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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 100, Folder 3, General correspondence, memos & working papers, January-February 1985.

J. RUDIN

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 1, 1985
to from Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
 M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Reception for heads of Churches

Yesterday in the Residence of the President there was this annual happening that is without parallel anywhere in the world.

On the eve of the New Year, the President held his reception for heads of churches. There were the heads of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek Catholics, the Rumanians, the Russians, the Armenians, the Latin Patriarchate, head of the Ecumenical Institute, the Baptists, all the other Western churches and assorted journeymen.

It was also the occasion for the first public appearance of the new Minister of Religious Affairs, Dr. Yosef Burg, who amazed some of the Christians with his prodigious memory as he recalled earlier meetings with them on some other occasions when he was Minister of the Interior.

An unexpected surprise, and a big one, was the unannounced presence of the Prime Minister, who added his word of greeting. His coming to this event left a profound impression -- especially on top of his appearance on Christmas Eve in Bethlehem in the company of Elias Freij. Even those Church heads who are hostile, or at least cool, to the government could not help but nod their heads with pleasure over this recognition.

Nothing of special importance was said but, as somebody pointed out to me, what country in the Middle East so recognizes the religious sensibilities of its minorities with the presence of their king or Prime Minister or the like?

The spirit in the packed hall, in which were representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the like, was most affable. Would that it would last throughout the year.

N.B. It is important to note for our own point of view that the American Jewish Committee was the only Jewish body represented at this reception.

Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
January 1, 1985
Page Two.

Even as our department increases its emphasis on the need for developing an embassy, I do hope it would not be at the expense of what is sometimes referred to as its consulate; having achieved this much, we would be doing ourselves a disservice if the additional steps we are taking were at the expense of these hard-earned gains.

Encl. (Invitation)

cc: James Rudin



MR

נשיא מדינת ישראל

מבקש את דייר ברנרד רזניקוף

להאריך ולהאילץ קבלת פנים במעונו לכבוד ראשי העדות

הנוצרות בישראל לרגל השנה האזרחית החדשה

היום ב', ז' בטבת תשמ"ה (31.12.84) בשעה 12.00

נא לשנות
249291

ירושלים

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

The American



Jewish Committee

ועד 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

Shula Bahat

January 1, 1985

Mr. A. B. Yehoshua
102/A Sea Road
Haifa 34746

Re: BOARD OF GOVERNORS INSTITUTE
Wednesday, February 4, 7 p.m.
Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv - Dinner

Dear Mr. Yehoshua:

This will confirm with pleasure your agreement to address our dinner meeting of the Board of Governors on February 4th at 7 p.m. at the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv. We are asking you to discuss "Perspectives and Challenges Facing World Jewry", with special emphasis on the relations between the Jews of Israel and the United States. We will benefit from your knowledge and opinions.

Once every five years; at least, the Board, which meets regularly throughout the year, visits Israel for an intensive study program as a major basis for determining program priorities. As America's pioneer human relations organization, we seek your counsel as we plan activities to build support for Israel and to enhance mutual understanding between American Jews and Israelis.

The Board of Governors -- one hundred strong -- is a continuing policy-making body for our organization. It consists of men and women of quality from all over the United States who have achieved prominence in their chosen occupations and in their leadership roles in the general and Jewish community. They will be joined by our senior executive staff.

In time we will send you the names and short biographies of the participants, as well as a list of discussion questions our national office is assembling.

We are grateful for this opportunity of meeting you.

Sincerely,

M. Bernard Resnikoff
Director

The American

Shula Bahat



Jewish Committee

התנדו היהודי האמריקני • רח' אתיפיה 9, ירושלים 95 149 • טלפון 228862, 233551 • מברקים: ווישקום, ירושלים
ISRAEL OFFICE: Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 • Tel. 228862, 233551 • Cable: Wishcom, Jerusalem

January 1, 1985

(via hand-delivery January 2)

Mr. Meir Dayan
Office of the Treasurer
Kiryat Ben-Gurion
Jerusalem

Re: ACJ Nominations for the
Business Task Force

Dear Meir:

In accordance with the welcome invitation we received, I am pleased to present herewith The American Jewish Committee's nominations for the Business Task Force.

Norman Alexander of New York - Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Sun Chemical Corporation; Vice-President of AJC;

Walter Gips of Princeton - President and Chief Executive Officer of Gulton Industries, Inc.; Member of AJC's Budget Committee;

Robert Gries of Cleveland - President of Gries Investment Co., Vice President of Cleveland Browns football team; Vice-President of AJC;

Melvin Merians of Westchester - Major investor and business consultant; Chairman of AJC's Budget Committee;

Elmer Winter of Milwaukee - Honorary President of AJC; Co-founder, past President and currently Consultant to Manpower, Inc; Chairman of the Committee for Economic Growth of Israel.

Maynard Wishner of Chicago - President of Walter E. Heller & Co., a major banking and finance firm; Honorary President of AJC.

These names were carefully selected following a process of deliberation on the part of my senior principals.

Sincerely,

Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff, Director

cc: Dr. Nimrod Novik
(via hand delivery Jan. 2)

bcc: Shula

המכון ליחסי יהדות ארה"ב-ישראל
Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations

Mr. Berkman Gold

Bert

Here is Hannah Lerner's
"Contribution". I failed you to
ask about Ari Raskin?

Regards,

Norddrew Gonsel

1 January 1985

בברכה

With our Compliments

הוועד היהודי האמריקני • רחוב אתיופיה 9 ירושלים 95149

The American Jewish Committee • Israel Office
9 Ethiopia Street Jerusalem • Tel. (02) 228862, 233551

I would like to share with you some of my experience from the field on the subject of censorship in Israel. But I have to admit that this experience is different in the Hebrew daily press than that of, say, foreign correspondents or the arabic press. There is no question that any kind of censorship is by definition limiting freedom of information. I am not going to defend it, but I believe that some of its rather liberal practices (if one may use this expression) deserve to be mentioned:

Israeli military censorship is not implemented on views and opinions, not even during actual fighting. I doubt whether in any country with a perfectly free press violent criticism of the Chief of Staff has been published similar to that which my own newspaper DAVAR has published on "Rafoul" (General Refael Eitan). Other newspapers have done so, too, and the censor did not interfere. In the 13 years I have been editor-in-chief I have never submitted an editorial to the censor, because editorials are essentially expressing views. Of course I will never misuse that column to divulge news which would have been censored if I had submitted to the censor. As far as the Israeli daily press is concerned, mutual relationship with the censor has been based on law and agreement, trial and error and daily struggle.

