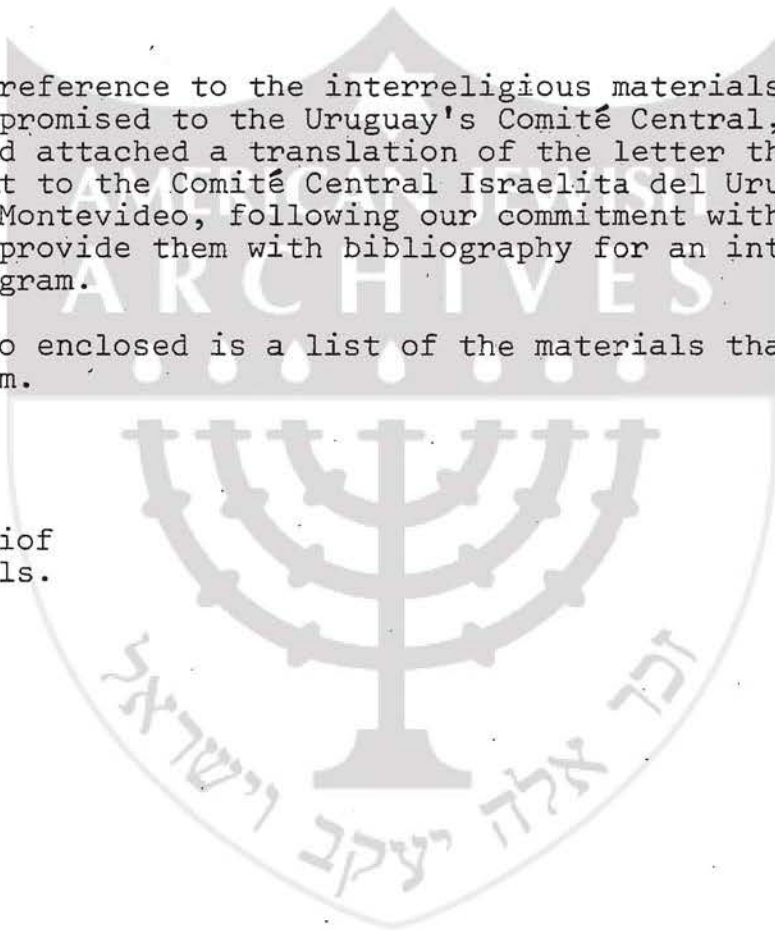
from Jacobo Kovadloff 

subject

In reference to the interreligious materials that we promised to the Uruguay's Comité Central, please find attached a translation of the letter that I sent to the Comité Central Israelita del Uruguay in Montevideo, following our commitment with them, to provide them with bibliography for an interreligious program.

Also enclosed is a list of the materials that I sent them.

JK/iof
Encls.



TRANSLATION OF MY LETTER TO DR. NAHUM BERGSTEIN, OF COMITE CENTRAL
ISRAELITA DEL URUGUAY

Dated: November 19, 1984

Dear friend,

At the meetings which Rabbi Tanenbaum and I held with your inter-religious group, we undertook to send you bibliographical material which might help you in the planning of the common task.

We are mailing you, under separate cover, a selection of books and brochures which we feel may help you as inspiration and documentation to organize a cycle of studies on a wide variety of subject matter. The majority of these publications are in English and will require their translation and adaptation to local needs. I have read that you have contacted the Center for Judeo-Christian Studies in Madrid, which carries out magnificent work in the area of our common interest. I have worked in Latin America with the materials produced by that Center, with great success, and for this reason I have also sent you four of the Center's titles along with those of the AJC, as detailed in the attached lists.

It goes without saying that we are fully at your disposal to cooperate in your programming in any way you consider appropriate and which lies within our abilities.

I venture to recommend attaching priority to the study of the catechistic texts published in Uruguay and to the translation of the "Guide to Inter-religious Dialogue." I attach a photocopy of the introduction to a similar study carried out by the office I headed in Buenos Aires in 1972.

(continuation) Translation of my letter to Dr. Nahum Bergstein

I would very much appreciate being kept informed of the progress made in this programming following the meeting we held in Montevideo last August, and which we trust will be repeated, within the framework of your future work schedule.

Regarding your request to us regarding the books "Golan, Matti: A Biography" and "Eban, Abba: The New Diplomacy; international affairs in the modern age," described in the bulletin of the Blaustein Library, which are neither published nor distributed by the AJC, we have nevertheless asked a local bookstore to send them to you at our expense.

Unfortunately, and after exhausting an intensive search and numerous consultations, I have not been able to find any useful bibliography referring to the inter-relationships among the Jewish communities of Latin and North America. I only found articles of no relevance to you, for which reason I omit sending them.

Signed by: Jacobo Kovadloff



The American Jewish Committee

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

Noviembre 19, 1984

Dr. Nahum Bergstein, Presidente
Comité Central Israelita del Uruguay
Río Negro 1308 Piso 5
Montevideo, Uruguay

Estimado amigo:

En las reuniones que mantuviéramos el Rabino Tanenbaum y yo con vuestro grupo interreligioso, comprometimos el envío de material bibliográfico que pudiera ayudarlos para la planificación del trabajo común.

Por correo separado les estamos remitiendo una selección de libros y folletos que estimamos podran servirles de inspiración y documentación para organizar un ciclo de estudios en una amplia variedad temática. La mayor parte de estas publicaciones son en idioma inglés y requeriran la traducción y adaptación al medio local. He leído que Uds. han tomado contacto con el Centro de Estudios Judeo-Cristianos de Madrid, el que desarrolla una magnífica tarea en el área de nuestro común interés. He trabajado en América Latina con los materiales producidos por ese Centro con mucho éxito y por ello me permití también enviarles cuatro títulos del Centro con los del AJC, según detalle en listas adjuntas.

Demás está señalarles que estamos a vuestra entera disposición para colaborar en vuestra programación en todo lo que consideren apropiado y que esté a nuestro alcance.

Me permito recomendarles dar prioridad al estudio de los textos de catequesis publicados en Uruguay y a la traducción de "Guide to Inter-religious Dialogue". Les adjunto una fotocopia de la introducción de un estudio similar que realizara la oficina a mi cargo en Buenos Aires en 1972.

Mucho les agradeceremos nos tengan informados del progreso que se desarrolle en esta programación a partir del encuentro que tuviéramos en Montevideo en agosto próximo pasado y que confiamos vuelva a repetirse, en el marco de vuestra futura agenda.

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 EDWARD F. ELSON, Treasurer ■ SHIRLEY M. SCARABO, Secretary ■ RAYMOND H. SERBER, Executive Director ■
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 DAVID F. SOUIRE, Boston; RICHARD L. WEISS, Los Angeles ■

Noviembre 19, 1984


Dr. Nahum Bergstein, Presidente

Página 2 (con't)

Respecto al pedido que oportunadamente Ud. nos formulara sobre los libros, "Golan, Matti: A Biography" y "Eban, Abba: The New Diplomacy; international affairs in the modern age", reseñados en el Boletín de la Blaustein Library, que no son ni publicados, ni distribuidos por el AJC, hemos ordenado no obstante a una librería local que se los envíe a nuestro cargo.

Lamentablemente y agotada una intensa búsqueda y numerosas consultas, no he encontrado ninguna bibliografía de valor que trate las interrelaciones entre las comunidades judías de América Latina y de Norteamérica. Solo ubiqué artículos no relevantes para Ud y por ello omito enviárselos.

Una vez más en nombre del Rabino Tanenbaum y en el mío propio, reciban las expresiones de nuestra sincera estima y amistad.



Jacobo Kovadloff
Director, Asuntos Sudamericanos
y Medios en Español

JK/iof
xc: Marc Tanenbaum
Adjs.



November 19, 1984

BOOKS SENT TO: COMITE CENTRAL ISRAELITA DEL URUGUAY

- 1- Un judío lee el nuevo testamento
Etan Levine
- 2- Fuentes del Pensamiento Judío
Vicente Serrano
María Ionel Mihalovici
- 3- La Pascua de Jesús
Vicente Serrano
- 4- Jerusalem (Problems and Prospects)
Joel L. Kraemer
- 5- Seminary Education and Christian-Jewish Relations
Eugene J. Fisher
- 6- Israel for Christians
A. James Rudin
- 7- How Catholics Look at Jews
Claire Huchet Bishop
- 8- The Jerusalem Colloquium on Religion, Peoplehood
Nation and Land

November 19, 1984

Publications (booklets and pamphlets)

- 1- Faith without prejudice: Religion and the teaching of Human Relations
- 2- Jubilaeum by Marc Tanenbaum
- 3- Discover Ecumenical and Interfaith Israel
- 4- A Jewish View of Jesus
A. James Rudin
- 5- Theological Education for the Church's Relation to the Jewish People
Paul M. van Buren
- 6- Passion Plays in the United States
Samuel Weintraub
- 7- Christians Support Unified Jerusalem
- 8- Anti-Israel Influence in American Churches
Judith Banki
- 9- Middle East Panel Report: A Study Document
- 10- UN Declaration on the Elimination of Religious Intolerance and Discrimination
- 11- Coalition of Religious Leaders and Concerned Laity on Food Policy
- 12- Jewish School Textbooks and Intergroup Relations
Bernard D. Weinryb and Daniel Garnick
- 13- Centro de Estudios Sobre Judaismo - Orientaciones (Madrid)
- 14- The Academy for Jewish Studies Without Walls
Course Syllabus -- Jewish-Christian Encounter AJC
- 15- Heritage: Civilization and the Jews
- 16- The Oberammergau Passion Play, 1980

Judith Banki

17- A Guide to Interreligious Dialogue

18- Luther and the Jews

Eric W. Gritsch and Marc Tanenbaum

19- Lutherans and Jews -- A New Climate

20- Interreligious and Ecumenical Visitors to Israel Program

21- A Seminars' Conference on Jewish - Christian Relations

22- Building Justice in Communities

23- Religious Faith and Pluralism

24- Religious Values in an Age of Violence


By Marc Tanenbaum



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 26, 1984

to Marc Tanenbaum

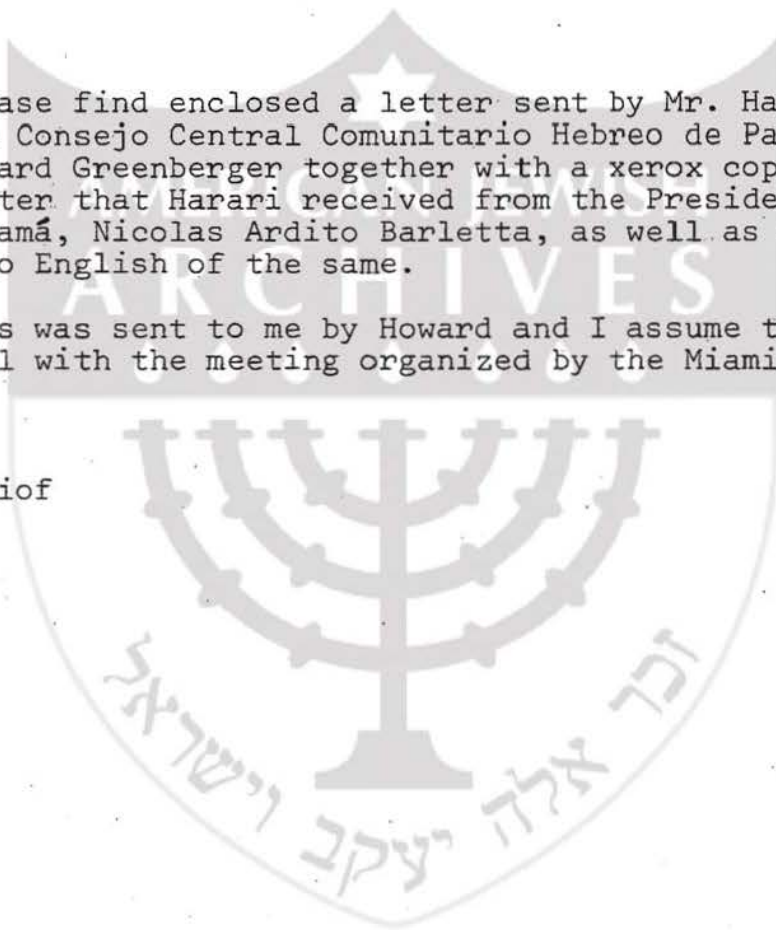
from Jacobo Kovadloff 

subject


Please find enclosed a letter sent by Mr. Harari from the Consejo Central Comunitario Hebreo de Panamá to Howard Greenberger together with a xerox copy of a letter that Harari received from the President of Panamá, Nicolas Ardito Barletta, as well as a translation into English of the same.

This was sent to me by Howard and I assume that it must deal with the meeting organized by the Miami Chapter.

JK/iof



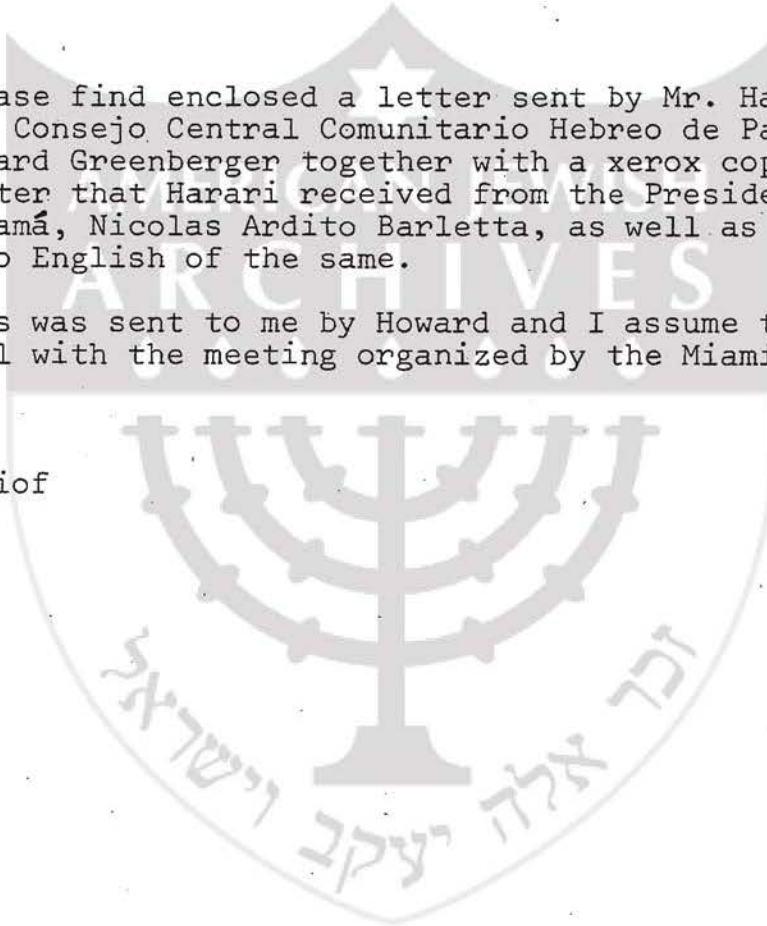
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 26, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Jacobo Kovadloff 
subject

Please find enclosed a letter sent by Mr. Harari from the Consejo Central Comunitario Hebreo de Panamá to Howard Greenberger together with a xerox copy of a letter that Harari received from the President of Panamá, Nicolas Ardito Barletta, as well as a translation into English of the same.

This was sent to me by Howard and I assume that it must deal with the meeting organized by the Miami Chapter.

JK/iof



CONSEJO CENTRAL COMUNITARIO HEBREO DE PANAMA

APARTADO POSTAL 6-6292 EL DORADO
PANAMA, REP. DE PANAMA
TELEFONO: 26-0760

CONGREGACIONES:

KOL SHEARITH ISRAEL, PANAMA

SOC. ISRAELITA DE BENEFICENCIA
SHEVET AHIM, PANAMA

BENEFICENCIA ISRAELITA BETH-EL,
PANAMA

SOC. AGUDATH AHIM, COLON

KAAL KADOSH YANGACOB, COLON

CENTRO ISRAELITA MAGEN DAVID,
DAVID

AFILIADOS

B'NAI B'RITH "IRVING ZAPP" DE PANAMA

W.I.Z.O. "YARDENIA"

W.I.Z.O. "SARA HANONO"

W.I.Z.O. "REBECA SIEFF"

W.I.Z.O. "HATIKVA"

INSTITUTO ALBERTO EINSTEIN

ACADEMIA HEBREA DE PANAMA

TNUAT NOAR MACABI B'PANAMA

CLUB LAS MAÑANITAS

CENTRO CULTURAL HEBREO DE PANAMA

COMITE DEL KEREN HAYESOD

NOV 15 1984

November 2nd, 1984

NOV 19 1984

Professor Howard Greenberger
New York University
40 Washington Square South
Room 343
New York, N.Y. 10012

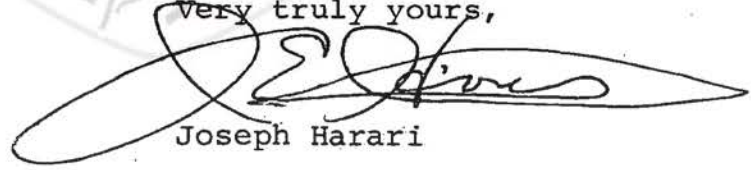
Dear Howard:

I hope this letter finds you and your wife enjoying good health, here, thank God, Joyce and my family are fine.

It was indeed a pleasure conversing with you on my recent trip to New York and hope that the next time I come, both you and your wife would join Joyce and me for dinner. Meanwhile, I am enclosing a letter that I should have sent some time ago, but it is still of interest from President Nicolas Ardito Barletta.

With my best wishes to you and you family, I remain,

Very truly yours,



Joseph Harari

JH/mgw

TRANSLATION OF LETTER TO Mr. JOSEPH HARARI FROM MR. NICOLAS
ARDITO BARLETTA

DATED: JULY 25, 1984

Dear Mr. President,

It is with satisfaction that I have received your kind note of May 25, in which you congratulate me for the recent electoral victory and wish me the best of success in my presidency.

I thank you for your sincere congratulations, the wishes for success during the next five years, and kind remarks addressed to my person. I make use of this opportunity to congratulate you for such a well-deserved distinction, upon being chosen as special envoy to introduce the former Ambassador, the Hon. Ambler Moss, at a meeting of the American Jewish Committee. I consider it a matter providing great satisfaction to keep the friends of Panama informed about our electoral victory, and what it means for the democratic consolidation of this great country as a Latin American example.

In stating my pleasure over your message of faith and trust, I make use of this opportunity to express anew my regards, which I likewise extend to the participants of the American Jewish Committee, as well as to all members of the Hebrew Community Central Council of Panama.

Signed by: Nicolas Ardito Barletta

[start]

Original documents
faded and/or illegible



Nicolas Ardito Barletta

Julio 25 de 1984

Señor
JOSEPH HARARI
Presidente
Consejo Central Comunitario
Hebreo de Panamá
Ciudad.-

Estimado señor Presidente:

Con satisfacción he recibido su atenta nota fechada el pasado 25 de mayo del año en curso, en la cual me felicita por el reciente triunfo electoral y me formula votos por el mejor de los éxitos durante mi gestión presidencial.

Agradezco sus sinceras felicitaciones, deseos de éxitos durante el próximo quinquenio y gentiles apreciaciones personales. Aprovecho la oportunidad para felicitarlo por tan merecida distinción, al ser escogido como enviado especial para presentar al Ex-Embajador, Hon. Ambler Moss, en una reunión del American Jewish Committee. Considero que es un acto de gran satisfacción mantener informados a los amigos de Panamá sobre nuestro triunfo electoral, y lo que significa para la consolidación democrática de este gran país como ejemplo latinoamericano.

Al expresarle mi complacencia por su mensaje de fe y confianza, aprovecho la ocasión para reiterarle mis saludos, los cuales hago extensivos a los asistentes del American Jewish Committee, así como también a todos los miembros del Consejo Central Comunitario Hebreo de Panamá.

Con toda consideración,


NICOLAS ARDITO BARLETTA
Presidente Electo

JAE/acd

[end]

Original documents
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 26, 1984
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller *DK*
subject Presentation by Ambassador Netanyahu at World Jewish Congress - November 21, 1984

Ambassador Netanyahu made a brief presentation regarding the situation of Israel at the UN and made the following points:

Notwithstanding continued serious problems, there has in fact been a noticeable improvement in the situation. He attributes this to four trends:

- a) The Arab oil decade is over or very nearly so and accordingly the ability to bribe and/or blackmail is much diminished.
- b) The PLO is in decline and despite flurries in the media will never be an important influence again.
- c) The democracies in the UN have become more assertive and at the same time, the third world group has become less hysterical and has toned down its statements to a considerable extent.
- d) There is a much greater awareness in the West of the irrational fanaticism that exists in the Middle East and the danger of terrorism.

In addition, there is increasing acknowledgement of the fact that the USSR and the Arabs have contaminated the United Nations, and several countries which are not prepared to withdraw from UNESCO or any other agencies have become more vocal in their criticism.

Regarding the anti-Israel resolutions, etc., more than the Arabs, the USSR and its satellites are the "locomotive". It should also be pointed out that Cuba and Nicaragua have actively supported the most virulent and poisonous anti-Israel resolutions.

Israel now has relations with over 100 countries... diplomatic relations with 70. Regarding the Iraq-Iran war there are two points of which the Ambassador wanted us to be aware:

- 1) Iraq now has 25 battle-tested divisions and this is a cause of some concern to the Israel Government.
- 2) It should be noted that Iraq and Iran accuse each other of being Zionist agents.

In response to a question as to whether the PNC would in fact meet, Netanyahu speculated that it would probably take place but it would reveal the serious split among the various factors. Asked about the situation regarding Egypt, he replied that there is a sense of profound disappointment in Israel and he believes that there should have been much more pressure on the Egyptian Government from the West to live up to their commitments.

Finally, responding to an inquiry as to his feelings about the Arab/Jewish business assistance to Arabs on the West Bank, Netanyahu stated that any objective observer can see that there are no objective problems with Arabs in Judea and Samaria. Arabs in that area have experienced a much greater growth in the short period of time than any other comparable group in the world. And this growth involves all facets of life including health, literacy, economy, etc.

At the WJC meeting there was another guest -- Senator Michel Dreyfus-Schmidt, a member of the French UN delegation. This was his first experience at the UN and he said he was forcibly struck by two things - first, that Israel is mentioned much more in the UN than in the Jewish community in France and secondly, that it is blatantly apparent that many of the items included in the anti-Israel speeches are not believed by the speakers themselves.

DG/es

cc: IRD Staff

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 7, 1984
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller *DG*
subject Breakfast Meeting with Rabbi Rosen - December 7th

We discussed in fuller detail the subject of anti-Semitism. (See memo of December 5th attached) Rabbi Rosen stressed that there can be no doubt that this campaign is being directed from above. It is difficult to explain Ceaucescu's motives. There are some people who are saying that "He is not quite all there," and that as the years progress the Jewish "thing" becomes more apparent. Others say that he believes completely in the myth of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and sees Rabbi Rosen's success in aiding Romania to get MFN as a demonstration of that theory.

Another reason that has been mentioned is Ceaucescu's determination to reinforce and use traditional feelings of nationalism. And, in Romania, nationalism has always possessed as an important side effect, anti-Semitism. Accordingly, the theory goes, to prove to the ultra-nationalists that he is a nationalist himself and to offset those who claim that Rabbi Rosen is too influential, Ceaucescu allows anti-Semitic articles, poems, brochures, etc. to appear in order to prove that he is not afraid of Rosen nor of the people he represents.

One other theory is put forward, namely, that because of the previous economic situation that has existed in Romania over the last few years, Ceaucescu has decided to reverse his policy of establishing a distance between Romania and the USSR. He needs the Soviets for economic help and one of the things that he can give them is a demonstration that the Soviet anti-"Zionist" policy is echoed in Romania.

Rabbi Rosen did stress again the fact that, as far as he can tell, the anti-Semitic campaign has not "taken." On several occasions he has been publicly supported by important non-Jewish writers, academics and other intellectuals and influentials. Furthermore, to his knowledge there has been no case of anti-Semitism manifested among the bureaucrats and secretaries involved in processing emigration. Nevertheless, there can be no guarantee that the content of some of these anti-Semitic articles, etc., will not trickle down and set off latent anti-Semitism. Therefore, Rosen feels that it would be most important for organizations such as AJC to make sure that Romanian Government officials are aware that we are aware, that we are watching, and that we are concerned.

On Tuesday, December 11, Rabbi Rosen will be traveling to Washington to meet with Elliott Abrams and Mark Palmer, and on Thursday he is returning to Romania, partly because of the Hanukkah celebration but also because of the national elections that will be taking place. He had indicated on several occasions to the Minister of Cults and other officials that he did not want to run again. However, just prior to his departure, he learned that it had been "requested" that he stand for election. He is in a great quandary now, trying to decide whether to turn it down, with all the attendant negative consequences that that could entail, or to accept it, and then at some future time when things become easier, to resign. He is very tired, he is not too well physically, and he wants to continue and finish the writing of his memoirs.

DG/es

Enclosure

cc: David Harris
Zachariah Shuster



December 5, 1984

Marc H. Tanenbaum

David Geller

Meeting with Rabbi Rosen at World Jewish Congress -
December 4th

AMERICAN JEWISH

After a very brief review of the demographic history of Jews in Romania since World War II and a cursory glimpse of some of the major events that had occurred in that period, Rabbi Rosen focused on the most current situations. According to him, there are about 26,000 Jews left in Romania, though he readily acknowledges that many of them are children of mixed marriages. He pointed out that all of the Jews who had strong feelings about their Jewishness or about Israel or both left Romania a long time ago. Those who remained were members of the Communist Party, people with certain sensitive jobs and/or information, anti-Zionists, anti-religionists, etc. Accordingly, it is fascinating that the children who are currently in the Hebrew classes are the children of these parents. And there is a definite revival of interest in Jewish culture and in the fortunes of the State of Israel.

Emigration is proceeding much better than they had projected in the beginning of 1984... Rabbi Rosen believes that about 2,000 will have emigrated by the beginning of 1985.

The main focus of his remarks was anti-Semitism. During the two decades prior to 1980 one could speak of anti-Semites but not anti-Semitism. That is to say, there was little indication of a government-inspired policy of anti-Semitism. In 1980 and 1981 the situation changed and not only was he personally attacked but there were books and pamphlets published which contained attacks on the Jews and in some cases incitement to murder. In 1981 a statement was issued by Ceaucescu condemning "mysticism (religion), racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism." In addition, Ceaucescu said that such a manifestation would no longer continue. Unfortunately, that did not prove to be the case and, in fact, a book containing very vicious anti-Semitic stories was reprinted in 1984 and Rabbi Rosen saw a new version which was being prepared for reprint in 1985.

On April 28th Rosen met with Ceaucescu and was told that (a) the book would be confiscated, (b) the author would be arrested, (c) it won't happen again. Also, at a recent meeting of the Communist Party Ceaucescu

indicated that an inquiry has been ordered regarding continuing preparation of anti-Semitic material. He also indicated that the above-mentioned book would not be going into print in 1985 and he once again reiterated his statement condemning "mysticism (religion), racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism." Rabbi Rosen pointed out, however, that when Ceaucescu informed him that the author had been arrested, he did not indicate in any way that action would be taken against a number of other writers who had been equally guilty of disseminating this kind of material.

One bright note in this whole affair was that there were many non-Jewish intellectuals who supported Rabbi Rosen and condemned anti-Semitism. And during the recent Commemoration of the Holocaust there were many non-Jewish influentials who publicly associated themselves with Rosen.

Finally, regarding Trifa: Rabbi Rosen urged us to continue our efforts to make sure that Trifa does not receive permission to remain in Portugal. He acknowledged the seriousness of the situation, that the Romanian Government is one of the only governments that has not printed one word about the recent Trifa events in its media. There are a number of reasons for this but he, nevertheless, urges us to continue our efforts.



As observer

DRAFT NAIROBI PROGRAM PLAN

GOAL:

1. To help achieve the objectives of the UN Decade of Women,
2. To oppose politicization of the Nairobi conference,

OBJECTIVES

A. UN Conference

1. Encourage selection of an effective U.S. delegation.
 - a. Consult with Reagan administration: President's staff; State Department staff; advisers on women's issues; other influentials (Max Kampelman etc.)
 - b. Recommend candidates for U.S. delegation.
 - c. Offer to conduct briefings and distribute AJC material to delegation.
2. Recommend strategies for U.S. delegation for countering politicization.
3. Advocate maximum U.S. cooperation with friendly nations; establish U.S. commitment to press non-aligned and other amendable states to oppose politicization.
4. Develop ongoing consultation with State Department re:
 - a. Selection of U.S. delegates,
 - b. Plans for U.S. strategy in shaping the agenda.
5. Outreach to the Government of Israel (Seeking meetings during Board Institute)
 - a. Encourage selection of strong Israeli delegation,
 - b. Seek meeting (Friedman, Elson, Gordis) with the Prime Minister,
 - c. Arrange working meetings in Israel with Nairobi planners,
6. Outreach to foreign governments
 - a. Concentrate on West Germany, France, Argentina, Mexico, Costa Rica.
7. Media outreach
 - a. Briefings for U.S. press covering Nairobi.
 - b. Press kits for media in Nairobi.
 - c. Conduct press conference analyzing Secretary General's report on status of women in "conquered and occupied" territories,

B. Non-Government Conference

Focus: To counteract divisive influences in the planning Committee and in Nairobi.

1. Identify sympathetic and/or open-minded American organizations and individuals.
 - a. Arrange individual and group meetings to define issues and develop joint strategy, where possible.
 - b. Develop mailing list for distribution of AJC material.
 - c. Arrange briefings in U.S. and Nairobi for "like-minded" participants and encourage ongoing communication.
 - d. Encourage prospective allies to attend Nairobi Conference.
2. Communicate with non-Jewish organizations to clarify AJC concerns, policy positions and role.
3. Enlist and brief AJC participants, (No decision about sending an AJC delegation has yet been made. This issue will be discussed further by staff and should be on the agenda of the December meeting).

All AJC activities will be undertaken with appropriate cooperation and consultation with other agencies in the Jewish community who share our goals and objectives.

11/26/84

panphlet for Jewish participants

Marc

Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N.Y. 10027

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF HUMAN RIGHTS

International Affairs Building

November 27, 1984

Dear Colleague,

As a consequence of a gift from the Gitelson family, the Center for the Study of Human Rights, jointly with a number of human rights organizations in the metropolitan area, will sponsor an annual lecture in midtown on U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights. The purpose of the lecture is to provide a regular occasion for human rights specialists and interested public officials to hear and discuss an assessment of the role of human rights in U.S. foreign policy during the preceding year. The first lecture is planned for March or April 1985 and will probably be held at the offices of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York under the sponsorship of the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights.

We are writing now to solicit suggestions for the first speaker and on ways in which the lecture might be best promoted to attract professionals and volunteers associated with human rights. If you prefer to call in your comments, I can best be reached between 9 a.m. and noon at 280-3576. At other times, please call 280-2479.

Sincerely,



J. Paul Martin
Executive Director

cc: Susan Gitelson

DEC 05 1984

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



Telephone: 45-8311
Telex: 572-0869

49 Melville Road,
Hyde Park,
2199 SANDTON, Tvl.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
P.O. BOX 15
CAPE TOWN
8000

27th November 1984

Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum,
Director,
International Relations Department,
The American Jewish Committee,
165 East 56 Street,
New York, N.Y. 10022

My dear Marc,

Many thanks for your letter dated 7th November and for your very kind remarks about my visit to the American Jewish Committee. Thank you too for the complete set of statements, some of which I have passed on to my brother-in-law, Arthur Suzman, who is the past president of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. I know he will be particularly interested in the statement on South Africa and the one on Black/Jewish relations in the U.S.

I am grateful indeed to the American Jewish Committee for having invited me to the Chicago meeting, and the handsome medallion is in a place of honour on the mantelpiece in my study. It brings happy memories of new friendships made in the U.S.

I hope very much that you will bring out a mission to South Africa in 1985, and I look forward to hearing further from you about this.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Helen.

Helen Suzman M.P.

David M. Gordis © 202

11/28/84

Marc:
Please respond to this.



David

Marc

November 21, 1984

Mr. Maynard Wishner, President
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th St.
NY, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Wishner,

I'm writing to seek your advice. Since working as a research intern at the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C. I have been seeking work with organizations that focus on national security and foreign policy issues. Although I have contacted groups across the country I have had no success in finding employment. Many groups have replied they find me "well qualified" but that budgetary constraints prevent them from hiring.

Can you suggest to me places I might contact in search of employment? If so, I would appreciate hearing from you. I'm familiar with and have a solid working knowledge of a wide range of politico-military issues, both strategic and conventional, and have a good grasp of the politics associated with them.

I am currently finishing up a nonpaying internship with the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) where I have specialized in following developments regarding El Salvador.

Other activities of mine this past year include helping to organize a lecture series for the Faculty Arms Control Group at the Univ. of Oregon; helping the Willamette World Affairs Council of Eugene, OR to organize a conference on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations and foreign policies; and researching U.S. continuity of government planning for nuclear war.(see enclosed news article). I have also written a paper analyzing the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force (see enclosed press release).

I have enclosed an old resume to give you some idea of my background. I'd like to note that one of my references is Mark Falcoff, fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, who is a regular contributor to Commentary magazine.

I will be grateful for any advice you care to give me. I am, of course, willing to come to your office, if you so desire. I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

David Isenberg

David Isenberg
114 Spring St.
Metuchen, N.J. 08840

NEWS FROM THE CATO INSTITUTE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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Contact: Sam Staley
(202) 546-0200

RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE IS A DANGEROUS
AND EXPENSIVE GAMBLE, STUDY SAYS

WASHINGTON, November 8, 1984--The Rapid Deployment Force (now known as the U.S. Central Command, or CENTCOM) is an expensive military gamble that would risk nuclear war in a futile attempt to intervene thousands of miles from the United States, according to a new study by the Cato Institute.

Analyst David Isenberg of the Pacific Northwest Research Center writes, "Instead of being prudent, President Reagan has chosen to continue the risky policy first officially laid out by President Carter. . . .The continuation of an RDF is a gamble that misjudges the fundamental threats to our national security and demands a unilateral increase in U.S. defense expenditures. And it is a gamble that vastly expands our global commitments in a region that cannot be effectively defended short of the threat of nuclear war."

Following are some highlights of the study:

* "The RDF is a force in search of a mission. From the beginning it has never been clear what the RDF is supposed to do."

-- more --

* In the unlikely event of a Soviet invasion of Iran, one scenario advanced by advocates of an RDF, "to mount a defense would require ground and air forces--almost all of which are based in the United States--to be flown or shipped to the Persian Gulf. Despite its best efforts, however, the United States does not possess sufficient capabilities to move the RDF in time."

* "U.S. military action in the gulf region. . . .could be undertaken only at the price of diminished deterrence in Europe and the Far East. . . .This dual-role mission of most U.S. units that may be employed by CENTCOM presents serious obstacles to planners. No military force can be in two places at the same time, and it is difficult to envisage any hot war between the United States and the Soviet Union being confined to the Persian Gulf or Iran alone."

* One suggested solution to the insufficient military capability of the RDF is to increase its size. But this would be enormously expensive. One analyst has estimated the current cost of the RDF at \$59 billion, and the Congressional Budget Office estimates that increasing its size would cost \$37.8 billion.

* Given its inability to effectively counter Soviet moves in the Persian Gulf, the RDF realistically would serve as "a tripwire for an open-ended U.S. commitment." This would imply a commitment to use nuclear weapons in a gulf conflict, as former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger has suggested.

* The RDF had its origin in concerns over access to Persian Gulf oil that began in the 1973-74 oil crisis. But today, at least, the West does not need gulf oil. More than half of any shortfall from the Persian Gulf could easily be made up by other oil exporters. "The private enterprise system has shown great resilience in adjusting to the recent tanker attacks in the Persian Gulf. . . .The United States . . . should allow the price mechanism to operate in an unobstructed way so that the mechanism will mediate between shortages and consumption, and so that it will bring them into line and provide incentives for the private development of alternative sources and technologies."

* Given the nature of the conflicts the RDF might face in the Middle East and its own limited abilities, "the prospect for success . . . is dim if recent experience is any guide. The Marine Corps forces that served in Lebanon in 1984 were part of the CENTCOM forces. Their tragedy there serves as a reminder of the limited usefulness of military force."

Isenberg's study, "The Rapid Deployment Force: The Few, the Futile, the Expendable," is a part of the Cato Institute's Policy Analysis series. The Cato Institute is a Washington-based public policy research institute.

DAVID ISENBERG

P.O. Box 10401

Eugene, OR 97440

503/683-5271 (Home)

EDUCATION

B.A., INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, University of Oregon, June 1982. Third year college level Spanish.

WORK EXPERIENCE

RESEARCH INTERN, Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C. (1983)

Acted as aide and researcher for senior staff analysts.

Maintained and cataloged film, photo, and cassette archives.

Distributed press releases.

Mailed out films and associated materials nationwide.

Answered public inquiries.

INTERN, Pacific Northwest Research Center, Eugene, OR (1982 to present)

Maintained files on U.S. national security issues as well as Northwest regional issues.

Provided detailed information in response to specific requests.

ORIGINATOR, COORDINATOR, Northwest National Security Conference, Eugene, OR (February 1982)

Selected topics and speakers.

Provided media and publicity coordination and ensured nonpartisan nature of conference.

Personally responsible for raising \$3375.

DIRECTOR, University Veterans Association, University of Oregon (1981-1982)

Acted as advocate for Vietnam era veterans, especially on issues such as herbicide exposure and Delayed Stress Response.

Served as referral to local, state and federal agencies for veterans experiencing difficulties in securing benefits.

Organized the 1st Annual Western Regional Conference of Vietnam Veterans (February 1980) and coordinated the second (April 1981).

RESEARCHER, Congressman James Weaver, Eugene, OR (1979-1982)

Monitored executive and congressional proposals and activities on U.S. national defense issues such as the All Volunteer Force, draft registration, and the Rapid Deployment Force.

MILITARY EXPERIENCE

BOATSWAIN MATE, U.S. NAVY (1973-1977)

Extensive travel in Far East and Iran.

Participant in the Mayaguez campaign of 1975.

AWARDS

NOMINEE, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York (1982)

Selected as one of two candidates from the University of Oregon for a foreign affairs national program.

REFERENCES

Available upon request.

Plans for aftermath of war revealed

By LISA STRYCKER
Of The Register-Guard

Benjamin Franklin had it only half right when he said nothing is certain in this world but death and taxes.

For in the event of a nuclear attack on America, the Internal Revenue Service's tax-collecting duties probably would be one of the first U.S. government functions to be suspended, according to the Department of the Treasury's plan for reconstituting itself after nuclear war.

"After a thermonuclear war, you can only count on death," said David Isenberg, research associate for the Pacific Northwest Research Center in Eugene, a non-profit corporation that has obtained plans of the treasury department and 20 other federal agencies and departments for the after-

math of nuclear war.

"You might say it's the silver lining in a dark cloud."

Until Isenberg and center Director Stephen Johnson released the 21 plans — more than 500 pages of documents — at a news conference Monday in Eugene, details of the federal government's intricate guidelines for rebuilding after nuclear disaster had never been made public.

Isenberg and Johnson said they requested the reports over the past seven months under provisions of the Freedom of Information Act and released them because they believe the public should be involved in formulating and debating post-war plans for reconstituting their government.

Some highlights:

o The Civil Aeronautics Board will take control of all private airplanes, allocating their use, flight schedules and cargoes to the needs of first the military and second the federal departments and agencies.

o The Department of Agriculture will seize control of all food distribution in the country, based on standards it has set for the maximum food allotment per person. The standards set each person's maximum food allowance per week at three pounds boneless meat and meat alternates, six eggs, seven pints milk, four pounds cereal, four pounds fruit and vegetables, one-half pound food fats and oils, two pounds potatoes and one-half pound sweets. Food is to be purchased at existing retail stores.

o The Department of Labor will

send workers where work needs to be done. Federal agency and department workers are supposed to go to the nearest post office and fill out U.S. Postal Service Form 809, Emergency Change of Address, to notify their organizations where they can be relocated.

o The Department of Housing and Urban Development will have the authority to commandeer all public and private housing (including recreational vehicles and tents), to put people where housing is available and to prevent real-estate speculation.

o The Bureau of Prisons is to provide federal penal and correctional institutions for mass feeding and housing.

o The Environmental Protection

Agency is supposed to identify and keep track of all potable water in the United States as well as all environmental danger, such as radioactivity.

Agencies have been required to promulgate the plans under U.S. presidential orders since President Nixon issued an executive order in 1969, Isenberg said, but they have no legal authority to implement them.

Isenberg said center employees have faced some resistance in obtaining the plans and still are trying to obtain eight other plans, including the one prepared by the Department of Defense.

All plans generally provide for establishing lines of authority and responsibility within federal agencies,

Turn to AFTERMATH, Page 2B

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Aftermath

Continued from Page 1B

guidelines for the use of alternate headquarters, communications networks, protection of government records and warning plans, Isenberg said.

Although Johnson and Isenberg say they believe it's a good idea to have plans for dealing with the aftermath of a nuclear war that some people may survive, they say the plans ill prepare

the nation for coping with the destruction it will undergo in such an attack.

They describe parts of the plans as overly optimistic, unworkable, misguided, ludicrous and open to legal and moral questions.

"The world that these plans would create is one in which the United States would be run by the executive departments of the government without any of the checks and balances that today exist with the court system and the congress," Johnson said. "There are no plans for re-establishing the congress or judiciary. Thus, using laws that have never been tested for legality the federal government would dictate the actions of Americans."

Under the plans, federal agencies and departments are ranked according to the importance of their functions, he said. The most important, in Category A, are deemed to be uninterrupted even during a nuclear war. These include the departments of agriculture, commerce, defense, labor and the treasury.

Departments and agencies in Category B perform functions that can be interrupted by nuclear war but which must be started up as soon as possible after the war, and the least important, in Category C, are those federal organizations that perform functions that can be deferred indefinitely.

"We think the government's immediate priority should be to help the population survive," Isenberg said. "But the priorities seem to indicate that the No. 1 objective is to maintain a centralized government. It's going to divert some resources from the civilian population."

The plans assume a post-war world that is physically and environmentally much the same as it is today, Johnson said.

"Communications are to be by the electronic means of radio, phone and television," he said. "All of these electronic methods are known to be highly susceptible to destruction by the electromagnetic pulses generated by nuclear explosions, yet the plans make no provision for a country that is without communication."

Johnson said the plans also assume that the radiological and weather environments won't be too different from today and that people will be able to perform the same work outside as they do now. He said such an assumption isn't justified, given recent studies that indicate the Earth's physical environment may not return for months after a nuclear attack, if ever.

The plans assume cooperation from state and local governments as well as from the population at large, which also may be unrealistic, Johnson said.

"The plans make large assumptions about human behavior," Johnson said. "But are people going to sit still and have their food taken away and be moved away to some unknown area of the country without their families? It's highly unlikely."

Johnson also questioned whether the emphasis on maintaining the federal government is misplaced. It may be better to emphasize local and state government, which could more quickly react to the disruption that would follow nuclear war, he said.

The importance the plans give to preserving records seems misapplied, too, Johnson said.

"You'll not get out of your mortgage even if your house is blown to smithereens," Johnson said. "Those re-

ords are a much higher priority than saving lives."

Isenberg expressed concern that the plans include thousands of new bureaucratic requirements that he estimates will generate more government red tape than could probably be fulfilled in peacetime.

Overall, Johnson said two aspects of the plans scare him.

"First, if you make grandiose plans that you can solve any problem, it gives a false sense of security," he said. "Our plans should be based on what the world will really be like after nuclear war. Second, these are plans so significant that the public should debate them. To have plans promulgated in secret is the wrong way to go about this. Our goal is trying to give that first push toward a national debate."

The Pacific Northwest Research Center, at 1571 Agate St., serves as a resource and information center; conducts research projects for individuals, community groups and for public dissemination, and attempts to demystify research by teaching others its methods.



staff photo by David Sprague

David Isenberg (left) and Stephen Johnson released government plans

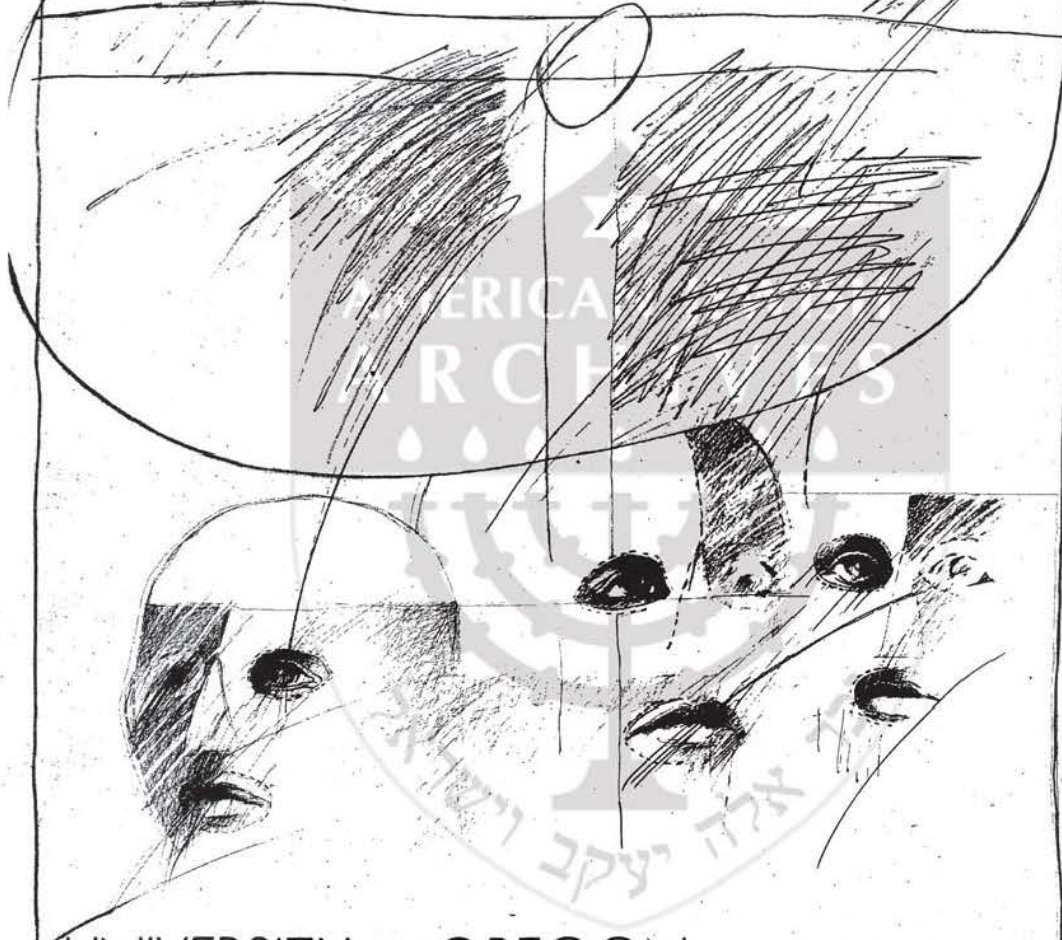
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A.S.U.O. PRESENTS:

NORTHWEST NATIONAL SECURITY CONFERENCE



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
EUGENE, OR.
FEBRUARY 25-26-27, 1982.

antio-82



Ray Cilne



Edwin Brown Firmage



Randall Forsberg



Michael Klare

THE CONFERENCE

Since the advent of President Reagan's administration, "National Security" has become one of the nation's most controversial issues. Under this administration, the United States has made the greatest commitment ever to military spending in peacetime. Many organizations and individuals representing all types of ideologies have come forward endorsing or criticizing these policies, questioning whether they enhance or endanger our nation's national security.