The fact of the matter is that in issues concerning security, the Israeli public - the readers and listeners and viewers of mass media - are not very much interested to exercise their right to know (as opposed to their right to criticise...) In contrast to other

- 2 -

democracies, security in Israel is not only a public issue, it is a very personal matter, because there is no family which has not someone on (regular or reserve) military duty at any given time, and because the dangers are literally at your doorsteps. My colleague and I have received countless readers=letters taking us to task for publishing what their writers consider to be "information useful to the enemy". ~~They take issue~~ ^{Far} from catering to the right to know, the editors actually have to impose upon the readers the duty to know.

From day to day experience, I can tell you that we do not actually comply with the letter of the law regarding censorship. Not only do we argue, and sometimes win, but we (editors) also are the ones who decide what copy should be sent to the censor. There are guidelines, but their interpretation is up to our judgement and we exercise it. Rather often, copy that has been submitted and has been partially censored is published without regard to censor's orders because of human error. In such cases we will receive a letter of protest. In severe cases we will, maybe, receive a warning. Finally, in extreme cases we will be brought to "court", the court consisting of one man of the press, one military man and one public figure, usually the legal adviser of the Association of Israeli Journalists. If you are found guilty, you will be fined. The fine is to be paid to the Association of Journalists or the Editors Committee (on the other hand the editors can take the censor to court, too)

- 3 -

Thus, censorship in the Israeli daily press is very much a family affair and in some cases we, the editors, feel relieved to share the burdon of responsibilty with the censor.

But make no mistakes about it: The Israeli press is very vigorous in defending its freedom and I think that it is a free press by truely democratic standards. Alas, that does not mean that there have been no attempts to curb that freedom, by legislation (libel, intrusion on privacy etc.) and by pressure (mainly on TV authorities).



INSTITUTE ON AMERICAN JEWISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS

date July 18, 1984
to Shelley Schreter
from Morris Fine
subject

אלהם / אלהם
הקטב / הקטב
אלהם / אלהם
(22/8/84) (נראה) / (נראה)
אלהם / אלהם

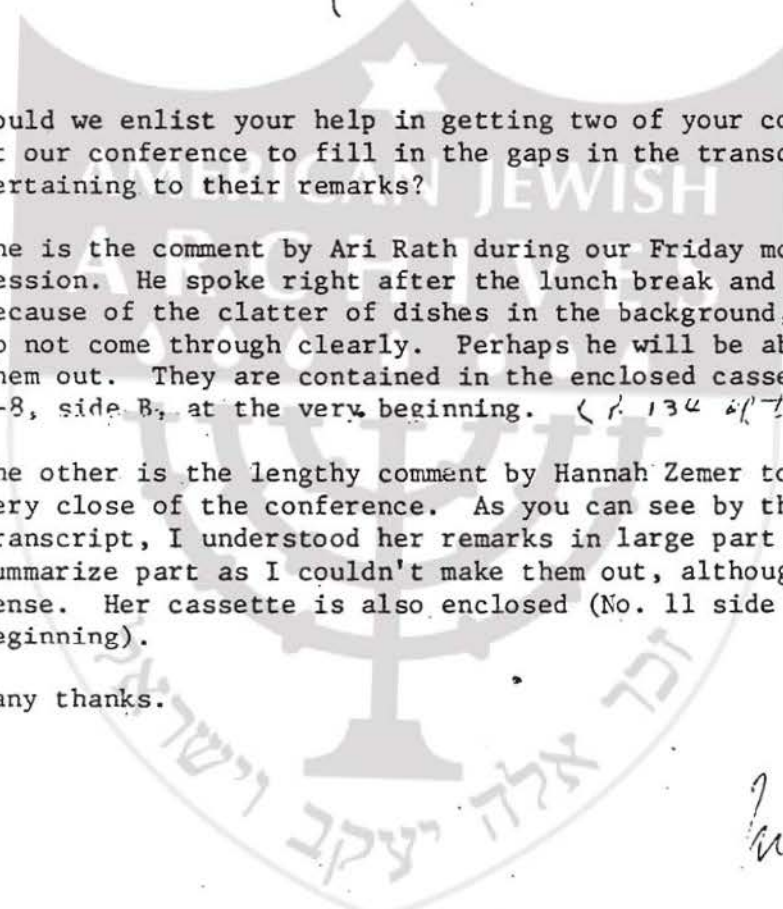
Could we enlist your help in getting two of your colleagues at our conference to fill in the gaps in the transcript pertaining to their remarks?

One is the comment by Ari Rath during our Friday morning session. He spoke right after the lunch break and partly because of the clatter of dishes in the background, his remarks do not come through clearly. Perhaps he will be able to make them out. They are contained in the enclosed cassette numbered 7-8, side B, at the very beginning. (p. 134 of transcript)

The other is the lengthy comment by Hannah Zemer toward the very close of the conference. As you can see by the enclosed transcript, I understood her remarks in large part but had to summarize part as I couldn't make them out, although I got the sense. Her cassette is also enclosed (No. 11 side A, at the beginning).

Many thanks.

?



מכון הישראלי-אמריקני ליחסי יהודים-ישראלים

HANNAH ZEMER (Partially reconstructed from tape)

I would like to give you some of my experience from the field. Israeli censorship is not implemented on news, not even in the height of the fighting(Referred to violent criticism of the Chief of Staff and the censor never tried to interfere)... My managing editor told me on the telephone yesterday that he wrote an editorial on the experience of one of the families of the bereaved...I have never, never submitted an editorial to the censor since I have been editor-in-chief. Once the censor asked me why I did not do so and I answered that an editorial expresses the views of the newspaper and it's none of his business. And I think that although we do argue with the censor many times we are also sometimes very hesitant...because we want to share responsibility with someone (on matters) very sensitive to our security... (human lives are involved). In such matters the Israeli government is not very much interested in exercising the people's right to know because the security of the people is very personal, and as a newspaper man, and as anybody else working in the bureau of information you have to impress upon them the duty to know, not the right to know. I have received any number of letters from readers asking, "Why did you have to give out this information to everybody?" I don't have to be more Catholic than the Pope. There is also something very mysterious about our censorship in Israel...If I went by the book I would have to send out a lot of stories to be read by the censors because... (everything can be considered) of strategic importance.

For example, we would have to omit reports on the number of children entering the first grade of elementary schools because with those figures you can figure out how many are eligible to enter the regular service 10 years from now. But we never do. So we make our own judgment - is this story sensitive to our security (and should it be submitted to the censor). Sometimes we do and many times we do not. (Referred to times when called to account by the censor and a meeting ensued between censor and the Editor and lawyer for the Press Association.)

It is very much a family affair and you can get away with almost anything. But it is true of course that the very existence of Israel could be (at stake)

a threat to democracy. (Need present laws and present arrangements-
no new laws.) By and large I think that the Israeli press can be
relied upon to keep its freedom to a very, very large degree.
...This doesn't mean that there haven't been attempts (to curb
freedom). I think we are going to see more of this, especially
on TV with the new Director General of the Israeli Broadcasting
Corporation.



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, Jan. 2 . . . The American Jewish Committee reported today that "weekend retreats" apparently strengthen and enrich Jewish family life.

Participants in a recent retreat, the Committee stated, felt that the experience would be reflected at home in more family meals, better communication and understanding, and greater cooperation among family members.

The "Jewish Family Retreat", sponsored by AJC's William Petschek National Jewish Family Center, took place at the Greene Family Camp near Waco, Texas. It was arranged by a committee of AJC's Dallas chapter headed by Harriet Abraham. The program was planned and led by Professor Bernard Reisman, Associate Professor of American Jewish Communal Service and Director of the Hornstein Program in Jewish Communal Service at Brandeis University.

Professor Reisman is also the author of The Chavurah: A Contemporary Jewish Experience and The Jewish Experiential Book: The Quest for Jewish Identity. Ms. Abraham is AJC's Assistant Area Director in Dallas, Texas.

In their report entitled Jewish Families Together: A Model Weekend Retreat for Family-Life Enhancement, Professor Reisman and Ms. Abraham describe discussions on typical problems:

- *A child no longer wants to attend Sunday School.
- *A family grapples with chaotic mealtimes.
- *A family adjusts to a grandfather recently institutionalized with Alzheimer's disease.
- *A mother and her two children anticipate their first Passover after a divorce.

No effort was made to arrive at a single recommended resolution. Instead, the session reflected the complexities of "normal" family living, with the participants offering practical suggestions from their own and others' experiences.

"Those who attended particularly enjoyed the experience of 'the extended family', and expressed interest in continuing their relationship at social

Note: For a review copy of the report, write to Morton Yarmon, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

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

.....more

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.

gatherings in town and in other outings," Professor Reisman stated. "In fact, the group reassembled a month later for a picnic, which led in turn to the organization of a havurah."

According to Ms. Abrahm, one of the objectives of the weekend retreat was to preserve, after the weekend, the sense of community that had been engendered among the participating families.

"The hope," she said, "was that the families would carry back into the larger community the network of newly established friendships and that they would constitute an informal family support system similar to that provided by the traditional extended family."

The William Petschek National Jewish Family Center had previously sponsored a five-day retreat for single-parent Jewish families.

The present report, in addition to describing the participants' reactions, includes sample questionnaires on backgrounds and Jewish attitudes, guidelines for conducting a weekend family retreat, model letters and registration forms, a schedule of activities, and a follow-up evaluation questionnaire.

Yehuda Rosenman, Director of the Petschek Center, is also Director of the American Jewish Committee's Jewish Communal Affairs Department.

Single copies of the Jewish Families Together may be obtained from the American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022, for \$3.50 each.

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

* * * * *

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH OF ISRAEL

5301 N. Ironwood Rd., Milwaukee, WI 53217, 414-961-1000

The Committee for Economic Growth of Israel founded in 1976, is a non-profit organization devoted to expanding business and trade relationships between Israel and the United States.

CHARLOTTE SLATER, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 10, 1985

CAN ISRAEL REBUILD ITS ECONOMY?

After an intensive two week trip to Israel, Elmer Winter, Chairman of the Committee for Economic Growth of Israel, answered the question; "Can Israel rebuild its economy," with an emphatic "Yes!"

Winter stated; "I'm fully aware of Israel's current economic problems, but after analyzing the situation, I'm more convinced than ever that Israel's economic future has great promise."

"Its major resource -- the scientific and technological know-how of its population," he explained, "is stronger than ever." "It is this unique capability, more than any other factor, which explains Israel's astonishing economic development from the primitive levels of its industry and agriculture at its founding only 36 years ago."

This was Winter's twenty-second visit to Israel. Winter reported; "There is a growing consensus amongst Israelis, as to what the Government needs to put her economic house in order." He was confident that the recently formed Coalition Government has widespread support for the three-month wage and price freeze and projected cuts of \$1.3 billion in Government spending introduced in early November 1984. "Israelis are prepared to tighten their belts and temporarily reduce their living standards in order to stabilize their economy," he said.

It is anticipated that a one-year wage-price stabilization plan will be instituted when the three-month freeze expires. Under this plan, wages will be held to their 1982 levels.

Winter reported that Israel's Government estimates indicate an 8.10% rate of inflation by February, 1985, compared to a monthly rate of 25% prior to November, 1984. Prime Minister Peres recently announced that within a year, it is estimated Israel's annual inflation rate will drop to 10%.

"The measures established by the Israeli Government," Winter stated, "have helped to expand exports, reduce imports, cut Government expenditures and raise taxes." Exports are expected to grow by 12% next year. Israel's trade balance improved by nearly \$1 billion in the first eleven months of 1984.

Winter stressed, "This is a good time for U.S. companies to consider setting up either manufacturing or research facilities in Israel. Companies doing this will be able to take advantage of favorable tariff treatment resulting from the recently negotiated Free Trade Agreement, (FTA), with the United States."

The FTA will be a milestone in U.S.-Israel relations. President Reagan stated, "The creation of an FTA will launch a new era of closer economic relations between our countries. By substantially eliminating duties and non-tariff barriers between our nations, we will enable American producers to sell and compete in Israel while providing Israeli manufacturers unimpeded access to the free world's largest market."

"There are now 150 U.S. companies with factories in Israel and they are doing well," Winter reported, "30 are among the 500 largest U.S. companies." "While some U.S. companies are involved in selling to the Israeli market," Winter said, "most are exporting to all parts of the world."