It is the ASUO's belief that these national security policies should be openly discussed and debated because the public will inevitably be affected by their outcome.

From February 25-27, 1982, there will be a gathering of some of the country's foremost authorities on national security. Their viewpoints are evenly divided between supporters and critics of the current administration and, through the conference, their positions will be exposed to questioning from both panelists and the audience.

The ASUO's goal is that you will gain a better understanding of national security by attending this conference. We hope that you will regard this conference as a beginning to obtain more information on these crucial issues which affect each and every one of us. For it is only with the active participation of an informed and interested public that real national security will ever be achieved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following endorsers have expressed their support:

U.S. Rep. Les AuCoin
State Rep. Mary Burrows
Eugene Council for Human Rights in Latin America
State Sen. Edward Fadeley
U.S. Sen. Mark O. Hatfield
State Rep. Margie Hendrikson
State Sen. Dell Isham
State Sen. Ted Kulongoski
Lane County Commissioner Scott Lieuallen
Eugene City Council Member Mark Lindberg
Eugene City Council Member Gretchen Miller
University of Oregon President Paul Olum
Lane County Commissioner Jerry Rust
U.S. Rep. Denny Smith
University Veterans, University of Oregon
Eugene City Council Member Cynthia Wooten
U.S. Rep. Ron Wyden

This conference has been made possible through the generous support of:

Central Pacific Conference of the United Church of Christ, Portland, Oregon
Citizens Action for a Lasting Security
EMU Cultural Forum, University of Oregon, Eugene
Eugene Chapter of the United Church of Christ
Military Science Department, University of Oregon, Eugene
National Strategy Information Center, New York, New York
Students United for a Nuclear Free Future
University Veterans Association, University of Oregon, Eugene
Young American Foundation, Reston, Virginia

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Citizens Action for a Lasting Security, Eugene, Oregon
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EMU Cultural Forum, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
EMU Printshop, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
Pacific Northwest Research Center, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
University Veterans Association, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
University Press, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon
University of Oregon Political Science Department, Eugene, Oregon

About the Cover

Muralist and designer Rene Castro created the poster design which serves as the cover for this program. A member of the Orlando Letelier Brigade, he participated in mural painting in San Francisco, Oakland, Chicago, Washington, D.C., as well as North Bend and Nicaragua. His exhibitions include: World Conference, Artists for Peace, Tokyo, 1979; Jornada Salvador Allende, Museum of Art, Mexico, 1979; Galerie Franz Mebring, Berlin, 1979; Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 1979; Cayman Gallery, New York, 1979; and a tour of Chilean art, 1980.



William J. Taylor, Jr.



Terry Provance



Robert Cocklin



Leslie H. Brown

THE PARTICIPANTS

Leslie H. Brown

As a U.S. foreign service officer, Brown is currently serving as a deputy director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs and is responsible for Security Assistance and Non-Proliferation matters. From 1979 to 1980, he was the principal deputy to the assistant secretary of Oceans, International Environmental, and Scientific Affairs. Prior to that, he was the senior special assistant to the undersecretary for Security Assistance, Science and Technology. In 1969, Brown was the recipient of the State Department's Superior Honor Award.

Ray Cline

Cline is a former deputy director for intelligence of the Central Intelligence Agency and a current Senior Associate of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he has been supervising research on trends in world power and writing on geopolitics and foreign affairs since 1974. Prior to coming to Georgetown, he served with the U.S. government for more than 30 years. He became Deputy Director for Intelligence of the CIA in 1962 and Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the U.S. Department of State in 1969. He was awarded the CIA's Distinguished Intelligence Medal in 1969 and a Career Intelligence Medal in 1973. He is the author of *World Power Trends and U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1980s* and *U.S. Power in a World of Conflict*.

Robert Cocklin

Major General Robert Cocklin, U.S. Army Ret., is Executive Director of the Association of the United States Army. He is the author of several books and numerous articles and position papers on military affairs. He is a graduate of both the Army War College and the Army's Command and General Staff College. He retired from the Active Army Reserve as the Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Army for Public Information.

James M. Cypher

A professor of economics at California State University at Fresno, Cypher is author of *Back to the Bomb: The Ebb and Flow of*

Military Spending. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Riverside in 1973 and has served as Economics Text Review Editor for Harper & Row, Wadsworth, and McGraw-Hill Publishing Companies. Since 1979, he has been writer, producer and programmer of a monthly radio program called *Economics Demystified*, in Berkeley, California.

John E. Drain

An aerospace engineer and defense analyst, Drain recently directed a study on Sea-Basing the MX Missile for the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment. He has also provided technical support to Air Force Advanced Space Communications Planning and is formerly director of Programs Division in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force Space Systems. He has received a Meritorious Service Award from the U.S. Air Force for his contribution to the space program and has nine U.S. patents in the field of floating launch rockets and rocket attitude control.

Edwin Brown Firmage

Firmage has been a law professor at the University of Utah since 1966 and is a member of the Bar of the U.S. Supreme Court and the American Society of International Law. Prior to joining the University of Utah, he was an assistant professor of law at the University of Missouri from 1964-65 and then an assistant to Vice President Hubert Humphrey from 1965-66. He has served as a United Nations Visiting Scholar and as an International Affairs Fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations. Among his professional publications have been *The War Powers* and *The Vietnam War and International Law*.

Randall Forsberg

Forsberg is founder and director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies in Brookline, Mass., and is a co-author of *Price of Defense*. She worked for SIPRI, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, for seven years and is a regular contributor to the SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament, where she has written about U.S. and Soviet nuclear

weapons and world military research and development. In addition, she is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at M.I.T., specializing in military policy and arms control.

Peter Jones

A British journalist and contributor to *WIN* magazine, Jones has been active in Europe with the Nuclear Free Pacific movement and the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) movement. He has recently visited Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany and is currently giving a speaking tour in the United States and Canada.

Michael Klare

Klare is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies and is Director of its project on International Security Studies. He also was Director of the Military Studies Project of the North American Congress on Latin America. Recent publications include *Supplying Repression: U.S. Support for Authoritarian Regimes Abroad*, and *Exporting Repression: U.S. Support for Authoritarianism in Latin America*.

Barry Lynn

Lynn is president of Draft Action, a national public information organization concerned with military personnel issues, and is editor of *Military Law Reporter*. He has also served as Legislative Counsel for the United Church of Christ and from 1979-81 was National Chairperson of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Charles C. Moskos

A professor of military sociology at Northwestern University, Moskos is author of *American Enlisted Man and Political Opinion* and *The Military Establishment*. A leading figure in military sociology, Dr. Moskos often spends time living with service members. His research has taken him to Army units in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Korea, and Germany. He is currently involved with issues of the all-volunteer force and is frequently called upon to testify before Congress on military legislation. In 1969-70, he was the recipient of a Senior Faculty Fellowship from the Ford Foundation and is listed in "Who's Who in America."

Terry Provance

Currently, Provance is Director of the Disarmament and Conversion Campaign of the American Friends Service Committee and is also on the executive committee of International Mobilization for Survival. As a peace activist for the past nine years, Provance has traveled extensively to foreign countries. In April 1978, he traveled to Australia to represent the American peace movement and in September 1978, he visited the Soviet Union to discuss American-Soviet military and foreign policy issues.

Charles L. Schwartz

A professor of physics at the University of California, Berkeley, Schwartz has continu-

ally been involved in research, public speaking and political activities surrounding a variety of military topics. He has also published 34 papers on the physics of atoms, nuclei and elementary particles. Among his other publications are *Helping the Pentagon Aim Right* and *The Berkeley Controversy Over Nuclear Weapons*. A Ph.D. graduate from MIT, Schwartz was a faculty member at Cal-Berkeley since 1960.

Laurence Shoup

Shoup is an author, researcher and political commentator who has received national attention for his book *The Carter Presidency and Beyond: Power and Politics in the 1980s*. This book was reviewed by major national and international media and was nominated for the American Political Science Association's Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the best political science publication in the field of U.S. national policy during 1980. Shoup earned a Ph.D. in American Diplomatic History in 1974 from Northwestern University and has taught at the University of Illinois and the University of California at Berkeley. He is currently working on his third book, tentatively entitled: *Geopolitical Economics: A Documentary History of American Foreign Policy, 1940-1980*.

William J. Taylor, Jr.

Taylor is presently Director of Political-Military Studies at the prestigious Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. He has emerged as one of the nation's leading authorities on political-military affairs, having lectured and debated extensively in the U.S. and Europe and having published more than 30 articles in leading journals and books. A professional soldier for 27 years serving in Germany, Korea, and Vietnam, Taylor has taught at West Point and is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Frank Trager

Trager has worked as a consultant to the Rand Corp., Hudson Institute, and as a professor at the National War College. He is a director of studies for the National Strategy Information Center and is a member of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He is the author of *Economic Issues and National Security*.

Reading Set

A reading set, providing background information on the topics and speakers of the conference, is available at Kinko's, 764 E. 13th Ave., Eugene, Oregon 97401, 344-7894.

Associated Students of the University of Oregon

Associated Students of the University of Oregon is the central organization for student-initiated activities at this university. It consists of 39 academic, special interest and service programs as well as student government. The overall supervision of the ASUO comes through the executive office, located in Suite 4 of the Erb Memorial Union. From these offices, ASUO programs are administered and work is done on student legislation, student interest projects and other student services. Most importantly, however, the ASUO is a unique education tool. It offers many modes of learning that cannot be gained through the traditional classroom situation.

The National Security Conference, sponsored by the ASUO, is just one of the many activities designed to supplement a student's educational environment.

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

Thursday, Feb. 25

History and Evolution of National Security Strategy:

Major General Robert Cocklin, U.S. Army Ret. and Laurence H. Shoup will focus on the motivations influencing our national security policy and strategies after World War II.
7:30-10:00 p.m.

Friday, Feb. 26

Military Manpower:

Major General Cocklin, Charles Moskos, and Barry Lynn are planning to discuss the alleged deficiencies in the U.S. military force structure with regard to the social demographic composition of the All-Volunteer Force. This topic will include discussions of the draft, draft registration, and whether these personnel acquisition procedures will enhance our national security in the future.
12:00-2:00 p.m.

Economics of Military Spending:

Frank Trager and James Cypher will comment on the effects of defense expenditures on our economy and whether the proposed increases in the defense budget will enhance or endanger our national security.
3:00-5:00 p.m.

Assessing the Soviet Threat:

Ray Cline, Randall Forsberg, Leslie Brown, and Peter Jones will discuss the global geo-political intentions of the U.S.S.R. and whether the response of the current U.S. administration is appropriate.
7:30-10:00 p.m.

LOCATION

All events will take place in the Erb Memorial Union Ballroom on the University of Oregon campus, Eugene, Oregon.

MORE INFORMATION

For more information, call the ASUC at 686-3724.

Saturday, Feb. 27

Impact of Strategic Technology on Defense Decision-Making:

Does the technology of new strategic weaponry accelerate the arms race or is new technology produced as a consequence? John Drait and Charles Schwartz will discuss this, as well as whether increases in weapon technological sophistication increases our national security.
12:00-2:00 p.m.

International Security Assistance:

Leslie Brown and Michael Klare will address the issues of training and assistance to security forces in the third world. This will include general remarks on the history and development of specific training programs and their impact on the security of these countries. The speakers will use the Philippines and Brazil as case examples for explaining the effectiveness of the programs. Both of these countries are important allies to the U.S. and are located in areas considered strategically important to the U.S. and its allies.
3:00-5:00 p.m.

Nuclear War Deterrence and World Response to U.S.-U.S.S.R. Strategic Policies:

John Drait, Col. William Taylor, Edwin Firmage, Terry Provance, and Peter Jones will discuss whether the policies of the current U.S. administration are increasing or decreasing the prospects of nuclear war, and examine the current world reaction to these U.S. policies.
7:30-10:00 p.m.

ACCOMMODATIONS

Temporary sleeping accommodations may be available during the conference on a first come, first served basis by calling the ASUC office, 686-3724. Those offering temporary accommodations should also call this number.

CHILDCARE

Free childcare will be available for those attending the conference on a first come, first served basis. Children should be brought to the EMU Child Care Center (EMU Ground Floor, 686-4384) for this service during every event **except** for the two events on Friday, between 12:00 and 5:00 p.m. During these two events, children should be brought to Room 101 of the EMU. Activities and food will be provided. **Only children between the ages of 15 months and five years will be accepted.**

REGISTRATION FORM

Attendance at individual events may be limited by room size. Those holding conference passes (see below) will be given first priority in admittance and will be invited to a private reception with the conference participants at the Gerlinger Lounge on Friday, February 26, 1982.

Tickets may be purchased at the EMU Main Desk or by mailing this form to: Conference Tickets, ASUC, Suite 4 EMU, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403. Tickets will be sold at the event on a first come, first served basis.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE _____

\$ _____
AMOUNT ENCLOSED

PLEASE CHECK ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:

Conference Pass: Entrance to all seven conference events, priority admittance, and invitation to Gerlinger Lounge Reception, Feb. 27 at 10:00 p.m.

____ University of Oregon student, faculty or staff.
\$8.00
____ All others. \$12.00

Conference Tickets: Entrance to a single conference event.

____ University of Oregon student, faculty or staff.
\$1.50

____ All others. \$2.00

Number of tickets: _____

11/6/85

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 29, 1984
to Marsha Turkin ✓ cc: Mark Tanenbaum
from Lois Rosenfield, Baltimore
subject Vatican II -- 20 years later

St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, is planning an afternoon/evening event to commemorate the Vatican II 20th anniversary, on Wednesday, November 14, 1985.

They have already secured Raymond Brown of Union Seminary, New York, and want to book Mark Tanenbaum as evening keynote speaker.

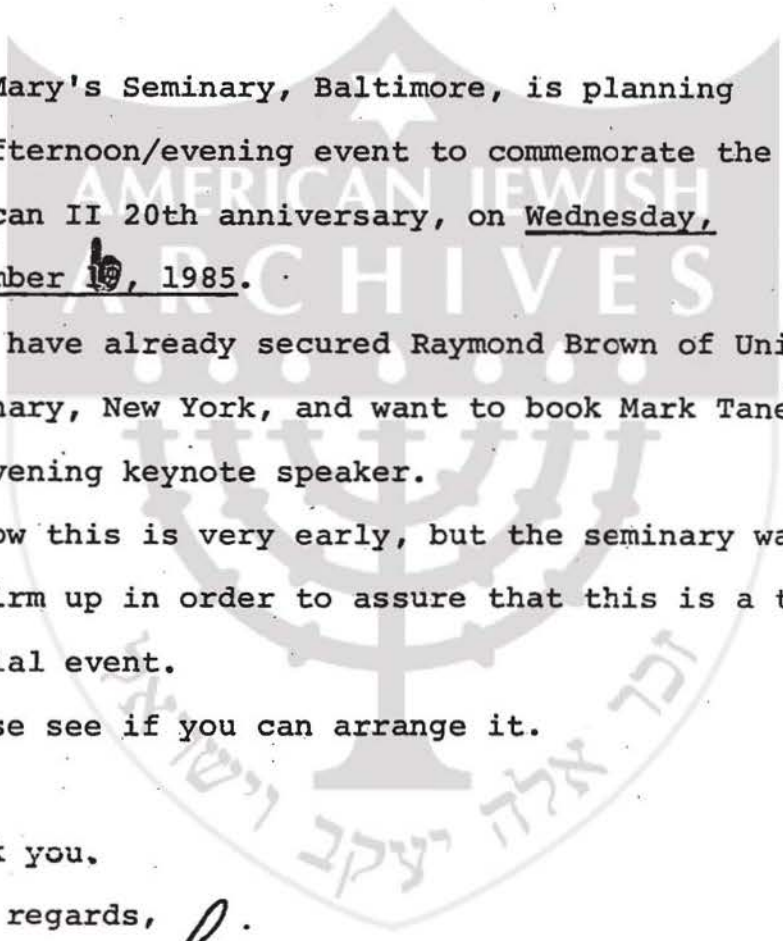
I know this is very early, but the seminary wants to firm up in order to assure that this is a truly special event.

Please see if you can arrange it.

Thank you.

Warm regards,
Lois

LR/mew



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N·E·W·R·O·C·H·E·L·L·E

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

30 November 1984

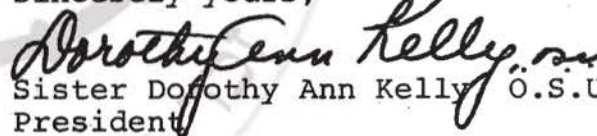
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you a small token of our appreciation for your participation in what was a very important day in the life of the College of New Rochelle, the 80th Anniversary Convocation. Many people have commented on your remarks to us and how very wonderful it was to have had you join us.

Please accept my best wishes for a happy holiday and new year.

Sincerely yours,


Sister Dorothy Ann Kelly O.S.U.
President

enclosure

Future in the balance

The issues involved in the defence budget debate are of immense complexity. Decisions taken now could have fateful results in years to come. The Jerusalem Post's Defence Correspondent HIRSH GOODMAN surveys the problems facing the decision-makers.

THE CONFUSION of the members of the Israeli cabinet increased minute by minute last Sunday morning. Deep underground, in the main command centre of the IDF known as "The Hole," they sat and listened as one general after another explained the implications of further cuts in the defence budget this year. Some \$300m. had already been slashed, and what was under debate was another \$150m. cut now being demanded by the Treasury.

The meeting was unusual not only in its location, but also in its composition. The secrets about to be discussed by the forum were usually reserved for the ears of only a few. On Sunday morning, however, almost the entire cabinet, bolstered by a group of civilian advisers and almost the entire general staff and their aides, sat and listened as the military presented its case.

Chief of the General Staff Moshe Levy kept his introduction brief, leaving the specifics to be elaborated by his generals. Ehud Barak, chief of military intelligence, spoke about military trends in the confrontation states.

The deputy chief of staff, David Ivri, gave a general overview of the IDF. The heads of the various arms analysed and projected what was happening and what would happen on land, at sea and in the air over the coming decades, and what the cuts have meant for them specifically. The economic adviser to the CGS presented his problems, as did the head of manpower, the deputy quarter-master general and others.

The generals confined themselves to the facts, acting on instructions from Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, to present the issues as they were, without the injection of personal opinions. The idea behind the meeting was to "lay it all out on the table" and let the decision be a collective one. The issues were too important to be left to the military alone. The bone had been reached, and the decision to amputate was going to have to be shouldered by the entire national unity government.

SINCE ISRAEL cannot keep up with the quantitative arms race, it must concentrate on maintaining a qualitative edge, where lack of human and economic resources will be offset by superiority in ingenuity, technique and sophistication.

If war cannot be prevented, Israel must at least be able to ensure that it is not taken by surprise; that it will have the time needed for an orderly call-up of reserves; that it will be able to respond quickly to any enemy threat, keeping the war away from the major centres of population, and confined to enemy territory.

In all circumstances, Israel must be able to protect its skies and defend its coastal belt, which holds its population and over 90 per cent of its industry. It must possess the ground forces to throw a defensive ring of steel and fire around three land fronts simultaneously, capable of blocking the enemy and then turning him back on his tracks.

Rabin's philosophy is basically no different from that of any of the defence ministers who preceded him. There have been differences of nuance, not of essence. The problems facing Rabin, however, are unique: never has the enemy been better equipped; never has Israel been so broke. Israel has always had difficulties, but they have never been as acute as now. The Arab confrontation states have spent around \$86b. on arms since the Yom Kippur War. Israel is faced not only with a worst-case potential of 1,760,000 men already under arms, but with 13,630 tanks and some 12,000 artillery pieces organized in 42 divisions that are becoming increasingly sophisticated as time passes.

EXACTLY WHAT constitutes a confrontation state, and how one calculates the exact balance of power, have always been open to argument. But what is not in question at the moment is that the individual Arab armies are constantly improving, and that Israel is having a harder time keeping up with them.

Ironically, in the five years since the signing of the peace treaty, Egypt has been the world's largest non-combatant spender on new weapons. The Egyptian army has undergone a basic transformation from one equipped with Soviet systems to one flying Phantoms and F-16s.

In joint exercises with the Americans, the Egyptians have learned new battle command and communications techniques that have pushed them forward 20 years over the past five. The armed forces are today backed up by a military industrial infrastructure that already supplies all their ammunition and artillery needs, and will soon be making fighters in addition to rockets and communications equipment. This infrastructure is so advanced that Western analysts predict that Egypt will, in the next decade, become a major exporter of military equipment to the Third World.

Jordan will soon be getting F-16s, the only question being whether they will have downgraded J-79 engines, or the F-100s that are found in the Israel version of the plane. So now Jordan will have not only the same tanks, anti-aircraft systems and artillery as Israel, but the same aircraft as well.

The Saudis have F-15s, as does Israel, and the Iraqis have not only added three divisions to the army they had before the war with Iran, but have improved their equipment beyond recognition. Whereas Iraq went into the Gulf war with only one major weapons supplier, today it has 18, including many that have placed the West's most sophisticated weapons at its disposal. We have to wait to see what this week's renewal of relations with the U.S. will bring in its wake.

TIUS, AS THE ministers learned in great detail on Sunday, the problem is not just one of quantity, but is fast becoming one of quality as well. Not only are the same weapons often to be found on both sides of the border, but in most cases these are weapons that have been specially designed to compensate technologically for the reduction in manpower in the American armed forces after conscription was cancelled. Those technological solutions have been of great benefit to Israel's potential enemies.

Moreover, politically there is very little Israel can do about the trend. In its relations with the U.S., Israel is bound not only by an increasing dependence on the aid package, but also by the logic of Washington's attempts to solidify its hold on the pro-Western Arab alliance.

If Syria and Iran are going to be kept isolated and their ideologies contained; if the Soviet Union is going to be kept at bay; and if more countries are to follow Egypt and Jordan, the moderates are going to have to be kept happy - and the way to keep them happy is to provide them with arms.

American arms policy is a separate issue, but what is important here is that, for objective reasons, Israel is going to have to face a reality of more and better weapons reaching the other side; weapons that are easier to maintain, easier to operate, harder to defend against, capable of inflicting greater damage than ever before.

This means that if our F-15s are to be able to shoot down Saudi Arabia's F-15s, we have to be able to take the world's most sophisticated technology, like the F-15 or the F-16 or the Hawk anti-aircraft system, and improve it. And in order to do this, we must have a military-industrial infrastructure capable of retaining in this country the necessary brains and technical skills, and keeping Israel on the brink of the next century.

RABIN, who when he was prime minister was often at odds with his defence minister, Shimon Peres, over the question of how much Israel should produce and how much Israel should buy abroad - Peres demanding more independence, Rabin being a proponent of outside purchases - now supports the Lavi fighter project, as does Peres.

To tell the truth, the current debate on the Lavi is almost anachronistic. Over \$700m. has already been spent on the project, and three defence ministers - Weizman, Sharon and Arens - all gave it their approval

after initial hesitation. The Lavi was undoubtedly saved by an act of the U.S. Congress that allowed \$250m. of Israel's aid package, that by law has to be spent in America, to be applied directly to Lavi development in Israel. Though the decision was specifically stated to be "a one-time act that should not be taken as a precedent," the \$250m. has arrived for the third time, making it possible for the first prototype to be in the air by 1986.

What the Lavi project illustrates, beyond Israel's technological capability, is Israel's dependence on the U.S.

GIVEN THE strategic realities Israel faces, the last thing any of the previous defence ministers was prepared to cut was research and development funds. But they did cut down on stockpiles and other military orders, with a resulting negative impact on the defence-related industries themselves.

The answer to offsetting the strain of both research and development funding and fewer orders to local industries has been to concentrate on exports. If one can believe the headlines, Israel has been successful in penetrating markets from South Africa to China, South America, Central America and even North America. The Swiss buy Israeli ammunition, and Kfir fighters have been leased to the Americans.

But despite the image of Israel as a major arms exporter, the truth seems to be somewhat different. *Business Week* last month placed Israel 15th on a list of 17 world arms sellers in terms of orders delivered, and noted that as Egypt, India, Brazil and other countries expand their operations, Israel's portion of the market will be reduced. Over the past 11 years, the number of arms producers has increased 30-fold - primarily in countries that enjoy cheaper labour and fewer political limitations than Israel. In addition, these new producers are specializing in catering to the same markets as Israel, and the competition, already fierce, can only grow worse.

Already, 16 per cent of Israel's labour force is in defence-related industries. Any more cuts in the local defence budget, and not only can we expect mass unemployment, but also the blunting of the very key to our ability to maintain a deterrent until peace is brought about. That key is a military industrial complex which develops and produces the aircraft, missiles, radar systems, intelligence-gathering equipment, tanks, ships and thousands of other items that give Israel the ability to remain technologically ahead of the enemy.

THIS ASPECT of the problem of the defence budget is but one of the many factors the ministers had to consider. Defence spending in Israel is not an esoteric concept, as it is in so many other countries where the possibility of war is less real. While it is relatively easy for the generals to specify what strength the IDF needs to deal with the current threat as reflected by the geopolitical realities of the Middle East, it is far more difficult to calculate what will be needed in a decade from now. Who knows what the face of this region will be by then?

Will Iraq and Iran still be at war? Will Israel and Egypt still be at peace? No one can tell, for it is impossible to predict the personal future of King Hussein, or what will happen in Syria when President Hafez Assad is no longer in power. One also has to take into account that the super-sophisticated weapons now in the hands of moderate Arabs could land up in the hands of hostile regimes, as happened in Iran.

As the generals outlined for the ministers the direct implications of more cuts in training budgets, stores and stockpiles, and a shortening of reserve duty, they slowly began to realize the gravity of the situation. With each presentation it became clearer why Rabin and the General Staff were asking for a collective decision. The ministers had to know the consequences of cancelling special military programmes that were designed to make army service a positive experience and give trades to youth who would otherwise be lost. They had to be made aware that Israeli pilots are today flying fewer hours than before.

No matter how convincing they may have been, the generals were facing an objective problem not easily surmounted: the defence budget is the budget most ministers favour cutting. Not only is it the largest, consuming in direct and indirect expenditure some \$5b. of the \$11b. remaining from the overall budget of \$21b., once internal and external debts have been paid; it is also the budget where projects far from the public eye can be slashed, with all but a few defence insiders, bound by the Official Secrets Act, being aware of the consequences.

It is far easier politically to freeze a top-secret defence project "until we are over the hump" than to cut social programmes. By making the ministers aware of their own dilemmas, by holding the meeting inside the operations room, and by declassifying many details that otherwise would have remained under wraps, those responsible for Israel's security hoped for a fairer deal. They also undoubtedly wanted the cabinet to share the consequences if, because of decisions made now, a future generation of Israelis is faced with another horrific experience like the Yom Kippur War.

THE ALTERNATIVES facing the cabinet as it meets on Sunday morning are not easy ones. If defence cannot be cut by another \$150m., where is that money to come from? Israel has already increased its aid requests from the U.S. from \$1.4b. to \$2b. By doing so, it has increased its dependence on American policy dictates that are not always consistent with Israel's, and that could become even more sensitive to Arab needs as the trend of ostensible moderation and westernization of the Arab world gathers momentum.

The pendulum started swinging in this direction when Jordan and Egypt renewed their diplomatic ties last month and accelerated with this week's resumption of American diplomatic relations with Iraq. And even if aid is increased, that in itself is not a solution, given that almost all the money has to be spent in the U.S., while Israel's main problem is the local military budget.

The trouble with all these steps, however, is that they are only interim, and will not be felt for many months to come. Even cutting the size of the standing army immediately will not save money right away, given the compensation payments that will have to be made, and the possible future social security payments if those displaced from the defence establishment cannot find immediate employment elsewhere.

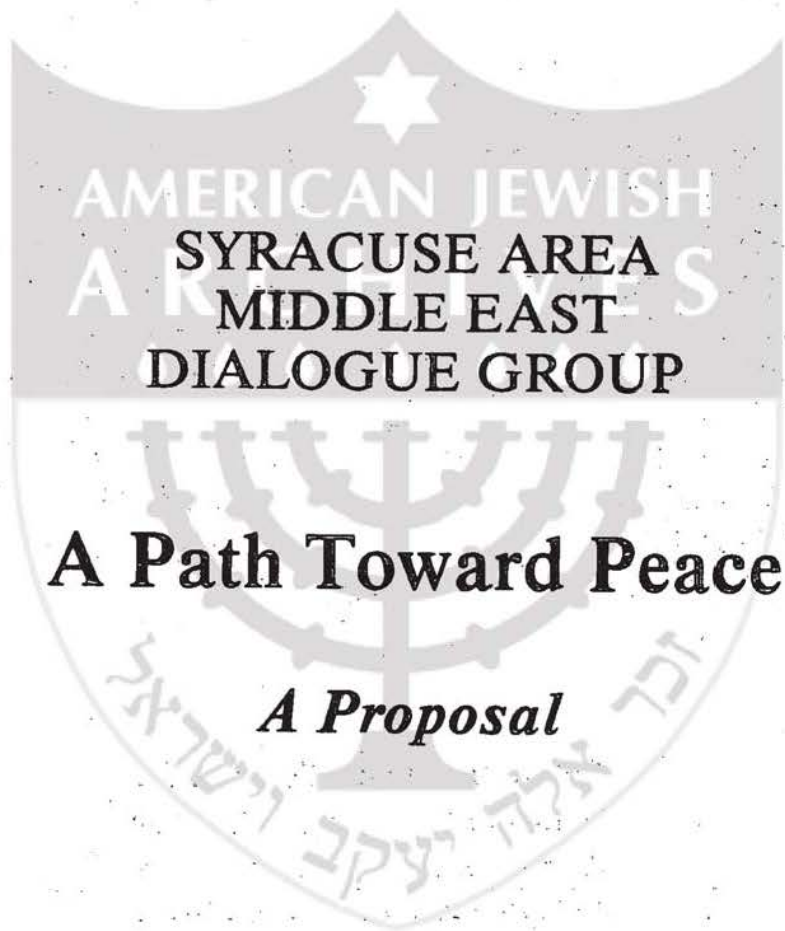
There are no easy solutions, and the problems are far more complicated than the simplistic calls to "cut the Lavi," or "reduce the size of the army" that have been heard until now.

An end to the war in Lebanon, even if by some miracle that could be brought about during this fiscal year, would also not result in immediate defence savings. The cost of withdrawal, coupled with the building of an alternative security system in the north, would probably be greater in the first few months than the cost of staying there.

It is not even clear whether a cut in defence spending may not end up costing the economy more, as factories close down and men in uniform are marched out to the dole.

Which, in the ultimate analysis, is more damaging to Israel's defence posture: two F-15s less, or \$100m. cut from the education budget of the next generation that will be charged with maintaining the qualitative edge?

If, this Sunday, the axe fails to fall, it should not be seen as a sign of government indecision, but rather an indication of just how difficult the choices facing the ministers are. But one thing is clear: decision is needed, and needed soon. □



A Path Toward Peace

A Proposal

**SYRACUSE AREA
MIDDLE EAST DIALOGUE GROUP**

P.O. Box 352
DeWitt, New York 13214

HAROLD ADDINGTON
JOHN BAHOUTH
Rev. LEONARD BJORKMAN
Judge MINNA R. BUCK
BERNARD CHERTOW
SHIRLEY DeHORITY
AHMAD EL-HINDI
T. WILLIAM HALL
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Dr. SHELDON SCHWARTZ
DAVID SHOMAR
BONNIE TOTTEN
Rev. GORDON WEBSTER
Dr. IBRAHIM YASHRUTI

For further information, contact
Shirley DeHority 315/568-9698
Ahmad El-Hindi 315/682-8825
Richard Schwartz 315/423-4112

SYRACUSE AREA MIDDLE EAST DIALOGUE GROUP

Consensus Statement

We, the Syracuse Area Middle East Dialogue Group, are 21 U.S. citizens of Christian, Jewish, and Palestinian (Christian and Muslim) background. We see the continuing stalemate between Israel and the Palestinian people as a central factor in growing extremism; in acts of terrorism by Palestinians, Israelis and others; in heightened political instability in the area; and in the threat of war which could escalate into superpower confrontation.

Our Group believes that a negotiated settlement of the conflict is critical for the survival and dignity of Palestinians and Israelis alike. We believe that successful negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians are the essential first step toward the achievement of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Hence, the Syracuse Area Middle East Dialogue Group urges that:

1. the Palestinians, the Israelis, and the neighboring Arab countries mutually and simultaneously accept the legitimacy of the State of Israel and the legitimacy of self-determination for Palestinians including the option of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip;
2. the Palestinians and Israelis suspend military operations against one another;
3. all acts of violence against innocent civilians cease, whether by Palestinians, by Israelis, or by others in the area;
4. the Israeli government freeze all settlements on occupied territories;
5. the representatives of the Palestinians and the Israelis, presently the Palestine Liberation Organization and the government of Israel, recognize each other explicitly and simultaneously and then undertake mutual negotiations toward a just and lasting peace.

In order to obtain such a negotiated settlement, we urge all involved parties — including the President of the United States, the Congress, opinion makers, and U.S. organizations involved in the Middle East — to help create the conditions necessary for these events to occur.

Supplementary Comments

The foregoing "Consensus Statement" of the Syracuse Area Middle East Dialogue Group is a result of many hours of discussion and debate among a diverse group of people. The individuals involved brought to the Dialogue widely disparate perceptions of historical facts and of current events as they relate to the Middle East. As individuals, we still retain different perspectives and priorities; through the process of dialogue, however, we have been able to define large areas of common ground.

The Consensus Statement reflects a number of shared assumptions and conclusions about the problems of the Middle East. The statement, and the process of dialogue which preceded it, were also influenced by assumptions reflected in the tripartite structure of the group itself. The following is an attempt to make these assumptions explicit.

AMERICAN JEWISH

- 1. The existence of the State of Israel is a reality that cannot be altered without widespread conflict and bloodshed. Unless the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization acknowledge this fact, there can be no peace in the Middle East.**

The existence of the Palestinian people is a reality that cannot be altered without widespread conflict and bloodshed. Unless the State of Israel acknowledges this fact, there can be no peace in the Middle East.

The Israelis and the Palestinians each think of themselves as nations. Those self conceptions are now unalterable. In our time, a people that defines itself as a nation often seeks political expression as an independent state. The Israeli nation has established a State. To overcome the antagonism between the two nations, the Palestinians should have the option to establish an independent Palestinian State, without impairing or threatening the independence of the State of Israel.

- 2. Peaceful, negotiated settlements of the conflicts between Israel and the Palestinians and between Israel and neighboring Arab states will require compromise on all sides, but peace is preferable to the continuation of the state of war.**

There is no plausible scenario for a military "solution" to the conflicts in the Middle East. Resumption of "active" war will not only bring death and destruction to the people of the region; it may escalate into confrontation between the superpowers and expansion of the conflict. Continuation of "passive" war, with intermittent military and terrorist operations on both sides, may result in less widespread devastation, but it will require Israel and its Arab neighbors to maintain their present states of siege; it will continue to strain their economies to the point where their respective social orders are threatened; and it will not

allow the parties to address the legitimate claims of the Palestinians for self-determination. Failure to progress toward an honorable end to the state of war will accelerate the present trend toward polarization and extremism on all sides.

- 3. Violence against innocent civilians, in addition to its manifest injustice, increases the mutual fear and hatred of the two sides. In consequence, it diminishes the chances of reconciliation and peace.**

The time has come to interrupt the escalating cycle of fear, hatred, and moral condemnation of each side by the other. Nothing has contributed more to this cycle than violent attacks by partisans of each side on the noncombatant civilians of the other side. To heighten the opportunity for reconciliation and peace, all such attacks should now cease.

- 4. A freeze on Israeli settlement in the West Bank would be a significant gesture of good faith by Israel at relatively little risk.**

It would halt a process that previous U.S. administrations, as well as world opinion, have seen as illegal. By altering ownership and residence in the occupied land, Israeli settlement activity exacerbates tensions and changes the status of the territory in dispute. A freeze would halt that process and help to create an atmosphere more conducive to successful negotiations.

- 5. Recognition by the State of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization of each other, though difficult for each side, would greatly enhance the prospects of a negotiated settlement of their conflicting claims. Unless such recognition is simultaneous and explicit, it is unlikely to occur.**

It would be difficult for each side to recognize the other. Recognition and good-faith negotiations, especially if successful, imply major concessions by each side.

For many Palestinians, recognizing the State of Israel would mean agreeing to the permanent retention by a Jewish State of land which they believe rightly belongs to the Palestinian nation. They think of the State of Israel as an illegitimate intruder into their land. They regard the State of Israel as the cause of second-class citizenship for many Palestinians living within Israel and of homelessness and despair for many Palestinians living outside of Israel. They do not recognize the claims of Israel to the land inside the pre-1967 border, the Green Line, much less the claim of many Israelis to the occupied territories. For them, the preferred solution would be a secular, bi-national Palestinian State covering the territory from Jordan to the Mediterranean.

For many Israelis, recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization and the option of a West Bank, Gaza-Strip Palestinian State would mean strengthening their enemies. They believe completely in the legitimacy of their claim to a Jewish state in some, if not all, of the

land between Jordan and the Mediterranean. They also believe that the occupied territories, or major portions of them, provide necessary protection and an additional buffer against armed attacks by hostile Arab nations. They consider that a two-state solution would mean the Palestinians and their Arab allies would have acquired a territorial base that could be used for military attacks on the State of Israel. Furthermore, they believe that even if the Palestinians were satisfied with a two-state solution, the other Arab nations would not permanently tolerate the existence of Israel.

Concessions are to be required, therefore, on both sides. The Palestinians, though preferring a secular bi-national state in the entire territory, would have to accept a fraction of that territory. The Israelis, preferring Israeli control of all or most of the entire territory, would have to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization and accept the prospect of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza-Strip.

The question is whether the gains that might be attained would compensate for the concessions each side is asked to provide. If everything were to work out as proposed, major gains could be achieved by each side: statehood for the Palestinians, increased security for the Israelis, and for both, an important step toward a durable peace. The Palestinians would obtain the opportunity to implement their national aspirations through establishing an independent Palestinian State, or other structure of their choice. The Israelis would obtain recognition of the legitimacy of the State of Israel by the surrounding Arab states. Security is often said to be the major problem for the Israelis. Through successful negotiations, they would thereby avail themselves of the course of action described in a recent detailed study* as the one strategic course most likely to increase their security in the long run. Both sides would benefit by the prospect of a durable peace, based on agreement by each side to accept the legitimacy of the other.

We are convinced that bilateral negotiations for peace can only be achieved by mutual and simultaneous recognition. Neither side is likely to recognize the other, unless it is sure that it will be recognized in return. A unilateral step would be seen by either as offering too much of a concession for too unlikely a gain. Neither side could mobilize the needed support in its own camp unless the incentive of a major gain were possible. If recognition could be mutual and simultaneous, however, each side might be able to concede something important in return for a chance at something even more important: secure and independent statehood.

* The study, done by Mark A. Heller of the Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, is called *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel*, Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1983. Heller concludes that the creation of a West Bank Palestinian State — after negotiation and with the appropriate guarantees and territorial adjustments — offers a greater chance for Israeli security than any of the other alternatives which have been put forth (e.g., continuation of the status quo, including military occupation; unilateral withdrawal; unilateral Israeli annexation; the “Jordanian solution”).

6. In advocating mutual recognition and negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, we do not contend that such negotiations will inevitably bring peace. We only say that these measures would constitute valuable steps on the path to peace. We know of no other way.

For the negotiations to be successful, each side would have to be convinced that the agreement they reach will lead to adequate justice, economic viability, and security. These advantages may depend in large part on support from other nations. For example, economic viability for a Palestinian state may require a major investment of economic aid from other countries. Security for the State of Israel may depend on a sincere repudiation of the rejectionist position held by some of the Arab states. And justice may require that the Israelis and Palestinians provide guarantees of civil liberties and civil rights for their minorities, backed by international mechanisms of mediation, arbitration, and adjudication.

We believe, however, that bilateral negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization would be an important step toward breaking the deadlock and attaining justice, prosperity, and security. Since the Rabat Conference of 1974, the Arab states have assigned to the Palestine Liberation Organization, the major leadership role in the conflict with Israel. The Palestine National Council, which includes representatives of Palestinians throughout the Middle East, has designated the Palestine Liberation Organization as its executive arm. If Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization arrive at a mutually acceptable resolution of their differences, the tensions in the area would greatly diminish. A principal justification used by Arab states for continuing their state of war with Israel would be removed, and any remaining issues between Israel and its Arab neighbors would be more readily resolvable by negotiation. Finally, the international community, even the super-powers, would have an opportunity to act responsibly in endorsing and supporting a mutually satisfactory reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians.

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story

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

December 3, 1984

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

I understand from Tom Freebairn of Visnews that he recently told you about our joint project on the Ethiopian famine. I am delighted that you expressed an interest and concern. Tom suggested that I write to tell you more about the project, and to ask your advice on financial support.

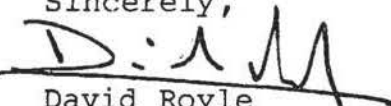
The film will be an in-depth examination of the nature and scope of the famine in Africa. Through a concrete analysis of the media's coverage of African problems, we hope to achieve several goals: to highlight the short attention span of the American media; to encourage media organizations to re-assess their coverage of Africa; to recommend ways in which the public can be kept better informed of impending disasters; and to renew public interest in famine relief at a time when coverage and financial support is likely to be waning.


We are planning an April airdate. This timing is deliberate. By then we anticipate that the media will have lost interest in Ethiopia and moved on to other news. We also know that the famine will not have moved on with the press corps but, in fact, it is likely to have worsened. The documentary will reach an audience of millions at a critical time, and will deliver its message in vivid, pictorial terms. We hope that it will lead to wide discussion in the press as it carries its implicit message for ongoing aid.

But if this film is to be completed we need help. We are already receiving support and help from UNICEF International and the American Committee for UNICEF, in addition to Visnews. We would be most grateful for any suggestions on further avenues of financial support.

Thank you for your kind interest in this undertaking. I am enclosing a short proposal and would be most interested in your comments. I hope you don't mind if I call your office in a few days to see if we can discuss the matter.

Sincerely,


David Royle
Producer

Produced For 
By The Press And The Public Project
A Not-For-Profit Tax Exempt Organization



A Public Television Series
On the Press

New York:

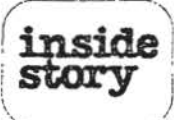
250 West 57th Street, Suite 1905
New York, New York 10019

Telephone 212-307 6280

Washington:

918 16th Street, Suite 503
Washington DC 20006

Telephone 202-223 8392



DOCUMENTARY PROPOSAL - THE ETHIOPIAN FAMINE

BACKGROUND

The Ethiopian famine is a disaster of massive proportions. A quarter of Ethiopia's 33 million people are severely affected by the drought. 5.5 million face starvation. 6,500 are dying every day.

The magnitude of this disaster was revealed to the West in October by a Visnews/BBC film crew. The film appeared on the BBC's evening news and led to a spontaneous outpouring of relief funds. An ITV TV Eye documentary followed. The New York Times has described its impact:

Some humane instincts have triumphed, such as the spontaneous outpouring of assistance to Ethiopia from Great Britain after the showing of a riveting television documentary that portrayed the agonies of mass starvation.

The Visnews film reached the US through the NBC network. They showed it on their evening news program and it received a massive response. NBC took this opportunity to boast of the impact of their news story in a one page advertisement on the back of The New York Times. Other TV stations and news organizations now rushed to Ethiopia to cover the disaster. It had become headline news.

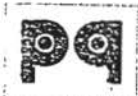
But nothing was "new" about this news. The Ethiopian famine can be traced back to the early 1970s. But it wasn't considered important enough to merit television time.

And now what will happen when the media disappears as it inevitably will? Will the world believe that the problem has gone away? That's where we begin our documentary.

THE DOCUMENTARY

INSIDE STORY's documentary would examine the nature and scope of the famine, the media's belated response to the famine, and the political problems inherent in providing humanitarian relief to people living in the Third World. We would ask:

- 1) Why has the media taken so long to cover the famine?



Produced For **FBS**
By The Press And The Public Project
A Not-For-Profit Tax Exempt Organization

- 2) What will happen to the flow of American charity when the media spotlight is no longer on Ethiopia?
- 3) What has been the impact of American aid? Is The Economist right to declare that the aid generated by the news coverage, could "make temporary disaster permanent?"
- 4) Can the media play a more consistent role in increasing American awareness of international problems before they develop into disasters?
- 5) What can be done to help on a long term basis?
- 6) How can governments of varying ideologies give effective aid in times of crisis to countries that have a set political agenda?

THE PRODUCERS

The Press and the Public Project, Inc., producers of INSIDE STORY and a number of documentary specials for PBS, was formed in 1980, under the direction of veteran television newsman, Ned Schrumman. In the four years of its existence as a production unit, the Press and the Public Project has been responsible for over 80 national productions. Last year, it won three Emmys and the Edward R. Murrow Award for the best television documentary on foreign affairs.

THE COST

Viscom International, the world's largest television news agency, is prepared to give us their video tapes of the Ethiopian famine. It is also prepared to help us with library footage and arranging interviews etc. In return they are seeking credit as a "junior producer."