Winter identified the high technology areas as the single most promising for American investment. "Israel is the Silicon Valley of the Mediterranean," he said. "Just as it made the desert bloom, Israel is now becoming a veritable greenhouse for the engineering and physical sciences." "The Israeli Government," Winter points out, "helps business by providing very favorable incentives."

Winter reported that Intel Corporation has just completed construction of a \$150 million plant in Israel and National Semiconductor has committed \$50 million to build facilities to make silicon wafers. They have joined such U.S. hi-tech companies as: Motorola, Control Data, Digital Equipment, American Electronics Corporation, Vishay Intertechnology, Bio-Technology General, Veeco Instruments, etc.

Winter reported that his visits with political and business leaders reflected a theme recently expressed by Prime Minister Peres; namely, that Israel is confident it can restructure its economy based on high technology and an information society. Strengthening the Israeli economy and achieving economic independence are primary national goals.

"Israel," Winter stated, "is the 'in place' for technological innovation." He referred to a recent issue of "Forbes" magazine which described Israel as "one great R&D laboratory;" and he quoted Robert Galvin, Chairman of Motorola, who described his company's investment in Israel as "an excellent placement." Galvin pointed out that "one of the fine benefits we are getting from this now mature relationship is that the initiative of our people in Israel has generated new products of their own creation."

Charles E. Sporck, President of National Semiconductor, in referring to their design center in Israel, pointed out; "It is certainly the most successful production we've ever had."

"I'm tremendously excited and optimistic about Israel's potential," Winter said. "Despite the present economic difficulties, the infrastructure of Israel is strong. Israeli industry will furnish the engine to put Israel's economy back on track."

The Committee for Economic Growth of Israel is a nonprofit organization dedicated to expanding business relationships between the USA and Israel. The headquarters of the Committee are in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Winter was a co-founder of Manpower, Inc., the world's largest temporary help service with 1,008 offices in 32 countries including four offices in Israel.

VIA FAX

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 11, 1985
to Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff
from Inge Lederer Gibel
subject

cc: Rabbi A. James Rudin ✓
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

Thank you for your partial response of 1/9 to my 1/8 memo. I still hope to hear from you as soon as possible about the main body of the latter, namely the questions raised by Father Kelley. Even though you couldn't get the information by the deadline, we really feel it's important to come up with some answers -- true, false, or in-between.

To clear up any confusion on the Phoenix matter, it was my understanding that David Gordis had informed you that he had agreed to accepting the Phoenix tour as an AJC tour, providing it went through this office, and with Yaacov as guide. Because they made their arrangements several months ago with Vered Tours (according to the file Irwin Harris sent me, Yaacov did receive a copy of the Harris letter to Vered dated October 4), it has been agreed that we will let them go ahead with these arrangements. However, honoraria will have to be paid separately, not absorbed by us.

Sheiky Dranitzky of Vered, is here in the States now, and Harris will raise with him the possibility of Vered absorbing the costs of honoraria and other extras we normally absorb. If this doesn't work, Harris will inform me and he understands that we will bill him for these extra expenses. It will mean, therefore, that when, after hearing from Harris on this, and perhaps meeting with Dranitzky after he returns from Phoenix and prior to his returning to Israel, that when I send Yaacov all the other information on tour participants, etc. (the reservations are not 100% firm yet) that in preparing a program for my input to share with Harris we must also have an idea of what extra costs will be, so that Harris can decide if it's acceptable or if he wants to cut back on something.

I have not received the copy of your memo re Yaacov's request for vacation in March. That shouldn't interfere with his planning the tour for Jim Lyons; if what you mean is engaging someone else to be a guide for Jim, that's fine.

Please do get back to me on the Kelley matter.

Thanks and regards.

ILG:en

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 11, 1985
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David A. Harris
subject Shultz-Gromyko Meetings

Bookie just called after speaking with Elliot Abrams. Elliot reported that Shultz did raise the Soviet Jewry issue, including a few specific cases. Gromyko's response was on the order of : "This is not a matter for discussion here. It is our own internal affair." No further discussion on the subject took place, to the best of Elliot's knowledge.

ARCHIVES



DAH:RPR

cc: Leo Nevas
Mervin Riseman
David Geller
Alan Kagedan



JAN 15 1985

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 11, 1985
to Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress

While in Tel Aviv the other day, mostly in connection with the Board of Governors Institute, I joined, by invitation, a luncheon meeting of the Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress. This, as you know, is the outfit headed by Daniel Doron, on whose Board of Governors appear such luminaries as Prof. Irving Kristol, Judge Matthew Brown, Midge Decter, Bob Goldman, Rabbi Seymour Siegel, Herbert Stein in Washington, Gordy Zachs and others.

The luncheon session featured observations by Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz and Midge, next to whom I sat. Israelis present represented some of the more thoughtful on the economic scene, as well as first-rate journalists. Some of the attendees were Hannah Zemer, Yuval Elitsur, Nachum Barnea, Shalom Rosenfeld, and others of that class.

Even though Kristol was good, very good in fact, I think he was given a hard time by the veterans in the group who come out of the socialist tradition. Naturally, Kristol extolled the virtues of give-and-take and the free market of ideas, and suggested that Israeli society would improve, economically, if there was more of the free-market mentality and less of the socialist orientation. He thought this would be the way in which rich American Jews, who give thousands for the UJA but not a cent for investment, would turn the situation around.

He was taken to task by, among others, Jay Bushinski, who spoke of the special features that make Israel unique and why it is not possible to fit this country into a neat package. For example, the absorption of Ethiopian Jews; the absence of options for unemployed people; the breathlessness of Israeli society, which prevents orderly training of

Marc Tanenbaum/G. Gruen - 2 -
January 11, 1985

competent management. He also rejected Kristol's point that, a crutch-service, such as, for example, soup kitchens, creates a service for which demand grows automatically. In the same way, they rejected the contention that Israeli society suffers from a dependency on hand-outs.

In sum, another example of different perspectives as we talk about Israel-Diaspora relations.



MBR

JAN 15 1985

M. Tanenbaum / G. Gruen

Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 11, 1984
to Shula Bahat
from M. Bernard Resnikoff
subject Board of Governors Institute
Citizens Rights Movement (Shulamit Aloni, M.K.)

A brief report to tell you that I went to Tel Aviv the other day to tie up a lot of things on behalf of the Board of Governors. One of the things I did was to meet with the staff of the Citizens Rights Movement and you'll be glad to know we tied everything up with respect to the appearance of Shulamit Aloni.