We have received indications that if we need new footage of the disaster then free transportation to Ethiopia is available through a relief agency or an aircraft company.

Everyone we have spoken to has agreed that this documentary is so important that they'd be prepared to work for reduced rates to get it on the air. It is also quite possible that a one inch house will be willing to give us favorable rates for such a humanitarian cause.

Given this assistance, we believe that the documentary can be completed for \$90,000. We are looking for a number of contributors to underwrite this production cost.



DEC 05 1984

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY **כנסת הרבנים**

3080 BROADWAY NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027 (212) 678-8060

Cable Address: RABBISEM, New York

December 3, 1984

Dear Marc,

TEXT: Readers Digest

WHEN I worked for a public accountant, I always dreaded income-tax time because of the attitude of most of our clients when they owed additional tax. The general opinion seemed to be that the accountant was at fault for not finding more deductions. Harsh words often resulted.

On the day that an immigrant farmer and his wife were scheduled to pick up their return, I considered absenting

myself from the office. They owed more tax than any other customer, and I expected a full-blown explosion. As it happened, I was unable to get away, and for this I am most grateful.

When the man came in, he studied the return thoughtfully while the accountant explained each detail, including the tax due. Then, turning to his wife, the farmer said, "That's cheap rent, Mama, to live in this country."

— FLOY ELKINS (Mission, Texas)

MIDRASH: Dues are rent for living in the R.A. community.

APPLICATION: Your "rent" is long past due as the enclosed statement indicates. We have been patient! 1140 of your colleagues have made their payments. We'd like you to join them.

Please - if any special circumstances inhibit your payment, I am ready to help you resolve them.

We would appreciate your prompt reply.

Fraternally,

Al Lewis
Al Lewis
Treasurer

P.S. I'll see you at the Jewish Center in Cherry Hill this coming Sunday.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Inter-Religious Affairs Dept.
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

SUGGESTED REMARKS
EDWARD E. ELSON
PALM BEACH CHAPTER
DECEMBER 4, 1984

FROM 1906 TO THE PRESENT--THROUGHOUT SOME OF THE MOST TURBULENT PERIODS IN WORLD HISTORY--THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAS CARRIED OUT THE MANDATE OF ITS FOUNDERS: TO COMBAT BIGOTRY, TO INSURE THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS AND TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALL LANDS. FROM A NUCLEUS OF FIFTY TO ITS PRESENT NATION-WIDE MEMBERSHIP OF MORE THAN 50,000 IN 600 COMMUNITIES, THIS ORGANIZATION HAS MET THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE, CALLING UPON ITS RESOURCES AND EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAS ALWAYS MAINTAINED THAT BIGOTRY IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY. IN 1913, FOR EXAMPLE, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE CAMPAIGNED FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS LAW IN NEW YORK STATE THAT WOULD BAR ADVERTISEMENT OF RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN HOTELS AND PUBLIC PLACES. THIS LEGISLATION BECAME THE MODEL FOR SIMILAR LAWS IN MANY STATES.

WHEN HENRY FORD REPRINTED THE INFAMOUS 'PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION' IN HIS DEARBORN INDEPENDENT, WHEN THE KU KLUX KLAN AND OTHER BIGOTED GROUPS SOUGHT TO STIR HATRED AGAINST JEWS, CATHOLICS, AND BLACKS, AND OTHER MINORITIES, WHEN THE NAZIS SOUGHT TO DIVIDE AMERICANS IN ORDER TO WEAKEN OUR WAR EFFORT, THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS HELPED TO COUNTER SUCH EFFORTS. AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE RESEARCH INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF PREJUDICE REVOLUTIONIZED THE THINKING OF SCHOLARS, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE LANDMARK SUPREME COURT DECISION BANNING SEGREGATION IN 1954. TODAY, THE COMMITTEE REMAINS COMMITTED TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, AGE OR GENDER.

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SUGGESTED REMARKS
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THE COMMITTEE IS DEDICATED TO PROTECTING THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND TO INSURING HER RIGHT TO EXIST IN THE INTERNATIONAL FAMILY OF NATIONS.

BOTH OUR NATIONAL OFFICE AND AJC'S SPECIAL WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE WILL CONTINUE TO SERVE AS LIAISON TO U.S. OFFICIALS IN ORDER TO EMPHASIZE ISRAEL'S ROLE AS A VITAL ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES AS WELL AS A BASTION OF DEMOCRACY NECESSARY TO THE STABILIZATION OF WESTERN INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S RESPECTED POSITION AS A SOURCE OF RELIABLE AND ESSENTIAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST HAS EARNED THE RESPECT OF ELECTED OFFICIALS, OPINION-MOLDERS, ACADEMICS AND MEDIA EXECUTIVES. AMONG THE IMPORTANT PUBLICATIONS WE HAVE ISSUED ARE "CAN SAUDI ARABIA DEFEND ITSELF?"

AND "MOSCOW MOVES IN THE MIDEAST." THESE ARE WIDELY DISTRIBUTED TO POLICY MAKERS AND INFLUENTIALS, AS WELL AS THE AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERSHIP AND ACADEMIA. WE ISSUED A SERIES OF BACKGROUNDERS EXPLAINING ISRAEL'S ROLE IN LEBANON AND REVIEWED THE LONG HISTORY OF INTERCOMMUNAL AND INTERRELIGIOUS STRIFE IN THAT TROUBLED NATION. AJC PUBLISHED AN IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S MIDDLE EAST PEACE INITIATIVE, INCLUDING A POINT-BY-POINT COMPARISON WITH THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, WHICH WERE DISTRIBUTED TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP, THE ANGLO-JEWISH PRESS AND THE GENERAL PRESS.

AJC RECENTLY CREATED A SPECIAL TRAINING SESSION FOR 24 ISRAELI INFORMATION CONSULS BASED IN THE U.S. AND CANADA TO EXPLAIN THE

(MORE)

INNER WORKINGS OF THE AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA. HIGHLY PRAISED BY THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR, THIS TRAINING PROGRAM CAN BE HELD ANNUALLY FOR NEW STAFF RESPONSIBLE FOR ISRAELI-AMERICAN PRESS RELATIONS.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ITS NEWLY-CREATED INSTITUTE ON AMERICAN JEWISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS, THE COMMITTEE EXAMINES THE INTRICATE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO VITAL WORLD JEWISH COMMUNITIES.

STUDIES EXAMINED ISRAELI ATTITUDES TOWARDS AMERICA AND AMERICAN JEWS AND AMERICAN JEWISH OPINION ABOUT ISRAEL. ONE INTERESTING RESULT WAS THAT ISRAELIS BELIEVE THAT AMERICAN JEWS HAVE MUCH MORE INFLUENCE THAN AMERICAN JEWS PERCEIVE ABOUT THEIR OWN POSITION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

THE INSTITUTE BROUGHT A GROUP OF YOUNG ISRAELI POTENTIAL LEADERS IN SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND POLITICS TO THE U.S. FOR AN IN-DEPTH EXPOSURE TO AMERICAN LIFE, THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF PLANNED EXCHANGE VISITS.

THE LATEST STUDY, "ISRAELI AND AMERICAN JEWS: TOWARD A MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE" EXAMINES THE NEED FOR A NEW APPROACH, BASED ON AN AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTERNAL ISSUES OF ISRAEL, AND AN ISRAELI UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONTINUITY OF AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE. THE INSTITUTE ALSO PUBLISHED "INTERGROUP RELATIONS PRACTICE IN ISRAEL," WHICH CONCENTRATED ON TENSIONS BETWEEN ARAB AND JEWISH ISRAELIS.

OUR ISRAELI OFFICE IS A RESOURCE CENTER FOR ISRAELIS WHO WANT TO LEARN ABOUT AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY LIFE. THE STAFF INTERPRETS THE ISRAELI POLITICAL SITUATION AS WELL AS PUBLIC OPINION ON KEY TOPICS AND REPORTS TO THE NATIONAL AJC STAFF ON PERTINENT SUBJECTS. A SERIES OF PRESS RELEASES AND BRIEFINGS ARE HELD BY TOP-LEVEL

MEDIA AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. AJC PUBLISHES A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE CALLED "TEFUTSOT ISRAEL" WHICH ILLUMINATES DIASPORA LIFE FOR ISRAELIS, MAINTAINS A LIBRARY IN ISRAEL, AND PUBLISHES "ISRAEL PRESS HIGHLIGHTS" TO SUMMARIZE NEWS AS REPORTED IN THE INFLUENTIAL ISRAELI PRESS.

AJC BELIEVES THAT A FIRM ALLIANCE WITH OTHER RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS CAN BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN ESTABLISHING NEW

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AREAS OF SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL. CONSEQUENTLY, OUR INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT HAS CONDUCTED AN ONGOING DIALOGUE WITH EVANGELICAL, CATHOLIC, MAINLINE PROTESTANT AND GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES TO EMPHASIZE THE CENTRALITY OF THE HISTORIC TIES TO A NATIONAL HOME- LAND AND JERUSALEM THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY. THE AJC ALSO TARGETS THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AS POWERFUL INFLUENCES ON CHRISTIAN OPINION IN THE U.S. VIS A VIS MIDDLE EAST POLITICS. WE SPONSOR AN ANNUAL ECUMENICAL VISITORS TO ISRAEL TOUR TO INTRODUCE CHRISTIAN INFLUENTIALS TO ISRAEL AND AN ANNUAL ACADEMICIANS SEMINAR IN ISRAEL, CONDUCTED TO INFORM YOUNG COLLEGE FACULTY MEMBERS WHO CAN SERVE AS ADVOCATES FOR ISRAEL ON CAMPUSES THROUGHOUT THE NATION.

ISRAEL'S PRECARIOUS POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS A MAJOR FOCUS OF AJC ACTIVITY. WE COUNTER ATTEMPTS TO EXPEL ISRAEL FROM THE U.N. AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, DRAWING PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE ARAB AND COMMUNIST EFFORTS AGAINST ISRAEL. WE STAFF AN AD HOC GROUP OF PROFESSIONALS CONCERNED WITH THE U.N., MANY OF WHOM ARE FORMER DELEGATES TO U.N. AGENCIES. THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS WERE PART OF THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

AJC CONTINUES TO BE ON THE ALERT FOR NEW MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM, BOTH INTERNATIONALLY AND NATIONALLY. IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN VITAL CONTACT WITH THE JEWS OF THE SOVIET UNION, SINCE EMIGRATION HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY HALTED, AJC INAUGURATED A PROGRAM OF VISITS BY LAY LEADERS DESIGNED TO BRING THE ISSUE OF SOVIET

(MORE)

JEWRY TO THE FOREFRONT OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEBATE. A SURVEY WE CONDUCTED REVEALED SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS TO KEEP JEWS OUT OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, PART OF AN OVERALL CAMPAIGN TO RESTRICT JEWISH LIFE WITHIN THE USSR. IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY, THE NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS TASK FORCE ON SOVIET JEWRY (WHICH WE HELPED TO ORGANIZE), AJC ENLISTS THE SUPPORT OF OTHER SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY TO PUBLICIZE THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWRY. WE PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE ADOPTION OF A U.N. DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE AND DISCRIMINATION AND ARE USING THIS IN TESTIMONY INVOLVING VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHTS OF SOVIET JEWS. IN RESPONSE TO NEW INCIDENTS OF ANTI-SEMITIC ARTICLES IN THE SOVIET PRESS, WE HAVE MADE PROTESTS TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR AND TO THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE SOVIET UNION.

AS PART OF THE PRIORITY ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, THE COMMITTEE HAS INSTITUTED AN EXCITING NEW PROGRAM OF INTERACTION WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN THE LEADING CAPITALS OF WEST EUROPE AND OF LATIN AMERICA. THE PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THIS APPROACH IS TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT AND INFLUENCE OF THESE NATIONS REGARDING ~~KEY~~ ISSUES ON OUR AGENDA: THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL; THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWRY; ~~AND~~ ^{Syrian Jews AND} ~~THE DILEMMA OF THE ETHIOPIAN FALASHAS.~~ BUT THE LIST IS NOT LIMITED TO MATTERS AFFECTING JEWISH COMMUNITIES. THE COMMITTEE SEEKS TO SENSITIZE THE LEADERSHIP OF THESE POWERFUL COUNTRIES TO THE DANGERS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM; THE ABUSE OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS; THE PRECARIOUS SITUATION OF PRISONERS AND REFUGEES; AND THE SPECTER OF WORLD FAMINE, HUNGER AND EPIDEMICS.

(MORE)

BY REACHING OUT TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF GERMANY, ITALY AND FRANCE, AJC ENCOURAGES THESE POWERFUL NATIONS TO USE THEIR GOOD OFFICES TO PROMOTE OUR PRIMARY GOALS IN THE INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AND ASSOCIATIONS WHICH DEVELOP POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.

GROUPS SUCH AS THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COUNCIL, THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE, AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT HAVE GREAT INFLUENCE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. SOME OF THEM HAVE OBSERVER STATUS AT THE UNITED NATIONS, WHERE THE PRECARIOUS SITUATION OF ISRAEL IS A CONSTANT EXAMPLE OF POWER POLITICS.

AN AJC LEADERSHIP DELEGATION WENT TO BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, URUGUAY, CHILE, MEXICO AND COSTA RICA TO ASSESS THE LOCAL SITUATION AND TO EMPHASIZE STRONG TIES BETWEEN THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ITS CLOSEST NEIGHBORS. WE ARE FOCUSING ATTENTION ON THE POLICY OF THE NICARAGUAN MARXIST REGIME'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PLO TERRORISTS, MANY OF WHOM HAVE BEEN GRANTED A SAFE HAVEN. WE MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THE SMALL REMAINING JEWISH COMMUNITY AND CONTINUE TO MONITOR NICARAGUA'S ROLE AS A VIRULENT VOICE OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE U.N. ~~IN RESPONSE TO A RECENT OUTBREAK OF ANTI-SEMITIC ACTIVITY IN MEXICO,~~ WE HAVE MET WITH LOCAL JEWISH LEADERS AND HAVE BEEN INVOLVED, THROUGH OUR MEXICO CITY OFFICE, WITH EFFORTS TO INVOLVE THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT IN ELIMINATING ^{Anti-Semitism} ~~THIS DANGER.~~ AJC MONITORS THE ALARMING INCREASE IN ANTI-SEMITIC AND ANTI-ISRAELI MATERIAL PUBLISHED IN LATIN AMERICA AND LINKS TO ARAB MONEY AND INFLUENCE. STAFF AND LAY LEADERS ATTENDED A MAJOR CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN CENTRAL AMERICA. IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC OPINION, AJC DISTRIBUTES INFORMATION ON LATIN AMERICAN

(MORE)

ISSUES TO THE GENERAL AND SPANISH LANGUAGE MEDIA.

WE ARE SEEN AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BEST OF AMERICAN JEWRY--
AND WE SPEAK TO THESE INFLUENTIAL LEADERS OF MANY NATIONS AS JEWS
AND AS AMERICANS.

THIS INTERNATIONAL APPROACH UTILIZES THE BEST SKILLS OF AJC.
WITH CALM DELIBERATION, WITH A FINELY TUNED SENSITIVITY TO THE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REALITIES OF OTHER NATIONS, WITH A COMPREHENSIVE
GRASP OF MAJOR ISSUES AFFECTING JEWS AND AMERICANS, THE COMMITTEE
CAN TRULY SERVE AS AN AUTHENTIC VOICE OF AMERICAN JEWRY IN AN
INCREASINGLY COMPLEX WORLD.

IN ORDER TO COUNTER THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF THE PRO-ARAB
LOBBY ON ATTITUDES TOWARD ISRAEL AND AMERICAN JEWS, AJC PUBLISHED
A MAJOR STUDY CALLED "AD HOC GROUPS: NEW PLEADERS FOR THE ARAB
CAUSE" WHICH IDENTIFIES ARAB-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS THAT USE
PROPAGANDA TO AFFECT PUBLIC OPINION. THROUGH INTERPRETIVE MATERIAL
AND RADIO ANNOUNCEMENTS, AJC IS RESPONDING TO A MAJOR CAMPAIGN BY
THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ARAB AMERICANS STATING THAT U.S. AID
TO ISRAEL WOULD BE BETTER UTILIZED TO HELP THE UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION
IN THE U.S. OUR ONGOING ANALYSIS OF ARAB INVESTMENT IN THE
BUSINESSES, UNIVERSITIES, CHURCHES AND BANKS ARE A MAJOR SOURCE
OF INFORMATION FOR THE PRESS AND SPECIALISTS IN ECONOMICS. WE
PUBLISH "PETRO IMPACT" AND "HEARD IN THE ARAB WORLD" ON A REGULAR
BASIS FOR GOVERNMENT, MEDIA AND BUSINESS INFLUENTIALS. WE WILL
ALSO CONDUCT IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH BUSINESS, CIVIC, ACADEMIC
AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN MAJOR AMERICAN CITIES TO EXAMINE THE
EXTENT OF ARAB INFLUENCE IN OUR NATION. AJC COMBATS THE ARAB
PRESENCE ON UNIVERSITIES WHICH CAN AFFECT HIRING, COURSE MATERIAL,

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AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM.

AS A COROLLARY ACTIVITY, AJC IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE FUTURE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN ENERGY SOURCES. OUR "ENERGY INFORMATION SERVICE BULLETIN" AND OUR RADIO SHOW, "ENERGY TODAY," ARE PRIMARY SOURCES OF MATERIAL FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, OPINION MOLDERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ON ENERGY AND PROGRAM POLICY ISSUES.

AJC CONTINUES TO EMPHASIZE RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL PLURALISM, TO REJECT A RELIGIOUS TEST FOR CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE, TO OPPOSE PRAYER IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. WE HAVE CONVENED MAJOR CONFERENCES ON ABERRANT YOUTH BEHAVIOR AS IT RELATES TO VANDALISM AND VIOLENCE, AND WE CONTINUE TO EDUCATE THE PUBLIC ABOUT THE DESTRUCTIVE NATURE OF VARIOUS HATE GROUPS IN THE U.S. THE ISSUE OF VIOLENCE IN OUR SOCIETY WAS EXAMINED IN "VIOLENCE IN OUR SOCIETY: SOME JEWISH INSIGHTS." WE HAVE COOPERATED WITH DISTRICT ATTORNEYS ON STATE LAWS RELATED TO ANTI-SEMITIC VANDALISM AND EXTREMIST ACTIVITY. WE EMPHASIZE COALITIONS AND INTERGROUP EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSION, STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, PROMOTE NON-QUOTA AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS AND INVESTIGATE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES AS THEY AFFECT THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL CITIZENS. MANY OF THESE ACTIVITIES ARE CARRIED ON IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER COMMUNITY RELATIONS ORGANIZATIONS.

WE CONDUCT AN EXECUTIVE SUITE PROGRAM WHICH HAS AS ITS GOAL REDUCTION OF ANTI-JEWISH DISCRIMINATION IN EXECUTIVE LEVELS OF MAJOR AMERICAN CORPORATIONS AND PUBLISHED A MAJOR STUDY ENTITLED

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"WHO GETS TO THE TOP? EXECUTIVE DISCRIMINATION IN THE 80'S." IN ORDER TO FORGE NEW AVENUES OF COOPERATION WITH AMERICA'S LARGE ETHNIC COMMUNITIES, WE HAVE ONGOING DIALOGUES AND CONSULTATIONS WITH BLACKS, HISPANICS, POLISH-AMERICAN AND ASIAN-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS AND LEADERS TO STRENGTHEN ALLIANCES ON IMMIGRATION, MENTAL HEALTH, EDUCATION AND AGING. AJC CONTINUES TO BE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION, AND ~~HAVE~~ ^{HAS} BEEN A KEY FORCE BEHIND A MULTI-ETHNIC COALITION WHICH WANTS TO INSURE FAMILY REUNIFICATION AS A MAJOR FACTOR IN REFUGEE RESCUE. AJC BELIEVES THAT AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRATION WILL GREATLY AFFECT PROSPECTS FOR JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM THE USSR, IRAN AND LATIN AMERICA, AND THAT A WIDE-BASED ALLIANCE WITH OTHER ETHNIC COMMUNITIES CAN SERVE AS A MUTUAL SOURCE OF STRENGTH.

AJC HAS BEEN A PRIME FORCE IN THE INTERRELIGIOUS MOVEMENT, SEEKING TO INCREASE CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF JUDAISM AND JEWS, AND JEWISH PERCEPTIONS OF CHRISTIAN TENETS. WE SPONSORED A MAJOR CONFERENCE CALLED "FAITH WITHOUT PREJUDICE" DIRECTED AT CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH TEACHING MATERIALS.

THE COMMITTEE RECOGNIZES THAT THE CHANGING PATTERNS OF AMERICAN LIFE, BOTH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC, GREATLY AFFECT JEWISH IDENTITY AND GROWTH IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY. OUR AGENDA AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE JEWISH FAMILY AND JEWISH EDUCATION SERVES AS A MODEL FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY. OUR CONSULTATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS AROUND THESE ISSUES INCLUDE "AMERICAN JEWISH HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS" ^{II} ~~A PROFILE,~~ "JEWISH VIEWS ON DIVORCE," AND "CHILDREN OF INTERMARRIAGE," "JEWISH CAMPUS LIFE: A SURVEY OF STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE AND FAMILY." A STUDY ON THE IMPORTANCE OF JEWISH GRANDPARENTS WILL

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BE COMPLETED IN 1985.

WE SPONSORED, ALONG WITH B'NAI B'RITH CAMPS, A CAMPING AND JEWISH LIVING PROGRAM FOR SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES AS A PILOT PROJECT. AJC CONTINUES TO INCREASE THE SCOPE OF ACADEMY FOR JEWISH STUDIES WITHOUT WALLS, AN ENRICHMENT PROGRAM FOR ADULT EDUCATION.

AS THE PUBLISHER OF SUCH DISTINGUISHED MAGAZINES AS "COMMENTARY" AND PRESENT TENSE," THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE IS A PROUD CONTRIBUTOR TO THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF AMERICA. THE STANDARD REFERENCE WORK ON JEWISH AFFAIRS, "THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK," IS PUBLISHED ANNUALLY BY AJC AND THE JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

THE COMMITTEE MAINTAINS THE BLAUSTEIN LIBRARY, A UNIQUE SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, WHICH IS AVAILABLE TO SCHOLARS AND RESEARCHERS, AS WELL AS THE WILLIAM E. WIENER ORAL HISTORY LIBRARY, WHICH DOCUMENTS THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF THOSE WHOSE LIVES MIRROR THE BROAD SCOPE OF JEWISH HISTORY IN OUR TIMES.

I TRUST THAT THIS OVERVIEW OF THE COMPLEX AGENDA OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE HAS GIVEN YOU SOME USEFUL INSIGHTS INTO THE RANGE OF OUR IMPACT ON NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. THE TASK OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AS WE LOOK AHEAD TO OUR 80th DECADE, IS TO GO FORWARD IN UNCERTAIN TIMES WITH THE CERTAINTY THAT WE HAVE LEARNED FROM THE PAST. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THE JEWISH PEOPLE MUST AND WILL SURVIVE, THAT WE MUST STAND TOGETHER AGAINST THE FORCES THAT SEEK OUR DESTRUCTION, THAT WE MUST RETAIN AN ENDURING COMMITMENT TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF MANKIND.

GIVEN OUR HISTORY AND THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE, WE CAN DO NO LESS.



1030 East Twain Avenue • Las Vegas, Nevada 89109 • (702) 732-0556

December 4, 1984

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

Dear Marc:

"JEWISH WEEK" at SUSC has created quite a stir, and we are being urged to repeat it here at UNLV.

There is a possibility that we might do it in the Fall in conjunction with a series we have been requested to put together that has tentatively been entitled "Jews and the American Experience". However, there might be some modification.

Cedar City has no Jewish congregation; Las Vegas has five (5). I can just imagine the women of five congregations arguing about what goes on the Shabbat table.

We read your article in the JTA, and I sent copies of it to Pauline Nelson and Lana Johnson. Enclosed find our latest issue of the JEWISH REPORTER and see page 6.

The pictures taken at the Cattle Market are being developed, and I will send copies to you.

Look forward to seeing you in April.

Sincerely,


EDYTHE KATZ

EK/k
enclosure

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 4, 1984
to National Professional Staff
from Shula Bahat
subject The 79th Annual Meeting
Planning Meeting
Friday, December 7, 1984
10:30 A.M. - 12:00 Noon
Room 800A

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

The time has come for us to put our heads together and share ideas for our 79th Annual Meeting May 1 - 5, 1985 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

I hope you will come prepared with suggestions for topics for the various sessions, speakers, award recipients, etc. To assist you in putting your thoughts together you will find attached a tentative timetable and description of the various awards.

Our agenda will include a discussion of the schedule of mailings and other deadlines related to the meeting, as well as staff responsibilities.

If you cannot attend, please let Brenda Rudzin know. Her extension is 218.

As always, your cooperation will be appreciated.

SB/pb
Attachments

cc: Gene DuBow
David Gordis
Bill Trosten
Eileen Foster

84-100-243

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

79TH ANNUAL MEETING
May 1-5, 1985
Waldorf Astoria Hotel

TENTATIVE TIMETABLE

Wednesday, May 1

Morning	Commission Meetings
12 Noon - 3:00 PM	Board of Governors Meeting
2:00 - 3:00 PM	Field Staff Briefing
3:00 - 5:00 PM	Plenary Session
5:00 - 7:30 PM	Committee Meetings or Workshops
7:45 - 9:30 PM	Opening Plenary Session
9 30 PM	Reception

Thursday, May 2

7.30 - 9:00 AM	Concurrent Breakfast Committee Meetings
9:00 - 11:00 AM	Two (2) Concurrent Commission Meetings
11:00 AM - 1:00 PM	Two (2) Concurrent Commission Meetings
1:00 - 3:00 PM	Luncheon Plenary
3 00 - 4:00 PM	Plenary Business Session
	*Report of National Membership Cabinet *Report of Nominating Committee *Report of Board of Trustees
5:00 PM	Appeal for Human Relations
6:30 PM	Dais Reception General Reception
7:30 PM	Annual Dinner - Gala Community Event

Friday, May 3

7:30 AM	Concurrent Breakfast Meetings
9:30 - 11:15 AM	Plenary Session
11:15 - 1:00 PM	Plenary Session
1:00 - 4:00 PM	Plenary Luncheon & Plenary Session or Workshops

Saturday, May 4

10:00 AM	Sabbath Service including a discussion
12:00 Noon	Kiddush
12:30 PM	Plenary Luncheon
2:30 PM	Chapter Leadership Meeting with AJC Officers

Sunday, May 5

8:00 AM	Plenary Breakfast
10:00 AM	Plenary Session
12:00 Noon	Adjournment

NATIONAL ANNUAL MEETING

AWARDS

American Liberties Medallion

The Medallion is the highest honor AJC has to bestow, and it is given in recognition of a lifetime of exceptional service in the cause of human liberty and human rights.

It is not intended to limit recipients to individuals who are citizens of this country. Rather, the emphasis is to be on the continuity and scope of service in the cause of human freedom and the enlargement of opportunities and human rights for men and women everywhere.

Past recipients include Earl Warren, Elie Wiesel, Jacob Blaustein, Adlai Stevenson, Martin Luther King, Jr., Helen Suzman.

Media Award

Is given to individual and/or an institution in recognition of distinguished leadership in promoting man's understanding of his fellow man through mass media for a distinguished record of journalistic excellence and commitment to freedom of the press.

Past recipients include Martin Peretz, Alistair Cooke, John Seigenthaler, Bill Moyers, Barbara Walters.

Akiba Award

Is given to an individual and/or institution for making an outstanding contribution to the enrichment of Jewish life, through scholarship, leadership, literature and communal activity.

Past recipients include Dr. Louis Finkelstein, Dr. Jacob R. Marcus and Rabbi Emanuel Rackman, Dr. Gershon Cohen.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 4, 1984

to David Gordis/Marc Tanenbaum

from Sidney Liskofsky

subject Mala Tabory/ Womens Rights in Israel

Attached is an additional copy of a letter from JBI grant recipient Ms. Mala Tabory. The letter discusses the problems Ms. Tabory is having in gaining cooperation from Israel government officials on the rights of women in the administered territories.

The delay is distressing particularly because the Nairobi Conference will be held this July. Please try to reach Ms. Tabory during your stay in Israel. Her address is:

Rehov Ben Sira 13 Faculty of Law
Tel Aviv 62916 or Tel Aviv University
(03) 455746

- interesting & important material

SL:dg
encl.

- much material,

** Speak with Arab women -*

- offer one-sided view report -

- pile of material on Arab Bank - very good responses



November 21, 1984

Dr. Sidney Liskofsky
The Jacob Blaustein Institute
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Liskofsky,

I have delayed answering your letter of October 3, in the hope that the longer I wait, the more good news I would have to report. Unfortunately, I am not sure that is the case, but I am writing nevertheless to let you know of my progress.

I have given up keeping a diary of my daily research activity. In summary, I have written over one hundred letters of inquiry and have made dozens of phone calls in my quest for information. All the agencies and offices I have turned to refer me back to the Civil Administration of the West Bank and Gaza (minhal ezrahi) with an explanation that they do not handle matters involving the territories.

In September, after some detective work which led me from the army to the Ministry of Defense to various persons in the Civil Administration, I finally located Tat Aluf Arie Beckenstein, the Deputy Head of the Minhal. I explained my request to him, asked that officers dealing with the matters addressed in the SG Report (health, education, employment etc.) be given the relevant sections of the Report and asked for their comments. At a later stage I would be interested in interviewing these persons, as well as Arabs involved in the daily work of these departments. For his convenience I cut up the Report according to topics, and hand delivered it to the gates of the Defense Ministry. On October 1 I called his office to ask about the progress of my project, and was told that it was being worked on (betipul). Since I was very busy gathering substantive data and pursuing other avenues of inquiry, and since I was confident that the backbone of my project was being handled by the only office competent to do so, I did not call again until November 15. After considerable stalling, I was told that my request would now be handled by Yael Vered of the Foreign Ministry.

I spoke to Yael Vered, who has been promising updated figures on education of Arab women, and asked for an explanation. She said she thought she had made it clear that all information from the Civil Administration had to be channelled through her, and that I should never have approached it in the first place. Indeed, by the end of November she would share with me the data on education she requested from the Civil Administration. (This is only a small part of the information I require). As on previous occasions, she was very anxious for me to come and show her what I have written to date, which I have no intention of doing.



Needless to say, the refusal of the Civil Administration to give me access to information and people is a serious blow to my project. I am no longer sure whether I am living in a democracy or in a bureaucracy. Due to the security situation, I am dependent on them to move around the West Bank, as it is not safe to do so on one's own these days. I shall make one last attempt to deal directly with the Civil Administration, even at the risk of arousing the ire of Yael Vered. She is in charge of "women in the Territories" at the Ministry. As an example of her attitude, I asked to see a Report of a WHO visit to the West Bank, and she replied that I wouldn't want to see it since it is all anti-Israel. It will be the decision of the Blaustein Institute whether I should show her a draft of my point-by-point report in order for her to make constructive criticism and fill in missing information, or whether to ignore her entirely.

The more material I gather for my research, the more I realize how little of it pertains specifically to women. The SG Report itself deals mostly with general problems and points out that these are particularly serious for women. I hadn't realized how many reports, both Israeli and international, have been produced about the West Bank. One of these is "Research on Human Rights in the Occupied Territories 1979-1983," by the International Center for Peace in the Middle East. It was prepared by a team of five researchers, and Benveniste also had a team for his pilot project. I am somewhat overawed by the magnitude of handling my report single-handedly.

I have written to all post-secondary-school educational institutions in the territories to get details on their female students and staff. I am trying to arrange an interview with the Palestinian journalist Raymonda Tawil.

A technical problem I will face is how to refer to all this material without cluttering my report. I feel that the point-by-point should not be overly long, and therefore will relegate charts and excerpts to appendixes.

Thank you for referring me to Mr. Samson of the ILO. He was very helpful and sent me all the documents I required.

If you have any information about dates and developments for Nairobi, please let me know.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Mala

Mala Tabory

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 4, 1984

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Gunther Lawrence

686-8670

subject

Spoke to Rabbis Fenster and Shapiro and would go with Falwell either:

Sunday, 3/10, night

Wednesday, 3/13, night

Thursday, 3/14, 10 A.M.

Depends on your availability, or desire to participate.



STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT CITES INCREASED LEVELS OF ANTI-SEMITIC RHETORIC IN THE SOVIET UNION

By David Friedman

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5 (JTA) -- Soviet propaganda has been depicting Israeli leaders as inheritors of "Hitler's fascist mantle," according to a State Department report released this week.

The report, the 17th annual review of Soviet and East European compliance with the Helsinki Final Act, notes that during the six months being studied, April 1 to October 1, 1984, there has been "increased levels of anti-Semitic rhetoric thinly veiled as 'anti-Zionism.'"

According to the report, "Soviet propaganda maintains that Israeli and Western intelligence encourages emigration in order to obtain state secrets from Soviet citizens. It further alleges that 'Zionists' collaborated with fascists during World War II to send many innocent Jews to their deaths. These Zionist elements, so the argument goes, now comprise the ruling circles of Israel, which has inherited Hitler's fascist mantle. Crude Soviet propaganda posters often depict images of Hitler together with Israeli officials who in turn are often depicted poisoning Arab drinking water."

Aimed At Frightening Jews

This crude propaganda appears aimed at frightening Jews from seeking to emigrate. "The rate of emigration from the Soviet Union continued to decline below the disappointing figures of early 1984 and has come to a virtual standstill," the report said.

From April 1 to August 30 only 423 Jews left the USSR. The report noted that some Jews "have reacted with despair and, for the time being, have stopped applying to leave, while others apply as frequently as possible -- once every six months."

The State Department presented the semiannual report to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, headed by Rep. Dante Fascell (D. Fla.), which monitors compliance with the Helsinki Act. The Department called the "overall record of compliance" on human rights by the Soviet Union and other East European countries "seriously flawed."

This was especially true of the USSR. "Soviet performance in the field of human rights continued a deplorable decline throughout the six-month review period, despite the renewed commitment to respect 'the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms' undertaken one year ago in the concluding document of the Madrid conference on security and cooperation in Europe," the report declared.

The review noted an intensification of persecution of Jewish cultural activists. "Moscow Hebrew teachers Alexander Kholmiansky and Yuli Edelstein were arrested during the summer, respectively, for hooliganism and possession of drugs," according to the report. Police reportedly located a pistol in Kholmiansky's room at his parents' apartment and drugs in Edelstein's apartment. Close relatives assert that the items were in both cases planted by the police."

Other arrests of other Jewish activists are cited. The report also notes the plight of imprisoned Jews such as Anatoly Shcharansky and Iosif Begun. It adds that "even Jewish refuseniks who sought only their own emigration came under the increasing harassment by the Soviet authorities during the review period."

"The sentencing of Aleksandr Yakir to two years in a labor camp for alleged draft evasion was indicative of the deteriorating situation of Soviet Jewry. Accused of evading the draft since 1977, Yakir was arrested only after he had passed his 28th birthday and was no longer eligible to be inducted into the army."

Restrictions On Contacts With Foreigners

The report found that during the six months reviewed, the Soviet Union continued to place restrictions on the ability of Soviet citizens to have contacts with foreigners, adopting a decree July 1 making persons who render assistance to foreigners liable to fines.

"This new Soviet decree on aiding foreigners coincided with an unprecedented campaign of harassment, primarily on the part of Leningrad authorities, aimed at discouraging contacts between local citizens and foreigners," the report said.

"Numerous American tourists were subjected to searches, expulsions physical abuse and detention by the militia simply for having met with Soviet citizens. Jewish refuseniks in Leningrad who met Americans were denounced in the local press. These crude attempts to discourage fundamental freedoms of expression and contacts with foreigners eventually forced the Department of State to issue a travel advisory for Leningrad, warning tourists of potential dangers they may face when visiting the city."

The report found a few bright spots in Eastern Europe. In Czechoslovakia, Rabbi David Miller was ordained becoming the first resident rabbi since 1970. The report also noted that in Hungary last May, authorities quietly began allowing any Israeli to visit, dropping the requirement that only those with relatives in Hungary could travel there. Two delegations, representing the Hungarian Jewish community, also visited Israel.

NEW YORK (JTA) -- Only 55 Jews were granted exit visas from the Soviet Union during November, the National Conference on Soviet Jewry reported. Included in the figure, a slight increase from the October low of 29, are 12 Muscovite Jews, marking the first time in over seven months that Jews from the Soviet capital were permitted to emigrate. Only 805 Jews have emigrated since January 1984, indicating an annual figure of less than 1,000.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 5, 1984
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject Hungary Mission - WJC

At the World Jewish Congress breakfast meeting with Rabbi Rosen today, it was announced that following the meeting of their Governing Board in Vienna -- January 26-28 -- there will be a fact-finding tour to Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

In other words, about a week prior to our mission a WJC delegation will be meeting with top government officials. You might consider talking to Israel Singer about joining our missions, notwithstanding all the obvious reasons of why it would be better to go alone.

However, I am not sure that either the Jewish community leadership or even the American Embassy will be able to arrange for us to meet with high government officials so soon after the WJC visit.



DG/es

cc: David Harris

DEC 04 1984

THE
STROM THURMOND
INSTITUTE



November 29, 1984

Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 65th Street
New York City, New York 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

On behalf of Clemson University and The Strom Thurmond Institute, I wish to invite you to come to our campus in the spring of 1985 to present an address.

Specifically, we would invite you to speak on some aspect of the proper mix of religion and politics in America. We would provide you an honorarium of \$1000 and defray all travel costs. Your audience would be approximately 1000 students, faculty, staff, and the general public. We would want to schedule your address for an early evening sometime Monday through Thursday.

On March 7 we shall have Reverend Jerry Falwell on campus to speak to the same subject from a perspective that he--like you--would define. We believe that you would round out this short series very nicely. Also invited to address this subject is Father Robert Drinan, Father Theodore Hesburgh and Senator Jesse Helms.

Since 1982 when the Institute was created, we have been fortunate to have in our lecture series a number of very distinguished speakers representing diverse viewpoints on important issues of the day. Most recently, we had Senator Jennings Randolph and Reverend Jesse Jackson speak on voting.

Enclosed for your information is a brochure on The Thurmond Center and some publications of the Institute, along with a roster of our previous speakers.

We recognize the heavy demands of your schedule, but we are deeply grateful for your consideration of our invitation.

If I can provide you other information regarding our proposed event, please let know.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Horace W. Fleming
Director

HWF/jb

THE STROM THURMOND INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS
201 Martin Street • Clemson University • Clemson, South Carolina 29631 • 803/656-4700

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 5, 1984
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller *DK*
subject Meeting with Rabbi Rosen at World Jewish Congress -
December 4th

After a very brief review of the demographic history of Jews in Romania since World War II and a cursory glimpse of some of the major events that had occurred in that period, Rabbi Rosen focused on the most current situation. According to him, there are about 26,000 Jews left in Romania, though he readily acknowledges that many of them are children of mixed marriages. He pointed out that all of the Jews who had strong feelings about their Jewishness or about Israel or both left Romania a long time ago. Those who remained were members of the Communist Party, people with certain sensitive jobs and/or information, anti-Zionists, anti-religionists, etc. Accordingly, it is fascinating that the children who are currently in the Hebrew classes are the children of these parents. And there is a definite revival of interest in Jewish culture and in the fortunes of the State of Israel.

Emigration is proceeding much better than they had projected in the beginning of 1984... Rabbi Rosen believes that about 2,000 will have emigrated by the beginning of 1985.

The main focus of his remarks was anti-Semitism. During the two decades prior to 1980 one could speak of anti-Semites but not anti-Semitism. That is to say, there was little indication of a government-inspired policy of anti-Semitism. In 1980 and 1981 the situation changed and not only was he personally attacked but there were books and pamphlets published which contained attacks on the Jews and in some cases incitement to murder. In 1981 a statement was issued by Ceaucescu condemning "mysticism (religion), racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism." In addition, Ceaucescu said that such a manifestation would no longer continue. Unfortunately, that did not prove to be the case and, in fact, a book containing very vicious anti-Semitic stories was reprinted in 1984 and Rabbi Rosen saw a new version which was being prepared for reprint in 1985.

On April 28th Rosen met with Ceaucescu and was told that (a) the book would be confiscated, (b) the author would be arrested, (c) it won't happen again. Also, at a recent meeting of the Communist Party Ceaucescu

indicated that an inquiry has been ordered regarding continuing preparation of anti-Semitic material. He also indicated that the above-mentioned book would not be going into print in 1985 and he once again reiterated his statement condemning "mysticism (religion), racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism." Rabbi Rosen pointed out, however, that when Ceaucescu informed him that the author had been arrested, he did not indicate in any way that action would be taken against a number of other writers who had been equally guilty of disseminating this kind of material.

One bright note in this whole affair was that there were many non-Jewish intellectuals who supported Rabbi Rosen and condemned anti-Semitism. And during the recent Commemoration of the Holocaust there were many non-Jewish influentials who publicly associated themselves with Rosen.

Finally, regarding Trifa: Rabbi Rosen urged us to continue our efforts to make sure that Trifa does not receive permission to remain in Portugal. He acknowledged the strangeness of the situation, that the Romanian Government is one of the only governments that has not printed one word about the recent Trifa events in their media. There are a number of reasons for this but he, nevertheless, urged us to continue our efforts.

DG/es

cc: David Harris
Zachariah Shuster



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ITS MISSIONS AND GOALS

The American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906 to defend and promote the safety and well-being of Jews in the United States and throughout the world.

* That is its mission to this day. What it means is that the agency strives to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews, to combat all forms of bigotry and discrimination against them as individuals and as a group, and to enlighten the public on issues that particularly concern them. For the past 35 years, protecting the Jewish interest has involved support of Israel's basic security.

* The AJC is convinced that the Jewish interest is best served, in this country and everywhere else, in a climate of respect for human rights and democratic freedoms. Therefore, over the years, it has contributed considerable energy and resources to domestic and international efforts in safeguarding the rights of all groups and peoples, foster understanding among religious, ethnic and racial groups, and resolve group tensions and conflicts.

* Pursuit of these goals makes the AJC especially attractive to American Jews who take their responsibilities as citizens very seriously. Its members are active -- often prominent -- in the fields of civil rights, civil liberties, education, intergroup relations, and so on -- without, however, losing sight of their Jewish commitments. Thus, AJC has become one place for American Jews to contribute to the civic agenda.

* Although, historically, the AJC may have placed greater stress on defense of the Jewish interest than on its promotion, it has also worked hard to serve the Jewish community's particular needs. In recent years, it

has been investing a steadily increasing portion of its energies and resources to the study of important issues specifically Jewish. It analyzes old and new problems, seeking ways to make communal institutions more responsive to needs of the day, experimenting with new measures to deepen understanding of the Jewish heritage and bolster Jewish identity. More recently, the agency has been working to increase understanding between the Israeli and the American Jewish communities -- the two largest in the world.

* The AJC's unique style of organization and operation is dictated by and inseparable from its mission. Through its interreligious and inter-ethnic work, its continuous efforts to build coalitions, and its unmistakable commitment to a pluralistic society, it has become a primary representative of Jews to the general American community.

* Not without justice, the AJC has been called a Jewish community "think tank." Its traditional approach to problems is to study them -- their causes as well as their symptoms, and informed solutions. The operative words here are "study" and "informed."

* The American Jewish Committee considers itself a membership organization of like-minded Jewish leaders, not a mass organization. Its policies are decided by these lay leaders who have forged a tradition of independence, informed debate, tolerance for diverse ideas, a responsible centrist position -- taken publicly or privately, as circumstance dictates.

Ideologically, the AJC can be called, as some have suggested, an agency for American Jews who refuse to choose between particularism and universalism. It stands on the conviction that aggressive promotion of the Jewish interest, and participation in the civic life of this country are not mutually exclusive. Its commitment is to work both toward a thriving Jewish community and an improvement in the human condition.

SUGGESTED DESCRIPTIONS OF AJC*

1. A Jewish community organization dedicated to coalition-building (conflict-resolution, intergroup understanding.)
2. The Jewish community's "Think-Tank."
3. Pursuing quiet, effective diplomacy.
4. An effective force for positive change in a complex society.
5. Building for the future, using the best resources of the past.
6. An authentic voice of American Jewry, acting through a dynamic agenda for a complex and changing society.
7. Taking action in the present, with faith in the future.
8. Accepting the challenges issued by the forces of history.
9. Relentlessly examining the root causes of problems, then effectively solving them,

* These would be alternatives to the current description, which goes as follows: "The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people."

MHT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 6, 1984
to Dr. David M. Gordis
from Inge Lederer Gibel

subject

Ken and I were going to do this memo together but a variety of factors have come in the way of that goal. Therefore, rather than miss the opportunity of giving you the following information, which you requested us to have for you before you depart for Israel, I thought I'd take a crack at it now and let Ken comment in addition. I might add that we have discussed much of what follows and there is no sharp disagreement between us.

The Israeli Government delegation to Copenhagen was considered by knowledgeable people in Israel - as well as many American Jews who were present in Copenhagen - very weak. A really good delegation to the official government meeting in Nairobi would, I believe, make a difference on several levels. First of all, people with good credentials among Third World women would have an obvious advantage. Secondly, an impressive delegation known to American Jewish women leaders who will be in Nairobi would strengthen those delegations and individuals as well. Third, and not least important, the only good hasbarah coming out of Copenhagen for us collectively was when the press gave wide and positive coverage to Shula Aloni's remarks at the non-governmental forum and in press interviews coming out of that unhappy place.

I should also mention several of the American Jewish women leaders who were at the last NJCRAC meeting on Nairobi that Ken and I attended as well as Leila Siegel, the president of the International Council of Jewish women based in Geneva asked if we would share our recommendations with them so that they could push the Israelis in the same direction.

Without further comment, here is a short list of people I believe we should be pushing for, with a brief description of each, as you requested.

1) Dr. Naomi Chazan - of Hebrew University and the Truman Institute. I have shared with you previously the paper that Dr. Chazan gave at the ADL conference in Paris, as well as her paper for the Truman Institute on Israel and South Africa. She is widely known and respected in Africa, as well as in African studies departments around the world, including Harvard where she recently spent a year. Dr. Chazan is one of the few Israeli scholars who is invited regularly to meetings of predominately Third World academics. She is young -- under 37 I believe -- and well within the mainstream of Israeli politics; the daughter of Zena Harmon (who, I believe, was a former international president of UNICEF and an Israeli delegate to Mexico City) and Avraham Harmon, former Israeli Ambassador to the United States, and, more recently, Rector of Hebrew University.