One of the side products of this visit, about which I will report separately, is their invitation to the Israel Office to prepare material about religious pluralism and tolerance in the United States, as viewed by the AJC, for the purpose of offering to polarized Israeli society fresh alternatives for cooperative living. This is is an exciting development.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen



JAN 22 1985

JAN 28 1985

סמית-מרכז למחקר בע"מ

שרות הרצל 14, ת"ד 3322 - ירושלים 91033, טל. 533198



בצוע מחקרים כלכליים וסטטיסטיים, משאלי דעת קהל, שרותי מחקר, ייעוץ

January 13, 1985

TO: David Gordis, Marc Tanenbaum
FROM: Hanoch Smith, Smith Research Center
SUBJECT: Proposal for Closer Cooperation (Continued)

In continuation to our discussions of Dec. 17, 1984, I am outlining in further detail the proposed arrangement originally set down in my memo to you of Sept. 2, 1984.

In that document I outlined four areas of my working directly for you:
(1) annual or bi-annual surveys, parallel in the U.S. and Israel, like the 1983 surveys;

(2) current small-scale surveys, dealing with important current subjects;

(3) using our store of current information to brief persons and delegations on study missions to Israel;

(4) most important, to use our close relationships with key Israeli political leaders to strengthen the recognition and importance of A.J.C. on the Israeli scene.

Regarding the basic surveys, I would like to propose another survey for the summer of 1985. Much has happened in Israel and the U.S. in the interim period to justify a new look. Is the political polarization on issues like West Bank settlements, Arabs and peace processes between the Likud-Religious camp and the Labor Camp still as intense despite the national coalition government? Has Peres brought about changed attitudes in American Jews towards Israel? What has remained of the Begin impact on American and Israeli Jews? These and other questions need to be asked from which the A.J.C. can focus the development of its dialogue with Israel. The cost of such a survey in Israel, as in 1983, is \$15,000.

We carry out current surveys every two months and you can purchase blocs of questions in some of them. For instance, it would be important to know the reactions of the Israeli and American Jewish communities to the Sharon judgment and its implications. It costs \$3,000 for a bloc of 10 questions including the analysis. Besides these surveys we do studies of special groups like students, business and political leaders, reporters.

Regarding the last two areas, I think they could best be handled in some kind of retainer relationship. Assuming you would make good use of our services, let me suggest the sum of \$800 per month for a one-year period (\$9,600).



-2-

I hope this covers the questions left open in our last discussions. Otherwise, people here are nervous about the economic guillotine hanging over us but are quite happy waking every morning to find it stuck. This probably explains the government's popularity and the improved image of Peres for the time being at least.

Hoping to hear from you soon and to meet you when you are here in February, I remain

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Sincerely yours,

Hanoch Smith
Hanoch Smith



INSTITUTE ON

American Jewish - Israeli Relations

Chairman Israeli Board: S.Z. Abramov

January 13, 1985

INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES IN ISRAEL

Nineteen eighty-four was the Institute's second year of operation.

The following is a report of the Institute's activities in Israel. Mr. Bertram H. Gold, Director of the Institute, will report separately on the Institute's activities in the United States.

1. In May 1984 the Institute began to publish a monthly news bulletin in Hebrew about American Jewry. The friendly comments and numerous demands to be included in the distribution list, indicate that there exists a real interest among Israelis to know more about U.S. Jewry..

Notwithstanding the fact that the bulletin's material is drawn almost completely from news items and articles published in American Jewish newspapers and periodicals, many of the bulletin's items were reproduced by Israeli newspapers or broadcast on Israel Radio.

Each bulletin contains about 10 mimeographed pages with eight to ten news items. Articles from Jewish periodicals (such as Commentary, Jewish Digest, etc.) are presented in abridged form. The bulletin's first page presents the news items in capsule form.

The bulletin is currently sent to 400 addressees (Cabinet and Knesset members, senior government officials, Jewish Agency and WZO senior staff, American Jewish organizations in Israel, libraries and to approximately 30 schools). We plan to increase the number of copies.

... 2

2. The Ministry of Education and Culture has welcomed the Institute's initiative to undertake a joint review to establish how to promote and enlarge the existing teaching efforts devoted to American Jewry within the school system. What is planned is not merely the preparation of a course to be included in the curriculum. Under the agreed terms of reference the joint review group, which met for the first time early this month, will focus, inter alia, on the following questions:

- a. In which of the existing programs should the subject of American Jewry be integrated (history, Contemporary Jewish Communities, etc.)
- b. At what school levels should the topic be taught;
- c. Should it be included in the final Bagrut examinations;
- d. What courses are needed to train teachers to teach the subject;
- e. What teaching materials are required;
- f. How many different courses for the different levels and age groups have to be prepared;
- g. Should there not be maximum, intermediate and minimum-length courses for the different schools, (e.g., some autonomous school may choose the maximum-length course);
- h. What incentives to teachers and students are to be offered. It is self-evident that "U.S. Jewry" should not be taught as a separate subject but as part of the Ministry's program to teach about the Diaspora.

In discussing the terms of reference for the joint review group, the Institute stated that it was self-evident that American Jewry should not be taught as a separate subject but be integrated in those parts of the present curriculum devoted to the Diaspora or allied subjects.

3. Preparations are moving ahead to select ten candidates for the Edna and Mathew Young Leadership Program ("Get to Know U.S. Jewry"). In May 1985 ten young Israelis (ages 25-39) will leave for the States to acquaint themselves with U.S. Jewry. This will bring the total number of Israelis sent through this program to 27.

As in the past, special efforts are made to choose high-calibre people. Various organizations (political parties, government ministries, etc.) recommend candidates after screening a wide list of possibilities. On the basis of these recommendations, the most suitable candidates (about 25) are interviewed and from among them the ten most suitable are chosen. Before their departure, those chosen will participate in a 2-3 day orientation course on U.S. Jewry and will be given reading assignments.

4. The survey of factors influencing decisions regarding U.S. investments in Israeli industry, begun early in 1984, is nearing completion.

5. An inventory of current projects and activities carried out in Israel by and on behalf of American Jews and American Jewish organizations, is nearing completion. Its objective is to facilitate evaluation of the present state of interaction between U.S. Jewry and Israel.

The completion of this project has been slightly delayed in order to add some additional projects not included in the original list. The Institute in New York has asked U.S. organizations, aiding Israeli institutions, to provide background materials about their activities not available in Israel.