2) Mina Ben Zvi - Director of the Mt. Carmel Training Center, in Haifa. Dr. Ben Zvi is a charming woman of middle years who has trained hundreds of Third World and particularly African women in her remarkable program. I believe she has a Labor Party background, but what's more important is that she is sure to be a big hit in Nairobi, where many of her former students will be gathered.

3) Ann Marie Lambarth-Finkler - originally from France, where she and her husband were in the Underground early on. Her husband was killed by the Nazis; she was tortured and released and made her way to Palestine. She was, I believe, under Gold Meir, Israel's Ambassador to UNESCO and has for many years been head of the Human Rights Department of the Foreign Ministry. She is probably in her late 50's or early 60's. A truly remarkable woman.

In addition to these three outstanding leaders we would, of course, suggest Shula Aloni, all of whose faults I know better than most people but who, nevertheless, handles herself very well and has good credentials in the areas that will be the focus in Nairobi.

Finally, I hope you will push very hard for some younger women of Sephardi background. I say younger, and I am not more specific because unfortunately the Sephardi women who could do us the most good in Nairobi are probably not well-known in government circles. Among Israelis who could be very helpful in identifying them are Sami Smooha and Dr. Chazan who has personally encouraged such people.

It would not hurt us incidentally to have an Israeli Druse or Israeli Arab woman a part of the delegation. No one in the latter category is going to have the kind of name and credentials of the three women I have listed by name for obvious reasons. They are, however, well worth seeking out.

I hope this is of some help and that you will do your best to take it up at the highest level, preferably with Shimon Peres. Only with that kind of top-level interest and commitment will this get the kind of attention and support necessary.

ILG/smm

cc: Kenneth Bandler
Harold Applebaum
Rabbi A. James Rudin
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓



WNS

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212-247-3595 · Cable Address: SEVENARTS, New York

Release: Chanukah 1984
(Mailed: 12/7/84)

CHANUKAH 1984

By Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum

This week, beginning on Tuesday evening, the Jewish people throughout the world will join in observing Chanukah, the Festival of Lights. In its simplest explanation, Chanukah is an eight-day festival commemorating the victory of Judah the Maccabee and his followers in ancient Palestine in the year 165 BCE over the forces of the Syrian monarch Antiochus. The persecutions of Antiochus were double-pronged: he sought to prohibit the practices of Judaism and then he tried to impose a pagan mode of existence on the Jews.

In their struggles against the establishment of Greek paganism as the state religion, and in their determination to preserve monotheism, the Maccabees became in fact the first successful fighters for freedom of conscience known in the ancient world. Though the primary aim of the Maccabees was to preserve their own Jewish identity, their struggle was laden with universal implications for Christians and Muslims as well as for Jews.

Those ancient Palestinian Jews were also really defending, to use our modern rhetoric -- the principle of cultural self-determination and pluralism. In their defeat of the Syrian monarch's attempt to impose the grave images of a single national religion and to suppress Judaism, the Maccabees made possible more than the independence of their own people -- they made possible the right to freedom of all peoples in the Empire. Significantly, the mark of that victory was not a triumphal parade but an act of spiritual dedication -- the cleansing and reconsecration of the defiled Temple in Jerusalem.

As the Chanukah candles will be kindled this coming week, the struggle of the Jews of the Soviet Union, of Syria, of Ethiopia to preserve their faith and cultural identity will be uppermost in the minds of Jews everywhere. And the refrains of the ancient Chanukah melodies yearning for another miracle will be chanted with special poignancy, "Bayamim Hahem bazeman baseb, As it was in those days, so may it be in our own time."

(SevenArts-WNS)

December 7, 1984

To: David Gordis

Fr: Hyman Bockbinder *HB*

Subj: South African situation

In line with yesterday's discussion, I suggest the following Friedman statement -- to be issued Monday morning prior to the Board meeting -- or to be read to them first for their general concurrence.

Last month, the National Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee reaffirmed "our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination" and called for its speedy elimination.

It is heartening to us that in recent weeks there has been a major escalation of public calls for such elimination of apartheid -- including the use of dramatic non-violent civil disobedience, a time-honored social tool which can contribute to peaceful change. It is especially heartening to find bipartisan support and participation ~~in~~ in these recent declarations.

There are understandable differences over some proposals that have been made to encourage changes in South African policies. But there can be no differences among advocates of basic human rights on the need for all people of conscience to speak out on the central moral issue involved. And so, once again, on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, I call upon the South African government to take the necessary steps, starting with the immediate release of ~~the~~ trade union leaders, to end finally the gross violation of human rights inherent in apartheid.

(This is the only copy I'm sending to N.Y. -- Please share this with Fannin & Levine.) *Bockbinder*

12-07-84

FRI

11:55:27

** ****

NO.02

12-07-84

FRI

11:54:58

** ****

NO.01

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 E. 56 St., New York, NY 10022

DATE:

11/7/85

FROM: DAVID A. HARRIS

TO:

M.H.T.

Please circulate to:

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Read and return
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- Your comments, please

REMARKS:

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 13, 1984,
to David Harris
from Howard Kohr
subject

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Attached is the President's
Human Rights Day speech. I
am still trying to find out
what Avital whispered to the
President.
Are you thinking of issuing a
response?

attach.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 10, 1984

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
IN CEREMONY COMMEMORATING
INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

Room 450
Old Executive Office Building

1:09 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. This ceremony marks more than another event on the White House calendar or another worthy cause for the national agenda. For in observing Human Rights Day, we rededicate ourselves to the cause of human dignity and freedom, a cause that goes to the heart of our national character and defines our national purpose.

So today, we dare to affirm again the commitment of the American people of the inalienable rights of all human beings. In reaffirming our moral -- the moral beliefs that began our nation, we strive to make the United States what we pray to God it will always be -- a beacon of hope to all the persecuted and oppressed of the world. And we resolve that, as a people, we'll never rest until the blessing of liberty and self-government are extended to all the nations of the earth.

Two years ago in London, when I called for a crusade for freedom and human rights, I noted that these ideals embodied in the rule of law, under God, and in the institutions of democratic self-government were on the march. Because these ideals represent the oldest and noblest aspirations of the human spirit, I said then that this power is irresistible when compared to totalitarian ideologies that seek to roll back mankind's march to freedom.

Today, I want to take special note of evidence that this desire for self-determination, this recognition by the state, of the inalienable rights of men and women everywhere is nowhere stronger than close to our own borders in the lands of Latin America. In contrast to only a few years ago, today, more than 90 percent of the people in Latin America and the Caribbean live in nations either democratically governed or moving in that direction.

While we're still doing all that we can to promote democratic change in nations such as Paraguay and Chile, we must not forget that over the last five years, in Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, Peru, and most recently, in Uruguay, military juntas have been replaced by elected civilian governments. And just last Monday, democratic values triumphed again as the people of Grenada freely elected a new civilian Prime Minister.

Today, all who cherish human rights and individual freedom salute the people of the Americas for their great achievements.

MORE

And we pledge to our neighbors the continued support and assistance of the United States as they transform our entire hemisphere into a haven for democracy, peace and human rights.

In other nations farther from our shores, we've also seen progress toward reducing the repression of human rights and some strengthening of democratic institutions. In some of these nations which have authoritarian governments, but friendly ties to the United States and the community of democratic nations, quiet diplomacy has brought about humane and democratic change.

But we know there are occasions when quiet diplomacy is not enough -- when we must remind the leaders of nations who are friendly to the United States, that such friendship also carries responsibilities for them, and for us. And that's why the United States calls for all governments to advance the democratic process and work toward a system of government based on the consent of the governed.

From our beginning, regard for human rights and the steady expansion of human freedom have defined the American experience. And they remain today, the real, moral core of our foreign policy. The United States has said, on many occasions, that we view racism with repugnance. We feel a moral responsibility to speak out on this matter, to emphasize our concerns and our grief over the human and spiritual cost of apartheid in South Africa.

To call upon the government of South Africa, to reach out to its black majority by ending the forced removal of blacks from their communities and the detention, without trial and lengthy imprisonment, of black leaders.

Such action can comfort only those whose vision of South Africa's future is one of polarization, violence, and the final extinction of any hope for peaceful democratic government. At the same time, we note with satisfaction that the South African government has released 11 black leaders, including the top leaders of two of that country's most important labor unions.

Because we care deeply about the people of South Africa, and the future of that nation, we ask that the constructive changes of recent years be broadened to address the aspirations of all South Africans. Peaceful change in South Africa, and throughout southern Africa, can come only when blacks and whites find a durable basis to live together.

When they establish an effective dialogue, a dialogue sustained by adherence to democratic values, and a belief in governments based on the consent of the governed. We urge both the government and the people of South Africa to move toward a more just society.

We pledge here today that if South Africans address the imperatives of constructive change, they will have the unwavering support of our government and people in this effort.

A few years ago, when I spoke of totalitarian ideologies as the greatest threat to personal freedom in the world today and the most persistent source of human suffering in our century, I also pointed out that the United States, too, has faced evils

like racism, anti-Semitism, and other forms of intolerance and disregard for human freedom.

So, while we work to see human rights extended throughout the world, this observance of Human Rights Day reminds us of our responsibility to assure against injustice and intolerance in our own land as well. And today, I call on the American people to reaffirm, in our daily lives and in the workings of our private and governmental institutions, a commitment to brotherhood and equal justice under the law.

But we do a serious disservice to the cause of human rights if we forget that, however mistaken and wrong, however stumbling the actions of democracies in seeking to achieve the ideals of freedom and brotherhood, our philosophy of government permits us to acknowledge, debate, and then correct mistakes, injustices, and violations of human rights. Let us always remember the critical moral distinction of our time -- the clear difference between a philosophy of government that acknowledges wrong-doing and injustice and one that refuses to admit to such injustices, and even justifies its own assaults on individual liberty in the name of a Chimeric utopian vision. Such brutal affronts to the human conscience as the systematic suppression of individual liberty in the Soviet Union, and the denial of religious expression by Christians, Jews, and Muslims in that country, are tragic examples.

Today, for example, the largest remaining Jewish community in Europe, Soviet Jewry, is again being exposed to a systematic anti-Semitic campaign. Ominously, teachers of the Hebrew language have been arrested and their efforts to preserve their culture and religion treated as a crime.

Soviet authorities are continuing to threaten many "refuseniks" with confinement in psychiatric hospitals, expulsion from their jobs, and internal exile. Yet thousands of Soviet Jews have applied for permission to emigrate. We have, and shall continue to insist, that those who wish to leave must be allowed to do so.

Our heart also goes out today to an individual who has worked so hard for human rights progress in the Soviet Union and suffered so much for his efforts -- the Nobel Prize Laureate, Dr. Andrei Sakharov. Nothing more clearly illustrates the absence of what our Founding Fathers called a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" than the cruel treatment of this great humanitarian.

The Soviet Union, itself, would do much to regain respect within the international community if it would allow academician Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, to live the rest of their lives in dignity in a place of their own choosing. We're pleased to have the Sakharovs' son-in-law here with us today.

The Sakharovs are the best-known victims of human rights violations in the Soviet Union. But thousands of other Soviet citizens, such as Uri Orlov, or Anatoly Shcharansky -- whose wife, Avital, is here with us today -- suffer in Soviet prisons and labor camps for the sole crimes of expressing a personal opinion, seeking to emigrate, or openly expressing their love of God.

We Americans recognize a special responsibility to speak for the oppressed, wherever they may be. We think here of special cases like the persecution of the Bahai religious minority in Iran. But we also acknowledge a special obligation to speak for those who suffer the repression of totalitarian regimes, regimes that refuse to acknowledge and correct injustice and that justify absolute state power, even as they seek to extend their cruel rule to other lands.

So, we call today, for all free peoples of the world to unite in resisting and bringing to an end such intolerable practices as the suppression of free trade unionism, the campaign against the church and against political freedom in Nicaragua, the continuing Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, and the barbaric war waged by Soviet troops in Afghanistan -- a war which began five years ago this month with the Soviet invasion of that once non-aligned country.

As but one of the tragic consequences of Soviet actions in Afghanistan, more than one-third of the people of that country have fled from their homes and sought refuge in internal or external exile.

Finally, we welcome the recent steps taken by the Polish government. But we urge that they are followed by lasting efforts for genuine, national reconciliation through effective dialogue with the Polish people.

So today, we, the people of the United States, in conjunction with other freedom loving people everywhere in the world, rededicate ourselves to the cause of human rights, to the cause of democratic self-rule and human freedom.

We reassert our belief that some day, the repression of the human spirit and the special tragedy of totalitarian rule, will be only a distant chapter in the human past. In doing so, we're deeply aware of our nation's long struggle toward achieving these goals, and our own heritage of seeking to promote these ideals throughout the world.

Thomas Jefferson told us, "The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs." And the poet, Archibald MacLeish once said: Some say the hope for "the liberation of humanity, the freedom of man and mind, is nothing but a dream. They are right. It is. It is the American dream."

Another great American literary figure, F. Scott Fitzgerald, suggested that America is "a willingness of the heart." We've recently read a great deal about the young people of this nation about whom some say, this willingness of the heart no longer exists.

Well, my own experiences with this generation suggest that the traditional idealism of the young, their hope to accomplish great things, their willingness to serve the cause of humanity, is not only intact, but stronger than ever.

And like every generation before it, this generation hungers for a cause, for a mission that will take it outside itself and let it help lift humanity beyond the material, and the immediate, to new heights of human and spiritual progress.

So, today, let us challenge the young Americans to make our nation an even better example of what she was always meant to be -- champion of the oppressed, defender of all who reach for freedom, and to the right of self-determination. Let us challenge young Americans, excited by technological and material progress, to insure that this progress enriches political freedom and human dignity as well. Here's a challenge that's worthy of our youth, of their vision, their energy, and their vigor.

Let our younger generation lead young people throughout the world to join the democratic nations in promoting human rights and self-government and the cause of human freedom.

The other night at the Kennedy Center, they had a choir, a United Nations choir of 90 young people, children, in the costumes of their native countries from all over the world. And looking at them down there, singing together, I couldn't help but think, good Lord, if we turn it all over to them, they'd get along just fine together. And maybe the world should follow their lead.

There is in the Book of Genesis a story of great loss. It's a story of man alienated from his fellow man and turning to persecution and hatred for others. Well, I believe that history is slowly working itself back to the restoration of brotherhood and mutual respect among all the peoples of the earth.

So, today, we rededicate ourselves to this vision and mission. We do so mindful that human might and will alone cannot achieve this goal; aware that our ultimate success will be determined by our faith in the power of prayer, in the promises of Him who made us and even now guides us in our quest for human dignity and freedom.

And now I shall quit talking and sign the proclamation.
(Applause.)

(Proclamation is signed.)

THE PRESIDENT: Today is now, for the week beginning today, it is now recognized officially as Human Rights Week. And the 15th will be Human Rights Day. (Applause.)

END

1:30 P.M. EST



THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M. EST

December 10, 1984

BILL OF RIGHTS DAY
HUMAN RIGHTS DAY AND WEEK, 1984

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

On December 15, 1791, our Founding Fathers celebrated the ratification of the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States -- a Bill of Rights that has helped guarantee the freedoms that all Americans cherish.

For the first time in the history of nations, our Founding Fathers established a written Constitution with enumerated rights based on the principle that the rights to life and liberty come not from the prerogative of government, but inhere in each person as a fundamental human heritage. Americans believe that all persons are equal in their possession of these unalienable rights and are entitled to respect because of the immense dignity and value of each human being. With these great principles in mind, the Founding Fathers designed a system of government limited in its powers, based upon just laws, and resting upon the consent of the governed.

When Americans first proclaimed this noble experiment in self-government and human liberty, it seemed to some to be a utopian, unrealistic ideal. Today, virtually every nation in the world has adopted a written constitution expressing in varying degrees fundamental human rights. One hundred and fifty-seven years after the ratification of our Bill of Rights, on December 10, 1948, the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirming an international consensus on behalf of the human rights and individual liberties that we value so highly.

Thirty-six years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, however, it is clear that this consensus is often recognized more on paper than in practice. Throughout the world, many governments nominally adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights while suppressing free elections, independent trade unions, due process of law, and freedom of religion and of the press.

The United States recognizes a special responsibility to advance the claims of the oppressed; to reaffirm the rights to life and liberty as fundamental rights upon which all others are based; and to safeguard the rights to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. As we are free, we must speak up for those who are not.

more

(OVER)

As Americans, we strongly object to and seek to end such affronts to the human conscience as the incarceration in the Soviet Union of men and women who try to speak out freely or who seek to exercise the basic right to emigrate; the harsh treatment accorded one of the great humanitarians of our time, Andrei Sakharov; the denial of basic human rights and self-determination in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states; the failure of the Polish authorities to establish an effective dialogue with the free trade union movement in that country; the manifest injustices of the apartheid system of racial discrimination in South Africa; the persecution of the Baha'i religious minority in Iran; the lack of progress toward democratic government in Chile and Paraguay; the campaign against the Roman Catholic Church in Nicaragua; the suppression of freedom in Cuba and Vietnam; the brutal war waged by Soviet troops against the people of Afghanistan; and the continuing Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea.

The American people recognize that it is the denial of human rights, not their advocacy, that is a source of world tension. We recall the sacrifices that generations of Americans have made to preserve and protect liberty around the world. In this century alone, tens of thousands of Americans have laid down their lives on distant battlefields to uphold the cause of human rights. We honor and cherish them all. Today, it is with an abiding sense of gratitude and reverence that we remember the great gift of freedom that they bequeathed to us.

As we give special thought to the blessings that we enjoy as a free people, let us not forget the victims of human rights abuses around the world.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 10, 1984, as Human Rights Day and December 15, 1984, as Bill of Rights Day, and call on all Americans to observe the week beginning December 10, 1984, as Human Rights Week.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

RONALD REAGAN

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M. EST

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RONALD REAGAN

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The American Jewish Committee

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

December 17, 1984

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was most gratifying to hear your reaffirmation of support for Jews in the Soviet Union, expressed on December 10th, International Human Rights Day. Indeed, your Administration's continued defense of the rights of Jews and others in the U.S.S.R. bears further witness to our country's dedication to the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants. At the same time, your voice gives strength to Anatoly Scharansky, Iosif Begun, Ida Nudel and the thousands of other Jews who, faced with imprisonment, refusal of their exit visa applications, and denial of their right to study and practice their religion and culture, look to the United States as a leader in the Free World's efforts in their behalf.

The virtual cut-off in emigration and the recent spate of arrests and trials of Jewish activists underscore the deteriorating situation of the Soviet Jewish community. We very much hope that the forthcoming meeting between Secretary of State Shultz and Foreign Minister Gromyko, as well as other bilateral and multilateral contacts, will provide an opportunity to once again emphasize to the Soviet Union our nation's deep concern over the present condition of Soviet Jewry.

Sincerely,

Leo Nevas, Chairman
International Relations
Commission

Mervin H. Riseman, Chairman
National Task Force on
Soviet Jewry

LN/MHR/es

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

aje

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

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Dec., 19... R. Peter Straus, President of the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, today expressed "deep regret" that the NYC Corporation Counsel's office had approved the legality of a Nativity Scene in Central Park.

Noting that others had probably stimulated the request for the Creche through previous displays of religious symbols such as menorahs in public spaces, Mr. Straus commented that they properly belonged on religious and private property rather than on public property. He lamented the "chipping away" of the First Amendment, which, he said, has preserved "religious vitality and freedom" in the United States.

Mr. Straus' statement follows:

"The approval of a Nativity Scene in Central Park is to be deeply regretted. Not unnaturally, the Corporation Counsel has used the display of other religious symbols on public property, such as menorahs, as a precedent in arriving at his opinion. Such displays could also have stimulated requests for a Nativity Scene. "It is our firm belief that religious symbols, creches, menorahs or other symbols belong only on religious and other private property -- churches, synagogues, private homes, etc. -- not on public property.

"Our religious vitality and freedom is best preserved by keeping the first Amendment strong -- not eroding it a piece at a time."

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

84-960-484
A, EJP, REL, NYL, Z

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel
South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

Present Tense

Terrorism, Settlements & Palestinians

Even with a new grand coalition in Israel, there are serious problems that won't go away.



Joseph Berger asks "Who Speaks for America's Jews?"
Edwin Black recalls a political assassination.
David Ben Amri describes his life as a convert.
Two Stones by Abraham Sutzkever.
Published by The American Jewish Committee.

DISCUSSION GUIDE

Prepared by the Leadership & Community Services Department
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

In this issue/Autumn 1984:

- Violence and Counter-Violence
- The Orthodox Establishment and Everyone Else
- A Meeting in Bethlehem
- Who Speaks for the Jews?

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

VIOLENCE AND COUNTER VIOLENCE

by Naomi Shepherd

[Pages 10 - 15]

1. Speaking last April in defense of the 25 Israelis who were arrested for taking part in an underground Jewish terrorist group, one Israeli politician -- Yuval Ne'eman, leader of the Knesset's Tehiya party -- attempted to justify some of the group's acts by distinguishing between its aborted plan to bomb buses operated by an Arab-owned company in East Jerusalem, and car-bomb attacks on three Arab West Bank mayors carried out in 1980 by other members of the group. Attempting to bomb the buses, Ne'eman asserted, was wrong because it might have killed innocent people; but the attacks on the mayors, he said, constituted "counter-terrorist activity" and was justified because it led to "practical political results"--namely, the crippling and silencing of prominent members of an anti-Israel group.

At the time of the car bombings, the three West Bank mayors had been duly elected under rules consonant with Israeli law applying to the West Bank. Moreover, the "anti-Israel group" to which they belonged was not declared illegal by Israeli authorities until two years after the attacks took place. Given these circumstances, does Ne'eman's distinction about taking action against "innocent" and "practical political" targets hold up?

Are means (i.e., terrorist's acts) ever justified by their ends; for example, if the acts lead to "practical political results?" Can you cite an instance when vigilante "counter-terrorism" has succeeded in suppressing a terrorist movement or terrorist activities?

If a PLO car bomb crippled or assassinated an Israeli official, would you accept the PLO's justification that it had done so to achieve a "practical political result?" If not, why not? If not, then is Ne'eman's justification of the attacks on the mayors justifiable?

2. Naomi Shepherd states [p. 12]: "Beyond the public controversy [over the arrests] lies the wider problem of the maintenance of law and order in the West Bank, and the question of whether [Israel's] prolonged occupation... and the settlement of Jews there against the will of the local population, can be reconciled with the democratic freedoms traditionally associated with the Jewish state."

In your judgment, is the discovery of a Jewish underground terrorist movement on the West Bank evidence that Israeli democracy faces a serious threat from within? If so, do you believe that Israeli authorities have taken sufficient measures to suppress it? Are statements made by Israeli political leaders such as Yuval Ne'eman and Meir Cohen-Avidov [p. 11] consistent with democratic values?

Are the findings contained in reports such as those issued by the Karp Commission and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel [p. 14] evidence for concluding that Israel's occupation and administration of the West Bank during the past 17 years has resulted in an erosion of democratic norms in Israel? Why or why not?

In your judgment, would one uniform code of impartially enforced laws for the West Bank's Arabs and Jewish settlers serve to reconcile Arab residents to continued Israeli administration? Would Jewish settlers be likely to feel more secure under such conditions? If not, what do you foresee as the outcome of continued Israeli administration and settlement of the West Bank?

A MEETING IN BETHLEHEM

by David J. Schnall

[Pages 20 - 22]

1. David J. Schnall provides a portrait of "Ahmed," a West Bank Arab intellectual whom he describes as "caught in the middle of the political no-man's land, and trying to steer a moderate course."

Describe the major details of Ahmed's proposal for an independent Palestinian state; its relationship to Israel, Jordan and the PLO; and the future of Jewish settlements on the West Bank. Do you consider this a "moderate" stance? How is it distinguished from a "radical" one? If Ahmed's proposals are not moderate, how would you outline a hypothetical moderate stance for a Palestinian spokesman to take?

2. After outlining his vision of an independent Palestinian state, Ahmed asserts: "One of the reasons that the voice of moderation is not heard clearly among my people is Israel's refusal to allow political organizations on the West Bank. Only well-financed, clandestine, terrorist groups, like the PLO, have existed."

If Israel were to give West Bank Arabs free rein to organize political parties and movements, do you believe these movements and parties would be moderate (as Ahmed appears to believe they would be); or is it more likely that they would be radical? If such movements were moderate, would they (in your judgment) be likely to reduce the attractiveness of the PLO for West Bank Arabs? What, if anything, would Israel stand to gain by allowing Arabs to organize politically?

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE JEWS?

by Joseph Berger

[Pages 23-25]

1. Earlier in this century, a handful of spokesmen such as Louis Marshall (of the American Jewish Committee) and Rabbi Stephen Wise (of the American Jewish Congress) were widely recognized by the press, politicians and the general public as the leading representatives of American Jewish opinion. Today, however, as Joseph Berger observes, "There may no longer be individuals who have such charisma or popular acceptance that they can speak for large masses of Jews, no counterparts to the role Martin Luther King once played for Blacks."

Do you think this is an accurate assessment? If you believe it is, does this situation aid or injure the Jewish community's ability to project its concerns to our government, the media and the American people? If it hurts us, who, then, should speak for the Jews?

2. Some American Jews complain there is "too much duplication and too much competition" among the nation's Jewish organizations, and suggest that the Jewish community might be better served if a few organizations were merged and consolidated.

Would you be satisfied if the Anti-Defamation League were given an exclusive franchise to respond to anti-Semitism? The Conference of Presidents to speak on American policy toward Israel and Soviet Jewry? AIPAC on legislation concerning Israel? Why or why not?

If such "franchises" were granted, would these organizations represent your views on these issues? What would you do if such franchise-holding organizations claimed to speak in your name but did not, in fact, represent your opinions?

THE ORTHODOX ESTABLISHMENT AND EVERYONE ELSE

by Matthew Nesvisky

[Pages 15-19]

1. Speaking about the impact of Orthodox Judaism's monopoly in Israel's religious life, Rabbi Victor Hoffman, executive director of the Conservative movement in Israel, says: "As it stands, Israelis are offered an all-or-nothing choice when it comes to practicing their religion....People must be either observant according to an Orthodox interpretation of tradition, or be cut off from their heritage altogether."

How "Jewish" does Israel have to be in order to be "the Jewish State"? Would granting religious legitimacy to Conservative and Reform Judaism injure Israel's identity as a Jewish state? Why?

Do you think it proper that only Orthodox -- but not Conservative and Reform -- Judaism is recognized in Israel? Would you be comfortable living in a country if only one branch of Judaism were recognized as valid -- and the branch you belonged to was not?

2. Matthew Nesvisky points out that while only 15% of all Israelis identify themselves as Orthodox Jews, "a large number of non-observant but sentimental or religiously sympathetic Israeli Jews are secretly gratified that 'Someone is keeping the traditions alive.'"

Orthodox Judaism appears to be alive and flourishing in the United States without government support or sanction. To what extent would it flourish in Israel if government support were withdrawn?

3. Most American Jews oppose state aid to religious education as a violation of the doctrine of church-state separation. However, some Christian proponents of such aid have asked why, if Jews in Israel have no such problem, American Jews continue to oppose such arrangements here.

How would you respond to this statement if it were posed to you?

Prepared by Adam Simms

MO29-PT Guide/sm/ar
LCSD
December 19, 1984
84-305-98



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

NEVAS, NEVAS AND RUBIN

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

COLONIAL GREEN

246 POST ROAD EAST

WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT

TELEPHONE (203) 226-1211

BERNARD A. NEVAS (1942)
LEO NEVAS
ROBERT H. RUBIN
LAURENCE SAREZRY*

OF COUNSEL
EUGENE P. EDWINN**
STEPHEN E. NEVAS***

*ADMITTED ALSO IN
VIRGINIA AND D.C.
**ADMITTED IN N.Y. ONLY
***ADMITTED ALSO IN MASS.

MAILING ADDRESS
P. O. BOX 791
WESTPORT, CONN. 06881

December 18, 1984

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Institute Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc:

I attended the meeting of the United States Commission for UNESCO, of which I am a member, in Washington on December 13th. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the imminent withdrawal of the United States from UNESCO.

Bookie was present for the first hour or so of the meeting. The meeting was addressed by Gregory Newell, the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, and though he stated that the decision had not yet been made, it was quite clear from everything that occurred that the decision has been made to put the withdrawal into effect on December 31st. In my opinion, the only thing that would change this decision is if a substantial number of the West European states gave notice of their withdrawal on December 31st 1985, as has been done by the United Kingdom. This does not seem to be likely to occur.

There were several resolutions presented and acted upon. The first resolution was one which looked toward the future and urged the United States to work to effectuate the changes and reforms that are necessary in UNESCO in order to make it accomplish the goals for which it was established. This resolution was adopted.

A second resolution was offered that regretted the decision to withdraw from UNESCO. This resolution was also adopted, but I abstained from voting on this resolution and made a statement. I reported on the AJC statement adopted in Chicago and left a copy of that statement with them. I stated that in my judgment we should not be looking to the past and regretting any action taken, but should be looking toward the future, in accordance with the first resolution. I therefore felt that the second resolution was inappropriate, but in light of the fact that we had in fact urged postponement of withdrawal, I did not think that I wanted to vote against it and therefore abstained.

I am sorry that I did not have a large supply of our statement, for I would have liked to have circulated it in the light of a statement that was circulated which had been made by ADL at the hearings before the House Committee earlier in the week. The ADL statement regrettably focused on Israel in connection with UNESCO and, in my judgment, was a very poor tactic.

Sincerely,



Leo Nevas

Enc.:ADL Statement
LN:sjv
cc:Howard I. Friedman, Esq.



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MAILING ADDRESS

P. O. BOX 791

WESTPORT, CONN. 06881

December 14, 1984

Mr. Arthur Suzman
831 Innes Chambers
Pritchard Street
Johannesburg 2001
South Africa

Dear Mr. Suzman:

Some correspondence including a letter from a Martin Kellner to Mr. M. Kirsch and a letter from you to Doctor Cedrick Suzman has come to my attention. I am Chairman of the International Affairs Commission of the American Jewish Committee and chaired the meetings to which references have been made.

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter that I have just sent to Mr. Kellner. I must advise you that Mr. Kellner is not a member of the International Affairs Steering Committee but was invited to stop in at our meeting in order to give us his views of the situation. He was at the meeting for only a very brief time and apparently completely misunderstood the position of Doctor Cedrick Suzman.

My letter to Mr. Kellner enclosed herewith deals with that. It is also unfortunate that Mr. Kellner was not aware of the fact that the discussions within the Steering Committee are deemed to be confidential since these are not final actions at that state of the proceedings. He was not aware of that since this was the first occasion on which he had come to one of our meetings.

It is also unfortunate that the full position of Doctor Suzman had not been reported. The fact of the matter is that he vigorously opposed those who suggested that we support a more aggressive position.

You will also note that he was mistaken in his description of Helen Suzman's presence at our meeting.

However, beyond that I feel that I ought to comment about some of the contents of your communication.

The American Jewish Committee has been in existence for almost eighty years and its central purpose has been to deal with human rights both in this country and abroad. We have taken strong positions of advocacy on many occasions involving the rights of Jews and the rights of others where-ever those rights are being violated. We were active participants in the civil rights campaigns in this country and have been active critics of the violations of human rights in Argentina Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Yugoslavia, Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Burundi, Uganda, Nigeria, Cambodia and many other places around the world. We do not feel that we are constrained in any way from our criticism in any of these places and therefore see no reason why South Africa is not a fit subject for our concern.

We are aware of the circumstances in South Africa of the white population which does not necessarily agree with the government's policies including that of the Jewish Community. I nevertheless cannot agree that the violations of human rights in South Africa is a domestic problem. This is the response that we get from the Soviet Union and it's allies and it is totally unacceptable.

The events of the last several weeks in South Africa are certainly not such that can be passed by lightly by the world community. We do understand that neither you nor the bulk of your associates approve of the present discriminatory policies of your government and that you have consistently and openly criticized these policies. We also realize the limitations of your ability to criticize. Please also understand that we recognize that your problems are very complex and difficult and they aren't going to be solved by some quick and easy solution. We, therefore, strongly believe that efforts have got to be made to move forward on step by step solutions or we fear that this will become a hotbed of violence which will be utilized by the Soviet block for further disruption in that part of the world.

None of us believe that the United States should cut-off its ties with South Africa nor endorse the policy of divestment. We do feel that the United States must exercise every reasonable means of pressing the government of South Africa to bring an end to its racial discriminatory policies. It is significant that President Reagan has finally been forced to speak out in more critical terms.

I hope that you have seen the resolution which was adopted at our meeting in Chicago which quite correctly states our position but I am enclosing a copy herewith in the event you have not previously had the opportunity to examine it. You will note that it is a balanced statement which does not adopt any of the more radical policies.

I regret that this entire misunderstanding occurred but I must make it clear that we are of the opinion that the American Jewish Committee cannot refrain from taking its position in opposition policies such as Apartheid.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Nevas

LN/jt

cc: Mr. N. Kirsch
Mr. Martin Kellner
Mrs. Helen Suzman
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum



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December 14, 1984

Mr. Martin Kellner
Electric Motor Engineering, Inc.
6255 Sunset Boulevard
Suite 923
Los Angeles, CA 90028

Dear Martin:

I was happy to have had the chance to talk to you the other day at the board meeting and, in place of the letter I had earlier dictated, I am writing you in the light of that conversation.

It is regrettable that the private letter that you addressed to your friend has been so misused. On the other hand, upon re-reading of your letter of October 12, it is quite clear that you were in error in your description of Doctor Suzman's position at our meeting.

The meeting had gone on for quite awhile prior to your arrival and there were strong feelings that we should take a position in support of what is in fact the Solarz bill, with which I'm sure you are familiar. Doctor Suzman's position was opposed to that and he in fact stated that we should urge the United States government to use its best efforts in convincing South Africa that it should abandon its present racial policies but felt that divestment and disinvestment were undesirable.

Your letter is further in error in that Helen Suzman never requested permission to fly in to personally present her position at that meeting. Helen Suzman was approached about a year ago to come to our annual meeting in May in New York to receive the award from the American Jewish Committee. She was unable to make it at that time and therefore we invited her to come to Chicago for that purpose. She accepted that invitation since she was planning to be in this country at approximately that time. We took advantage of that visit to ask her to attend our Commission meeting in

Chicago. At that meeting she strongly objected to the Solarz bill and to those who advocated divestment and disinvestment. She too stated that it was perfectly appropriate for the United States to exercise its influence to end Apartheid. If anything she was a moderating influence.

It is, therefore, truly unfortunate that the wrong impressions were created which set in motion a whole series of further events.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I have sent to Doctor Suzman's uncle in response to his communication, which has been revised in the light of my conversation with you.

Very truly yours,

Leo Nevas

LN:sjv

cc:Mr. Arthur Suzman
Mr. N. Kirsch
Mrs. Helen Suzman
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The American Jewish Committee, this country's pioneer human relations organization, has been devoted since its founding to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur. In this tradition, we reaffirm our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, and we call for its speedy elimination.

We applaud the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a courageous and eloquent leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. The award symbolizes universal recognition of the justice of this cause.

Unhappily, in South Africa, voices of protest against apartheid are often silenced harshly. Lack of due process and detention without trial are prominent features of life, with attendant abuse of political power.

Recently enacted constitutional reforms, belatedly offering partial representation to Indians and "coloreds," have left the system of racial segregation intact; unfortunately, they fail to enfranchise South Africa's overwhelming black majority. The policy of "resettling" blacks in poverty-stricken "homelands" has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands -- perhaps millions. The influx control laws and the Group Areas Act aggravate the suffering of the black population.

The role that those outside the country can play in combatting apartheid is limited. But they can help to enhance the prospects for peaceful change, which would benefit South Africans of all races and religions.

Thus, we endorse programs by private groups and government agencies, in the United States and abroad, for educating black and other non-white South Africans to assume a prominent role in the economic and public life of their country. Education can be a powerful force for social change, a key element in dismantling apartheid.

Furthermore, all American companies operating in South Africa should be urged to apply fair employment practices toward blacks. These include desegregating the workplace, permitting workers to join trade unions providing equal pay for comparable work, initiating job training programs, creating opportunities for career advancement, and improving health, housing, and school facilities. Additionally, all European firms doing business in South Africa should be urged to adhere to the fair employment principles enunciated in the 1977 EEC Code of Conduct. Such practices by Western firms can contribute significantly to the long-term goal of building a society based on equality and justice.

Finally, we urge the United States Government, and all other Western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Chicago, Illinois, November 2, 1984

rpr

84-550-81

STATEMENT

OF

MAXWELL E. GREENBERG

HONORARY NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

AMERICAN JEWISH
BEFORE THE
ARCHIVES

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

ON

U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM UNESCO

DECEMBER 10, 1984

MR CHAIRMAN, MY NAME IS MAXWELL E. GREENBERG. I AM AN ATTORNEY BY PROFESSION AND SERVE AS AN HONORARY NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH. THE ADL IS A WORLDWIDE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION, WITH 31 OFFICES IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN PARIS AND JERUSALEM, A LIAISON OFFICE IN ROME AND AFFILIATED OFFICES IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.

OUR CONCERN OVER UNESCO'S NOW WELL DOCUMENTED POLITICIZATION AND MISMANAGEMENT DATES BACK A DECADE. THE ARAB BLOC, URGED ON BY THE USSR AND ITS CLIENTS AND SUPPORTED BY SOME THIRD WORLD NATIONS, SOUGHT REPEATEDLY TO UNDERMINE ISRAEL'S LEGITIMACY. IN VOTE AFTER VOTE, IN MATTERS RANGING FROM ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM TO SUPPORT FOR THE TERRORIST PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM OF A UNITED NATIONS AGENCY HAS TRIED TO DISCREDIT AND DEFAME A MEMBER STATE FOR STRICTLY POLITICAL PURPOSES.

THAT CONCERN INCREASED AS THE ANTI-ISRAEL BEAT OF UNESCO BECAME THE JUMPING OFF POINT FOR A SERIES OF VOTES, PRONOUNCEMENTS AND PROGRAMS DECIDEDLY ANTI-WESTERN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC IN TONE AND SUBSTANCE. THIS CRESCENDO CULMINATED IN THE SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF AND NEAR ADOPTION OF A "NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER", WHICH WOULD HAVE SEEN THE LICENSING OF JOURNALISTS AND STATE MANAGEMENT OF THE GATHERING AND DISSEMINATION OF THE NEWS.

WE AMERICANS ARE RAISED FROM OUR EARLIEST DAYS WITH A REVERENCE AND APPRECIATION FOR, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. IT IS ONE OF OUR MOST CHERISHED PRINCIPLES. AND YET, ONLY A SHORT WHILE AGO, WE WERE

PARTICIPATING IN UNESCO ASSEMBLIES WITH TOTALITARIAN AND AUTHORITARIAN NATIONS, WHOSE PEOPLES COULD BENEFIT FROM PRESS FREEDOM, SEEING THEIR LEADERS ATTEMPT TO CHOKe IT OFF IN THOSE PARTS OF THE WORLD IN WHICH THE PRESS DOES HAVE FREEDOM. IN LIGHT OF THIS, IN 1980 AND IN 1981, ADL'S NATIONAL COMMISSION AND NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, OUR HIGHEST POLICY-MAKING BODIES, ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS CALLING ON THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS "TO WITHHOLD FURTHER SUBVENTION OF UNESCO SO LONG AS UNESCO CONTINUES TO POLITICIZE ITS ACTIONS BY MEANS OF ANTI-WESTERN, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ATTACKS IN VIOLATION OF ITS MANDATE."

WE HAVE ALSO BEEN TROUBLED, BUT NOT REALLY SURPRISED TO LEARN OF, UNESCO'S FISCAL MISMANAGEMENT, SO ABLY DOCUMENTED IN THE GAO STUDY. APPARENTLY SO MUCH TIME IS SPENT ON POLITICAL ACTION, LITTLE HAS REMAINED FOR PROFESSIONAL, AND ACCOUNTABLE, ACCOUNTING PROCEDURES.

MR. CHAIRMAN, OUR COUNTRY HAS TRIED THE TOLERANT PATH, BUT THE ATTEMPTS TO WORK FROM WITHIN TO REFORM UNESCO HAVE BEEN MET ONLY BY THE INSOLENT INTRANSIGENCE OF ITS PONDEROUS BUREAUCRACY. WHEN WE ANNOUNCED OUR INTENTION TO LEAVE UNESCO BY THE END OF THIS YEAR UNLESS SIGNIFICANT CHANGES WERE MADE, UNESCO'S LEADERSHIP MADE EVERY EFFORT TO STONEWALL AND MISINTERPRETED OUR NOTICE OF WITHDRAWAL AS A THREAT TO THE THIRD WORLD NATIONS. BEHIND THEIR CAVALIER ATTITUDE WAS THE BELIEF THAT OUR DECISION WOULD BE RESCINDED IF SOME SUPERFICIAL CHANGES WERE MADE.

BUT EVEN UNESCO'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S RECENT AGREEMENT TO CONSIDER SOME (AS YET UNSPECIFIED) REFORMS WAS LATE AND HALF-HEARTED. A MOMENT OF TRUTH HAS ARRIVED. IF WE REALLY WANT TO SEE UNESCO REFOCUS UPON ITS ALMOST FORTY YEAR OLD MANDATE OF HELPING TO ELIMINATE ILLITERACY, OF FACILITATING SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES FOR THE BETTERMENT OF MANKIND, OF IMPROVING COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES AND FOSTERING UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY'S DIVERSITY THROUGH CULTURAL EXCHANGE, WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES TO LEAVE UNESCO AT THE END OF THIS MONTH.

ONCE BEFORE, IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, THE ROT OF POLITICIZATION AND ANTI-WESTERNISM CAUSED OUR GOVERNMENT TO LEAVE A U.N.-RELATED ORGANIZATION, WITH THE PROMISE TO RETURN IF REFORMS WERE EFFECTUATED. WITHIN THREE YEARS OF OUR WITHDRAWAL A REMARKABLE TURNABOUT IN THE ILO'S AGENDA AND PRONOUNCEMENTS TOOK PLACE. IT RETURNED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF ITS FOUNDING CHARTER, WHOSE AIM IT IS TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF WORKING PEOPLE THROUGH THE COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OF BUSINESS, LABOR AND GOVERNMENT. WE BELIEVE A SIMILAR WITHDRAWAL FROM UNESCO CAN ACCOMPLISH THE SAME RESULT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE EXAMPLE WE HAVE SET IN ANNOUNCING OUR INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM UNESCO HAS ALREADY BORNE FRUIT. GREAT BRITAIN'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT WILL LEAVE THE ORGANIZATION BY THE END OF NEXT YEAR IS SIGNIFICANT APPROBATION OF OUR DECISION. WE HOPE THAT THE EXAMPLE OUR TWO NATIONS HAVE SET WILL BE FOLLOWED BY OTHER COUNTRIES WHO CARE ABOUT UNESCO'S MISSION AND WANT TO SEE SUBSTANTIVE REFORMS IN ITS PRESENT ACTIVITIES. THE PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR BY THIS INTERNATIONAL OPPROBRIUM COULD VERY WELL BE THE ACTION NEEDED TO RECTIFY UNESCO'S SELF-DESTRUCTIVE POLITICAL BIAS.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO WARN THAT OUR LEAVING UNESCO WILL RESULT IN THAT ORGANIZATION BEING "HIJACKED" BY THE USSR AND ITS IDEOLOGICAL CLIENTS. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT UNESCO COULD BECOME MORE "ANTI-IMPERIALIST" THAN IT HAS ALREADY DEMONSTRATED OVER THE PAST DECADE AND A HALF. IN ANY CASE, WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, AND PERHAPS OTHER DEMOCRACIES IN ATTENDANCE, THE TEMPTATION TO BAIT THE WEST WILL DIMINISH.

MOREOVER, IT IS UNLIKELY THE SOVIETS WILL REPLACE THE 25% BUDGET CONTRIBUTION TO UNESCO CURRENTLY PROVIDED BY THE U.S. NEVER KNOWN FOR ITS FINANCIAL GENEROSITY, THE USSR WOULD NO DOUBT SHUN THE BURDEN OF UNDERWRITING THE ORGANIZATION. THE SUM OF OUR JOINT ANNUAL ALLOCATION WITH GREAT BRITAIN IS OVER FIFTY MILLION DOLLARS, ALMOST 33% OF THE TOTAL BUDGET. WHEN ONE CONSIDERS THAT HALF OF UNESCO'S MEMBERS FUND ONLY 2% OF ITS TOTAL BUDGET, THE LOSS OF U.S. AND BRITISH MEMBERSHIP WILL BE SEVERELY FELT.

IN THE MEANTIME, AS WE AWAIT UNESCO'S INTERNAL REFORMS, OUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE OUR ALLOCATION AND USE IT FOR BI-LATERAL AID OR TO PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS IN FURTHERANCE OF UNESCO'S LOST IDEALS. DIRECT GRANTS FOR SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIA, EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE CAN ACCOMPLISH TWO PURPOSES: THE CONTINUED FUNDING OF ESSENTIAL PROGRAMS THAT UNESCO PREVIOUSLY ENGAGED IN, AND THE SENDING OF A MESSAGE TO THE ORGANIZATION'S MEMBERS THAT UNDERSCORES THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR RESOLVE TO REMAIN OUTSIDE UNTIL NEEDED REFORMS ARE ACHIEVED.

MR. CHAIRMAN, OUR GOVERNMENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF WITHDRAWAL FROM UNESCO WAS MADE IN DECEMBER OF LAST YEAR. WITHIN A FEW DAYS, THE DECEMBER 31 CUTOFF WE'VE IMPOSED FOR OURSELVES WILL BE HERE. IN THE NEARLY TWELVE MONTHS THAT HAVE PASSED, UNESCO'S ADMINISTRATORS HAVE HAD THE TIME TO GET THE ORGANIZATION BACK ON TRACK. WE HAVE SEEN ONLY COSMETIC CHANGES.