6. An analysis of Israel-Diaspora dialogues is completed, edited and will soon be released.

7. The study analyzing the attitudes of the several trends of religious thought toward the territories is in its third draft.

8. A compendium on the Ashkenazim-Sephardim in Israel has been commissioned. The first draft is to be presented by the end of March 1985.

9. The American Oleh in Israel. The Institute has commissioned a researcher to report on the feasibility of such a study. The researcher will prepare a list of published studies (if any) and establish whether the available data about the olim (names and whereabouts) is sufficient to enable the study.

10. U. S. Students in Israeli Universities. A researcher has been asked to make recommendations as to whether such a study is needed.

The Israeli Advisory Board met once in 1984 on the occasion of Mr. Bertram H. Gold's visit to Israel (the Jerusalem members met on July 22, 1984 and the Tel Aviv members met on July 24, 1984).





United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 14, 1985

Mr. Mervin H. Riseman, Chairman
National Task Force on Soviet Jewry
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Riseman:

I have been asked to respond to your December 17 letter to President Reagan regarding the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union.

We share your grave concern about the intensifying campaign of repression Soviet authorities are waging against Jewish cultural activists and refuseniks. The deteriorating situation of Soviet Jews is deeply troubling to all who are interested in the defense of human rights. As Secretary Shultz said in an October 22, 1984 speech to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry:

Among human rights issues, none has more urgency than the treatment of Soviet Jewry.... Soviet leaders may well be perplexed by our preoccupation with human rights. After all, they and many other governments throughout the world take the view that human rights are strictly an "internal affair".... In the aftermath and in the everlasting memory of the Nazi Holocaust, this attitude must be relentlessly exposed as a gross moral evasion.

We have condemned consistently Soviet restrictions on Jewish emigration and persecution of Jews and members of other religious faiths. Such measures are contrary to the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. We have strongly called for the Soviets to comply with their undertakings in that agreement. In addition, we have made it unequivocally clear in bilateral exchanges with the Soviets that their abuses of individual rights have a serious detrimental effect on U.S.-Soviet relations. Both President Reagan and Secretary Shultz stressed our continuing concern over Soviet human rights abuses to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in their September 1984 meetings.

Unfortunately, the Soviets have been unresponsive to our efforts, labeling them as "interference" in their internal affairs. U.S. influence on Soviet emigration

practices and persecution of Soviet Jews remains limited. However, we are not discouraged and will continue to exercise what influence we have.

Sincerely,



Alan D. Romberg
Acting Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs and
Acting Spokesman



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 14, 1985
to M. Bernard Resnikoff
from Shula Bahat
subject ISEF

After consultation with the International Relations Department, and IAJIR staff re ISEF, I would like to inform you that AJC is planning few projects with ISEF U.S.A.. It seems to us that it will be of great advantage to our governors to learn about ISEF's work in Israel.

Since the meeting with recent immigrants from the Soviet Union is cancelled, please schedule a meeting with ISEF people instead.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Shula

cc: David Gordis
Marc Tanenbaum
George Gruen



January 14, 1985

ORTHODOX LAW OF RETURN BILL THREATENS
ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND JEWISH UNITY

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The introduction this week before the Israeli Parliament of a bill that would amend Israel's Law of Return by redefining who is a Jew is an irresponsible action. It is also a morally cynical act taken by small Orthodox Jewish parties who are exploiting the fragility of Israel's unity government.

Look at Israel's present critical situation. The young democracy is facing a massive economic crisis that if not resolved by unified austerity measures could, God forbid, crush the fledgling Jewish state in ways that her Arab enemies could not bring about.

The entire Israeli society is also traumatized by the abrupt cancellation of the airlift of Ethiopian Jews (that leaves nearly 15,000 of these impoverished immigrants imperiled.) And a rancorous debate swirls through Israel over how to pull Israeli troops out of Lebanon while preserving security against PLO attacks.

In the face of those threatening problems, reasonable people would normally be expected to do everything possible to strengthen the unity and solidarity of Israeli society, and of world Jewry. Instead, the small Orthodox parties -- who represent no more than one-fifth of Israel's Jewish population -- have chosen this perilous moment to advance their narrow political fortunes by denying legitimacy to Reform and Conservative Jews. Like the Moral Majority in this country, they seek to establish their sectarian religious views by exploiting the political process.

They would do well to think hard about Prime Minister Begin's statement that "the gates of Auschwitz were open to all Jews, Orthodox and non-Orthodox, so surely the gates of Jerusalem must be open to all Jews."

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

rpr

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Jan. 14...The following statement was issued today by Dr. David M. Gordis, Executive Vice President of the American Jewish Committee, at a news conference at the headquarters of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

"The American Jewish Committee rejects, strongly and unequivocally, the determined effort of a small minority in Israel to decide for all of world Jewry who is a Jew.

"Let us be clear about this, because there is a familiar ring to these efforts. Those who seek to impose their definition of Jewishness on Israel and Diaspora Jewry couch the issue in terms of Jewish law. But the true issue is that of religious freedom and equality. If world Jewry is to remain united, despite our differences, we, too, need pluralism in our relationship with one another.

"The American Jewish Committee is open to Jews of all ideological groups. We are neutral on religious matters. But we are not neutral about the right of individuals and groups throughout the world--including Israel--to make their own religious choices; and we are unalterably opposed to religious monopoly and political bigotry. If pluralism means anything at all, it means that no one--not even other Jews--can tell Jews the right way to relate to their God.

"What is not in question is the right of Orthodox Jews to feel as they do and preach what they wish. At issue is the propriety of the State of Israel's becoming the disenfranchizer of non-Orthodox Jews and Judaism. This is not simply an internal Israeli concern. It is a matter affecting all of world Jewry.

"In addition to the substance of the issue, which is ominous enough, the timing could not be worse. At this moment, all of world Jewry is united in its efforts on behalf of Ethiopian Jews, and in planning how we all may help solve Israel's economic crisis.

"To introduce this issue now once again, in the hope that preoccupation with other concerns will permit it to squeeze through, is irresponsible and immoral."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

85-960-4

AJRZ

BTS

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

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 15, 1985
to Sergio Neudelstejer
from William Gralnick
subject Trip to Central America

cc: M. Tanenbaum
 D. Harris
 G. DuBow
 H. Applebaum

I was saddened to hear of your sister's tragic loss. I have planted a tree in Israel in your brother-in-laws memory so that life may come from his death.

Ojala que el año nuevo pase mejor por tu y la familia!

Our friendly and frank discussion as you said has settled things. I am only sorry it did not come sooner. I still want you to come to Miami to address our chapter and look forward to arranging that.

Per your request, I have outlined the goals and objectives of our proposed spring trip to Central America:

1) Genesis of the trip: The idea came at our annual meeting with FEDECO, whose leadership invited us.

2) Chapter priorities with FEDECO:

- a) Have Miami children go to FEDECO camp
- b) Have exchange visits, where Miami teens visit with Central American families
- c) Create dialogue and contact between FEDECO families and AJC families
- d) Learn structure, organization, and problems of Central American Jewry

These were things suggested by FEDECO and agreed to by them and us.

3) Elements of the trip, five (5) days, four (4) nights.

- a) Visit Panama and Guatemala - chosen to display diversity of the C.A. communities both in terms of population and problems
- b) Visit communal institutions, meet with Rabbis, Jewish professional and lay leaders, to discuss communal issues including political (as they relate to Jews), religious, and social
- c) Meet with Jewish people to learn about business and social life lived as a Jew in Central America
- d) Explore role of Israel in the communal setting of each country

4) Relationship to 1986 Mission: This trip is part of the Miami Chapter's focus program. It meets both local and national objectives in its format. It will give our people the opportunity many wouldn't have since the '86 mission will be restricted in size. In addition, it will give the agency a base of educated chapter leaders to utilize in Miami.

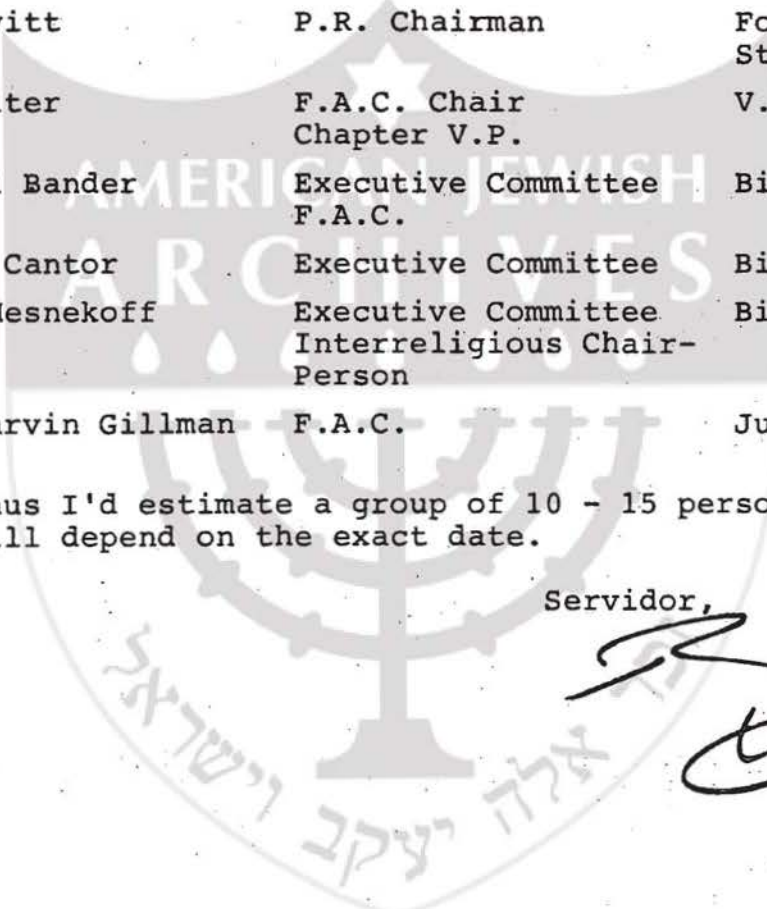
5) Participants: The following have indicated a desire to go; spouses would attend as well.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>AJC ROLE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
Evelyn Goodman	Executive Committee \$750.00 Gift	Incoming President of largest reform synagogue
Ron Levitt	P.R. Chairman	Former Asst. Secy of State of Florida
Neal Alter	F.A.C. Chair Chapter V.P.	V.P./Citicorp Bank
Michael Bander	Executive Committee F.A.C.	Bi-lingual - Attorney
Steven Cantor	Executive Committee	Bi-lingual - Attorney
Faith Mesnekoff	Executive Committee Interreligious Chair- Person	Bi-lingual - Attorney
Hon. Marvin Gillman	F.A.C.	Judge

Thus I'd estimate a group of 10 - 15 persons, though much will depend on the exact date.

Servidor,

WAG:gs



From the Desk of JAN 22 1985

M. BERNARD RESNIKOFF

January 15, 1985

To: Marc Tanenbaum/George Gruen

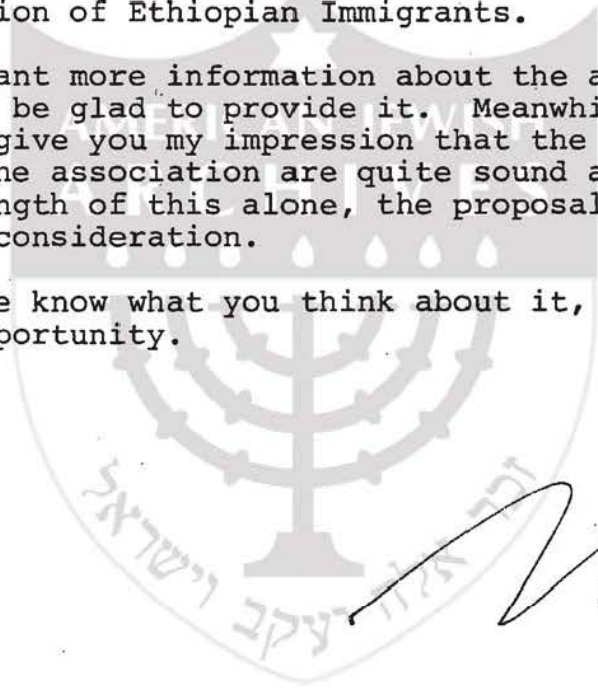
Attached hereto is a Project Proposal from the Association of Ethiopian Immigrants.

If you want more information about the association, I should be glad to provide it. Meanwhile, I want to give you my impression that the persons behind the association are quite sound and, on the strength of this alone, the proposal merits serious consideration.