FOR US TO RECONSIDER OUR DECISION, AFTER HAVING GONE THIS FAR, WOULD UNDO THE COURAGEOUS SIGNALS WE HAVE BEEN SENDING TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY. TO AGREE TO STAY, AT THIS TIME, DESPITE NO CONCRETE MOVES TO REFORM, WOULD REWARD THE UNESCO ADMINISTRATION FOR ITS INSENSITIVITY, ITS BENT FOR POLITICS AND ITS FINANCIAL MISMANAGEMENT. THAT MESSAGE WILL NOT BE LOST ON THE FAMILY OF NATIONS.

WE HAVE NOT SAID, "NEVER". WE CAN REJOIN UNESCO WHEN IT BECOMES AGAIN WHAT IT WAS, AN INSTRUMENT TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN CONDITION. UNTIL THEN, WE SHOULD FOLLOW THE DICTATES OF OUR NATIONAL CONSCIENCE, AND WITHDRAW.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 19, 1984

to File

from Allan L. Kagedan

subject Meeting with Pinchas Eliav, Director, Division for International Organizations, Israel Foreign Ministry; Aryeh Levin, Deputy Head of Mission, Israel UN Mission.

Sidney Liskofsky and I discussed with Mr. Eliav our work on the UN studies regarding the right to leave and religious intolerance. Mr. Eliav said that there were different views within the Foreign Ministry on how to respond to the UN questionnaire on the right to leave and return, which is being studied by the Foreign Ministry's legal staff. He invited our advice as well as impressions of the meeting we were to have the following day with the Zambian UN Rapporteur for this study.

Mr. Eliav expressed great interest in UN Subcommittee developments- specifically the debate that occurred over the subcommittee draft resolution calling on the Sudan to replace with more humane punishments its practice of cutting off thieves' arms, as prescribed by Islamic law. Sidney described to him the Egyptian-led filibuster, the deferential posture of the West European members, the opportunistic stance of the Soviet member, and the unintended felicitous compromise outcome.

After Mr. Levin joined us, we discussed an Israeli response to the anti-Semitic statements made by the Saudi Arabian participant at the UN Seminar on Religious Intolerance in Geneva, held December 3-14, attended by Sidney Liskofsky, in which Jews were accused of the ritual murder of Christian children. He indicated that the Israel mission would circulate a letter referring to this, and other anti-Jewish remarks made during the 1984 General Assembly.

Mr. Eliav expressed concern over likely politicization of the Nairobi Conference. We discussed the operation of NGO working groups on the Middle East and South Africa, which Sidney Liskofsky learned of while in Geneva. Mr. Eliav suggested that we get in touch with Virginia Hazard, Nairobi Conference co-ordinator based in New York, to discuss this and other issues. We also mentioned the JBI Project on Arab women being carried out by Mala Tabory, and expressed concern over the lack of cooperation she had received from Israel government officials. Mr. Eliav said that he knew of the Tabory study, and assured us of future foreign ministry cooperation.

Regarding UNESCO (see letter attached), Mr. Eliav said that Israel felt that the US and possible British withdrawal would do good - and indeed had already had a salutary effect on Israel's standing in the agency.

ALK:DG

cc: David Gordis
✓ Marc Tanenbaum



800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

המסלחת הקבועה
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות
PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

18 December 1984

Mr. Robert A. Barzilai
Letters' Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, NY 10036

To the Editor:

In reference to Edmund P. Hennelly's letter appearing in the 14 December issue entitled "Let's Give UNESCO a Year to Continue Reform", I would like to note that the State of Israel is, indeed, a party to the criticism aimed at the unwarranted political nature of UNESCO's actions. UNESCO has constantly been used as a forum in which certain Arab and communist states have waged a campaign of political warfare against my country. More specifically, its political sanctions directed against Israel in 1974 were unprecedented in the international community.

Regarding Mr. Hennelly's assertion that "...Israel does not favor an American departure", I would like to clarify that the decision to withdraw from UNESCO by both the United States and Britain was an independent one. It was based on their own national considerations, which I might add, Israel fully appreciates and understands.

Israel welcomes every effort to stop the politicization that has unfortunately become a common feature in UNESCO's work.

I would appreciate your publishing this letter in one of your forthcoming issues.

Sincerely,

Judith Varnai-Dranger
First Secretary (press)
Permanent Mission of Israel
to the United Nations

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 26, 1984

to Howard Friedman, Edward Elson, David Gordis, William Trosten,
Leo Nevas

from Marc H. Tanenbaum

subject Highlights of Meetings in Strasbourg and Bonn/Cologne.

This memo summarizes the highlights of several meetings dealing with international relations and human rights issues held in Strasbourg and Bonn/Cologne.

On Wednesday, Dec. 12, Ed Elson and I came to Strasbourg, the "Capital" of the European Community, for a series of meetings that produced quite important programmatic results for AJC.

At 9:30 a.m., we met with Prof. Alexander Kiss, Secretary General of the International Institute on Human Rights (the Rene Cassin Institute) which had had a long and productive relationship through Sidney Liskofsky with the Jacob Blaustein Institute. Present was also Mrs. Sforza, assistant director.

Following cordial introductory remarks during which Prof. Kiss acknowledged warmly the constructive ties between his Institute and the AJC, he said, "There is no need for developing new rights. Our task now is to implement the existing covenants, particularly the 'right to leave.'"

After detailed conversation, Prof. Kiss agreed to co-sponsor with the AJC and the Jacob Blaustein Institute the following conferences or programs in 1985:

- 1) A conference on "Upsala Updated." (Ed and I reported on the proposed West German conference on "The Right to Leave," and Prof. Kiss, while welcoming that, saw the need for a broader consultation in Strasbourg that could involve representatives from the pan-European community.)
- 2) A conference on "Religious Intolerance" that would be tied in the UN study on this subject. We informed him about the Blaustein study on this theme, and Prof. Kiss felt strongly this might be the basis of a useful conference in Strasbourg. He also said this consultation could give impetus to the preparation of a curriculum on "Religious Freedom" as well as on minority groups.
- 3) Kenya - Prof. Kiss proposed that we consider co-sponsoring a conference in Kenya in 1985-86 on "Religious Freedom and Human Rights." As an expert on international law and environment, he has many contacts in Nairobi and is planning to visit there shortly. We encouraged him to explore the possibility of sponsoring such a seminar with AJC next year, or soon thereafter.

4) A conference on Human Rights Education in Secondary Schools will be held in Strasbourg in July '85. He invited our possible co-sponsorship and possible participation. We indicated our interest and said we would discuss it with Sidney Liskofsky, Richard Maass, and the Blaustein Institute.

In Fall 1985, his Institute is holding its annual meeting in Strasbourg and he invited our participation.

We concluded this excellent meeting with agreement that we will be in touch with each other shortly for appropriate follow-up.

At 11:00 a.m., Ed Elson and I met with the Hon. Pierre Pflimlin, President of the European Parliament. It was a warm, friendly meeting during which he expressed concern over the fate of Soviet Jews and the determination of the EP to be helpful. He also expressed interest in promoting moderation and negotiations in the Middle East between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

We reported our concerns over "religious intolerance" and the Nairobi conference on women's issues in July '85, and he asked that we send him our background materials. We promised to do so.

At 12 noon, we met with Mr. P. Hauprecht, chairman of the Directorate on Human Rights of the Council of Europe. He also spoke warmly of his ties with Sidney Liskofsky and the Blaustein Institute. He expressed an interest in strengthening cooperation between AJC and his group in areas of common concern -- Soviet Jewry, the right to leave, the UN covenants on religious intolerance. He reported that from Nov. 13-16, 1985, there will be a conference on "Freedom of Information" in Spain, and he hoped that we would be involved with that activity. We did not propose any specific conferences at this time, pending clarification of our other commitments and priorities established with Prof. Kiss's Institute and what we develop in Cologne.

Footnote: The presence of so many governmental and non-governmental representatives in Strasbourg raises the important question of our considering establishing some AJC presence here. It is a major center for information-gathering and human rights activities that impinge on so many of our interests. Also, Strasbourg is a good place for us to consider holding an AJC European consultation in the near future.

Before leaving Strasbourg, we held a quick meeting with Dr. Henri Hochner (2 rue de l'ille Jars, Strasbourg, 67000; 88.366196), vice-president of the Jewish community. (Jean Kahn, president, was out of town). Hochner, a Polish Jew and a dentist, was extremely cordial. He expressed a strong hope that we could cooperate with his community on some future project. We assured him we were eager to do so, and would be in touch with him before our next visit to his city.

That evening of Dec. 12, Ed Elson and I arrived late in Bonn. We missed the meetings that Howard Friedman, David Gordis, and Bill Trosten held there with Dr. Alois Mertes, West German Staatsminister, and with the Ebert Foundation

Strasbourg-Bonn/Cologne-3

(although we joined them for a meeting with the latter on Thursday.) A report on the Mertes meeting will have to come from those who met with him.

COLOGNE, THURSDAY, DEC. 13

Our full delegation met at 10 a.m. in the offices of the Bundesinstitut in Cologne. Present from the West German group were Dr. Heinrich Vogel, Bundesinstitut director; Prof. Brunner, director of the Institute of East-West Studies, University of Cologne; Dr. Buchholz; Dr. Studemyer, and Dr. Luchterhanz.

Messrs. Friedman and Trosten reported that during their last visit to Germany Chancellor Helmut Kohl had indicated his interest in taking part in a high-level conference to be held in 1985 on the theme of "the Right to Leave" with special reference to the situation of Volga Germans and Soviet Jews.

After extensive discussion of the international legal, sociological, and East-West political issues, there was general agreement that a conference be held preferably between Sept. 18 and 20 (between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur) or later in Nov. or Dec. 1985.

The theme as presently formulated would be:

"International Law and the Status of Minorities -- the Cases of Ethnic and Soviet Jews."

The conference would be co-sponsored by the Institute of East-West Studies of the University of Cologne and the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee. About 30-40 people, "serious academic types" would be invited, and public sessions would be held to assure a public impact, including a possible press conference at the close for issuing a joint declaration.

Papers would be presented on the following themes:

I - International Law and Ethnic Minorities

The Legal Status of Germans and Jews in the USSR

II - The Conditions of Life of Germans and Jews in the USSR

The political, social, economic situation of Germans and Jews; issues of assimilation, acculturation, and emigration.

III - The Implications of Minority Problems for East-West Relations

- a) The legal consequences
- b) Strategies and Options involving International Instruments:
 - 1) The role of Governments
 - 2) The role of non-Governmental agencies

IV - A Joint Declaration of Principles

It was agreed that there would be an opening public ceremony on the first day which would feature a statement by Chancellor Kohl, Edward Elson, and a subsequent statement by Howard Friedman.

Finances for the conference were estimated at about \$30,000-\$40,000 (100,000 DM), plus 7,000 DM for translators. It was felt that a German foundation might be interested in covering all or part of the expenses.

The Wissenschaft Centrum or Beethoven Hall were suggested as possible sites.

Dr. Mertes was to be invited as a keynote speaker. Discussants from both communities were to be invited to comment reciprocally on papers. Among invitees suggested: Leo Nevas, Walter Laqueur, Gregary Grossman of UCLA; Prof. Thomashad of Bonn. (Participants should also be looked for at the "Olympics" on USSR research to be held in Washington, about 2,000 scholars, next October.) Sidney Liskofsky would be asked to comment on the draft proposal.

Tanenbaum agreed to send a draft proposal to Prof. Brunner by Jan. 30, 1985. Prof. Buchholz asked that the Munich empirical research based on interviews with German refugees and the Illinois interviews with Soviet Jews be included in the section dealing with "quality of life" and discrimination in the USSR.

MARTIN BUBER INSTITUTE - We visited the Buber Institute in Cologne that afternoon, and discussed the possibility with Dr. Johann Maier of some joint project. The archival project of identifying all Jewish communities in Germany elicited particular interest.

EBERT FOUNDATION - A friendly dinner was held with the Ebert Foundation headed by Peter Schneider.

FRIDAY, DEC. 14

WEST GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY - A frank and useful discussion was held with Dr. Fiedler, director of the Middle East desk of the Foreign Ministry. He said that West Germany and the EEC generally were trying to encourage moderate Arab states to enter into negotiations with Israel. He gave us a copy of the last EEC declaration on the Middle East which is generally more balanced than the earlier Venice Declaration (copy available from IRD.) He expressed concern about Israel's economic situation and said that Germany tries to be as helpful as possible, provided that Israel takes the necessary austerity measures.

MINISTER OF CULTURE: WOMEN'S RIGHTS: A helpful conversation was held with Dr. Witte of the Culture Ministry, a Dr. Thieme, president of the German Women's Rights group, and two aides. Dr. Witte agreed to host a conference in preparation for the Nairobi Women's Rights meeting of Women leaders from West Germany, France, Israel, and AJC women's leadership in the U.S. (He agreed to pay the fare for Israeli delegates). The consultation was proposed for March-April 1985 to prepare strategy for countering anti-Israel and anti-Jewish propaganda in Nairobi.

Strasbourg-Bonn/Cologne-5

We also discussed UNESCO, with Dr. Witte indicating that while he supported the U.S.'s critique of UNESCO, they would prefer to stay in for at least another year and try to bring about internal reforms, as Britain seems to be doing. We agreed to be in touch with each other.

ADENAUER FOUNDATION - The day concluded with a visit to the Adenauer Foundation with Bill Trosten reviewing the status of their relations with AJC.

MHT:RPR



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 27, 1984
to Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Consultation on censorship

Some days I wake up screaming.

As you will surely recall, the national conference we ran last spring on the issues of tolerance and religious pluralism lead to a major conclusion, among others, that different kinds of problems call for different kinds of strategies for solution and that, to deal effectively with the many manifestations of intolerance, we have to break down the problem into component parts.

And so, we have been busy organizing a series of sub-session consultations in order to locate the nature of the problem and the particular strategies most appropriate to combat them. Some consultations have already been held.

Today there was supposed to have been a consultation on the problems of censorship in Israeli society, with special attention given to the distinguishing feature that this country has been in a state of war since its inception. Planning had gone on apace, a suitable facility was found, we got the Ministry of Justice to send a legal expert to act as a resource person, the Israel Association for Civil Rights sent an experienced civil libertarian to help us think through issues involved in freedom of the press, and we had successfully recruited journalists from a variety of newspapers -- even one distinguished press photographer, with his special story to tell.

From the foreign press we had the New York Times, the Washington Post, BBC, Los Angeles Times, Newsweek, Cable News Network, UPI, etc. From the local

press, we had Israel TV, Ma'ariv, Ha'Aretz, Yediot Achronot, and for a dispassionate chairman with skill and experience, we recruited Stanley Moss, who, at one time, was press attache at the U.S. Embassy.

Everything was all set and in place -- when down came the boom.

Come to think of it, it was all very simple. All that happened was that the IDF placed a small notice on the bulletin board at the Government Press Office announcing that it was making a helicopter available to transport accredited journalists to Lebanon to visit sites that were hitherto off-limits and that ended the whole thing.

cc: Mort Yarmon



Handwritten signature

cc: MORT YARMON

memorandum

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to Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
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cc: Mort Yarmon



cc: M. Tanenbaum

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 28, 1984.
to James Rudin
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Ecumenical Institute at Tantur

I want to report to you the results of a private consultation held with Yael Vered, head of the Foreign Office department for relations with churches and Jerusalem affairs.

Yael, with information available to her from independent sources, has the conviction that the Ecumenical Institute in Tantur is increasingly tilting to the Palestinian cause, at the expense of Israel, the Jewish people and its declared commitment to inter-religious dialogue.

Part of her evidence derives from Tantur's newly-established Academy for Peace, with its declared intention to study the roots of peace in the Holy Scriptures but which omits the Koran (where the word "peace" appears but once). Moreover, she points to a pattern emerging from a study of the academics at Tantur. They include Donald Luidens, of Rutgers University; Norman Salem, a Lebanese from McGill University; Earle Waugh, a specialist on Islam; and, in a parallel program, Jim Forest, General Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation centered in the Netherlands.

I think you should know, Jim, that others watching these events, not in the Foreign Office, may share Yael's view in kind but not in degree. Not everybody sees the sinister campaign she describes. And yet, she does have a point. In my conversations with her, she asked me to bring these facts to your attention, for you to make some discreet inquiries through your own associations (not excluding Notre Dame) in order to find out what's happening from the perspective of your side of the ocean.

I would appreciate a reply soon, and if you are to be helpful at all, within two weeks.

James Rudin
December 28, 1984
Page Two.

On a separate matter, Yael made reference to a speech you gave in St. Louis. She asked that you send her a copy.

Please do so via air. And don't be so modest; you can send me a copy as well.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum



MAYNARD I. WISHNER
105 WEST ADAMS STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60603

December 28, 1984

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

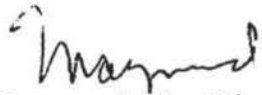
Dear Marc:

My call to you today and the message I left were prompted by hearing that you will be in Chicago for a January 20th telecast for the Chicago Sunday Evening Club. In that context you will be seeing Dave Hardin.

I am enclosing some material he prepared and circulated following the trip this past Fall to the Middle East. I would like to brief you a bit on the meeting which Father Chacour addressed and am enclosing a copy of the program. The speaker "to be announced" turned out to be me.

I thought it would be useful to chat before your Chicago appearance and hope you get a chance to call me upon your return.

Sincerely,


Maynard I. Wishner

MIW:dk
Encl.

A good year

The American



Jewish Committee

הוועד היהודי האמריקני • רח' אתיופיה 9, ירושלים 95 149 • טלפון 228862, 233551 • מברקים: ווישקום, ירושלים
ISRAEL OFFICE: Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 • Tel. 228862, 233551 • Cable: Wishcom, Jerusalem

December 1984

OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMS - AJC ISRAEL OFFICE

AJC's Israel Office is approaching its 25th anniversary. A regular part of the American Jewish Committee's overseas program, it was created to help meet the need for effective channels of communication between the Jews of Israel and the United States. Its original aims have not materially altered, although there are changes, from time to time, in program emphases reflecting the events of the times. The office is seen as the established presence of the AJC in Israel. It is a local extension of all AJC departments, institutes, inter-departmental projects and regional offices. As such, it follows the AJC pattern of research and diagnosis, is innovative in character and emulates institutional style. Where possible, it tries to forge alliances, seeking like-minded organizations for the pursuit of common objectives. It seeks to achieve its objectives via pump priming, pilot projects and evaluative studies and uses demonstration as an educational method.

The major aims of the office are as follows:

1. To act as the service arm of AJC, providing service to departments, institutes, area offices and the like, responding to requests for information or for solicitation of help, and receiving official visitors.
2. To conduct an educational program to develop greater understanding in Israel of the pluralistic nature of American society, with special emphasis on the position and role of the Jew in American life.
3. In an obverse program, tries to interpret Israeli life and institutions to American Jewry.
4. Out of a concern to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews wherever they live, to conduct a program of inter-group relations in order to foster and develop democratic institutions, promote voluntary associations and dramatize the virtues of civic responsibility..
5. To examine relationships of Israelis to American Jews, to study and locate the different perspectives and to undertake programs of cultural activities, personal interchange, studies, surveys and inventories in order to promote mutual understanding, our common heritage and an interdependent destiny.

1. SERVICE ARM

In significant number, AJC's Israel office provides a large variety of services to the National office, departments and area offices, responding to requests for information, solicitations of help for arriving guests, exchanging views about all kinds of issues affecting both sides of the Mediterranean. The number of such requests is substantial and, if anything, growing.

Of special significance is the Visitors to Israel Program, coordinated by Yaacov Pnini on a part-time basis. Working cooperatively with a number of National departments and field offices, the program caters to interfaith missions, Federation-sponsored programs, family membership tours and staff institutes. Beyond group visits, individual referrals, requiring planning and programming continue apace, irregularly but frequently.

A major up-coming service activity will be the Board of Governors Institute scheduled for January 31 to February 10, 1985.

2. INTERPRETING THE UNITED STATES TO ISRAEL

1. The library information center, containing over 6,000 volumes plus large numbers of monographs, pamphlets, articles and news clippings arranged by subject, and receiving more than 120 Anglo-Jewish periodicals regularly, is an on-going instrument for the better understanding of American Jewish life and institutions. The library provides quick, up-to-date information and seeks to obtain items not available in the larger collections in order to specialize in Jewish Americana. It sends to more than 2,000 institutions and selected individuals, four times a year, a printed monograph entitled "Recently Arrived Items" that is widely used as a reference tool for those interested in the latest books on the subjects referred to. The library also contains a completely catalogued collection of American Jewish Committee publications. Not a "popular" public library, it is used by university professors, students, government officials, journalists, researchers and schlichim who have just received an overseas assignment.

2. In an educational program without precedent, there has been developed a course of study with college credit at the Bar Ilan University on "The American Jewish Character" -- a 30-week course on the American Jewish community by means of the novel, poetry and drama of American Jewish authors in English, Yiddish and Hebrew. In a newly-created interdisciplinary course of study, some 35 matriculated students are currently engaged in this new course that might well be replicated at Bar Ilan University and elsewhere.

3. Tefutsot Israel continues to be a major vehicle for the systematic transmission of information about the Jewish condition the world over. It is now a major reference source for university courses on Jewish life in the Diaspora. Titles of issues in the current series are devoted to such subjects as Jewish immigration patterns, Jewish-Black relations and Israel-Diaspora relations.

4. Now in the process of completion is a new study and inventory of American studies programs being offered in Israel's seven universities. Without anything comparable available elsewhere, the study is designed to expose interested youngsters to the variety of educational opportunities available for university study on the subject and is intended to encourage greater enrollment in these departments.

5. We have developed an in-service training program for Israel's history teachers on the "Social Characteristics of American Jews", co-sponsored by the Bar Ilan University Department for Extra-Curricular Activities.

6. We have sponsored a number of public programs at the Museum of the Diaspora on "The Uniqueness of American Jewry", utilizing, by and large, American-born scholars and clergymen.



3. INTERPRETING ISRAEL TO THE UNITED STATES

The interpretation of Israel to the United States is done, in part, by weekly summaries of press reports that are distributed widely in the United States, plus a number of occasional reports that are commissioned either at the expressed request of colleagues of the National office or as the result of perceptions here or areas requiring stepped-up interpretations. The number of occasional reports is significant.

Other than the written word, much interpretation goes on face-to-face. For each and every individual and group visit, plus any and all missions, opportunities are created for a systematic, comprehensive and detached analysis of the people of Israel in all of their institutional forms



4. INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Carrying forward AJC's pioneer human welfare concerns, the Israel Office seeks to forge alliances with like-minded agencies, or, on its own, when appropriate, to study, observe, analyze and test ways to strengthen intra-group and inter-group relations in the country. A constant among changing emphases, the Israel Office is now identified by this specialization. Some of the current activities giving expression to this concern are:

1. Assist the "Bridging the Gap" unit at Haifa University and enhancing its community development program, whereby public figures from underprivileged and developing areas are helped to study how to make their leadership roles more effective. Local community leaders in a university program just being completed originate from Poland, Tunis, Morocco and Egypt. In a separate but parallel program in which AJC cooperated with the University's unit, we assisted in widely publicizing an experimental course of study in its "Women's Unit".
2. In an experimental educational program to enhance mutual understanding between the Jewish and Arab citizens of Israel, AJC supported the Leo Baeck School in Haifa in furthering its program to teach Arab culture in the school and to promote extra-curricular activities between the youth of these two ethnic groups.
3. With funds secured from non-budgetary sources, gave support and modest financial help to the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation in its education program to teach Arab language, customs, culture and religion in Israel's school system.
4. Co-sponsored with Hebrew University's Beit Hillel a program for Christian students at the university dealing with such subjects as The Mystery of Israel, The Christian in a Jewish Society, Interfaith Understanding and A Christian Theology of the Jewish People.
5. In the same vein, co-sponsored a series of public programs in cooperation with the Museum of the Diaspora (in its auditorium) dealing with the above subject. A second series dealt with the general subject of "The Uniqueness of American Jewry".
6. Sponsored in association with others, and conducted a public meeting in the auditorium of the Hebrew Union College within the framework of the "James Parkes Memorial Lecture", a lecture by Professor Paul van Buren in which he describes the fruits of his ten-year study, "A New Christian Theology of the Jewish-Christian Reality".
7. In an ongoing program, the Israel Office director was reelected Vice-President and Board Chairman of the Spafford Children's Center, a voluntary organization in the Old City providing recreational services for Moslem children in the poor quarter near Damascus Gate.

8. Help promote many, and chaired some, public meetings aimed at the unaffiliated Christian pilgrim on the subject of "Christian Appreciation of Israel and the Jewish People". Most of the speakers were Christians who are long-time residents of Jerusalem.

9. The Israel Office is the local address for the Israel Advisory Committee of the Fellowship in Israel for Arab-Jewish Youth, Inc., an American-based organization that provides funds to strengthen relations between Jewish and Arab children in Israel. The Israel Advisory Committee evaluates programs and recommends allocations to further the activities of selected organizations. The Israel Office plays a unique role in this program, serving as liaison between the Boston-based American organization and the local committee composed of Jews, Christians and Moslems living in different parts of the country.

10. At the beginning of the period under review, the Israel Office organized and conducted an all-day, nation-wide consultation to analyze current manifestations of intolerance in Israeli society. Closeted in a kibbutz in the Judean Hills, Knesset members, directors-general, council heads, specialists in Jewish-Christian relations, university administrators and specialists in instructional TV analyzed the demographical, political, rhetorical and cognitive factors contributing to social tension in Israeli society. One of the findings of that conference was a need to isolate different manifestations of intolerance, to define and analyze them and consciously choose strategies especially suited to deal with them. This finding was tested and underscored when the Israel Office joined the Israel Interfaith Association and Sovlanut ("Tolerance") in conducting a half-day conference on the subject of majority-minority relations, at which time sobering confirmation was given about perceived trends towards extremism.

11. As a consequence of the consultation described above, it was decided to hold a series of mini-meetings with specialists, each dealing with one sub-topic alone, for the purpose of seeking a consensus as to the nature of the problem in contemporary terms and to try to locate those methods and those tools appropriate, given current events, that offer the greatest solution for the problem described. The first such meeting, already completed, dealt with the role of women in Israeli society, defining how she is perceived, what are her ascribed roles and what are the ways of enhancing her status. The proceedings of that meeting are now being edited and will be published by the end of 1984.

A second meeting, scheduled to take place in December 1984 and for which prominent foreign and domestic correspondents are already enrolled, will deal with the subject "Censorship in a Modern State" and will take up the delicate question of how to preserve freedom of the press while subject to censorship because of the state of war in existence since the creation of the State of Israel.

12. Co-sponsor with the Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel a catalogue of all books and articles published after 1945 on the subject of Jewish-Christian relations available in Jerusalem. Initiated by a grant from the Cardinal Bea Foundation, the AJC and the Fraternity aim to establish a documentation center on the subject that, hopefully, will demonstrate that the encounter with living Judaism has helped Christians denounce classical anti-Jewish theology and teaching. This project is nearing completion.

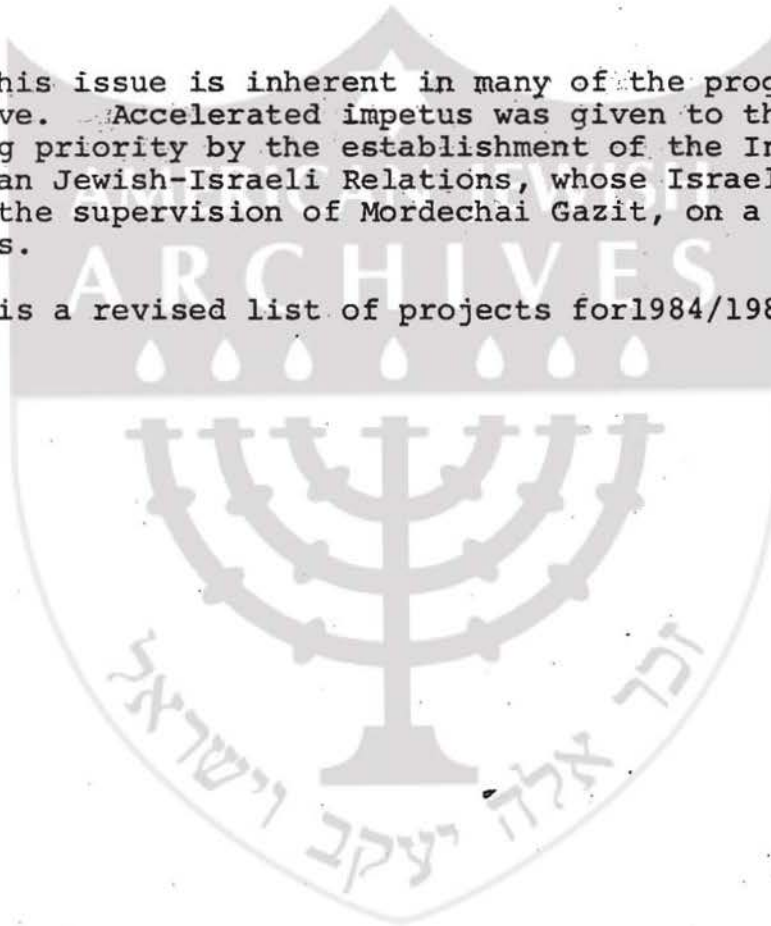
13. Produced and published a Hebrew version of the 1980 publication by Professor Eliezer D. Jaffe, entitled "Pleaders and Protesters-The Future of Citizens' Organizations in Israel" as an additional way of promoting volunteerism and citizenship participation in the adult life of a democratic society.



5. ISRAEL - DIASPORA RELATIONSHIPS

Much in this issue is inherent in many of the programs cited above. Accelerated impetus was given to this continuing priority by the establishment of the Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations, whose Israel portion is under the supervision of Mordechai Gazit, on a part-time basis.

Attached is a revised list of projects for 1984/1985



December 1984.

1984/85 PROJECTS

Project

Status

1. "Get to know U.S. Jewry" (the Edna and Matthew leadership program) project involving a third group of young Israelis going to the States. Preparations moving ahead as planned. In two weeks or so first meeting of 'panel of jurors' to interview candidates will be held.
2. Survey of factors influencing decisions regarding investments in Israel industry (incentives). Will be based on written and oral interviews. Report to be presented by the end of December.
3. Inventory of current projects and activities carried out in Israel involving American Jews. Objective: to facilitate evaluation of present state of interaction between U.S. Jewry and Israel. Advanced draft will be ready by mid January.
4. Monthly bulletin with news about Jewish America. Eighth bulletin published. Many encouraging comments.
5. Analysis of attitudes towards the question of the territories by the several schools of religious thought. Draft presented. Author is working on it in New York.
6. Enlarged curriculum on the subject of U.S. Jewry to be taught in Israeli schools. Israeli Ministry of Education and culture preparing reply to our first draft (general) proposal.
7. A compendium on the Ashkenazi Sephardi issue in Israel. Project to be undertaken by Dr. Etta Bick. Draft to be presented within 2-3 months.

THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Statement Made by Sidney Liskofsky at UN Religious Intolerance Seminar,
Geneva, December 1984: Background

A two-week seminar on religious intolerance in Geneva was one of several activities mandated by the General Assembly to promote the Declaration on the Elimination of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, adopted in November 1981. It was attended by 24 government experts from the major geographic regions; representatives of UNESCO and other UN specialized agencies; 16 government observers; the Council of Europe and other regional intergovernmental organizations; the PLO, the African National Congress and other "national liberation movements;" and 18 nongovernmental organizations with consultative status to the Economic and Social Council.

The agenda was as follows:

1. The principle of tolerance in the United Nations Charter and freedom of religion or belief under international instruments on human rights.
2. Nature and dimensions of contemporary manifestations of intolerance of religion or belief.
3. Models of national or local action to prevent or combat intolerance of religion or belief.
4. Education programs to foster tolerance of religion or belief.
5. Future activities to promote and to protect freedom of religion or belief with particular reference to the implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

There were three main background papers: one by the seminar chairman, Professor Adam Lopatka, Chief of Poland's Office of Church Affairs; the second by Mrs. Elizabeth Odio-Benito, a Costa Rican legal scholar, designated by the UN Subcommission on Discrimination and Minorities as Special Rapporteur to prepare a study on religious intolerance--its current dimensions, root causes and remedial measures; and the third by Professor Roger Clark of Rutgers University Law School on models of national and local action to combat intolerance. Additional working papers or oral statements were provided by other governmental and nongovernmental observers (including the Holy See). My own statement (Attachment A), in the name of the International League for Human Rights, touched on several important issues raised in the background papers and oral exchanges.

I called attention to the UN Secretariat's failure to carry out the General Assembly's request to the Secretariat to print and disseminate the Declaration on Religious Intolerance in all the UN's official languages, including Russian, Arabic and Chinese. This request had been carried out only in respect to English, French and Spanish. I linked the request to "the right to know one's human rights," the theme of one of the Blaustein Institute's publications.

I dissented from the chairman's view (expressed in his paper) of "permissible limitations" on the freedom to manifest religion or belief, as well as his interpretation of the UN Charter's prohibition against interference in states' internal affairs, while endorsing the views with which we agreed.

Two of my suggestions, to hold a follow-up Seminar in Costa Rica and to request the Tokyo-based UN University to initiate a research and publications program on religions and belief systems, were included at suggestions made privately by the Sub-Commission's Special Rapporteur and by the Japanese participant, respectively.

Finally, I suggested as a kind of general principle, the responsibility of members of UN bodies to repudiate publicly statements by colleagues which demean or threaten a religious or other group. This was in response to the anti-Semitic outburst of the Saudi-Arabian participant (identified as Counsellor at the Royal Court, Riyadh), which was made some days before I arrived, and which only the Costa Rican, US, West German and Canadian participants criticized publically. Some who failed to do so expressed their dismay privately.

There is no way to know if the Saudi planned his statement in advance or if it was precipitated by the mistaken information given to him by one of his advisors about the Israeli representative's statement, made while the Saudi was out of the meeting chamber. The misinformation was that the Israeli had complained that the Saudi government did not permit Jews to visit Mecca, when he actually spoke of Israeli Muslims who were prevented from fulfilling their religiously-mandated pilgrimage to that city. (See summary of Saudi Arabian statement in Attachment B.)

The final report of the Seminar, which will be available before long, contains many valuable recommendations which should be incorporated as appropriate in Blaustein Institute programming on the subject of religious intolerance. The preliminary report includes the following (among others):

- states should re-examine their relevant constitutional and statutory guarantees in order to bring them into consonance with the Universal Declaration, the Covenants on Human Rights, and the 1981 Declaration;
- the UN's Human Rights Centre should provide states with technical help in connection with their efforts to combat religious intolerance;
- states should establish new (or designate existing) institutions to work against religious intolerance and discrimination; develop educational and cultural programs to promote tolerance; provide guidelines for their civil servants and other public officials in showing respect for religious differences and working against discrimination; devise school curricula which deal with religious freedom in the context of the principles in the human rights agreements; encourage inter-religious dialogue on the basis of the 1981 Declaration at all levels of instruction; suggest to religious and other groups to consider designating a common day of prayer devoted to the aims of the 1981 Declaration;
- the mass media should play a major role in educating society in a spirit of tolerance;

- UNESCO and ILO, the Council of Europe and other regional intergovernmental organizations, and the UN-accredited NGOs, should launch urgent action programs to this end;
- the Tokyo-based UN University and other academic and research institutes should undertake special studies in this field, (ie., religious intolerance), including case studies, and of the world's major religious and belief systems, with the aim of promoting mutual tolerance;
- the UN, in the context of its program for the Second Racism Decade, should study situations of religious intolerance and discrimination which are intertwined with factors of race or ethnic or national origin;
- the UN should consider the need to draw up a legally binding convention for protecting freedom of religion or belief.

In short, the 1981 Declaration has yielded a promising movement in this field. The JBI and AJC can play an important role in maintaining its momentum.

January 15, 1985



ATTACHMENT A

UN SEMINAR ON THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF
UNDERSTANDING, TOLERANCE AND RESPECT IN MATTERS
RELATING TO RELIGION OR BELIEF

GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, DECEMBER 3-14, 1984

STATEMENT
BY SIDNEY LISKOFKY

FOR THE
INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

AMERICAN JEWISH

Mr. Chairman, though less than perfect in some respects, due to exceptions, generalities and omissions, the 1981 Declaration is a document of historic significance: it was adopted by consensus; it is specific (notably in its sixth article), and it is the only UN instrument devoted exclusively to combatting discrimination and promoting tolerance and understanding in matters of religion or belief. Though not legally binding, it helps to clarify and to reinforce relevant principles in various binding instruments, especially Article 18 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. As noted in Professor Clark's impressive background paper, the Declaration may be viewed as "an authoritative concrete interpretation by the General Assembly of the obligations contained in the religious freedom provisions of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights."

Commendable steps have been taken to date by the General Assembly and ECOSOC to encourage educational and promotional activities to help make the Declaration into a living reality. They include, as a beginning, ECOSOC's request (May 1982) to the Secretary General to issue a pamphlet containing the Declaration's text in the UN's six official languages, and to disseminate it on a priority basis in as many other languages as possible. This was a routine, but nonetheless important request, which, to our knowledge, has indeed been implemented in respect to the English, French and Spanish languages, but not yet Russian, Arabic or Chinese, the other official languages. Nor, to our knowledge, has the Declaration been disseminated as widely as it might be in many countries. We urge that steps be taken to this end.

It warrants recalling, in this connection, the many international affirmations of the right to have access to information about one's rights, including those proclaimed in international conventions and other instruments. Professor Lopatka, in his important background paper commenting on the UN's educational role, stresses the importance of publishing international documents and disseminating knowledge about them. Canada's expert has informed the Seminar that in his country, UN instruments are taught in schools as part of general human rights instruction. The International League for Human Rights, in a statement presented to the UN Subcommission on Discrimination and Minorities, has emphasized the shared responsibility both of the state and private groups "to popularize the international standards of human rights to make all members of society fully cognizant of their rights and duties."

We take the liberty, Mr. Chairman, before speaking of "Future Activities," of commenting, very briefly, on the question of "permissible limitations" on the freedom to manifest religion or belief: Professor Lopatka notes in his paper that the freedom to manifest religion or belief, provided in Article 18(3) of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and repeated in Article 1(3) of the 1981 Declaration, is subject to the limiting criteria of public safety, order, health or morals, and others' fundamental rights and freedoms. The same provisions, of course, specify that these limitations must be "prescribed by law" and "necessary" and, as Professor Clark and others stricture, "care must be taken that the limitations on freedoms do not swallow up the freedoms themselves." Or, as put in the seminal Krishnaswami study, "public authorities must ensure that any limitation imposed upon that freedom (i.e., to manifest religion or belief) is exceptional; that it is confined within the narrowest possible bounds."

With regards to the central subject of Future Activities, we venture several brief comments. Mme. Odio-Benito, in her splendid paper, suggests that the general human rights mechanisms already operative within the UN system, such as ECOSOC's #1503 procedure, be used to focus attention on abuses of the right to be free of religious intolerance and discrimination. We agree that, despite the confidentiality of this procedure and its other generally recognized technical as well as political constraints, it remains potentially a useful means to this end -- providing the Member States wish it to be. The same may be said of UNESCO's committee concerned with violations of human rights in the fields of education and culture and of the more proven ILO procedures in the fields of employment and occupation. These procedures, of course, should not be applied selectively against violators of the freedom of religion or belief in only one country or region, or in a particular socio-political system. If they are to be credible, obviously, they must be applied even-handedly and fairly.

Equally, perhaps even more promising, is the procedure presently available under the binding Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, whose human rights committee reviews compliance reports from its many States Parties. As suggested by Professor Clark, "national institutions should assist the national government in the task of preparing reports required by the international community under the reporting systems envisaged by the various international instruments of human rights." National institutions, of course, include non-governmental associations, which - he recommends - should be consulted in the preparation of their governments' reports and should be free to comment critically on their contents.

These national reports, which tend in too many instances to be limited to information on constitutional or statutory provisions rather than actual practices, and to be otherwise self-congratulatory, should not only be available for discussion within countries, but also be accessible to scrutiny and comment elsewhere by scholars, legal associations, NGOs, and other interested parties. International law, it is accepted, does not regard mere critical comment on human rights conditions in other countries as interference in their internal affairs.

The International League endorses the view that, in addition to the already existing general mechanisms, it is desirable to establish one or more specific new ones centered on the Declaration. For example, a working group, along the lines of those established to deal with the problems of Disappeared Persons or Indigenous People, has been suggested for dealing with patterns of gross violations of the freedoms in the 1981 Declaration, with particular emphasis on government-sponsored or sanctioned persecution, discrimination or intolerance. This working group could be empowered to receive relevant information from both governmental and non-governmental sources, hold regular hearings, and discreetly and in a friendly manner, discuss its findings with offending governments.

Though some observers of the prolonged UN effort to formulate and adopt the 1981 Declaration are of two minds over whether to recommend that it begin at once to work toward a binding instrument, we endorse Mme. Odio-Benito's view that this effort begin soon. We also share her view that, consistent with the clear intent of Article 6 of the Declaration, its particularizations of the rights encompassed within the freedom to manifest religion or belief are non-exhaustive, and should be amplified in a convention. Among the additional rights to be included, she cites several proposed in the Krishnaswami study, which correspond to some suggested in the significant paper presented to this Seminar by the Holy See (WP.4).

Even should the goal of a convention take a long time to reach - hopefully not as long as the Declaration - we suggest that the drafting process can itself serve as an educational means, providing it engages the active interest and involvement of a wide array of religious and other NGOs, and is not the exclusive preserve of a technical worker dawdling over commas in near empty rooms.

Also, as the WJC observer commented yesterday, the goal should be the highest and not the least common denominator.

We would also like to suggest that the Human Rights Centre arrange further Seminars along the lines of the present one, which for some unexplainable reason - surely not the level of interest in its subject matter - is not attended by very many non-governmental organizations. A possible explanation is the comparatively short time given them to arrange for participation following announcement of the Seminar's dates as well as the late availability of its background papers. A desirable site of a second Seminar, we suggest, would be Costa Rica, the homeland of the special Rapporteur for the study of religious intolerance and discrimination and the location of the American Court of Human Rights and of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights.

The International League shares fully the views expressed in many of the papers circulated here that, in the words of Professor Lopatka, to protect adherents of religion from intolerance and discrimination, "requires an atmosphere of tolerance, mutual respect for human dignity, promotion of humanistic ideals and freedoms also in the other fields of life." He cites the Polish-initiated General Assembly Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace (1978), which calls on states to "respect the identity and diversity of all peoples" and "to discourage advocacy of hatred and prejudice against other peoples." Pursuant to this Declaration, he suggests, organizations subscribing to religious or non-religious beliefs have the duty to practice tolerance toward

one another, to which end, a major role should be played by priests and teachers, and pursued "in schools and teaching institutions of all types, beginning with kindergartens and ending with universities," including "public as well as private schools." We endorse fully his view that a similar duty rests upon "employer, managing staff and ... leaders of trade unions ..."; on "the press, radio, television"; on "writers, painters, sculptors, playwrights and filmscript authors, film directors and other people of arts and culture" -- and on governments, which "play a decisive role in educating in the spirit of tolerance," through legislation as well as measures in the fields of education and information.

We also see great merit in the suggestion of the experts from Japan and Italy that the Director of the Human Rights Centre, on behalf of this Seminar, invite the UN University in Tokyo to bring together a qualified group of internationally recognized experts to prepare teaching materials on the world's religions and belief systems.

Mr. Chairman, the expert of Canada and other Seminar participants have spoken of the responsibility of governments to set an example by assuming leadership in efforts to combat prejudices leading to intolerance and discrimination. Surely the UN bodies, especially those whose subject-matter is human rights, have a similar responsibility. In our view, the members of these bodies, whether government representatives or independent experts, have the moral responsibility, when a colleague indulges in speech that is demeaning and threatening to a religious or other group, to make publicly known their disappointment and concern.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, only time will reveal the effectiveness of the 1981 Declaration in overcoming religious intolerance. Many commentators over the years have expressed skepticism about the value of high-minded declarations, even of international legal instruments. A former representative to the Human Rights Commission has observed that "if human rights consisted of words on paper, all would be well... Self-deception (he said) arises... from believing, naively, that mere words make human rights real." That is to say, the 1981 Declaration will have little impact in the long run unless governments, but even more religious and other national and international non-governmental groups, promote it conscientiously and energetically through education and advocacy efforts. If it is allowed to gather dust on library shelves, it will be nothing more than a footnote for scholars and students. On the other hand, if it is used thoughtfully and with commitment, the Declaration can serve to advance the cause of those who still must struggle to achieve their basic right to freedom of religion and conscience.

December 13, 1984

ATTACHMENT B

In the lengthy tirade by the Saudi representative, whom the Chairman declined to call to order despite the Israeli Ambassador's demand, he gave the following curious explanation of how Islam came to adopt the prohibition against changing religion. To wit, it was the Jews' fault, for Islam really holds that there should not be any compulsion in religion. However, as the Koran explains, the prohibition was enacted (the Saudi said) because a group of Jews in Mohammed's time "tried to convince by treacherous means, Arabs from Medina to leave the Moslem faith." They "plotted to accept Islam with the intention to fool the Arabs who were mostly illiterate and trusted the Jews because they knew how to read and write." This is why "God, through his prophet, made it known that anyone who enters Islam and consequently rejects it, is to be put to death. The case is similar to the measures taken by modern governments against spies who enter a country in order to spy and then try to leave the country. Their punishment is only one: the death penalty." Actually (he said), this penalty is not enforced but "it remains as an efficacious sword on the heads of those who strive to lead astray the people." (This explanation of the origin of the Islamic prohibition against apostasy from Islam is evidently a staple in Saudi Arabian anti-Semitism. It also appears in a 1974 Saudi published report of a human rights seminar in that country to explain why Saudi Arabia declined to vote for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which affirms the freedom to change religion-SL.)

The Saudi representative went on to explain to the Israeli participant, who had lamented "that the Jewish people had been discriminated upon and persecuted in all centuries, "the reason for this "common bond between Hitler and Nebuchadnessar: It is because they call themselves the 'chosen people'." He then proceeded to give his version of the notorious 1840 Damascus "blood libel" incident, misquoting the Talmud to the effect that: "If a Jew does not drink every year the blood of a non-Jewish man, then he will be damned for eternity." Withal, he went on, "I am looking for a Jew to put my hand in his hand and I have found many and in their forefront, as they know, the Neturei Karta..."

The aforementioned quotations are from a partial text of the translation of the Saudi statement, delivered in Arabic. It is being distributed by the Israeli UN Mission along with examples of other anti-Semitic remarks by some Arab delegates at last year's General Assembly (1984), and Ambassador Netanyahu's replies.

January 15, 1985

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Kislev 5745
December 1984

Dear Colleague:

The Chanukah season draws near, and our attention shifts to the Maccabean struggles -- of the weak against the powerful, the righteous against the evil, the arrogant against the adherents-to-Torah.

I write to you to tell you about a most exciting and effective organization that successfully reaches the needy, the disenfranchised, the disabled, the victims of discrimination:

THE NEW ISRAEL FUND.

Through its direct support of numerous grassroots, citizens' action programs (please see the enclosed report), the New Israel Fund furthers the causes of justice, peace, and democracy that have always been the cornerstone of Jewish ideals and the noble Zionist dream.

Several colleagues of ours are strongly committed to the New Israel Fund -- Harold Schulweiss is on the National Advisory Committee and Simkha Weintraub heads the New York Committee, to name but two. We are now asking you to add your name to the growing list of supporters and haverim of the Fund.

There are four areas in which your help is needed at this time:

- 1) Money: Contribute to the New Israel Fund, either personally or from your discretionary funds.
- 2) Networking: Give the New Israel Fund the names, addresses, and phone numbers of your neighbors, congregants, and others whom you feel would like to actualize their love and concern for Israel and our people through the Fund.

הקרן החדשה לישראל

**PROGRAMS
OF
AMERICAN
STUDIES
AT
ISRAELI
UNIVERSITIES**



The American Jewish Committee — Israel Office
9 Ethiopia Street — Jerusalem

The American



Jewish Committee

הוועד היהודי האמריקני • רח' אתיופיה 9, ירושלים 95 149 • טלפון 228862, 233551 • מברקים: ווישקום, ירושלים
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PROGRAMS OF AMERICAN STUDIES AT ISRAELI UNIVERSITIES

INTRODUCTION

The object of this report is to examine the American Studies programs offered by the five major universities in Israel. The inquiry was conducted in three areas:

1. An examination of the yearbooks of each university over the last few years;
2. A meeting with the secretary of each relevant department in order to elicit information on various aspects of student participation in the programs;
3. Interviews with those who were understood as being the policy-makers in their universities in regard to this subject.

In presenting this paper on the possibilities available in Israel for the study of American civilization, the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee is responding to a long-felt need. We hope that it will help prospective students, both native Israelis and from overseas, to decide at which institution of higher learning to enroll if American Studies is to be a major component of their education. Vocational guidance counsellors at Israeli high schools, representatives of the Israel Student Authorities abroad, head offices of youth movements, coordinators of Jewish and Zionist campus activities and various "friends" of Israeli universities, have all expressed a desire to have such information as is to be found in the following pages made available to them.

We would like to thank Mr. Daniel Krauskopf, Executive Secretary of the U.S.-Israel Education Foundation, Professor Aryeh Goren of the Hebrew University, Ms Ruth Yegar and Mr. Amnon Hadary for the assistance in the research and evaluation which went into the preparation of the study.

December 1984

Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff
Director

#84-585-25

Programs of American Studies at Israeli Universities

American Studies are offered at all five major universities in Israel. There are good reasons for the tremendous interest in the United States as a great power, in its foreign policy, in its present domestic politics, in its Jewish community -- because all these impinge upon Israel. Thus, all of the policy sciences and all of the research institutes deal with the United States. But this is just not enough. The universities in Israel must produce students and scholars with a much more profound understanding of American civilization. For example, one cannot understand the Moral Majority without a knowledge of the Evangelical Protestant tradition in America from the 18th century to the present. One cannot understand current American politics without appreciating the turns and twists of Church-State relations in its historical development or the sources of American conservatism or the feminist movement. Zionist analysis is completely inadequate in understanding the development of the American Jewish community.

Concomitantly, there is a growing interest among American Jewish students to pursue a year or more of their studies in Israeli institutions of higher learning. This report is meant to aid potential students, both Israelis and Americans, to locate and assess the available courses of study. It is also aimed at providing policy and decision-making bodies with background for an assessment of areas in which significant improvements and developments might be considered.

For a variety of reasons Israeli students are drawn to the study of the United States, its history, literature, government, and place in world affairs. In common with young people in other democratic societies, they are exposed to, and influenced by, American popular culture. The cinema and television bring scenes of American life (distorted as they sometimes are) into the home and the theatre. The influence of American popular music, dance and literature, and of an American life-style, are pervasive. However, there are factors which have created a special affinity among Israelis for the United States and its history. Young Israelis believe their nation has much in common with the United States -- a robust democratic life, a

pioneering tradition, and the centrality of immigration. Both peoples, they hold, share similar traits -- for national identity, a pragmatic streak which has encouraged change and experimentation, an egalitarian and pluralistic society with its tensions and challenges, and moral sensibilities which influence politics. Young Israelis are also aware that the largest and wealthiest Jewish community in the world is located in the United States. They are taught that American Jews are staunch allies of Israel and share with its Jewish citizens common historical memories, a venerable religious heritage and a commitment to Jewish group survival. Yet American Jews, the Israelis know, consider themselves Americans in every way. To understand them, therefore, one must study the larger American society. Finally, from the birth of the State of Israel to this day its most powerful support has come from the United States. Physical survival has depended on United States political and economic aid which has been forthcoming because of the goodwill harbored by the American people. To comprehend this Society, its politics, culture and character is, therefore, essential. United States history is taught in Israel's schools, American literature is avidly read in translation and American biography and social commentary reach a mass readership in translation. English is the second language; its study mandatory for six years in the upper primary grades and high school. An English language newspaper, the Jerusalem Post, is one of the leading dailies. Israel, in fact, has the highest overseas per capita readership of Time and Newsweek magazines. It may well be that, per capita, more Israelis visit the United States than any nation of Western Europe and a constant stream of American tourists, students studying in Israel, and some Americans who choose to live permanently in Israel, make the American presence a personal and indeed an intimate one. These ties -- cultural, intellectual, political and personal -- explain the special emphasis given to the study of the United States, its history and literature, in Israel's universities.

There are today twenty-one university teachers of American history in Israel, six at Hebrew University, five at Tel Aviv University, three at Bar Ilan University, and one each at the Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology

in Haifa, the Beth Berl College in Kfar Saba and the Open University. Of this number, five received their Ph.D. in Israel (three at Hebrew University and two at Bar Ilan University) fifteen received their Ph.D. in the United States and one in England. It is important to note that American literature is also extensively taught in all departments of English in Israeli universities and that the departments of political science and international relations include specialists on United States politics and government and United States foreign policy. Thus, the number of university teachers dealing with some area of American life far exceeds the number of historians. The membership of the Israel Association of American Studies numbers over eighty Americanists.

The term "American Studies" can be used in two ways: The designation of a relatively new discipline that arose in the United States in the 1950's and which provoked and still provokes considerable controversy there as to its viability as a self-contained discipline; and a catch-all, generic term that includes any sort of scholarly study and teaching focused on the United States (similar to the use of the term "Jewish Studies" by American universities).

In its first sense -- an integrated program studying American civilization in all of its aspects -- the Hebrew University's Department of American Studies offers the only degree-granting program in Israel that seeks to attain this end. Except for Haifa University's program, which is younger and more modest in scope, the other universities have opted for teaching American civilization within the established disciplinary departments, i.e. History, English, Political Science, etc.

It is noteworthy that the Hebrew University's program in American Studies differs from the American prototype. Rather than creating a synthetic discipline, the Hebrew University insists that the integrity of the different disciplines from which the department draws its teachers and students be preserved. Thus, wherever possible, teachers hold joint appointments in the Department of American Studies and in their disciplinary department and their courses are listed in both departments. Department members are hired and promoted on the basis of their qualifications as historians, English teachers

or political scientists. Similarly, students majoring in American Studies concentrate on either history, literature or political science. In fact, the department insists that its students meet all of the graduate requirements of the collateral department in which discipline they are also being trained. The purpose of this requirement is to assure that a holder of an M.A. degree in American Studies receives full legitimization as a historian, political scientist, etc. What distinguishes the curriculum as "American Studies" is the requirement that the department's majors take courses in other aspects of American civilization than which is represented by his other disciplinary interest, and that American Studies' majors participate in a departmental seminar co-taught by teachers from different fields where a topical approach is used. In a word; the Department seeks to preserve disciplinary depth at the same time that it gives the student a broad understanding of American civilization; it thus subsumes the two meanings of the term "American Studies" -- the scholarly study of a civilization, and a framework enabling students and teachers from different disciplines whose primary interest is the U.S. to interact with one another.

In addition to the resident historians, visiting Fulbright professors have played a crucial role in the teaching of United States history in Israel. The great majority of the Fulbright professors have spent a full academic year carrying the normal course load expected of Israeli academics. In the advanced undergraduate and graduate seminars and lectures, the Fulbright professors have proven most effective. Eight Fulbright professors of history have taught at Hebrew University, five at Tel Aviv, and three at Haifa. An almost equal number of Fulbright professors of American literature, political science and sociology have taught at the above universities and at Bar Ilan and Ben Gurion universities.

American history obviously occupies a prominent place in the curriculum of all the university history departments in Israel. No other national history, except for the history of the Jews, receives as much weight. However, since the Israel university requires a broad distribution of course work covering the ancient, medieval and modern periods for the undergraduate degree, the history major interested in American history is limited in the

amount of course work he can take for his bachelor's degree. At Tel Aviv University, the student concentrating on the modern period is required to take a course in American history. At all other universities, the American history offerings are among the electives the student may choose from to meet the requirements for the modern period. Only recently have some universities introduced the broad survey course in American history which is so prevalent in the United States. Monographic courses offered as exercises, colloquia and seminars are more usual. Some examples of such courses are: The period of the American Revolution which has been offered annually for first-year history majors in a number of universities, and for advanced undergraduates, seminars in Jeffersonian America, slavery, the regional conflict and the Civil War, immigrants in industrial America, labor and industry in 20th Century America and the New Deal. In the larger universities, such as Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, as many as 150 students are enrolled in six to eight courses which are generally offered.

Graduate level instruction reflects the particular strengths and interests of the various departments of history. The Hebrew University's American History program has benefited from the Jewish National and University Library, which is the largest library in the country and has the most extensive holdings in United States history. Tel Aviv University has concentrated on developing special strength in the area of industry and labor. Appointments and a faculty development program reflect this policy. Its American historians are specialists in 20th Century social and economic history. The University acquired a comprehensive microfiche and a microfilm collection of government and congressional reports, periodicals and newspapers dealing with industry and labor. The University of Haifa is particularly strong in 18th and 19th Century social and intellectual history and possesses an important collection of 18th Century newspapers and pamphlets. Bar Ilan University has stressed the New Deal period and American radicalism.

Although those interested in specializing in American history find course offerings, library resources, and thesis direction adequate for the master's degree, for the doctoral degree they are required to carry out their

research in the United States. This fact and the two-year course of study for the master's degree has led a number of Israelis interested in pursuing doctoral work in American history to take some graduate courses in an Israeli university, and then complete their graduate studies at an American university. Nevertheless, a number of students have completed their doctoral studies in Israel, spending a year of research in the United States. To date, the Hebrew University has awarded 17 doctorates on topics dealing with American and American Jewish history, Bar Ilan University, two, and Tel Aviv University, one. The University of Haifa is now authorized to offer the Ph.D. in history. Ben Gurion University, which until now has offered only a bachelor's degree in history, is developing a program leading to the master's degree. Finally, worthy of note are the two programs in American studies. The Department of American Studies of the Hebrew University offers a graduate program in which students concentrate on either history, literature or political science, taking minor concentrations in the other fields and an interdisciplinary seminar in their final year. The purpose of the program is to provide a broad grounding in American civilization. The University of Haifa established an American Studies program in 1980 which is broadly interdisciplinary in nature. It is administered by the history department and is open to undergraduates as well as graduates.

Of further note are some extra-curricular activities connected with American studies. In addition to the other aspects of its fine work in Israel, the United States-Israel Education Foundation administers an Educational Exchange Program. This two-way program brings Fulbright scholars to teach at Israeli universities and awards grants to young Israeli scholars who wish to pursue graduate studies and post-doctoral research in American Studies in the United States. The Foundation is administered by Mr. Daniel Krauskopf.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY

Department of American Studies

Structure and Hourly Requirements

American Studies at the Hebrew University are offered to graduate students. The program is designed to offer in-depth knowledge on the history of the United States, its social structure, government, literature and civilization, in the framework of relating the various fields as different aspects of one cultural-historical unit.

Graduates of the faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences are accepted. The Department recommends that the student who plans to study in this department include in his B.A. schedule a unit (hativa) in American Studies.

The program offers three divisions:

1. History of the United States
2. Literature and Thought
3. Government and Society.

The student must decide on an order of priorities among these three categories; one will be his/her major division.

The study agendum entails twenty hours weekly. In the major division, the student must take four hours comprised of two seminars. In the second division, a two-hour seminar. In the third, an introductory lecture (1½ hours) and discussion group (1½ hours). A two-hour departmental seminar is compulsory. Three hours of general studies are to be taken in any other department of the university. Finally, the student must attend six hours of professional studies in the department of his/her discipline on an M.A. level.

American Studies are also available on the undergraduate level in the form of what is called a "unit".¹ The unit program is available for students

1. "Hativa" is better translated as "concentration". It consists of a sequence of three courses in a given field. The Department of American Studies offers such concentrations in American history, literature, and government.

who prefer not to major in two departments (the usual procedure). In such a case, the student studies in one department and takes the equivalent of the rest of his hourly requirements in "unit" programs of different departments. For those M.A. students who did not or could not take a unit in American Studies during their B.A., there is a special "supplementary" section which requires them to take introductory courses in their major and second divisions. In the third division, the introductory course is part of the basic requirements.

Following is a list of the courses offered by the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in the 1983/84 school year:

1983/84

Courses offered in conjunction with the United States in the M.A. department for Contemporary Judaism

The Jewish World in our Times - American Jewry. Prof. Davis

Issues in the Research of American Jewry. Prof. Davis

The Path of Zionism in the English Speaking Countries. Dr. G. Shimoni

Jewish Society in North America. Prof. E. Shmaltz

A Survey of the Jewish Aspect in English and American Literature.

Mrs. S. Nardi

The Ideology and Social Heritage of American Jews. Prof. Goren.

Courses offered in connection with the United States in the Department of History

B.A.

1st year: The American Revolution. Dr. Zaccai

2nd year: Urbanization and Industry in the U.S. 1914-1970. Prof. Goren

Nationalism and Democracy in the U.S. 1791-1860. Dr. Zaccai

3rd year: Radicalism in the U.S. during the 20th Century. Dr. Zaccai.

M.A. : Social Thought and Historical Thought. Prof. Arieli

Politics and Culture in the U.S. After World War I. Prof. Arieli.

Courses offered in connection with the United States in the Department
of English Literature

B.A.

- 2nd year: The 19th Century American Romance.* Dr. Dauber
The 20th Century American Romance. Dr. E. Budick
The History of American and English Literature. Dr. Tucker
- 3rd year: American Modernism. Dr. Bar-Yaakov
Jerusalem in American and English Literature. Prof. Kohen
Melville Hawthorn and the American Romance. Dr. Dauber

- M.A. : The American Satire. Prof. Kohen
History and the American Literary Imagination. Dr. Budick
The Concept of the Author in American Literature. Dr. Dauber.

The M.A. department for American Studies

- *American Modernism. Dr. Bar-Yaakov
*American Pop-Art
*Introduction to American Folk Music. Dr. Hefetz
*Creative Writing.

Government and Society

- *Introduction to American Government. Dr. Slonim
*The U.S. Congress. Dr. Slonim
*Ideology and Community in American Jewish Life. Prof. Goren
*The History of American Journalism. Dr. S. Whitfield
*The Contemporary Presidency. Dr. D. Ricci
*Political Urban Developments. Prof. R. Friedland
*The Left and the Jews During the 19th and 20th Centuries. Prof. Etinger,
Dr. Ben-Israel, Dr. Vistrich, Prof. Kolat.

Literature and Thought Division

- *History and the American Literary Imagination. Dr. E. Budick (departmental
seminar).

* see supplementary studies.

UNIVERSITY OF TEL AVIV

The University of Tel Aviv has no separately organized unit for the study of American civilization. Administratively, it belongs to Western Europe. On the B.A. level, the modern era is divided into two subdivisions: 15th to 18th Century; 19th to 20th Century. Courses on America are given in both of these sub-divisions. On the graduate level the University has a "School for History". In the framework of this school, graduates who wish to specialize in American history do so as part of an individual program. The school does not especially wish to deal with non-historical aspects of American studies because these are treated by other bodies such as the Shiloah Institute for International Relations.

In Tel Aviv, the attitude is that not all the periods can be covered so, in order to reach a high academic level, the courses are concentrated on a few choice issues. Up until now this has been mainly from a social-economic viewpoint. The intention in the near future is to tackle Judicial History in the American context. This will be coordinated with the Fulbright Foundation.

The History department offers an impressive selection of courses in American Studies.

Following are the courses offered by the Tel Aviv University History Department for the past four years:

1983/84

1st year: *Fundamental Problems in U.S. History During the 19th and 20th Century. Dr. Gutfield, Dr. N. Shlifman

*Personal Liberty and Social Welfare During the Industrial Period. Dr. Horowitz

*American Liberalism - Sources and Essence of the New Deal. Dr. Horowitz

2nd year: *Nationalism and Democracy in the U.S. 1820-1850. Dr. Gutfeld.

1982/83

1st year: Same as year 1983/84

2nd year: *The Policy and Image of the U.S. in Latin America. Dr. Meidan

3rd year: *Populism and Progress in the U.S. Dr. Gutfeld

*The Cold War 1946-1962. Prof. S. Freedlander

M.A. : Darwinism Comes to America 1870-1890. Dr. Gutfeld.

1981/82

1st year: *The Discovery of America. Dr. Eliav-Pladon

*Revolution to Civil War, 1776-1861. Dr. Gutfeld, Mr. Davidson

2nd year: *The American War of Independence. Mrs. Lisk

*Big Business Era 1900-1965. Dr. Gutfeld

*Immigrants and the Struggle for the Image of American Society.
Mrs. Lisk

3rd year: *200 Years of American Historical Communes. Dr. Oved.

1980/81

1st year: *Introduction to American Political and Economic History,
1865-1917. Dr. Gutfeld

2nd year: *Sources of the American Revolution. Mrs. Lisk

*The American Civil War. Dr. Gutfeld

*Pioneering and the Movement Westwards in American History.
Dr. Gutfeld

3rd year: *Protest and Reform: The Progressive Movement in the U.S.,
1906-1929. Dr. Gutfeld

M.A. : *Drafting an Army: The American Civil War Experience.
Prof. Walach (given in the context of military history)

*The United States and the Sources of the Cold War - An
Historical Analysis. Dr. A. Ben-Zvi.

BAR ILAN UNIVERSITY

American Studies Track

American Studies in Bar Ilan University is an integrated part of the History Department. The department defines its fields of learning in relation to the four major periods: The ancient Near East, ancient Greece and Rome, the medieval age, and the modern era; and in relation to two geographical divisions: The Middle East and the American continent. That is to say, that in the context of the study of general history one can choose a track of study that relates to one of these geographical areas. This track is only part of the students' curriculum.

The American division focuses its attention on the history and internal development of the United States and Latin America. Although, as will be noted, there is no integrated cooperation with the English and political science departments, there is a strong recommendation that the students who wish to study in the American division take either English literature or political science as their other department. The English department does indeed offer courses in American literature, but these are not coordinated with or included in the division. The political science department offers courses on American foreign policy presented by the teachers of the division. The significant item of the Bar Ilan curriculum is that the introductory class on United States history is compulsory for all students who wish to emphasize the modern era during their studies.

Following are the courses offered by the Bar Ilan University History Department in regard to American Studies, for the past three years.

1983/84

*The History of the United States. Dr. Genizi

*The American Revolution. Dr. Genizi

*American Reformist Movements: 1890-1932. Dr. Genizi

*U.S.-Latin America Foreign Relations During the 19th and 20th Centuries.
Dr. Reznick

*American Protest Movements. Dr. Genizi.

1982/83

- *The History of the United States. Dr. Zucker
- *The Formation of American Foreign Policy. Dr. Zucker.

1981/82

- *The History of the United States. Dr. Zucker or Dr. Genizi
- *Reformist Movements in the U.S. Dr. Genizi
- *Nationalism in Latin America. Dr. Reznick
- *Civil Rights in America. Dr. Zucker
- *Slavery and Civil War in America. Dr. Genizi
- *American Protest Movements. Dr. Genizi.

AMERICAN JEWISH
BEN GURION UNIVERSITY OF THE NEGEV
ARCHIVES
Unit of American Studies

Ben Gurion University is the youngest of the academic institutions of higher education in Israel. It was founded scarcely more than a decade ago. Since 1979/80 an American Studies program has been organized under the supervision of Professor I. Troan.

The system in Ben Gurion requires the student to choose a major and minor subject. The student has the option of taking two units, instead of one whole department, as a minor.

The American Studies program is structured as a unit. In order to get a general impression of the departmental structure of this university, it is helpful to know that the History department, for instance, deals with General History, Jewish history and Jewish Thought. English literature is in a department called Languages and Linguistics, which includes French and German. Political Science is an independent unit. Ben Gurion University cannot offer an M.A. degree officially yet. The Council for Higher Education has been examining the university for the past two years and will apparently come to a conclusion in the near future as to whether the university will be authorized to offer such a degree. What the university

has been doing in the meantime is offering advanced classes to post-B.A. students. These classes are potentially M.A. classes, pending the decision of the Council.

Following are the courses offered by the Ben Gurion University Unit for American Studies. The years mentioned are 1983/84, 1982/83, and 1980/81. During 1981/82 no program was offered.

1983/84

Literature Section

- *American Literature. Prof. A. Tabechnic
- *Poetry: Communication and Tradition. Dr. S. Lichman
- *The Poetry of Paradox: Taylor, Hopkins and Stevens. Dr. R. Shakmon
- *Science Fiction. Dr. H. Finkelstein.

History Section

- *American History from the Revolution to the End of the 19th Century.
Prof. I. Troan.

1982/83

Literature Section

- *American 20th Century Classics. Prof. R. Miller
- *American Popular Literature. Prof. A. Tabechnic.

History Section

- *American Reformist Movements: Populism to the New Deal. Dr. A. Gal
- *Chapters in the History of American Jewry. Dr. A. Gal.

1980/81

Literature Section

- *Selected Texts in American Literature. Dr. M. Glazer-Shatz
- *20th Century American and English Drama. Dr. Finklestein
- *American Literature - Seminar. Dr. M. Glazer-Shatz.

History Section

- *American Social History. Prof. I. Troan.
- *Reformist Movements in America: Populism to the New Deal. Dr. A. Gal
- *Chapters in the History of American Jewry: 1914 to Today. Dr. A. Gal.

HAIFA UNIVERSITY

Unit of American Studies

Haifa University, since 1980, has been offering an American Studies program under the supervision of the History department. The Haifa program is actually a unit program open to the B.A. student who wishes to major in one department only. The M.A. student is required to supplement his program with units as well. In addition, the M.A. student can emphasize American Studies in his disciplinary field and in this way deal extensively with this subject.

The Haifa unit deals with the subject from its historical, literary and political aspects. The courses offered in the historical context usually deal with the colonial period and slavery. A course is offered which relates to women in the American historical context. One course usually relates to Jews in America; this is sometimes given from the literary structure. One course always relates to American international relations. Since 1980/1981, Dr. M. Sobel, the program supervisor, has been teaching a course called Biography and Autobiography in America.

In respect to the level of the courses, they range from second year B.A. to M.A. Each course is given for one semester and those offered during the second half of the year usually are continuations of the first.

Following are the courses offered by the Haifa University Unit for American Studies for the past two years.

Courses from the second semester were mentioned only if they differed significantly from those of the first semester.

1983/84

First semester:

- *American Puritanism: Dream and Reality. Dr. M. Sobel
- *From Wilson's New Freedom to Roosevelt's New Deal. Dr. M. Sobel
- *Slavery in America to the end of the Civil War. Dr. M. Sobel
- *Women in Colonial America. Dr. M. Sobel
- *A Review of American Literature. Dr. P. Rozenzweig
- *Heshel Kaplan and Solovetchik. Dr. R. Kellner

Second semester:

- *Biography and Autobiography in America. Dr. M. Sobel
- *19th Century American Authors. Dr. P. Rozenzweig
- *The American Renaissance. Dr. P. Rozenzweig
- *The Poetry of T.S. Eliot. Prof. A. Aronson
- *Modern Jewish Thought in America. Dr. R. Kellner
- *American Society. Dr. M. Sobel
- *Issues in the Government and Foreign Policy of the U.S. Dr. M. Yizhar.

1982/83

First semester:

- *The New Nation. Dr. M. Sobel
- *Slavery. Dr. M. Sobel
- *Biography, Autobiography and History. Dr. M. Sobel
- *The History of American Jewry: 1654-1979. Dr. R. Cohen
- *A Review of American Literature. Dr. I. Saposnik
- *A Review of American Literature. Dr. B. Knieger
- *Whitman and Dickinson. Dr. L. Prager
- *Pragmatism. Dr. A. Kaplan

Second semester:

- *Social Problems During the Colonial Period. Dr. M. Sobel
- *The Modern American Novel. Dr. I. Saposnik
- *American Jews in American Society. Prof. Z. Sobel
- *Political Institutions in America. Prof. Bloch
- *American Government. Prof. Y. Nedava.

CRIA

WINTER 1984/85 NEWSLETTER OF THE COUNCIL ON RELIGION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS NO. 2

SATELLITE DIPLOMACY PROPOSED FOR U.N.

In a crisis involving the superpowers, the Secretary-General of the United Nations would be called upon to intervene. Given the primitive state of U.N. communications, one U.N. official said, he would probably "have to reach them by pay-phone."

This is one of the alarming conclusions of a CRIA study presented on November 20 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by its author, Professor Thomas E. Boudreau of the Experiment in International Living in Brattleboro, Vermont, and by Robert Myers, CRIA's president. "We met with the Secretary-General over a half-hour, and he discussed some of the difficulties of trying to mediate a diplomatic situation using the U.N.'s current communication capacity," said Professor Boudreau.

Two recent U.N. reforms, the expansion of its news service and its "Weekly Regional Reports on Peace and Security," are cited in the study as valuable innovations.

Further help would come from (a) the acquisition of a satellite channel to create a global U.N. communications



Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Robert Myers, President of CRIA, and Thomas Boudreau.

system, (b) a computer bank on conflict prevention, (c) electronic linkage between the Security Council and the Executive Office of the Secretary-General, and (d) "electronic offices" at the Security Council.

The study, titled *The Secretary-General and Satellite Diplomacy*, has been sent to the Security Council, all U.N. missions, and members of the Reagan administration responsible for international affairs.

CRIA CONFERENCE: ASIA AND THE CBI

On Tuesday, September 25, some sixty men and women from more than thirty nations came together for CRIA's five-day conference on "East Asia as a Model

for Caribbean Development." They were government people, academics, and representatives of international businesses; and they engaged in an extensive effort

to determine what aspects of Asian economic development might be applicable in the context of America's new Caribbean.
(continued on p. 4)



Left to right at table: Yu-kang Mao, Yasuhiko Matsuda, José Vicente Mogollón-Vélez, Douglas Graham, Raymond Lafontant, Jr. (speaking), Maria Antonietta Dominguez, William Sandoval, T. K. Tsui.

JANUARY

Worldview Press Breakfast: "Famine in Ethiopia: Causes and Prescriptions." Date and speaker to be announced.

9

CRIA Conversation: Christine Moss Helms, Research Associate of the Brookings Institution, on "Iraq and Its Foreign Policy Concerns."

15

Carnegie Leadership Program luncheon seminar: James E. Akins, Former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

16

CRIA Conversation: Shaul Bakhash, a Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, on "The Reign of the Ayatollahs: Iran and the Islamic Revolution," the topic of his recently published book.

23-24

Annual Meeting of CRIA Board of Trustees, Merrill House.

FEBRUARY

Worldview Press Breakfast: Trevor Fishlock, New York Bureau Chief of *The Times*, London, on "The Miners' Strike and the Rise of Class Warfare in Britain." Date to be announced.

6

CRIA Conversation: James Chace on "Fighting and Talking in Central America." Mr. Chace is an editor of the *New York Times Book Review* and author of *Endless War: How We Got Involved in Central America—and What Can Be Done*.

12

Reception for invited guests, commemorating the Seventy-First Anniversary of CRIA. 6-8 p.m., Merrill House.

13

CRIA Conversation: Roy Godson, Professor of Government at Georgetown University, Washington D.C., on "Soviet Practice of Disinformation and Active Measures."

25

IMF Lecture: John Williamson, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Economics, Washington D.C., on the IMF in normative and ethical terms. The first of a series of lectures. See article in this issue.

28

Carnegie Leadership Program luncheon seminar: S. G. Marzullo, Manager, International Government Relations, Mobil Oil Corporation, on "Divestiture in South Africa: A Multinational Corporation's Point of View."

MARCH 14

Lecture in the series "Issues of Ethics and Foreign Policy in the Nuclear Age": "The Problems" by Robert Jervis of Columbia University. 4 p.m., Alumni Lounge, University of California, Berkeley.

27-28

Carnegie Leadership Program International Economics Seminar on "Latin American Business: The North South Connection," at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama.

WAS YOUR ADDRESS CORRECT? HAVE YOU MOVED? Please send the correct address to CRIA Newsletter, 170 E. 64th St., New York, N.Y., or call (212) 838-4120. For information on CRIA programs and membership, write to CRIA Programs at the same address.

Editor John E. Becker



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CHURCH-STATE ARCHIVE EXPANDS

The entire files of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service will be added in the near future to the CRIA Archive on Church and State Abroad—a major expansion of CRIA's archive. The material in the Council Archive details the participation of private agencies in official U.S. relief, development, and refugee programs.

Since the majority of the founding and early member-agencies were religious, the archive clearly documents the cooperative style among the "three faiths" that characterized voluntary foreign aid through the late 1960s. The record contained in these documents covers many matters of interest: the successes and failures of joint ventures of the voluntary agencies and the government, refugee and migration affairs, the development by private agencies of lobbying strategies and legislative interventions in the effort to influence Congress in foreign aid policy, the formation of voluntary relief councils overseas—such as in Germany, Korea, Jordan, and Hong Kong—and the often controversial efforts in Vietnam and Afghanistan.

The American Council was a forum that enabled voluntary agencies, both religious and secular, to cooperate in overseas humanitarian ventures and to

communicate the views of the voluntary community to the U.S. Government. Formed in 1943 to coordinate relief to the victims of World War II, it remained at the center of U.S. voluntary work overseas until this year.

Since the materials donated by the Council are the best source for the study of cooperation between the private and public sectors in the execution of U.S. foreign policy since World War II, CRIA will attempt over the next few years to make the archive of maximum use to students of postwar church-state relations.

At present CRIA's Project on Church and State Abroad is seeking funds to catalogue and organize the archive and to find a permanent place to house it.

The formation of CRIA's own Archive on Church and State Abroad was announced in December, 1983. Materials have been gathered both in the U.S. and overseas in the course of the three-year research project. They document the relation between U.S. church groups active in overseas relief, rehabilitation, refugee, and development work, and U.S. Government foreign policy and foreign assistance programs.

The CRIA collection is unique. It includes publications, program objec-

tives, trip reports, interviews, and records, along with government documents relevant to the role of private citizens and groups in the foreign assistance program, to U.S. refugee policy, and to domestic church/state legal and political matters. The work of international organizations active in overseas humanitarian work, particularly refugee relief, is also represented.

CRIA intends to continue expanding its Archive and is looking for contributions of documents on relations between the government and U.S.-based religious groups working overseas. Of particular interest are: refugee work, relief assistance, development programs, the missionary task, telecommunications, and formulations of policy, including U.S. foreign policy, U.S. foreign aid policy, church organizations' overseas policies and objectives. Personal correspondence, reminiscences, oral histories, and records of specific instances of cooperation or conflict between religious agencies and the government are welcome.

For information on the Archive—access, contents, or contributions—contact the Project on Church and State Abroad at CRIA.

DILLARD SEMINAR ON INVESTMENT

On Wednesday, November 14, Samuel DuBois Cook, President of Dillard University, greeted community leaders, business experts, faculty, and students of the university who had come together for a seminar on investment opportunities in Latin America and the Caribbean. CRIA's Carnegie Leadership Program sponsored the two-day seminar, continuing a series of such seminars on international economics held at historically black institutions such as Fisk, Lincoln Institute, Morgan State, Texas Southern, Hampton Institute, Cheyney, Delaware State, and Morehouse in Atlanta.

The purpose of the seminars is to stimulate interest in careers in international business and trade, provide a forum for the discussion of international economic affairs, encourage an exploration of the role of values in international politics and business, and, by drawing on the talents of economists, government leaders, and corporate executives, offer role models to today's students.

The keynote address of the seminar, "U.S. Policy and Economic Develop-



Robert S. Browne, Professor of Economics, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

ment in the Caribbean," was given by Ambassador Charles A. Gillespie, Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Caribbean in the Department of State. Ambassador

Gillespie is responsible for the development and implementation of U.S. policy in a region which includes fourteen sovereign states and ten nonindependent but self-governing territories.

The Wednesday afternoon panel discussion, "Unleashing Private Sector Markets: New Orleans Within the Caribbean Basin Region," was sponsored by the Latin American Chamber of Commerce of New Orleans and moderated by Joseph Ganitsky, a specialist in Latin American business at Tulane University.

The final event of the seminar consisted of concurrent discussion groups on the role of developing countries in regulating international business activities, the relationship between American labor and U.S. immigration policies toward Latin America, cultural issues in U.S.-Latin American business, and the seriousness of the Soviet and Cuban threat.

The seminar was covered in its entirety by the Voice of America and is to be translated and transmitted to most of the Caribbean and all the South American countries.

ASIA/CBI

(continued from p. 1)

bean Basin Initiative.

The meeting opened with a reception held in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, where about a hundred guests welcomed the participants. On the following morning the conference proper got underway with the first of seven workshops at which papers were read and discussed among the core group and invited guests. In addition to the workshops, there were luncheon and dinner meetings at which papers were also delivered.

The Right Honorable John Compton, Prime Minister of St. Lucia, delivered the keynote address on Wednesday evening, September 26, before a group of about 150 participants and guests. Other speakers included Mr. T. K. Tsui, Vice Chairman of the Council for Economic Planning and Development, Republic of China; Victor Rivera, Assistant Administrator for Latin America and the Caribbean, AID; Kiichi Watanabe, President of the Japan Center for International Finance, Tokyo; and Ki-Hwan Kim, Secretary General of the International Economic Policy Council, Seoul, Korea.

While the conference focused on economic development, a large variety of related topics arose during the course of the discussions. Among these were the role of the Confucian ethic in East Asian development, the status of labor unions in the various countries, immigration and worker migration, political stability, and the debt problem. It became clear to all that the adaptation of an Asian economic model involved a good deal more than simply the duplication of physical and financial resources; and it was on these key issues of differences and adjustments that much of the discussion focused. As one participant noted, there is at least as much to be learned from identifying the dissimilarities between East Asia and the Caribbean as there is in noting what they have in common.

"Once the results of this conference are assimilated and published," said CRIA's president, Robert Myers, "we expect to organize follow-up conferences relating these experiences to Africa, Latin America, and South Asia."

The conference was funded primarily by USIA and AID. A 100-page summary of the workshop discussions will be available this winter, and a volume of the collected papers will follow in the spring.



(1)

CONVERSATIONS AT THE ASIA/CBI CONFERENCE:

Rt. Hon. John T. Compton, Prime Minister of St. Lucia (1).

Robert Myers, President of CRIA (left) and Ungsuh Kenneth Park, Korea (2).

Paul Sigmund speaking with Ungsuh Kenneth Park at the Compton dinner (3).

(Left to right) José Quevedo Mexico; Ungsuh Kenneth Park, Korea; John Wong, Singapore; Arthur Lok-Jack, Trinidad (4).



(2)



(3)



(4)

CBI COMMENTARY

This is a meeting of enormous interest because it is the first time I have had an opportunity, in four or five years of working on this particular side of the street, to hear from leaders from the Far East—who we always talk about, but we never meet, we never hear from.

Peter Johnson, Executive Director, Caribbean Central American Action

Many Caribbean nations are so small, and their position of power even smaller, that there is no real pull for an industrialist and trader to really try to stick his neck out for exporting to these countries; he would rather stick it out for the world market. . . . The question is, how do we move into the area of export and growth, taking into consideration the needs of every country?

Arthur Lok-Jack, Company Director, Associated Brands, Trinidad

Being a person who has had the good fortune to travel most of the world, I have never found an area in the world so similar to the Caribbean as East Asia. Traveling from New Guinea all the way to the Mediterranean, I was pleasantly surprised how similar we were in these great diversities of religion, race, language, and political systems. . . . In fact, I would say that CRIA has brought together in this discussion representatives of the two tropical Balkan areas of the world.

Bernardo Vega, Economist, Dominican Republic

Being here, I feel flattered because I am certain that people in other parts of the world will learn from the East Asians. But that was not the case in the 1950s and 1960s, and even the early 1970s. I feel people were scared. . . . Personally, I think that we do know what we have achieved in East Asia in twenty-five years. In fact, the so-called Little Four Dragons has been a popular term since the late 1970s. Now we are all of a sudden pushed to say how we did it, and I am not sure. Therefore, I think the conference should give us a chance, at least for Asians, to look back. I think the historical context must be very important for us to examine.

Hsin-Huang Hsiao, Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Republic of China



Ki-Hwan Kim, Secretary-General, International Economic Policy Council, Seoul, Korea.



Pictured above (left to right) William Sandoval, El Salvador; T. K. Tsui, Taiwan; Ana Julia Jatar, Venezuela; Kim Duk Choong, Korea. Pictured below (left to right) Paul Sigmund, Princeton University; Courtney Blackman, Barbados; Peter Berger, Boston University.



ROOSEVELT BIRTHDAY LUNCHEON

Richard N. Gardner, Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University and former U.S. Ambassador to Italy, recalled Eleanor Roosevelt's roles as a member of the U.S. delegation to the first United Nations General Assembly in London and as the U.S. Representative on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, to a luncheon group of some thirty guests in the CRIA Board Room, October 2. The occasion was the one hundredth anniversary of Mrs. Roosevelt's birth.

"Incredibly, it was to President Roosevelt's widow, a lady of 61 at the time of his death in 1945, a woman who had never held public office, a woman ridiculed and maligned from both Right and Left for her personal manner and political beliefs, it was to this woman

that fell the task of being the West's principal spokesman in the United Nations in the defense of the right of the individual against the powers of the state," said Ambassador Gardner.

When cold war tensions erupted over the forced repatriation of over a million wartime refugees, Eleanor Roosevelt, speaking for the United States, insisted that every refugee be given free choice to return or not to return to his or her homeland. The United Nations had the responsibility, she insisted in her quiet and persuasive way, "to frame things which will be broad in outlook, which will consider the rights of man." Her argument led the way to overwhelming affirmation by the General Assembly of the refugee's right to free choice.

When the permanent United Nations Commission on Human Rights was

established in 1947, Mrs. Roosevelt was immediately elected its Chairman. She successfully steered the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to approval by the General Assembly in December, 1948. In her words, it was "a declaration of basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms to be stamped with the approval of the General Assembly and by a formal vote of its members and to serve as a common standard of achievement for all peoples of all nations."

Eleanor Roosevelt overcame a lifelong sense of insecurity to leave an enduring human rights legacy. In so doing, she also helped to pave the way for women who hold responsible positions in government today.

CRIA GROUP ATTENDS SAC BRIEFING

At the request of the Air Force, CRIA nominated six people last September to participate in a Civic Leaders Tour of Strategic Air Command headquarters at Offutt Air Base, Nebraska. Jerry Harris, Director of CRIA Conversations, led the group.

En route to SAC aboard a KC-135 Stratotanker, the group was treated to the incredible sight of a B-52 being refueled at 40,000 feet. During the two-day stay at Offutt there were briefings on Soviet military capabilities, SAC today, aerospace intelligence, and strategic force modernization. Detailed briefings were followed by candid discussion periods.

One of the highlights of the tour was the visit to the underground Command Center where, by using the Primary Alerting System, the SAC controller can speak directly to approximately 200 operating locations throughout the world, including all of the underground missile launch control centers. From the vantage point of the command balcony, reserved in the event of an alert for the SAC commander-in-chief and members of his senior staff, the visitors had a splendid view of the six large display screens and were given several demonstrations of instantaneous voice checks with other SAC bases.

After a visit to the Strategic Air Command Museum, where all types of planes—prop and jet—dating from World War II are displayed outside along with dummies of various missiles, the group took off for the trip back to New York in the same KC-135 Stratotanker, with its total lack of civilian comforts (hot air blazes before takeoff and for fifteen minutes into flight). They were again treated to a refueling in flight, this time an FB-111. The group then ate a box lunch, and reminisced about the unusual and valuable experiences of the previous two days at SAC headquarters.

ABBA EBAN SPEAKS ON MODERN DIPLOMACY

Abba Eban, CRIA's 4th Morgenthau Memorial Lecturer, described diplomacy as a profession that has often looked askance at itself and is now suffering some basic transformations. These, he said, are the result of the media's insistence on the public's right to know,

the constant interference of political leaders in the negotiation process, and the proliferation of international organizations.

Ambassador Eban, speaking on "Modern Diplomacy" at the Central Synagogue in New York on December 6,

rejected the notion that foreign policy is no longer the diplomat's province: "Diplomacy must be judged by what it prevents, not only by what it achieves. Much of it is a holding action designed to avoid explosion until the unifying forces of history take humanity into their embrace."

TAYLOR, TUTU INTERVIEWS IN WORLDVIEW

The anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize were marked in *WORLDVIEW*, CRIA's monthly magazine of international affairs, by interviews with Caldwell Taylor, Grenada's former Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs (November issue), and with Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, winner of the 1984 award (December issue).

Taylor, speaking on the eve of new

elections, warned that the problems that led to Maurice Bishop's overthrow of Eric Gairy have not been resolved—"elections have never brought us food." If they remain unresolved, "the U.S. must prepare itself...once again to invade Grenada..."

Bishop Tutu, responding to questions about developments in South Africa and the U.S. reaction, observed that "when something happens in Poland,

...before you can say Jack Robinson the U.S. government applies sanctions. When the same thing is done to black trade unionists in South Africa, they tell you... 'Sanctions don't work.' " To his critics' charge that he is a "political priest" Tutu replied, in part, "If God's writ does not run in the political sphere, whose does?"



Robert J. Myers, President of CRIA, answers questions at a public discussion in Taipei, Taiwan, on the problem of religion and social change. The question session followed an address by Wilmer C. Fields of the Southern Baptist Convention, a CRIA Trustee. A CRIA delegation of nine members, invited by the Asia and World Institute, made the Taiwan trip.



Peter Geithner (right), Officer in Charge of Developing Country Programs at The Ford Foundation, making a point with Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities, CUNY, at the luncheon following Mr. Schlesinger's inaugural lecture in the Ethics and Foreign Policy Series sponsored by CRIA. The lecture was given at Hunter College on October 10.

A CONVERSATION WITH JERRY HARRIS

For the last ten years Mrs. Harris has been in charge of CRIA Conversations, and she needs no introduction to many who have been associated with CRIA during those years. She will be retiring at the end of this year and we asked her to tell us about her work at CRIA.

Ed.: *What has been the most interesting thing about running Conversations these last ten years?*

Harris: Expanding the program. When I first took over there was no more than one conversation a month, sometimes not that. Now we're up to three or four.

Ed.: *As you expanded did you try to get more prominent speakers?*

Harris: In the beginning I thought prominent names were important, to entice others to speak. But my purpose now is to get the expert. For instance, after the Libyan shot and killed the policewoman in London, there was so much in the papers about Libyan terrorism that I wanted to get someone to talk on Libya. I called Donald McHenry, and he told me to call someone else who had been in the State Department, who said there was a woman on the MacNeil-Lehrer hour whose name he didn't remember. So I called MacNeil-Lehrer and asked them, and they told me it was Lisa Anderson up at Harvard.

Ed.: *So you really get your people by digging around, following leads?*

Harris: I found out that prominent people would say yes when I asked them to speak. Some already knew of CRIA. Hal Sonnenfeldt spoke here recently and told



Jerry Harris

the audience he had been affiliated with CRIA from the early '50s. Jeane Kirkpatrick said the same thing, that she had participated in CRIA seminars in Washington for years.

Ed.: *Have you got a "stable" of speakers, besides the new ones you dig up?*

Harris: There are about half-a-dozen; people like Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Leslie Gelb, and Jorge Domínguez always have something worthwhile to say.

Ed.: *There was even a Russian general once, wasn't there?*

Harris: We had Shustov from the Soviet Mission. The trouble with any government person is you're going to get the government line. When you come to Elliot Richardson talking about the Law of

the Sea, that's a different thing, but when you get to policy, policy has to be the policy of the President. And it's the same thing when you get a Russian to speak here. You already know what he's going to say.

Ed.: *Have the Conversations changed?*

Harris: I think the audience has gotten better. They're people who are really interested in international affairs. An ex-member of our Board called me up yesterday and said she felt CRIA had moved away from its discussions of ethics.

Ed.: *Too much expertise and not enough ethics?*

Harris: I told her that you can't have every speaker come and talk about the ethical dimensions of this or that. You have to let the person speak and have the audience bring in the ethical dimension. And they do.

Ed.: *And how are you going to enjoy retirement?*

Harris: I'd like to work somewhere a couple of days a week; and some people have approached me. But I'd also like to travel.

Ed.: *And visit all your friends around the world?*

Harris: You know, I used to get invitations from our ambassadors, "When you get to Poland, you must come to see me." But they've all left by now and can't do me a bit of good anymore. But I'd like to see the animals in Kenya. I'd like to go to New Zealand.

Ed.: *You're really going to those places?*

Harris: I hope so.

CRIA TO REVIEW IMF OPERATIONS

"The review of the operation of the International Monetary Fund in normative and ethical terms is so long overdue that it has suddenly become an urgent matter," said Robert J. Myers, CRIA's president, in announcing the opening lecture on the IMF, to be given at Merrill House on March 7. John Williamson, senior fellow at the Institute for International

Economics, Washington D.C., will give the lecture, which will be followed by a luncheon for an invited audience of economists and bankers.

This research program is being funded by a grant from the General Services Foundation of Minneapolis (announced in the first issue of the CRIA Newsletter). Two additional papers will

be given in March. There will also be conferences in Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco.

At the conclusion of the lecture series a monograph will be published to make available the findings and recommendations of the research.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED CRIA BOOKS

The Moral Dimension of American Foreign Policy, ed. Kenneth W. Thompson (Transaction Press; 350 pp.; \$9.95 paper).

The first of a multivolume Ethics and Foreign Policy Series, this volume brings together thirteen earlier CRIA publications that have enjoyed wide readership over many years. Contributors include Paul Nitze, Gordon Zahn, Paul Ramsey, and Hans J. Morgenthau.

Global Economics and Religion, ed. James Finn (Transaction Press; 262 pp.; \$26.00).

These essays focus on the significance of religion in a complex social and political environment, specifically on the close interdependence of religion and economics in India, Iran, Mexico, Japan, and Nigeria.

Protecting the Innocent: Enhancing

the Humanitarian Role of the United Nations in Natural Disasters and Other Disaster Situations, by Thomas E. Boudreau (CRIA; 36 pp.; \$5.00).

The Secretary-General and Satellite Diplomacy: An Analysis of the Present and Potential Role of the United Nations Secretary-General in the Maintenance of International Peace and Security, by Thomas E. Boudreau (CRIA; 51 pp.; \$5.00).



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THE CHANGING SITUATION OF SOVIET JEWRY

1982 - 1984

The two years which have elapsed have witnessed the solidification of the shift of policy towards Soviet Jews, first evidenced towards the end of 1979.

The policy involved three separate but inter-related features:

1. An effort to stop emigration
2. An intensification of forced cultural and linguistic assimilation
3. A broadening of the anti-Semitic campaign.

EMIGRATION

The radical decline in emigration which started in 1980 dropped in mid-1984 to its lowest point since the late sixties:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EXIT</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EXIT</u>
1968	229	1976	14,261
1969	2,979	1977	16,736
1970	1,027	1978	28,865
1971	13,022	1979	51,303
1972	31,681	1980	21,471
1973	34,733	1981	9,447
1974	20,628	1982	2,692
1975	13,221	1983	1,314
		1984 Jan-Aug	652

The basic difference that we have been witnessing throughout these two years is that the Soviet authorities control not only the numbers of permitted emigrants: they are also controlling and manipulating the procedures through which one must pass in order to apply for permission to leave with the object of drastically revising these procedures. This process has been evidenced by:

- i) confiscation of affidavits from the mails
- ii) non-response to an application for an extended number of years
- iii) the shortening of the period of validity of affidavits and the introduction of complications into the already complex procedure for applying
- iv) denial of the right to apply to those whose affidavits are not from first-degree relatives.

REFUSENIKS

Significant changes have also taken place in the situation of the approximately 400,000 Jews who did manage to contact their relatives in Israel and apply through them to the Israeli authorities to send them official invitations.

As the mere expression of the wish to leave for Israel is regarded as "anti-Soviet and anti-social," and as the authorities in the offices or factories consider the person who expresses such a wish to be unreliable, many of these 400,000 are reluctant officially to submit their applications for exit visas and prefer to remain anonymous and await better times.

The status of the close to 10,000 refuseniks whose names are known to us has greatly deteriorated during the last few years. Many refusenik families find themselves in a very vulnerable position. Not only are they subject to hardship as a consequence of having been fired from their jobs upon applying for an exit permit, but they are also subject to criminal prosecution as "parasites." In this way the Soviet authorities squeeze them out of Soviet society and make them into outcasts in accordance with the principle: WE DON'T NEED THEM, BUT YOU WON'T GET THEM.

The children of applicants are generally expelled from universities and sometimes subjected to punitive and selective conscription into the armed forces. This necessarily (as interpreted by the authorities) involves contact with secrets - which results in postponement of emigration for at least 5 years after the period of service.

Those applicants who manage to retain their jobs are subjected constantly to discrimination and humiliation, such as a sharp reduction in salary, transfer to a lower position and professional isolation. Highly-qualified specialists may now be found at the very bottom of the social structure, working as elevator operators, janitors, etc. at the lowest wages.

The entire category of refuseniks is being systematically revised. New restrictions are being introduced according to which the applications of refuseniks will not be re-considered unless they can present a whole assortment of completely new papers, together with a newly-received affidavit from Israel. The period of validity of an affidavit is now six months. The revision of these procedures represents an obvious attempt by the Soviet authorities to expunge the whole problem of the refuseniks, for those who are unable to produce the demanded file of papers will be considered as not wanting to leave.

In this way the Soviet authorities will have achieved absolute control over the number of applicants for emigration as well as the number of emigrants. "Invitations" will be passed strictly only to those very few who will later receive permission and the undesirable phenomenon of refuseniks will be completely eliminated.

PRISONERS OF ZION

Fourteen persons are presently imprisoned for activities connected with their efforts to emigrate to Israel or to improve Jewish life in the Soviet Union. Two of them were retried and resentenced in 1983 to additional terms, after having previously served their sentences: twenty-six year old Simon Shnirman was sentenced to a second term for "draft evasion," and veteran activist Yosef Begun who had previously served not one, but two previous terms, was given a harsh 12-year sentence after his conviction for allegedly having conducted "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

We have unfortunately observed a trend toward increased harassment of prisoners involving denial of various privileges including mail, visits and the like, as well as incarceration in punishment cells. Begun, Paritsky, Shcharansky and Tarnopolsky have been the chief victims of such practices.

The policy of not allowing former Prisoners of Zion to emigrate, instituted some four years ago, remains in force and affects 20 former Prisoners of Zion.

JEWISH CULTURE AND HEBREW TEACHING

Perhaps the most unsettling verdict was that levied against Yosef Begun in a trial which was considered by Soviet Jews to be a trial against Hebrew culture. This verdict should be seen in the light of the intensive campaign undertaken by the Anti-Zionist Committee and by the Soviet media against Hebrew teachers, denouncing their "subversive" activities.

Hebrew teachers have long been special targets of the KGB. Aba Taratuta, Grigory Vasserman, Yuly Kosharovskiy, Lev Gorodetsky, and others have been denounced in the press. The apartments of Hebrew teachers have been broken into, searched, and Hebrew and Jewish teaching material confiscated. Hebrew teachers and their students were and are being warned that they will face grave consequences unless they stop their Jewish activities. In recent weeks, however, the pressure on Hebrew teachers and cultural activists has been escalated by the authorities to the level of a determined campaign to put an end to Hebrew language study among Jews.

The arrest on July 25 of the Moscow Hebrew teacher Alexander Kholmiansky while he was vacationing in Tallin, Estonia, initially for alleged "petty hooliganism" was followed by confiscation of the Hebrew language materials in Kholmiansky's possession. His arrest was followed by a search of the apartments of four other activists in Moscow. One of these searches, was conducted at the home of the Hebrew teacher Yull Edelstein, by a policeman and seven KGB men, including one who identified himself as involved in the investigation of Kholmiansky. It lasted six hours and led to the confiscation of all of Edelstein's books in the Hebrew language with the exception of two children's books. The police allegedly "found" during the search a small quantity of some material in a matchbox

which they claimed might be drugs and sent it to a laboratory for examination. Edelstein's parents were taken away and interrogated for two hours. The KGB indicated during the search that they intended to liquidate the Hebrew teachers.

Meanwhile in Odessa, the young activist and Hebrew teacher Yakov Levin was arrested on August 12 and picture postcards of Israel and books were taken from his home and place of work. He is apparently to be charged with "slandering the Soviet state and social system."

A search was then carried out in Kholmiansky's Moscow apartment and the KGB allegedly "found" a pistol which had obviously been planted there. This, coupled with the fact that the KGB have been seeking evidence against Kholmiansky and have already requested six people to testify that he was occupied with gathering information on behalf of Israel - are ominous indications that charges more serious than hooliganism may be brought against him.

The use of such crude methods by the KGB against Jews (which formerly seemed to be more or less limited to the Ukraine) reflects a return to Stalinist norms (and also perhaps, the previous Ukrainian service of Fedorchuk /the present Minister of the Interior/ and of Chebrikov, his former deputy there). But the use of grossly fabricated charges is also necessitated by the inability or unwillingness of the Soviet authorities to acknowledge openly that it is Hebrew language study among Jews which is their target.

Suffocation of Jewish culture, literature and the Hebrew language has been going on for many years within the Soviet Union and is the direct effect of a policy which is attempting to bring about the assimilation of the Jewish people. It was only when the Soviet authorities - for one reason or another - allowed large numbers of Jews to leave, that they also allowed study circles and seminars to be held on the Hebrew language, Jewish culture and Jewish history.

The tendency to view the Jewish exodus from the Soviet Union and Jewish culture within the Soviet Union as two equal but separate themes is a distortion or misunderstanding of the situation. Yuly Kosharovsky summed it up this way:

"The central problem is the closure of the gates of emigration. If there is no emigration we will not be allowed to study and develop Jewish cultural life here. I just do not believe that the Soviet authorities are prepared to tolerate, here and now, the growth and development of Jewish cultural life intended for home consumption within the Soviet Union. They are only prepared to let it happen if it leaves together with a stream of emigrants."

ANTI-SEMITIC CAMPAIGN

In April of last year the newspaper Pravda published a declaration by a group of Soviet Jews concerning the establishment of a voluntary organization called the Anti-Zionist Committee. The

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE SITUATION OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

In recent months we have witnessed a growing reliance by Soviet authorities on coercion and intimidation which reflects a return in certain respects to the norms of the Stalin period. One of the outward indications of the change which has occurred is the newly enhanced status of the KGB and, incidentally, of the head of that organization, Chebrikov, who was recently granted the right to wear the pin of a Marshal of the Soviet Union. Thus for the first time since Stalin's death, the head of the secret police has been symbolically elevated to the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union, a title once held by the notorious Lavrenti Beria until his removal and execution in the aftermath of Stalin's death by the new leadership led by Khrushchev. Chebrikov had previously been promoted to the rank of General of the Army and then made a Candidate Member of the Politbureau.

Earlier, under Andropov, the KGB's formal designation had been changed from "The Committee on State Security Attached to the Council of Ministers" to "The Committee on State Security of the USSR." Subsequent legislation equalized the table of ranks of the Army with that of the KGB. All of these changes are not merely symbolic, but are intended to make clear to various elements in the ruling apparatus and to the Soviet public at large that the status of the KGB is being raised to that of the Soviet Armed Forces. A television series now being shown in the USSR which depicts KGB officers as popular heroes should be seen in this context as well.

Recent changes in Soviet criminal legislation have also reflected a tightening of the reins of control. The administrative authorities in Soviet prisons and prison camps, which means, in effect, the KGB, have been given the authority, under an appropriate cloak of legality, to extend the terms of prisoners who are completing their defined terms of imprisonment.

Additional new legislation, apparently designed to discourage contacts with foreigners, defines as criminally punishable the transmission to them of information comprising "official secrets" which, in contrast to "state secrets," is left as an open-ended and wholly undefined category. More recently legislation has appeared which makes punishable the rendering of any services to foreign tourists in violation of the (unpublished) "rules governing their stay in the Soviet Union." The definition of "treason" has been broadened to enable its employment against various forms of non-conformist behavior while the law proscribing "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Article 70 of the Criminal Code in the Russian Republic) was reinforced before Andropov's death by including within its terms the circulation not only of printed material, but also of handwritten material, photographs, records and tapes. It has also been reinforced by severely increasing the punishment for anyone deemed to have violated its terms who also has been the recipient of any form of material assistance from

what are described as "foreign organizations or persons acting in the interests of such organizations." As a supplement to these and other changes in criminal legislation, the authorities have returned to the old practice of encouraging Soviet citizens to inform on one another anonymously and have even prepared and distributed a special form of postcard for this purpose.

Another extremely important and indicative feature of the changed situation is the recent cancellation by the Soviet authorities of the licences of Western shipping companies which engage in the shipping of parcels to the Soviet Union with the pre-payment in hard currency of Soviet customs duties. This is an unprecedented measure to which even Stalin never resorted. The fact that the Soviets are willing to forego receiving tens of millions of dollars from this source demonstrates graphically the importance which they attach to cutting off Soviet citizens from the outside world. It is worthwhile to mention that the cancellation of the licences of Western shipping companies was done under Chernenko, and we can see it as a continuation of Andropov's policies.

All of these aspects of the general situation have, of course, important implications for Soviet Jews. There are, however, specific features which apply particularly to them. Anti-Semitic articles appear with undiminished frequency, in particular those equating Zionism with Nazism and those attacking aliyah activists generally and sometimes by name as anti-Soviet subversives. Most noteworthy in this respect was the article which appeared in Sovetskaya Rossiya, the organ of the Russian Republic, in August of last year which accused Jewish activists of working in collaboration with the CIA and Jewish and Hebrew study circles of being centers for anti-Soviet subversion and espionage.

Depicting Jews as conspirators and spies in the national press is an ominous development with Stalinist overtones reminiscent of the campaign of 1948-1953 which generated a paranoid anti-Semitism throughout the USSR and led to the liquidation of Soviet Jewish culture and its prominent representatives and consigned thousands of Jews to prison camps. It is a clear threat to unofficial Hebrew study groups and Jewish seminars, which had already been stigmatized on April 29 and 30 in Leningradskaya Pravda as representing the "shock troops of International Zionism," an attempt to form a "Zionist fifth column in our own country" through "a creeping 'cultural' infiltration into the socialist countries, above all in the Soviet Union."

Tourists have had utterly harmless Jewish material taken from them by the police. The confiscation of the materials and subsequent expulsion of the tourists for possessing them have been made the subject of TASS announcements and given extensive publicity in the Soviet media both at home and abroad.

On July 1, the former President of the State of Israel, Prof. Efraim Katzir, while in the Soviet Union for a scientific congress was arrested in Leningrad with his wife while about to visit a refusenik. They were then subjected to a search of their belongings

and questioned intensively for an hour and a half about their activities in the USSR. The fact that the Soviet authorities would permit themselves such gross discourtesy and behave in such an outrageous manner toward a former head of state (and they were aware of his identity) is a measure of the priority which they attach to isolating the refuseniks.

Jewish emigration remains halted except for the occasional isolated case and all appeals to the Soviet authorities regarding Prisoners of Zion or refuseniks, whether open or secret, have been unavailing.

The internal relationship of forces which govern these matters is illustrated by the case of Professor David Goldfarb of Moscow who recently received an exit visa as a direct result of the intervention of a Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Ovchinnikov. The KGB then carried out a search in Goldfarb's home, as well as in the homes of other scientists. In Goldfarb's home they confiscated materials which they described as being of military importance and which, they claimed, were intended to be smuggled abroad. For a time it appeared that they intended to use these materials as the basis for holding Goldfarb as a witness or even as the accused in a criminal case. This intention appears to have been dropped although Goldfarb's exit visa has not been restored to him.

Despite the difficult situation and the general confusion, the activists are also continuing the teaching of Hebrew, though in smaller groups than in the past. And whenever they meet with tourists from the West visiting the USSR, they plead: "Do not forget us, raise your voice on our behalf. Tell the free world of our plight before it is too late."

Despite the currently oppressive atmosphere, the activists have not been intimidated. A petition to the Supreme Soviet in February, to which 43 Leningrad Jews bravely signed their names and addresses, demands the right of repatriation to Israel without regard to the question of family reunification. This point was repeated in an appeal to French President Mitterand, during his recent visit to the USSR, which was signed by over 100 Jews from seven cities. In emphasizing their desire for repatriation the activists are not only voicing their sincere longing for Zion, they are also recognizing the damage which the drop-out phenomenon has done to the Jewish exodus from the USSR.

Another demonstration of the courage of the activists in difficult circumstances was the organized hunger strike in protest at the conviction of Zakhar Zunshain of Riga who was sentenced on June 29 to three years of imprisonment for "slandering the Soviet state and social system" on the basis of his petitions for redress sent to Soviet institutions. In this hunger strike more than a hundred activists took part.

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR - 1983

Month	Exits from USSR	Arrived in Israel	%	Drop-outs	%
January	81	19	23.5	62	76.5
February	125	34	27.2	91	72.8
March	101	33	32.7	68	67.3
April	114	11	9.6	103	90.4
May	116	34	29.3	82	70.7
June	102	39	38.2	63	61.8
July	167	38	22.8	129	77.2
August	130	29	22.3	101	77.7
September	135	54	40.0	81	60.0
October	90	41	45.6	49	54.0
November	56	24	42.9	32	57.1
December	<u>97</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>32.0</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>68.0</u>
TOTAL:	<u>1,314</u>	<u>387</u>	<u>29.5</u>	<u>927</u>	<u>70.5</u>

JANUARY - AUGUST 1984

Month	Exits from USSR	Arrived in Israel	Drop-outs
January	88	22	66
February	90	49	41
March	51	18	33
April	74	24	50
May	109	50	59
June	72	29	43
July	85	38	47
August	83	19	64
TOTAL:	652	249	403

JEWISH COMMUNITY URGED TO 'FINE TUNE' ITS RESPONSES TO THE SOVIET UNION ON THE ISSUE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION

By Murray Zuckoff

TORONTO, Nov. 19 (JTA) -- An expert on international law, human rights and Soviet Jewry said here

that the Jewish community must "fine tune" its responses to the Soviet Union on the issue of Jewish emigration and to forego an unvarying "shrei gevalt" reaction regardless of how many Jews are allowed to emigrate annually.

Yoram Dinstein, rector of the Tel Aviv University, told several hundred people attending a session on "The Rescue of Soviet Jewry: Whose Responsibility?" at the 53rd General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations that it becomes counter-productive to denounce the Soviet Union with unyielding intensity when it permits thousands of Jews to leave as well as when it closes the gates to emigration and allows only a handful to leave. Whether the Soviets allow thousands of Jews to leave or only tens of Jews, the Soviets are sending a message, and the message is different at different times and must be understood in context.

"We must give signals to the Soviet Union if they do something favorable and we must pick up the gauntlet if they don't," Dinstein said. If the Jewish community "shries gevalt" when 51,000 Jews are allowed to leave, as they were in 1979, the peak year of Jewish emigration, "what are we left with when the Soviets allow less than 1,000 to leave, as this year?"

Warns Against Exaggeration

Dinstein warned against crying wolf or exaggerating the condition of Jews in the USSR. "We were warned of a pogrom against the Jews, that they will be sent to Siberia, and have referred to the plight and illness of one or more Jewish activists and then found them to be in better health once they leave than they were reported to have been," he said.

Crying wolf and exaggerating the situation only tends to discredit the Soviet Jewry movement and results in a loss of sympathy or interest in the real problems facing Soviet Jews, he observed. The situation is severe enough not "to have to gild the lily," Dinstein said. All that is necessary is "to take a snapshot of what exists," he said.

He pointed out that when the Soviets allowed 51,000 Jews to leave, "it was a signal and we should have signalled back. It didn't mean that we had to pack up and go home. But we have to play different tunes to accompany different developments."

Emigration And East-West Detente

Dinstein said the Soviet Union lets Jews go on the basis of East-West detente. The Soviets do not give anything away without making certain that they receive in return a concession from the West commensurate with what they have given away. If the Soviets seek detente they can provide signs of "being liberal on the cheap" by allowing Jews to leave, he said. The world applauds this as a humanitarian gesture and the Soviets have not really lost much in the process.

"What did the Soviet Union lose by letting 260,000 Jews leave (under the regime of the late President Leonid Brezhnev)?" Dinstein asked. Very little, he answered. These Jews were allowed to leave because their role in Soviet society until then -- as scientists, doctors, professionals -- had been replaced by other segments in Soviet society. To assure the continued emigration of Jews from the USSR, Dinstein said "we must be in favor of detente."

In answer to a question, he said there is no relationship between the Soviet policy towards its Jewish citizens and its policy toward Israel. The Soviets helped Israel in the early years of the Jewish State, especially during the War of Independence, when Czechoslovakia sent arms to Israel with the tacit approval of the Soviet Union, Dinstein said.

It was also the bleakest years for Jews in the USSR when Stalin ordered the mass arrest of Jewish doctors in the infamous "doctors' plot" episode and ordered the murder of several Jewish poets, he said. On the other hand, he observed, the worst year in the relationship between the Soviets and Israel -- in 1979, two years after Menachem Begin became Israel's Premier -- was also the best year for Soviet Jewish emigration.

A Success Story

Dinstein pointed out that it is now 25 years since the struggle for Soviet Jewry began. He said it has been "a success story beyond our wildest dreams," with more than 250,000 Jews having emigrated. Nevertheless, he added, a minimum of 350,000 more Jews want to leave the USSR "and if the doors were open, practically all Jews would leave."

He said that one of the positive developments in the struggle for Soviet Jewry has been "that we in the West contributed to the consciousness of Jews in the Soviet Union and provided them with an identity and pride." In addition, Dinstein said, "we have been instrumental in getting Soviet Jews closer to the sources of Jewishness."

At the same time, he said there is also a debit side to the development in this struggle. "We are getting tired. We have become tired of the subject." But, Dinstein noted, the struggle for Soviet Jewry was not begun as "a campaign for a few years, but for decades. Those who decide to participate in this struggle do so for life."

Another negative development, Dinstein observed, is that "we have lost the sense of unity and objectives. Splinter groups have developed within the Jewish community and frequently they take steps that are counter-productive and dangerous." In this connection, he referred to, without identifying them, those Jews who open fire at the Soviet Mission to the United Nations or who harass Soviet officials in the United States.

Dinstein also cautioned Soviet Jewish groups not to work with anti-Soviet groups like the Ukrainians. He said "it is mistake to do so and weakens our struggle."

Plight Of Children Of Refuseniks

Alexandra Finkelshtein, a former Soviet refusenik who worked as a marine biologist in the Soviet Union until she applied for an exit visa, and who now lives in Israel, described the plight of the children of long-time refuseniks who became "hostages of their parents."

The soft-spoken, almost frail Finkelshtein, said that the adults take risks in seeking to emigrate "but we make the choice to take risks." The children have not made a choice but are "subjected to the same humiliation and the same danger as their parents and this is very difficult" for both the children and their parents. "Our children grow up in an abnormal, unnatural situation as they witness the arrests of parents, KGB surveillance and are subjected to the same ostracism as their parents," she said.

The children are born in freedom, as are children everywhere, Finkelshtein observed, "and can't understand the total unfreedom they have to endure. They ask, why, if they (the Soviet authorities) don't like us don't they let us out?"

She recounted how Soviet authorities tried to dissuade her from naming her daughter, Miriam. The authorities said the name was "strange" and suggested a more typical Russian name like Marina or Marianna, Finkelshtein said. After several hours of this harassment, the authorities finally agreed to allow the baby to be named Miriam after she and her husband persisted.

The Attitude Of Children

Finkelshtein also recounted that at the age of seven, Miriam came home from school one day glum and depressed. After some time she finally asked, "Wouldn't it be better for us not to be Jews?"

Another time, Miriam asked her mother to attend a children's exhibition of drawings at her school. "The drawings were very good," Finkelshtein said, "but about one-third of them showed Israeli soldiers with swastikas and Magen Davids intertwined on armbands and Israeli soldiers bombing Arab villages. The children can't be blamed, they are victims of vicious anti-Zionist propaganda. How does one live in such an atmosphere?"

She told the audience that efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews have kept them going and have buoyed their spirits and resolve. She urged that these efforts continue. "As long as you persist, we will be safe," Finkelshtein declared.

Cites U.S. Determination

Morris Abram, chairman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights and chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, said the U.S. government is determined to make the issue of Soviet Jewry "an issue of first rate importance, not a throw away item," in discussions with Soviet leaders and in negotiations with the Soviet Union.

He said that Secretary of State George Shultz is especially, among all the Reagan Administration officials, vitally interested and concerned with the rights of Soviet Jews and that he has vigorously pursued the issue of human rights for Soviet Jews in his meetings with Soviet officials.

Abram said that letting Jews go from the Soviet Union is less important for Soviet leaders than how the issue helps the Soviets. He said there are considerable grounds for optimism regarding the future of Soviet Jews "if we seize the opportunities."

TO: "Editorial Advisory Board" of Jewish Digest

Robb Jannebaum

FROM: Jonathan D. Levine

RE: PROBABLE SUSPENSION OF PUBLICATION

1984

A recently commissioned professional evaluation of Jewish Digest concluded:

"While the magazine has several thousand loyal subscribers and while its functions (collecting and condensing on a wide Jewish spectrum) are helpful and convenient, some doubt arises as to whether the tens of thousands of dollars required each year to meet its growing deficit can be fully justified.... One alternative would be to make the magazine part of a larger educational or informational program, thus reducing its 'separate' overhead and expanding its reach.

"We are dealing here also with questions of policy and priorities: Jewish Digest certainly is 'good for the Jews.' But do its 'convenience' and educational functions warrant the human energies and subsidies required for its continued operation?

"If the answer is in the affirmative, some broadly-based communal auspices should be found for its support, expansion, and distribution."

A decade ago, I undertook to subsidize a badly faltering Jewish Digest.

And since the death of Bernard Postal, I have served as its volunteer Acting Editor, faithfully maintaining its Klal Yisrael orientation.

But I too have come to feel that if such a magazine is to be published, then the energies and funds for it should come from the "mainstream" community which it mirrors, rather than from "independent" sources such as ours -- which should support more experimental projects.

And so, with mixed feelings, we will terminate our subsidy at the end of 1984, while continuing to seek a new home for the magazine. If no other sponsorship emerges, we will provide a special one-time allocation to ensure that all obligations of Jewish Digest, Inc. are met in a dignified manner.

We wanted to inform you of these developments prior to any public announcement. We look forward to sharing with you news of some forthcoming projects -- as well as a program of grants to be announced in 1985.

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TO: CHARLOTTE JACOBSON, PRESIDENT, AND DR. SAMUEL I. COHEN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, JEWISH NATIONAL FUND OF AMERICA.

FROM: MOSHE RIVLIN, CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, KEREN KAYEMETH LEISRAEL, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL.

1. PLEASE CONVEY TO THE MANY JNF FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS IN AMERICA THAT WE HAVE A CRITICAL NEED FOR FUNDS AT THIS TIME.
2. ISRAEL'S SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE NEWLY INSTITUTED AUSTERITY PROGRAMS HAVE HAD SERIOUS EFFECTS ON OUR 1984 - 1985 BUDGET. AN ANNUAL INFLATION INDEX THAT HAS JUMPED FROM 400 PERCENT TO NEARLY 1000 PERCENT THIS MONTH, AND THE CONTINUING DEVALUATION OF THE SHEKEL HAVE FORCED US TO DRASTICALLY REDUCE OUR OPERATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.
3. THE IMPLICATIONS ARE VERY SERIOUS. SUSPENSION OF MANY JNF AFFORESTATION AND LAND RECLAMATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE ARAVAH, NEGEV, AND GALILEE WILL MEAN THE EROSION OF PROGRESS MADE IN RECENT YEARS AND WILL RESULT IN INCALCULABLE DAMAGE OF THE LAND SURFACE IN THESE AREAS.
4. KEREN KAYEMETH'S FINANCIAL INABILITY TO CONTINUE WITH PROJECTS ALREADY IN PROGRESS, PROVIDING THE BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE FOR AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES WILL INEVITABLY PRODUCE CHAIN REACTION, RESULTING IN TOTAL STOPPAGE OF ALL THE OTHER STAGES OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, DESIGNED TO FOLLOW.
5. SLOWING DOWN TEMPO AND DIMINISHING THE EXTENT OF AFFORESTATION WILL NOT ALLEVIATE OUR FINANCIAL BURDEN, BECAUSE FOREST MAINTENANCE MUST CONTINUE. NEGLECT MAY CAUSE IRREPARABLE DAMAGE TO THE TREES AND SOIL.
6. LAYING OFF FIELD AND FORESTRY PERSONNEL, THAT LIVE MOSTLY IN IMMIGRATION SETTLEMENTS, WILL IMPOSE SEVERE HARDSHIPS ON WHOLE COMMUNITIES FOR WHOM KKL IS THE SOLE EMPLOYER.
7. WE HAVE AN IMMEDIATE NEED FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. IN FACT, WE'RE APPEALING TO JNF GROUPS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TO HELP US RAISE 5 MILLION DOLLARS BY THE END OF THIS CALENDAR YEAR. WE APPEAL TO EVERYONE WHO LOVES THE LAND OF ISRAEL TO RESPOND WITH A SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION, EVEN IF THEY HAVE CONTRIBUTED RECENTLY. REGARDS FROM JERUSALEM.

HIGHLIGHTS OF ISRAEL'S ELECTION RESULTS:

Polarization, Fragmentation and Ethnicity

by Hanoach Smith



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022**

INTRODUCTION

This is the second of two reports on Israel's 1984 Knesset elections prepared for the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee by Hanoch Smith, who heads a leading Israeli public opinion and economic research center. In his first report, issued in June, Mr. Smith analyzed the major issues in the campaign and the various parties and personalities contending for the votes of the Israeli electorate. Mr. Smith concluded that "the public is strongly polarized on key issues as never before."

The results of the elections, which are examined in detail in Mr. Smith's latest report, confirm the sharp divisions that exist within the Israeli electorate. Not only were the votes almost evenly divided between the two major blocs -- the Labor Alignment (44 seats) and the Likud (41 seats) -- but an increasing number of voters supported one of the 13 successful smaller parties, contributing to the further fragmentation of Israeli politics. This has led to calls for a reform of the electoral system. Some have urged that in place of countrywide elections for party slates, there be either single member constituencies, as in the United States, or regional voting for a few local Knesset members.

Another suggested change is to raise the minimum percentage of the vote required for a party to win Knesset representation. At present it is only one percent of the nationwide vote. Since seats are allocated on the basis of proportional representation, this favors narrowly-based ideological or personal parties. Many European countries have set five percent as the minimum for a party to enter Parliament and in Egypt the threshold was recently set at 8 percent.

The failure of either major party to gain sufficient seats to enable it to easily assemble a stable and effective coalition government has prompted calls for the major parties to join together in a government of national unity. Such a government was established during the crisis on the eve of the Six-Day War in 1967 and lasted some three years.

President Haim Herzog has lent the weight of his office to the idea. When he asked Labor Party leader Shimon Peres, on August 5, to begin the process of forming a new government, President Herzog noted that the Israeli people wanted a "strong and stable" government that was "based on cooperation among all the central groupings in the nation." The need for a national unity government was underscored by the deteriorating economic situation, which he termed "the most dangerous and difficult this state has ever known." Mr. Peres responded that he would attempt to "set up as broad a government as possible, a government of national unity, which will bridge the rifts that have been discovered in the ground of our existence."

Both leaders indicated their rejection of the type of extremism typified by Rabbi Meir Kahane, whose Kach party narrowly succeeded in winning one seat in the Knesset. Rabbi Kahane has opposed democracy as "un-Jewish" and has called for expulsion of the Arabs from Israel. The President pointedly refused to include Kahane among the political leaders he invited to consult on the form-

ation of a new government and castigated the "absence of tolerance and dialogue" that had received "frightening and disgraceful public expression."

Mr. Peres declared, "I believe in a democratic regime built on the decisions of the majority and respect for the rights of the minority." He pledged that any government he headed "will guarantee equality of rights to all citizens of Israel, without any difference of religion, nationality or origin."

In his report, Mr. Smith notes the crucial importance of the votes of the Oriental or Sephardi communities -- the name given to those Jews whose families had immigrated to Israel from the Arab and Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa. These voters constituted the backbone of Likud's continuing strength and also asserted their increasingly important role within the religious and strongly nationalistic parties. Labor failed to win over substantial numbers of Oriental voters despite the country's economic problems, the continuing trauma of the war in Lebanon, and the withdrawal from public life of Menachem Begin, the charismatic leader who had attracted widespread support among the Oriental communities.

The demographic trends favor a further increase in the influence of the Oriental Jews. Jews born in Europe, who constituted the overwhelming majority of Israel's population and its political leadership when the state was established in 1948, are gradually dying off. The Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin, most of whose families immigrated since 1948, came with larger families than the Europeans. The Israeli-born children of the Oriental Jews are now beginning to reach voting age. The effect of these demographic trends will be to increase the political importance of the Jews of Middle Eastern origin in Israel. Indeed, the Smith Research Center projects that by 1990 they will constitute more than 50 percent of all eligible Jewish voters.

Mr. Peres appeared to be reaching out to them when, in his acceptance speech on August 5, he pledged to "work to form a government of reconciliation, a government whose laws will be nurtured on good will, a government that will bridge the social gap, the ethnic difference, the spiritual spectrum and the national diversity."

Meanwhile, Americans who have been watching with deep interest the developments in Israel's vigorous parliamentary democracy, can only hope that a sufficient number of Israeli parties will put aside their ideological and personal rivalries and respond to President Herzog's appeal to create a united government strong enough to reform the electoral system and tackle the pressing economic and social problems facing the country.

GEORGE E. GRUEN, Ph.D
Director
Israel & Middle East Division

August 7, 1984

HIGHLIGHTS OF ISRAEL'S ELECTION RESULTS:

Polarization, Fragmentation and Ethnicity

by Hanoch Smith

The results of the 1984 Knesset elections stunned the Israeli community. For most of the election campaign the Labor Alignment (Ma'arach) and its allies held a solid advantage over the Likud. Suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, the lead began to erode four weeks before the election. Those who had voted Likud in 1981, and who said in polls that they now favored Labor, began streaming back to the Likud. Specifically, Oriental Jews, whose families had immigrated from Arab and Islamic countries, returned rapidly to the Likud. The wave continued until election day.

Shortly after the polls closed, Israelis learned that Labor had defeated Likud by a small margin and that a political stalemate was brewing. As final results came in it became clear that very little had changed on the political scene, except that it would be even harder to form a stable governing coalition. In 1977 and 1981, the Likud and the combined religious parties won 61 Knesset seats, enough to form a coalition without taking in new parties. This time, even adding Tehiya, the more right-wing nationalist party, the number reached only 59 members.

While the Labor Alignment lost three seats, these were lost to its allies, Amnon Rubinstein's Shinui (Change) and Shulamit Aloni's Ratz (Citizens Rights) lists. Together they had 50 seats, exactly the same number as in 1981. Their position would have been the same as in 1981, except that they got some bonus from the Arab vote. In 1981, Rakah (the essentially Arab Communist front) received four Knesset seats. This time Rakah again received four seats but a new party, the Progressive List for Peace, received two seats -- giving the lists strongly opposed to a Likud government six seats in all. Thus, the Labor alliance and the Arab lists had 56 seats to block a Likud-led coalition.

This put the focus on the other new parties. Ezer Weizman's Yahad party received three Knesset seats. Although most of its support came from former Likud voters, Yahad's platform, especially regarding policy in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) and peace with the Arabs, was much closer to the Ma'arach. Former Finance Minister Yigal Hurwitz's Ometz party, which won one seat, stood for stern economic reform, not a Likud rallying cry. Rabbi Meir Kahane's Kach party got one seat, but neither Labor nor Likud accept his support in forming a coalition in view of his policy regarding Israel's Arab citizens and Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza. Thus, Weizman and Hurwitz have the ability to block a Likud coalition.

How is it that Israeli voters, in the throes of an economic crisis that includes a 400% inflation rate, and generally unhappy over the situation in Lebanon which has caused so much loss of life and treasure, nevertheless refused to vote in the alternative Labor government and, indeed, produced near stalemate between the competing camps?

1. The Vote Shift During the Last Month of the Campaign

First we will observe the vote shift that occurred during the last month of the campaign, using Smith Research Center polls published in the Jerusalem Post and Davar for measuring the change in the Jewish vote, which represents 90% of the electorate.

TABLE I

June and July Smith Polls and Actual Results Compared (Jewish voters only)
(in percentages)

<u>Party or Group</u>	<u>10-14 June</u>	<u>8-10 July</u>	<u>18-19 July</u>	<u>Actual Results July 23, 1984</u>
Likud	28	29.5	33	34.5
Tehiya	4.5	5	4.5	4
Religious parties	10.5	10.5	11	12+
Labor Alignment	44	39.5	38	36
Ratz, Shinui, Eliav	4	6.5	6	5.5
Weizman (Yahad)	3.5	2.5	2.5	2
Hurwitz (Ometz)	1	2	1	1
Other(including Kahane)	1	2	2	4.5
Undecided	3.5	3	2	---

The polls show that as late as mid-June, the Labor Alignment had an enormous lead of 44% to 28% over the Likud. But by July 8-10 this lead had declined to 10%. Four to five days before election day the gap had halved again to 38% for Labor and 33% for Likud. This was the last Smith poll before the election, but even allowing for statistical error in the poll it is evident that this trend continued through election day.

The data clearly indicate a major shift in support from Ma'arach to Likud in the last month of the election campaign. Tehiya, a Likud ally, peaked in early July, and then lost votes to the Likud. In the Labor camp, the smaller parties also peaked in early July, but lost support as the elections approached. Weizman and Hurwitz also lost support as election day approached. Only Kahane, whose party was temporarily banned during the campaign, gained strength.

Thus, in the final weeks of the campaign two basic phenomena took place. The first and major one was a shift from Labor to Likud of fairly major proportions. The second was a shift from smaller parties to the major parties, usually within the same camp.

2. The Final Vote

Although the shift in support from smaller to larger parties occurred at the end of the campaign, the smaller and newer parties nevertheless gained in this election at the expense of the larger parties. Indeed, 15 parties won Knesset seats, the largest number since 1949, as against 10 in the outgoing Knesset. The final results of the 1981 and 1984 elections are compared in Table II.

TABLE II

<u>Party</u>	<u>1981</u>		<u>1984</u>	
	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Knesset Seats</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Knesset Seats</u>
Likud (Likud bloc)	37.1	48	31.9	41
Tehiya	2.3	3	4.0	5
Labor (Labor bloc)	36.6	47	34.9	44
Shinui	1.5	2	2.6	3
Ratz	1.4	1	2.4	3
NRP	4.9	6	3.5	4
Morasha, Poalei Aguda	0.9	--	1.6	2
Aguda (Religious bloc)	3.7	4	1.7	2
Shas	----	--	3.1	4
Tami	2.3	3	1.5	1
Rakah (Arab bloc)	3.4	4	3.4	4
Progressives	----	--	1.8	2
Weizman (Others)	----	--	2.2	3
Hurwitz	(1.6)	(2)	1.2	1
Kahane	----	--	----	1
Others, no representation	4.3	--	3.0	--
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>120</u>

The differences in the percentages for the total vote in the above table and those presented earlier for the 1984 elections are explained by the inclusion of the Arab vote in the final results, while in Table I we dealt only with the Jewish vote.

While the Labor bloc kept its 50 seats, the Labor Alignment lost three seats net, one to Shinui and two to Ratz. Incidentally, Lova Eliav, included in this bloc, received 0.7% of the vote and thus fell short of Knesset representation by only 0.3%. In the 1981 elections, two small parties, the Independent Liberals and Sheli, a leftist party, both failed to get Knesset representation, though they received 1.0% of the vote between them.

The Likud loss of seven seats was more serious, thus bringing the combined loss of the two major parties to ten seats. Between them they won 85 seats, as against 95 seats in the previous Knesset. The coalition partner, Tehiya, picked up only two of these, leaving the Likud bloc weakened by five seats. These seats were won by Weizman's Yahad (3), Hurwitz's Ometz (1) and Kahane's Kach (1).

In the religious camp, the parties got the same number of seats as in 1981, 13, and the same percentage of the vote, 12%, but its distribution among parties changed radically.

The NRP (National Religious Party) and Agudat Israel, historically the two dominant forces in the religious camp, both lost heavily in the election, each losing two seats. The NRP is represented in the new Knesset with four members and Agudat Israel with two members. A new party, Shas, representing Orthodox Sephardi Jews, received four seats, a major surprise; Morasha, a breakaway from the NRP, got two seats; and Tami saw its representation reduced from three to only one Knesset member. These results represent radical change within the religious camp and will be further analyzed below.

The Arab, or minority, vote gained in importance in these elections. Instead of gaining four seats, as they did in 1981, in this election Arab parties gained six seats. Rakah (the Arab Communist party) lost only fractionally in its share of popular votes and kept its four Knesset seats, while the new Progressive list, gaining 18% of the Arab vote to Rakah's 35%, squeezed out two Knesset seats. All these votes were intended to block the formation of a Likud-led government.

Interestingly, the percentage of the Arab vote going to Zionist parties changed little, reaching 47% of the minority vote. The Labor Alignment again did well among the Arabs. The Alignment received over 21% of the Arab vote, compared with 27% in the 1981 election. In elections prior to 1981, Labor usually received 10-13% of this vote. The Likud share of the Arab vote declined to 5%, from 6.6% in 1981. Religious parties, mainly NRP and Tami, gained among Arab voters, receiving a combined approximately 6.4% of their vote, a gain of nearly 2% over their 1981 results.

Among other Zionist parties, Weizman's Yahad did especially well, getting nearly 6% of this vote, which, incidentally, gave Weizman his third Knesset seat. Amnon

Rubinstein's Shinui again got 5% of this vote. But what gave the Arab vote increased importance was the increase in voter turnout. From 68% of eligible Arabs voting in 1981, an all-time low, the number rose to 73%, or between 9 and 10% of the overall vote.

3. Reasons for the Shift

While the overall results produced a near political stalemate, the question remains, what happened over the last month of the campaign that caused a solid Labor bloc lead to collapse and the Likud to surge back to near equality with Labor?

In many ways the 1984 elections were a repeat of the 1981 elections, except in the timing of the vote shift from Labor to Likud. When the elections were declared in February 1981, Labor led the Likud by 30% in the Smith poll, by 44% to 14%, with 26% (of whom 21% were previous Likud voters) undecided. The shift began almost at once after Yoram Aridor replaced Yigal Hurwitz as Finance Minister and abandoned Hurwitz's economic austerity program for a government spending program designed to increase private consumption rapidly. The Aridor policy started with sales tax reductions on consumer durables and increased subsidies on basic commodities. Within three months, the gap between Likud and Labor in the polls had closed. One month before the election the Likud was already running neck-and-neck with Labor, according to a Smith poll. The prospects of an increased standard of living, and then its actual realization, sent uncertain Likud supporters scurrying back to support the party.

For the first part of the 1984 election campaign the economic situation was difficult. After the devaluation of the Shekel on October 6, 1983 and the collapse of the bank shares (the major source of public savings), an economic recession followed in which average wages declined by 15% and unemployment rates began to rise. The rate of inflation shot up to 400% per annum. While this economic situation persisted, and with the added weight of public dissatisfaction with the situation in Lebanon, Labor led the Likud by margins of 10-16% from April to June.

The government determined that its hopes for re-election lay in improving the economic situation for the masses. Quietly, the economic restraint policy was abandoned and money from public coffers was poured into the economy, aimed at increasing real incomes even at the expense of further inflation.

This policy paid off tangibly. In the June Smith survey 50% of those interviewed agreed that their standard of living had fallen in recent months; only 33% demurred. By mid-July the numbers had reversed -- then only 34% of the population reported that their standard of living had fallen, while 50% stated this was not true -- a remarkable shift in a very short period.

The Knesset passed several key social and economic laws on the eve of the elections. A discharged soldiers bill (equivalent to a GI bill in the United States) was passed, giving discharged soldiers enormous benefits upon completing their military service. In addition, a bill was passed in which the government undertook to protect the real value of the public's savings (to prevent a recurrence of the previous October's bank share collapse). The future cost of this legislation plus the increased subsidies on basic commodities did not

become an election issue. The government showed that its heart was in the "right place" in its desire to improve the public welfare and increase the standard of living.

The public was not quite as naive as the above description suggests. During the campaign the public was bitterly critical of the government's handling of the economy, especially in the months when the standard of living was falling. When asked which party would best handle inflation and the economy, persistently less than 25% thought the Likud was better, while approximately 50% favored the Labor Alignment. This ratio did not change significantly during the campaign.

Regarding the war in Lebanon, Labor's position actually improved during the campaign. In April and June the voters were equally divided as to which of the two parties could best handle the Lebanese situation. By mid-July Labor was preferred by 45% to 37% over the Likud.

Smith polls showed that opinion on "social issues" and "the ethnic gap" (between Jews of Oriental and European origin) was more favorable for Likud. The government's performance in these areas helped deflect the negative impact of the economy and Lebanon. In Smith polls the interviewees were asked if they think the government is succeeding or mainly succeeding in key areas like handling the economy, social affairs (hevra), defense and foreign affairs. The government's ratings in handling the economy and social affairs usually go together, since social welfare and the economy are closely linked. However, since 1981 public satisfaction in these two areas has tended to diverge. While only 10-12% thought the government was mainly succeeding in its handling of the economy from December 1983 to June 1984, 28-29% thought the government was mainly succeeding in handling social affairs. Quite suddenly in July, while the proportion who thought the government was succeeding with the economy increased to 18%, the proportion who thought the government was succeeding in its handling of social affairs soared by 17% to 46%, nearly half the population.

These results are surprising. They are better understood in the context of "the ethnic gap" issue. In polls conducted through April 1984, the Labor Alignment and Likud were thought about equally good in handling the ethnic gap issue. In June, in reverse to the general views on the economy and Lebanon, 36% thought the Likud would be better in handling the social gap compared to 30% for Labor. But by mid-July a huge gap was evident, with Likud favored over Labor by 41-27%. The July poll revealed that 52% of the Oriental Jews thought the Likud was better in handling the ethnic gap (i.e., for reducing economic, education, and social differences between them and European Ashkenazis), while 19% thought the Alignment was better. This disparity reminded me at once of another disparity, for it approximated the actual difference in the Oriental community vote in 1981 between Likud and Labor. This voting pattern was to occur again in the 1984 elections.

Thus, the propensity of Middle East and North African-origin Jews to vote Likud or for another coalition party, reported in my 1981 election report for AJC, came to the fore again as the elections approached this year. As in 1981, the Likud did just enough on the economic scene to re-establish this community's faith in the Likud as the party that can help them obtain parity with the European-origin community. These Jews apparently feel "socially" at home in the

Likud. In 1984, for the third consecutive election, the Islamic-origin Jewish community voted overwhelmingly for the Likud and its partners, despite the economic crisis and discouraging situation in Lebanon. Even without a charismatic leader like Begin, these Jews rallied to the Likud. Thus, it began to appear that only major economic or political upheaval could change the basic voting patterns of this group which led in the 1984 elections to virtual political stalemate.

4. The Ethnic Vote: Increased Polarization

It was the vote of Islamic-country Jews which had transformed the political landscape in Israel in 1977. In all Knesset elections from 1949 to 1969 Oriental and European Jews voted similarly. Labor and its affiliates garnered 50% of the vote in nearly every election, with Likud and its partners averaging 25% of the vote. The Yom Kippur War of 1973 opened up the Pandora's Box of complaints of the Jews whose families had recently immigrated from the Islamic countries, and by 1977 they had shifted their allegiance to the Likud and related parties so strongly that the Likud and its allies became the majority and formed governing coalitions.

This trend did not stabilize in 1981, but further sharpened. And perhaps most surprisingly the trend continued in the 1984 elections. I have made estimates of the distribution of the ethnic vote. Estimates for 1984 are first approximations and will be corrected when more detailed data become available. But these approximations tell the essential story of the 1984 elections.

TABLE III

Distribution of Vote of Oriental Jews (Orientals or Sephardim)
(in percentages)

Election	Religious	Likud	Tehiya	Labor	Labor Allies	Hurwitz	Weizman	Kahane
1977	17.9	51.1	---	19.6	5.0	---	---	---
1981	15.7	56.6	1.3	21.2	1.3	---	---	---
1984	15.4	52.3	3.2	19.7	1.8	0.5	1.8	2.5

In 1977 Labor and its allies received, together, only 24.6% of the Oriental Jewish vote -- already a crushing defeat. In 1981 their share of this vote declined to 22.5%, and in 1984 it fell to 21.5%. Since the Oriental Jewish vote is just under 50% of the total Jewish vote, to offset this deficit would require a high plurality among European Jews and minority voters in favor of the Labor bloc.

Oriental Jewish support for the traditional religious parties also has declined. The Likud, together with its later ally Tehiya, gained strength, from 51.1% in 1977 to 57.5% in 1981, but declined slightly to 55.5% in 1984. But another 25%

of this vote went to Kach (the party of Meir Kahane), an extreme rightist anti-Arab party, while Weizman and Hurwitz, representing more balanced positions, received 1.8% and 0.5% respectively. Not only has the Oriental Jewish vote gone steadily in the direction of the Likud, but it has become increasingly right-wing and hard-line.

The voting of European (Ashkenazi) Jews has followed a different pattern, as shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

Distribution of Vote of European-origin Jews (Ashkenazim)
(in percentages)

Election	Religious	Likud	Tehiya	Labor	Labor Allies	Hurwitz	Weizman	Kahane
1977	12.1	27.5	---	31.9	26.0	---	---	---
1981	9.8	25.5	3.6	52.3	5.0	---	---	---
1984	9.5	19.3	5.0	50.8	9.0	1.9	2.0	0.4

The data indicate that in 1977 Labor and its allies gathered 57.9% of the European-origin vote. The higher figure for the allied party vote resulted from Yigal Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change (DMC), which received about 22% of the European vote and only 3% of the Oriental vote. In 1981 the Labor bloc vote declined slightly to 57.3%. But in 1984 the combined vote reached 59.8%, the highest vote given for the Labor Alignment and its allies in history by the European-origin population. In addition, Hurwitz and Weizman each received about 2% of this vote.

On the Likud side, after receiving 27.5% of the European vote in 1977 the Likud-Tehiya vote rose to 29.1% in 1981, but fell abruptly to 24.3% in the 1984 elections. The American-born Kahane failed to make an imprint on the European-origin voter.

As with the Middle Eastern-origin community, the vote for the religious parties has been declining among European Jews, declining substantially in 1981 and slightly more in 1984.

The polarization of the two Jewish communities can be seen most clearly by comparing coalition to opposition votes along the lines of the outgoing Knesset, when the Likud bloc was in alliance with the religious bloc as against Labor and its allies. Among the Oriental Jews, in the outgoing government the coalition led the opposition in 1981 by 73.5% to 22.5%, (actually 74.7% to 22.5% if the late Moshe Dayan's now defunct Telem party is included in the coalition.) In the 1984 elections, including Kahane, the coalition received 72.3% of this vote, to Labor's 21.5%, still a crushing Likud advantage. Another 2.3% went for Hurwitz and Weizman, who stand between the two camps.

On the European side, in 1981, the Labor bloc led by 57.3% to 49.9% (including Dayan), a sizeable advantage, but far less lopsided than the Oriental vote. As a result, in 1981, among all Jewish voters, the coalition led the opposition by 56% to 42%.

In 1984 the Labor bloc advantage actually increased among European-origin Jews. The Labor bloc lead over the Likud bloc increased to a ratio of 59.8% to 34.2%, with another 3.9% for Hurwitz and Weizman. As a result of this shift in the European vote, the overall coalition lead narrowed in the 1984 elections to 53% to 42%, with 3% voting for Hurwitz and Weizman. However, the net shift was a loss of 3% from the coalition bloc (plus Kahane) to the benefit of Weizman and Hurwitz. Since the Arab vote, as usual, was nearly 90% against the coalition, the overall vote for coalition parties declined from 51.2% in 1981 (excluding Dayan's Telem list) to 47.3% (excluding Kahane, who is not considered a coalition prospect) in the July 23rd elections, short of a majority and producing the political stalemate that is making it almost impossible for either Likud or Labor to produce a stable coalition government without the support of the other. Hence, the calls for a broadly based government of national unity.

The analysis shows that the Sephardi political revolution, which brought Likud into power, continued unabated in the 1984 elections, while the stalemate was produced by a further swing in the European-origin vote to the Labor and the center bloc. Indeed, the Sephardi (Oriental) revolution was carried one step further in 1984 -- into the religious camp.

5. The Sephardi Revolution: The Religious Split

The radical political transformation of the Islamic country origin community that occurred after the Yom Kippur War of 1973 touched, at first, the relation of forces between the Likud and Labor blocs. The religious vote was not affected as both NRP and Agudat Israel were parties of mixed ethnic character. The Tami revolt of 1981, when a Sephardi group within NRP rebelled and ran separately, receiving three Knesset seats, was the harbinger of the greater revolution of 1984, when Shas, the new Sephardi Orthodox party entered the tilts and won four seats. Separation rather than cooperation became the theme. In 1984 the Sephardi Orthodox rejected, essentially, the Ashkenazi leadership of the traditional religious parties and opted generally for their own, separate religious political parties. This can be seen in Table V.

TABLE V

Oriental Vote by Religious Party (in percentages)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>NRP</u>	<u>Agudat Israel</u>	<u>Morasha</u>	<u>Tami</u>	<u>Shas</u>
1981	15.7	6.6	4.0	---	5.1	----
1984	15.4	3.5	1.0	1.4	3.1	6.4

In 1977, 17.9% of all Oriental Jews and 12.1% of all European Jews voted for the three major religious parties, meaning that Oriental Jews contributed close to 60% of all the religious votes. In 1981, Tami received over 5% of the Oriental vote, leaving but 10.6% for the main religious parties.

Now, in 1984, the split has become serious. Approximately 9.5% of these Sephardi voters voted for Tami or Shas, clearly ethnic religious parties, and approximately 5.9% for the traditional religious parties. As a result, the sharply reduced Agudat Israel party became over 75% Ashkenazi and Morasha nearly 60% European. Only the NRP retained a balance between European and Asia-African elements. It will take some time to fully assess the political meaning of this second Sephardi revolution, but in the present Knesset a bloc of 5 Knesset seats carries weight. Together with two Sephardi representatives from the NRP, Sephardi Jews have seven of 13 religious seats in the Knesset. But the central fact remains that nearly two-thirds of the Sephardi Jews voting for a religious party voted for an ethnic religious party, and this represents one of the important changes in the new Knesset.

6. Conclusions and prospects

For the first time since independence the 1984 elections produced political stalemate in Israel. Neither major party had the 61 Knesset members necessary for forming a government. Endless combinations of the 15 elected lists were put forth to form a governing coalition. There was much talk of a national coalition, including both Likud and Labor, as the main hope for a viable government. As the economic situation deteriorated, the need for a strong government seemed to increase.

However, the underlying political situation gave cause for some long-range concern. More determinedly than ever, the Sephardi community of Islamic-country origins continued to back the Likud and their own ethnic religious parties, and failed to give increased backing to the Labor Alignment and its allies, even in the face of economic difficulties and the unpopular war in Lebanon. Not only were they responsible for the election of Kahane, but they also split the religious camp by giving most of their vote to the ethnic religious lists, Shas and Tami.

Against this, the European-originated voters gave more support to the Labor bloc and centrists like Hurwitz and Weizman. But, at best, even with the anti-Likud Arab vote, they could not produce a clear majority.

A viable, strong government will only be possible if there are sizeable shifts in one political direction. The overwhelming support of the Sephardi community of Islamic-country origin for the Likud bloc and its religious confederates is the central feature of Israel's politics today.

The 1984 elections demonstrated again the powerful propensity of the Sephardi community to support Likud and allied parties. Moreover, the demographic factors -- higher birth rate and younger overall population than those of Ashkenazi origin -- point to an increasingly important role for the Sephardi voters. No government can last long without winning their support.

Kenneth Bandler, Research Analyst in AJC's Israel and Middle East Division, assisted in the editing of this publication.

84-580-33



AJC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

PROGRAM PROJECTIONS 1984-1985

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM PRIORITIES - The following IRD priorities are the result of consensus of the IRD staff which have been approved in general by the lay Steering Committee of the International Relations Commission:

I - ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

- a) The Israel office will be reorganized; and AJC "political" staff professional will be appointed: AJC's "political" representation to all appropriate levels of the Israel Government will be defined and will commence being implemented; AJC's "internal" intergroup, interreligious, intra-Jewish programs will be reconceptualized and implemented in accordance with IRD priorities.
- b) IRD's Israel and Middle East program in the United States will be strengthened, in the areas of academic conferences, research and publication, hasbarah and public education (see details below).

II - WESTERN EUROPE

- a) AJC's European office in Paris will be reevaluated and reorganized in keeping with the needs of our much expanded program on the European continent.
- b) A major program of conferences, public education, and publications will be carried out with several pan-European bodies -- the EEC, the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and the North Atlantic Assembly. These will be based on introducing into these pan-European structures the studies and publications produced by the Blaustein Institute on Human Rights.
- c) An IRD Task Force on Western Europe will be established involving major specialists in West European affairs -- academics, foreign service experts, AJC lay leaders with commercial and trade relations with West European countries.
- d) Conferences will be held in several European countries with which we have inaugurated relationships -- France, West Germany, Spain, Italy, England. The conferences will deal with such subjects as human rights, anti-terrorism, anti-Semitism, countering anti-Western and anti-Israel attacks in the UN and other international bodies (UNESCO, ILO, Nairobi conference, etc.).

IRD PROGRAM PROJECTIONS/2

- e) A systematic program of cooperation with the European Council of Jewish communities will be inaugurated with a view toward establishing ongoing programmatic ties with Jewish communities throughout Europe (where appropriate).

III - EASTERN EUROPE

- a) The cause of Soviet Jewry will receive major attention. Should the atmosphere of détente warm up (as we hope it will), we plan a vigorous program using every possible political, economic, and media resource available to us, both independently as well as in cooperation with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.
 - We will follow up closely our contacts with the Joint U.S.-Soviet Trade Council.
 - We will work intimately with our U.S. State Department and Israeli contacts.
 - We will intensify our meetings with friendly foreign embassies in Washington, foreign diplomats at the U.N., on a chapter level, we press the cause of Soviet Jewry in all chapter visits with consuls general.
 - We will implement actively in '85 a major consultation of academics and foreign service types to explore new alternatives for advocating the cause of Soviet Jewry (based on the model of our successful Nov. '84 conference on Israel and the Middle East).
- b) Based on our Feb. 10, 1985 mission to Hungary, we plan to intensify our contacts with Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. Where possible, we will seek to influence heads of state in East European countries to play a mediating role with the Soviet Union in behalf of Soviet Jewry.
- c) An IRD Task Force on Eastern Europe will be established to examine systematically the problems and opportunities for aiding Jews in East European countries -- combatting anti-Semitism, anti-terrorism, supporting human rights through participation in the Budapest Cultural Forum and other Helsinki related seminars.

IV - CENTRAL AMERICA

- a) We will strengthen our programmatic ties with FEDECO, which represents all the Jewish communities in Central America. FEDECO has turned to IRD as a major resource for obtaining rabbis, educators, youth workers, community organizers, as well as lecturers and Spanish-language publications. We will need to examine the role of our Miami chapter and its appropriate service role in this area under the direction of Sergio Nudelstejer, director of our Mexico City-Central America office.

IRD PROGRAM PROJECTIONS/3

- b) An IRD Task Force on Central America will be established with specialists in academia, foreign affairs, and commercial and trade relations.
- c) A conference on Central America will be planned in New York with Ambassador Sol Linowitz to review AJC policy and program relating to Central America.

V - SOUTH AMERICA

- a) As a result of IRD visits to Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay in August '84, we will implement a series of conferences agreed upon with local Jewish communities and the Catholic church in each country:

(1) Pontifical Catholic University in Rio de Janeiro -- April 1985, conference on 'Moral Imperatives and Human Rights' marking the 20th anniversary of Vatican Council II; with Cardinal Sales and Israel Klabin participating;

(2) National Conference of Catholic Bishops -- October 1985, in Sao Paulo, with Cardinal Arns, the Jewish Federation, and Rabbi Henry Sobel participating;

(3) CELAM -- Conference of Latin American Bishops, a continent-wide conference on Catholic-Jewish relations, with Archbishop Quarracino, CELAM president, participating.

We will schedule in 1985-86, several conference in Buenos Aires on religious-ethnic pluralism with the Belgrano University and other Argentinian universities.

- b) A major decision will be made regarding the reopening of AJC's office in Buenos Aires. The IRD Steering Committee will shortly consider and propose to the Board of Governors what form that office should take, and what the budget should be.
- c) A Task Force on South American will be established consisting of academics, foreign service experts, and lay people involved in commercial and trade relations with South American countries. The Task Force will consider such issues as human rights problems in various South American countries, their impact on Jewish communities, and the role of AJC in relations to the U.S. Government, the OAS, and the local Jewish communities.
- d) The Spanish-language press releases, articles, radio and TV programs carried out by Jacobo Kovadloff effectively in the Spanish media throughout South America as well as in Hispanic media in the United States will be continued. The need for additional professional help, staff personnel, for this significant activity will need to be given serious thought.

IRD PROGRAM PROJECTIONS/4

VI - FOREIGN DIPLOMATS IN THE U.S.

- a) A Task Force will be set up to define and help implement an effective, systematic approach relating to foreign diplomats at the United Nations and in Washington -- especially from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Under the leadership of Leo Nevas, we have begun consulting with key lay people who can assist us in mounting this project.
- b) As this program develops nationally, it will provide models for implementation on the chapter level on a systematic basis.

VII- AFRICA AND ASIA

- a) As a result of Ms. Helen Suzman's visit with AJC, IRD will consider an invitation to send a mission to South Africa in 1985-86. The mission may consider visiting other African countries in the region.
- b) IRD has received an invitation from the President of the Australian Board of Jewish Deputies to send an AJC mission to Australia and to Southeast Asia. A proposal to co-sponsor a conference on Asian-Jewish communities has also been made to IRD by Issy Leibler, the president of the Australian Jewish community. We will need to consider this region in light of the growing importance of the Pacific Basin in America's foreign policy concerns and its significance for Israel and other Jewish interests.
- c) The problems of hunger and refugees will dominate the African scene in 1985, and IRD plans to continue its efforts with coalitions in these areas with which we have been working.

VIII - HUMAN RIGHTS

- a) IRD plans to give prominent attention to major projects in this field growing out of the extraordinary scholarship and practical programs of the Blaustein Institute on Human Rights. Two areas will predominate in the coming year:
 - (1) IRD's central involvement in the UN Declaration on Religious Intolerance. Major resarches and conferences have been commissioned in this area. Through Sidney Liskofsky, we will be key actors in the UN seminars and publications that deal with religious intolerance and how to ameliorate its negative consequences.
 - (2) Human Rights education -- major studies and curricula materials have been prepared by Blaustein-sponsored programs at UCLA, Latin America, and in Strasbourg. IRD plans to promote these studies in larger education and human rights circles in order to enlarge their impact.
 - (3) A significant activity on the Right to Leave will also be given prominence, particularly in relation to a conference planned in West Germany. Experts affiliated with the U.S. Human Rights Institute will be invited to participate.

IX - PUBLICATIONS

- a) IRD will concentrate on developing a systematic approach to publications, pamphlets, backgrounders, and effective use of original materials originating from our Israel, Paris, and Mexican offices. Special personnel and budget will be required for this vital activity.
- b) The effective use of IRD publications and backgrounders by our chapters will also be developed, especially in relation to their growing involvement with local consuls general and foreign relations councils.



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PROGRAM PRIORITIES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

1985-86

ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST DIVISION

The Israel and Middle East Division will continue to interpret events in Israel and the Middle East to the American government and public, monitor developments affecting Jewish communities in Islamic countries, and, through the Israel Office, work to promote ethnic and religious tolerance in Israel. In order to effectively carry out this work, the Division plans to expand its publications program, host academic consultations, and increase financial support for programs in Israel.

Publications: Since public education is a central part of our work, we plan to increase the number of backgrounders and special reports issued. In addition, the quality of production of the publications needs to be upgraded. Improvement in appearance would help enhance the overall quality of the publications and could help broaden their distribution.

Backgrounders and special reports will deal with the domestic Israel scene, U.S.-Israel relations, Israel-Third World relations, and current events in the Arab world affecting Israel and/or the United States. Specifically, we will have to monitor the issues of economic and military assistance to Israel, U.S. arms sales to Arab countries, the Israeli economy and efforts to stabilize it, political and economic developments affecting the Palestinian population on the West Bank and Gaza, and Egypt's rapprochement with the Arab world. We also will have to give more attention to monitoring and explaining through backgrounders and other publications the work of voluntary organizations in promoting greater tolerance in Israeli society, the tensions between religious and secular Jews, Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations, and the problem of fundamentalist and extremist groups both among the Arab and the Jewish populations. (A suggested list of background reports is attached).

Shortly we will be issuing a study on Sephardi elites prepared by Harry Rosen. Together with the International Sephardic Education Foundation (ISEF) we have commissioned Professor Sammy Smooha to prepare in English an annotated bibliography of social research on ethnic relations in Israel during the period 1948-1984, including an analytic introductory essay by Professor Smooha.

In order to effectively monitor Israeli public opinion on domestic as well as foreign policy issues, we should give serious consideration to a proposal submitted by Hanoach Smith to conduct regular opinion polls for the AJC. Mr. Smith's reports on the Israeli elections prepared for the AJC have proven to be valuable and have been widely distributed in the communities, government and media.

Regarding the printing process, backgrounders could be printed in their current format, but with the addition of an IRD logo on the cover page. Longer reports, prepared by the Division staff or by outside experts commissioned to do such studies, could be issued in the form of occasional papers.

Israel Press Highlights and Special Reports from the Israel Office will be revised in format, and efforts will be made to give them wider distribution. In order to expand the distribution of all publications, we recommend that mailing lists be computerized. This would systematize the lists and facilitate easy updating of them.

The Palestinians in Perspective, which was first published shortly before the war in Lebanon, will be updated and re-issued to include the developments since the war within the PLO and the wider Palestinian community. In addition, the revised version would be translated into Spanish for distribution in Latin America. (The original series of essays was very well received and became a text for college courses and adult education groups. It is now out of print.)

Academic Consultations: The informal, off-the-record consultations on the Middle East provide an excellent opportunity for AJC to bring together a group of academic and government specialists on Middle East affairs to assess recent developments in the region and to make recommendations for AJC policy and programmatic activity. Past consultations have been viewed as very useful by all participants, including lay members of AJC. We plan to hold at least three consultations during the next 18 months, including one on the West coast and one in another part of the country to involve regional AJC leadership.

Programmatic Activity:

1) Distribute materials to AJC chapters on the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area and the Israeli economy so that chapters can play a role in reaching out to their local business communities to encourage ties between American and Israeli businesses.

2) Distribute material on question of aid to Israel. During 1985 Israel's aid requests will be subjected to much public debate and Arab-American groups will lobby hard against such aid.

3) Monitor arms requests by Arab nations on a case by case basis. Mobilize opposition to them only when they are deemed a potential threat to Israeli or American security interests.

4) Give support to organizations in Israel engaged in improving Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations and Arab-Jewish relations, and those that are working for greater religious pluralism and respect for diversity in Israeli society. We should give serious consideration to the ISEF proposal for shabbatonim (dialogue groups) to foster tolerance and also sponsoring or co-sponsoring conferences on various intergroup and human rights issues.

Secretarial Support: The absence of a secretary in the Israel and Middle East Division continues to hinder the overall effectiveness of our work. A permanent full-time secretary is needed for filing, handling routine requests for information and copies of materials, making arrangements for luncheon meetings and academic consultations, as well as the usual support functions of typing, answering the phone, sorting the mail and doing rush photocopying. A secretary with knowledge of or some interest in the Middle East would be most helpful. The cumulative negative effects of inadequate secretarial support have reached a critical point and threaten to jeopardize the AJC's standing with lay leaders, membership and general public.

LIST OF SUGGESTED BACKGROUND REPORTS

1. The role of Israeli Arabs in Israel's political system

This backgrounder would review the evolution of Israeli Arab political parties, Arab representation in the Knesset, and the voting patterns of Israeli Arabs in national elections. The report could be useful in demonstrating that the Arab citizens of Israel actively participate in the country's democratic political process. Since Hanoch Smith noted in his reports that the Arab electorate is responsible for electing about 10 Members of Knesset, and during the post-election negotiations to form a coalition Shimon Peres considered the PLP, the trend appears to be greater Arab political activism.

2. Israel's Relations with Latin America

This could be a joint project with the South American Division. The emphasis would be on the positive aspects of the relationship. We would review the economic and political relationship between Israel and Latin American countries. Any discussion of arms sales would be put into the proper perspective by comparing Israel's arms exports to the region with those of the United States and other major powers.

3. Update on Jews in Islamic countries

The Division often gets requests for recent material on Syrian Jews, and there is some interest also in the situation of Jews in other Arab and Islamic countries. If enough information is available, we could probably put together a country by country summary of the current situation of Jews in Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Yemen and Iran.

4. U.S.-Israel Strategic Cooperation

A review of the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship, with special emphasis on the developments of the past year. This kind of report will inevitably be useful during the upcoming debate on aid to Israel.

5. Packet of Information on Aid to Israel

A kit of materials on the issue of aid to Israel would be worthwhile to prepare and distribute, especially to our own chapters so that they will be well armed with information during the upcoming debate on aid to Israel. The kit should not be difficult since we recently prepared op-eds on the subject and other materials are readily available in our files. The kit should also include information on the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area which can be used by chapters to encourage ties between local businesses and Israel.

6. Israeli Anti-Racism Law (Israel Office could prepare this report)

This backgrounder would review efforts to write and pass anti-racism legislation in the Knesset. Questions to consider include: Has this type of legislation ever been considered before the 1984 elections? Is it aimed specifically at Rabbi Kahane or would it be more broad in its scope? What political parties, government officials, and voluntary organizations are involved in drafting the proposed legislation? What is the nature of the debate on this issue and what are the likely effects if such legislation is adopted?

7. Arab Aid to the West Bank (Israel Office could prepare this report)

This report would review the nature and amounts of aid coming from Arab countries to the West Bank. A short study of this kind would highlight the fact that the Israeli Government permits funds from Arab countries to be used by the Palestinian Arabs of the West Bank. It should also shed some light on the attitudes of Palestinian Arabs towards Israel and a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

8. Egypt's Relations with Arab Countries Since 1979

This study will examine Egypt's relations with other Arab countries since it signed the peace treaty with Israel, compare the foreign policies towards the Arab world of Sadat and Mubarak, and assess the impact of Egyptian-Arab relations on Egyptian-Israeli relations.

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Facing Our Future

United Synagogue Review
Fall 1984

by David M. Gordis

Ours is a movement with a distinguished past, a challenging present and an uncertain future. We need not review a litany of the problems we face; we are aware of them. Simply mentioning them without any documentation is sobering. We face challenges of the unaffiliated, intermarriage, declining synagogue memberships, and concurrent budget difficulties (something which is virtually universal in our synagogues). The breakdown of the traditional family confronts us with the need to respond programmatically to new forms of family groupings. And even the successes that we have had—the burgeoning of non-formal Jewish education and the growth of the day schools—have produced an astronomical growth in costs, a growth which has presented us with a challenge both practical and philosophical. Our movement is undertaking a new level of relationship with Israel, both in the Foundation for Conservative Judaism in Israel and in the revitalization of MERCAZ. And here on the home front, in terms of the nuclear issue and a variety of other political, social and ethical questions, we must once again define our place in American society. The challenges of the present are clear and vital because there will be no future unless we are able to successfully grapple with the issues which we face now.

By way of introduction I ask you to

consider with me the following question: What are the characteristics of a movement generally, and in particular, of a great religious movement which strives to maintain and grow in vitality and strength? Unless we can answer this question, unless we can understand what the preconditions for a great religious movement are, it will be impossible for us to assess accurately our present condition. And if we cannot accurately assess our present condition, we cannot plan effectively for the future. I suggest that there are four principal characteristics which are necessary for a vital, creative and strong religious movement.

Characteristics of a Movement

First, a movement is a group which shares an ideology. By this I do not mean to suggest that we require unanimity. We are a pluralist movement at present, but the range of that pluralism is not unlimited. We must have to some degree, a shared set of views, a shared way of looking at the world, a shared conception of our own history, a shared set of goals. Unanimity may not be a requirement, but a range of shared fundamental ideas is a necessary condition for any religious movement, including our own.

Second, a great religious movement requires its members to share a lifestyle. Theory is not enough; it must be translated into practice. I am not searching for homogeneity, we are not asking for members of the Conservative Movement to walk lock-step into a predefined pattern, but a substantial set of shared behaviors which are common to all members is the second necessary condition for a strong and vital religious movement.

Third, a religious movement must share personal and institutional loyalties, if it is to survive and flourish. The movement must have leaders, heroes and saints, all committed to the movement's ideology. These leaders must effectively articulate the movement's aspirations and have the capacity to raise their constituents to ever-higher levels of commitment, understanding and loyalty. The movement must have institutions and organizations which command the respect and the allegiance of its members and reflect the highest ideals of the movement in the very way they operate and the very way they do business. They must train leadership, they must review ideology, they must organize, they must direct and focus the activities of their membership productively. And these organizational structures must maintain and retain their vitality by constantly refining their programs to assure they remain responsive to the needs of their constituents.

Fourth, and finally, in order for a religious group to survive and to survive with vitality, it must share the desire to survive as a distinct group out of the conviction that what it stands for is

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important, significant and vital.

It is to these four preconditions for the existence of a vital and creative and strong movement in Jewish life that I should like to direct my remarks. First, let us refer to ideology. In my view, the Conservative Movement has been misunderstood and, to a great extent, this has been our own fault. What we, as a movement, have failed to do is to articulate for our constituency in a way that can be understood and can be grasped, what it is that we stand for. We have not been successful in articulating that we are a movement that represents an approach to Jewish tradition which views our creative intelligence as an ally and not as the adversary of Jewish commitment. We stand for a commitment to the authority of Jewish law, but not a petrified Jewish law which canonizes human shortcomings and lags behind our developing ethical sensitivities and expanding understandings. Ours is a commitment to a Jewish law which must constantly reflect the best judgments that we as a religious community can make. *Halakhah*, in our view, calls upon us to contribute our own human capacity for discernment and for judgment and our own knowledge. We stand, after all, on the shoul-

Rabbi David M. Gordis is the newly-appointed executive vice-president of the American Jewish Committee.

ders of giants and we build on the knowledge of the past. But we must contribute our own knowledge to a continuing process of renewal and revitalization. Our commitment is to a tradition which is noble and life-enhancing, but it is a tradition which is not perfect. Our commitment is to a tradition which imposes upon us, just as it imposed upon our ancestors, the responsibility to refine, to complete, to adjust, yes, even when necessary, to correct. This is the necessary corollary to our historical approach which views the tradition as the product of the encounter of the Jewish people with God and time—through history and not outside of history—and therefore records the struggle of our people to constantly do better in the struggle to understand God's will and to build that understanding into the texture of Jewish life that has the promise of building a Jewish future true to the spirit of our past. We are not weak ideologically. We are strong ideologically if only we accept the challenge of articulating this approach to our people and undertake the responsibilities and obligations of our tradition in deeds as well as in words.

The Nature of Faith

I suggest, nevertheless, that in spite of this strength, there is one area in which we have failed ideologically. We have not moved forward in understanding the nature of religious faith in an age when traditional formulations are by and large no longer acceptable. Put another way, while our approach to Jewish law is clear, and I think compelling, we have failed to make of Conservative Judaism a faith object, an object of belief and commitment for Conservative Jews. And this I suggest is

a failure both in terms of theological creativity and also in articulation. In our movement we have made virtually no progress in studying the subtleties, the complexities of human faith and attempting to understand faith in terms which are sophisticated and appropriate to a movement which views human reason and understanding as an instrument for deepening our religious commitment. We have not articulated a sophisticated religious faith in the context of our tradition.

We must articulate a position of faith which represents a mode of relating to a troubled world and a troubling world, which raises questions and dilemmas. We must teach that faith does not require self-delusion, that there are in fact questions that cannot be answered, that it is man's fate to live with complexities, but also our greatness to have the capacity to cope with this complexity without reducing it to simple-minded and misleading formulas.

In a sense, we have attempted to be too all-inclusive, fearing historically that if we were to define sharply what it is we stood for, we would then be suggesting to some people that perhaps they belong elsewhere. We have taken to a fault this principle of inclusiveness and we have to remind ourselves once again that to be all things to all people means ultimately to stand for nothing for anybody.

Commitment and Observance

A word or two about lifestyle. We have now begun to develop within our congregations groups of individuals who are taking seriously our movement's commitment to Jewish observance and this is a welcome phenomenon in Jewish life. It results not from nostalgia for

some forgotten or half-forgotten Orthodoxy, nor from either the inertia or the momentum of the past. It is based on a new understanding that one cannot be a Conservative Jew without observing the Sabbath and *kashrut*, without engaging in a program of Jewish studies and without accepting the responsibility which our tradition affirms for alleviating the sufferings of others and taking an active role in the process of *tikkun olam*. However, there are many in our movement who have not accepted this commitment or translated it into a living reality. There is a considerable gap between our professed commitment and Jewish observance and the behavior patterns of many of our members, and this inconsistency must remain a major challenge on our agenda. We cannot continue to ignore the responsibilities of Jewish practice or fail to deal with the ideological challenges of sophisticated religion.

Loyalties and Limits

Institutional and personal loyalties represent an area of profound concern to me. Because we are a pluralistic movement, in which a range of views is embraced, a two-edged danger exists. On the one hand, too many of us view the range as infinite—we assume that we can believe anything and behave in any way and still be Conservative Jews. On the other hand, we are plagued with the opposite extreme: those who would limit the range of permissible views to their own specific view and threaten to withdraw from the movement when opposing views are propounded. Each of these approaches represents a weak allegiance indeed. And this flaccid loyalty is reflected in practical ways as well. I ask

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you to consider, despite the distinguished record of generosity in the Conservative Movement, the rather paltry way our movement responds to the needs of our own institutions. Hundreds of millions of dollars are raised within the Conservative Movement for a variety of causes in Jewish life, ranging from our own synagogues and local community needs to massive support for Israel causes. One constantly surprising statistic to me is the generous degree of support from Conservative Jews for Orthodox institutions whose professed objective, stated often in the most virulent language, is to destroy everything we stand for in Jewish life and which tone down their rhetoric only in the context of fundraising letters and parlor meetings. Most of the non-Conservative causes that Conservative Jews support are good and worthy and I would be the last person to recommend they withdraw from our concern for the total Jewish community or that we develop an insular mentality in the Conservative Movement. What is sad, what is troubling, is that our own institutions, both here and in Israel, must struggle to meet their needs when a shift of a tiny percentage of what the Conservative Movement produces for Jewish causes would create an enormous difference in the quality and the scope of what Conservative Judaism can offer. And the reason why the shift has not taken place is because so far we have failed to create those personal and institutional loyalties which represent an acceptance of the discipline of and the responsibility for a great movement in Jewish life, a movement in which we believe and not simply one with which we are affiliated.

A New Initiative

I believe that the Conservative Movement does have the desire to survive and to flourish as a meaningful religious movement, and I believe that we have the capacity to insure that survival. What is required is a major new effort to overcome the limitations of our present structures and the marshalling of our creative resources in a new way. I am therefore proposing a new initiative for the Conservative Movement, one which would bring together our most gifted, most talented and most committed people, both lay and professional, in a vigorous new structure. I am proposing that a set of task forces focused on the key challenges faced by our movement be formed into a structure to be known as the "Center for Conservative Judaism."

Moving Forward

This is an eventful time for us. We have, in my view, recently taken two mighty steps forward. Both the estab-

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lishment of the Foundation for Conservative Judaism in Israel and the decision of the Seminary faculty to admit women for ordination are of major significance but each has been subjected to misunderstanding. The Israel Foundation was not established simply as a response to discrimination against the Conservative Movement in Israel. The establishment of the Foundation for Conservative Judaism in Israel represents our public affirmation that we are a movement of historic importance to the Jewish people and to the future of Jewish life, and it is our declaration that we accept the responsibility of playing a vital role in shaping the Jewish character of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people generally. The decision to accept women into the ordination program of the Seminary has been similarly misinterpreted. It is not a step into the camp of Reform, where we do not belong. Neither is it a desertion of Jewish tradition, as some would have us believe. It is rather the next appropriate and logical step in the process of alleviating the disabilities which men have imposed upon women. Some of these disabilities are embodied in Jewish law, others not canonized have simply evolved in a society which is a man's society. They are morally offensive and must be corrected. In implementing the practice of women's ordination, the Conservative Movement is taking its most significant and bold step in recent years in the direction of implementing a truly Conservative approach to *halakha*. We can no longer accept an *halakhic* approach which affirms historical development and then acts in areas of Jewish law as if this historical development, which is at the heart of our ideology, were either non-existent or irrelevant. This step represents a restoration of an intimate relationship between theory and practice in Jewish tradition. It is the fusion of *halakha* and *aggadah*. It is the correction of an unliveable inconsistency and therefore contains within it the process of ideological and behavioral renewal for the Conservative Movement.

This is an exciting time for us. Our future is uncertain not because our approach is wrong, not because we are lacking in resources or capacity. What is necessary is a reaffirmation of our will and a rededication of our efforts. The last few years have afforded me the opportunity of traveling throughout North America and Israel and of learning to know our movement intimately. We are a remarkable group of people and what we have to say in words and in deeds is vital to the future of Jewish life. We are faced with exciting challenges to which, I am confident, we will respond magnificently—for the sake of Torah, for the sake of our people Israel and for the sake of Almighty God. □

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Origins and Development of Conservative Judaism

by Robert Gordis

We are living in an age of polarization and those who represent a balanced and central position find themselves beset by all forms of extremism from the right and from the left. It is no wonder that some of us have a sense of unease with regard to the future of Conservative Judaism in general and the United Synagogue in particular. We who are most involved with the Conservative Movement are often too close to the trees to be able to see the forest. I should like to begin, therefore, by reminding you of a passage in a great American classic, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, in which the author, a Christian journalist in the United States in the first decade of the 20th century, described Yom Kippur on the Lower East Side of New York: "Outside the synagogues, the young men stood, laughing, telling jokes while in the synagogue the old men sat, gnashing their teeth, reading their prayers, weeping bitter tears, knowing that two, three thousand years of loyalty, dedication and sacrifice for a principle was being lost in a single generation."

He was describing the condition of American Jewry at the beginning of this century. And if we wish to estimate what the Conservative Movement has done, we have to set against this picture what has happened in our day. We know that Conservative Judaism has grown from a mere 22 congregations to the largest religious movement in American Judaism. We know, too, that we have had a tremendous impact—and we are happy about that—on our brethren to the right as well as our brethren to the left. We hold no monopoly either on truth or Torah, as some people would like to imagine. It is also true that we enjoy today vivid and active Jewish life in congregations. We have created a network of schools—the Solomon Schechter Day Schools, we have the Ramah Camps, and we have a variety of adult education programs.

Self-Definition

I should like to direct your attention not so much to our achievements as to the problems that confront us, problems which are not of recent origin because they are inherent in the nature of any living organism. There are three functions with which we must concern ourselves, the first of which, from the very beginning of our movement, has been that of self-definition. To establish a philosophy for Conservative Judaism has not been easy for historical as well as other reasons. Conservative Judaism, then called "Positive Historical Judaism," arose in Germany, the great laboratory and prototype of all modern Jewish communities, as a reaction to Reform Judaism which had preceded it by several decades, and to neo-Orthodoxy, which had also arisen in Germany. There were people who felt that neither

of these two movements, for all their virtues, adequately met the problems that confronted Jews who wanted both to live in the modern era and also to lead deeply Jewish and meaningful lives. So Conservative Judaism began originally as a reaction against the right and the left. To the present day, there are many Jews in our movement who do not wish to be Orthodox or Reform, and as a result are Conservative by default. That kind of outlook, one of pure negation, cannot sustain a movement very long. And so, bit by bit and often with a good deal of agony and pain, there has emerged over the years a consensus as to what Conservative Judaism is. What Conservative Judaism did was to interpose a philosophy of Judaism which is not difficult to understand if we are prepared to take some time to think about it.

Law and Life

Reform was the first movement in modern times to recognize that the radical transformation of the social, economic and cultural lives of modern Jews necessitated a reevaluation of the tradition. And so Reform decided to adopt two great principles. First, that Judaism may be changed according to will because, they said, Judaism had always changed in the past. The second principle was the denial of the authority of Jewish law, which otherwise would

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Origins

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have made these changes impossible. These two principles were countered by Orthodoxy. Orthodoxy insisted on holding fast to the authority of Jewish law and in order to do so, maintained that Judaism had never changed, that Judaism had been monolithic and seamless, unchanged and unchangeable for all times. This they were able to do only by ignoring, or pretending to ignore, the vast amount of evidence which proved that Judaism had changed and grown through time.

In contrast to these two movements, and with all due respect for them both, Conservative Judaism maintained that Jewish law has authority in our lives, as we are bound by *halakha*, and that the teachings of the past have a part to play in molding and governing our lives. But it also recognized what cannot be denied, that this tradition had always grown, always changed, always been modified. And the process which had taken place can be put very simply. The tradition which claimed to go back to Moses on Sinai was entrusted to the men and women in each generation and when this tradition was confronted by new conditions, new religious insights, new ethical understanding, there was an integration between the tradition of the past and the conditions and needs of the present to produce a new version of that tradition. The new tradition was passed on to the next generation and the process was then repeated again and again. That is how every living tradition, secular or religious, operates in human existence. So that if I were asked to summarize the philosophy of Conservative Judaism in a sentence, I could say very, very simply as follows: Conservative Judaism believes that growth is the law of life and the law is the life of Judaism.

Ethics and Ritual

This principle is today recognized as binding upon all Conservative Jews. Another fundamental principle closely related to it is that we refuse to adopt half the Ten Commandments. The Ten Commandments begin with *mitzvot bayn adam laMakom*, laws between God and man, and they continue with the *mitzvot* between man and man. Judaism, as we understand it, cannot operate with half the Ten Commandments. A Judaism which is only ritual is a violation of the spirit of Judaism. A Judaism which is only ethical cannot possibly support the life and spirit of man as he walks during his earthly existence on this planet. So that for us, ritual and ethics are both

Rabbi Robert Gordis is Meyer and Fannie Rapoport Professor Emeritus in *Philosophies of Religion* and professor emeritus in *Bible at The Jewish Theological Seminary of America*.

inextricably and organically interwoven as they have been right from the very pages of the Torah. And moreover, the third aspect of our tradition is that we have been able to carve out a path for ourselves without establishing an iron curtain against our brethren outside our group or an iron wall against modern life, modern thought and modern problems. This emphasis, therefore, upon an outgoing sense of brotherhood with our people and with the world is a fundamental of Judaism as well.

A Program for the Movement

The second great goal to which we must continue to address ourselves is the creation of a program for the movement. We must embody and implement in our thinking and in our action what the Conservative Movement stands for. I shall offer only one example, precisely because it is very much in the forefront of our thinking today. I believe that the

ishah. "Who did not make me a woman." Women say *"sheasani kirizona"*. "Who created me according to His will." Our prayerbook changed the blessing and put it in the positive form, *"sheasani b'tzalm"*. "God created me in His image," which both men and women can say wholeheartedly with a new sense of respect for their own innate dignity. A series of other steps followed, some of which have not been universally accepted. But I have only to remind you, for example, that the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly voted in the 1950s regarding *aliyot* for women (which, incidentally, is sanctioned even by the Shulhan Arukh) and that some years later came the decision for counting women in the *minyan*. There are congregations that have not accepted that decision, which is entirely within their right and is something that ought to be discussed and studied further. But each

teacher of Bible I am interested in words. And so I researched the etymology of "authentic." The popular definition of authentic is very simple: What I believe, is authentic; what you believe, is not. According to the dictionary, authentic means "done by oneself." That form of Judaism is authentic which you do yourself. And it does not matter whether you are a great scholar of the Talmud or the commentators, or whether you can barely read the prayerbook. What you do yourself is authentic Judaism and what is done for you by a rabbi, by a cantor, by a congregation, by a lecturer, what is done for you is inauthentic Judaism. What we need, therefore, is a great rebirth in the Conservative Movement, to bring back something of Jewish practice into the lives of our people. And it can be done. The task requires imagination, it requires dedication, it requires energy. We have those available in our ranks, thank God, and we will have more of that in the days to come. In order to create this kind of Judaism, we need to bring back to each Jew the recognition that what matters is not where he stands on the ladder, but that he is moving in the right direction. There is a story of a Hasidic teacher who once asked his disciples: "Two men are on a ladder. One is on the third rung and one is on the eleventh rung. Who is higher?" And they said: "Rabbi, isn't that self-evident? The one who is on the eleventh rung." He said: "No. It depends which way they are facing."

It depends which way they are facing. And I say to you that there is a message for us in the Hebrew word which we use in Yiddish for a scholar: *lamdan*. *Lamdan* does not mean "one who knows," *Lamdan* means "one who studies." We have to bring back Torah and *mitzvot* not only into the community but into the life of the individual Jew as well. We need to establish that a test of a good Jew is whether he knows more today of Judaism than he knew last week, whether he keeps more of Judaism today than he kept a month ago. No matter what his level of knowledge, no matter what his level of achievement—upon that foundation we can build. Yes, we shall have those who will snipe from the right and those who will attack us from the left, but we shall not fail if we recognize the importance of creating and maintaining a community of committed Jews, dedicated to Conservative Judaism. We are not a halfway house between Orthodoxy and Reform. We have an authentic philosophy of our own. We have the means of creating a program. We have already pointed the way that we ought to follow in the future.

Social Concerns

I have referred to our unwillingness to have a religion which is purely ethics or a religion which is purely ritual. I think the time has come for us to also revive our concern for social questions and above all the greatest question of our time, which is the problem of nuclear destruction. There was a time when the voice of the prophets resounded through the world. We may not be prophets, the Talmud tells us, but we are the descendants of prophets, and we should take our places in the ranks of those who are dedicated to the cause of peace and to the cause of social justice and to the cause of true freedom, not the freedom represented by dictators all around the world. It is time for us once again to make the totality of Judaism live again for the world and in our own personal lives. And if we do this, if we create this program for ourselves and bring it into our homes and into our lives, we shall be able to use our glorious past, which has fashioned our present, to create a happier and nobler and wiser future for ourselves and our children and the people of Israel and the entire world. □

"Conservative Judaism believes that growth is the law of life and the law is the life of Judaism."

historian of the future, when he writes the history of the 20th century, will regard the women's revolution as the single greatest event that took place—not as tragic, thank God, as the Holocaust, but the most important one, because it affects at once 50 percent of the human race and indirectly the rest of the human race as well. Let me point out to you that Conservative Judaism, long before the rise of feminism in its recent forms, long before the women's liberation movement, already began this task of completing what the rabbis of the Mishnah and the Talmud had started: To give to women that equality of rights and privileges and opportunity which is their God-given due, since, as the Bible tells us quite clearly, man and woman were both created in the image of God. It started, as a matter of fact, at the time that United Synagogue was being organized, and that was of course the acceptance of family pews, so that there would be no segregation of women within the synagogue. We have congregations with separate seating. But in the overwhelming majority of cases, we today have family seating, which was a first important step toward the equality of women in Jewish religious life. A few decades later, Professor Mordecai M. Kaplan (z"l), a great scholar and teacher of our movement, created the *Bat Mitzvah* ceremony in order to give girls the same rite of entrance into Judaism which has been accorded boys ever since the Middle Ages via the *Bar Mitzvah*. Then came the prayerbook, to which I made reference earlier. The Orthodox prayerbook has a *berakha*, recited every morning by males, in which they thank God *"shelo asani*

of these steps is part of a clear process toward granting total equality to women which has reached its climax in our time with the forthcoming ordination of women.

Impact of Women's Ordination

There is no doubt, whatever one's opinion, that problems will accompany the implementation of this momentous decision. I daresay, however, that the program will prove to be neither as revolutionary as its advocates believe or as disastrous as its opponents maintain. Women's suffrage did not revolutionize the character of American politics but it did right a wrong and recognize the intelligence and the right of women to exert their own influence and their own ideas. Similarly, the ordination of women ultimately will not revolutionize or transform the pattern of Conservative Judaism. But it will bring into our ranks a very necessary source of idealism and loyalty and human energy for the great tasks that confront us in the future. I am convinced that we shall emerge the stronger from this and other changes that are implemented with sympathy and with tolerance and with understanding, whether or not we all agree that they are desirable or worthwhile. The movement is stronger than any single element in it.

Authentic Judaism

We cannot rest content only with the articulation of the philosophy or the implementation of a program. The great fundamental problem is the creation of not a Conservative Jewish community, but a community of Conservative Jews. We need to direct our attention once again, imaginatively and energetically, to the task of bringing into the lives of Jews who are in our camp the beauty and the practice of Judaism. *Shabbat* and *kashrut* and the great laws of our tradition are not the property of any particular group within us. They have been incorporated in this movement from the very beginning, from the days of Solomon Schechter and even earlier. The time has come for us to do what we can in order to strengthen them. There are ways and means of bringing the daily practices of Judaism to the lives of people.

There is one word which frequently is attached to the word Judaism in our time. People speak of "authentic Judaism." As a student of language and a

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