Do let me know what you think about it, at your first opportunity.

Regards.

Encl.



[Handwritten signature]

ASSOCIATION OF ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANTS
(Hitachdut Olei Ethiopia)
P.O.B. 44921 Haifa
Israel

PROJECT PROPOSAL

History and Description of the Organization

The Association of Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel is a grassroots, voluntary, non-profit organization formed from within the Ethiopian Jewish community living in Israel to meet the needs of the community. During the course of this past year (since January 1984) the organization has quietly recruited members and developed a general program. This was done because of a strong feeling that the existing groups did not represent or advocate for the community adequately. The organization is presently registered as a non-profit association with the Ministry of Interior (no. 58-007724).

Organizational Structure

To date the organization consists of 120 active members with 1,000 supporters from our community, living primarily in the cities of Safed, Carmiel, Nazareth Elite, Ma'alot, Kiryat Shemonah, Afula, Hadera, Haifa, Pardes Hannah, Tel Aviv, Kfar Vitkin, Netanya, Jerusalem, Ashdod, Kiryat Gat, Beer Sheba, Or Akiva, and Arad. The membership elected seven representatives who form a central plenary committee and three members who make up a financial review board. Members of these committees work on recruiting new members, deciding and explaining organizational policy, writing and circulating newsletters, finding outside community resources, public speaking engagements, planning programs, and fundraising.

Membership

The eight original founding members are young Ethiopian Jewish men and women, in their twenties, who arrived to Israel within the last three years. Most of them risked their lives assisting in the rescue of other Ethiopian Jewish immigrants. Separated from their families, they all entered Israel without financial and formal educational background, and are struggling to rebuild their lives. They are students, factory workers, or Jewish agency workers. All are concerned with saving the rest of the community and improving the current situation for Ethiopian Jewish-olim. The membership has grown to include a wider range of ages, and families as well as singles.

Goals and Implementation

Our general aim is to promote mutual support and cooperation within the Ethiopian Jewish community in Israel and abroad.

This aim is implemented in the following ways:

- a) To always be at the side of those who have not yet reunified with their families in Israel, and to help find a solution to their predicament.
- b) To promote the rights of Ethiopian Jewish immigrants in Israel in the areas of housing, education, religion, welfare, and employment.
- c) To serve as a support system for members of the community by addressing emotional and practical needs, and to encourage members to come to each other's aid.
- d) To provide orientation and information for newly arrived Ethiopian Jewish immigrants to prepare them for the transition into a new country.
- e) To develop better understanding and communication between the Ethiopian Jewish community and interested outside groups or individuals.
- f) To perpetuate the unique aspects of Ethiopian Jewish culture.
- g) To coordinate collective economic endeavors for those interested members of the community.

The first priority of our group is that of rescue and immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel. This entails dialogue and cooperation with the Israeli government. The second priority is promoting the rights of Ethiopian Jewish olim by negotiations with various ministries, publicity in the media, and legal services. Simultaneously, we are developing a support system which will be created through the establishment of local offices where Ethiopian Jewish olim may come for information, advice, and referrals. Thirdly, orientation will be provided for new olim by arranging seminars in coordination with the Jewish Agency. This process could begin at the airport, immediately upon arrival. Next, better understanding can be developed through public speaking engagements and use of the media. Lastly, some of the foreseeable collective economic endeavors include founding a moshav and an artisan's cooperative. We have also begun a music and dance troupe, composed of Ethiopian Jewish olim.

Funding Sources and Financial Needs

Funds are being raised from membership dues and by appeals to interested Jewish groups the world-over. Current financial needs consist of additional start-up money for programs and establishing branches in more towns, for basic operating expenses such as travel (in Israel), mail, telephone, area conferences, publicity, and for equipping a central office. The estimated annual budget for 1984-1985 approximates \$16,000.00 and includes the following:

Expenses for 1984-1985 (in U.S. dollars)

Typewriters (2)

English-Hebrew, Amharic \$ 4,000.00

Telephone

Installation costs \$ 300.00
Message Machine \$ 100.00
Bill for one year usage-
local and overseas \$ 2,500.00

Xeroxing, publication, press conferences

Newsletter (monthly) and information
for new olim \$ 1,500.00
Mailing costs \$ 600.00

Transportation:

Reimbursement for members attending
general meetings- four meetings
per year, approx. 300 attendance \$ 1,500.00

Staffing

One part-time office worker
hired from the executive
board of the association \$ 3,500.00

Rent

Office facilities and Utilities \$ 2,000.00

Total Required: \$16,000.00

We are requesting a \$6,000.00 grant in order to cover part
of the above stated costs for the coming year.

N.B. In addition to the above expenses we are also trying
to obtain funds to hire a professional community organization
worker, for exclusive work and consultation to our organization.
This will cost \$7,000.00 annually.

**AN UPDATE ON ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY MEASURES
AND U.S. AID TO ISRAEL**

By Kenneth Bandler

Research Analyst, Israel & Middle East Affairs Division
International Relations Department

During the past few months Israel's Government of National Unity has begun to take significant and difficult steps to resolve its serious economic problems. These measures include a wage-price freeze and a decision to cut the annual budget by \$1.4 billion.

At the same time Israel is seeking \$1.9 billion in economic aid from the U.S. for fiscal year 1986, compared with the \$1.2 billion it is currently receiving. The Administration has already publicly rejected Israel's request for \$750 million in supplemental aid for the current fiscal year, which began on October 1, 1984. The general perception in the U.S., particularly within the Reagan Administration, persists that Israel is not doing enough to deal effectively with its economic problems. Given this perception combined with the likelihood of a freeze on the U.S. budget, including defense and social security, Israel will find Congress extremely reluctant to increase American economic aid above the current level.

By early November 1984, Israel's national unity government had decided to cut a total of \$1.4 billion from next year's budget. Since Israel's fiscal year begins on April 1, the budget cuts that have been made thus far will be reflected in the 1985-86 budget. As of January 1, the government had only reached agreement on specific budget cuts totalling some \$400-600 million.

The Defense Ministry alone will absorb a cut of about \$300 million. The Israel government expects to reduce the defense budget by another \$200 million after the Israel Defense Forces completes its planned withdrawal from Lebanon later this year. These figures, however, do not take into account the economic costs of redeployment.

In the coming weeks, the government will be making decisions regarding subsidies for social services and basic commodities. Such subsidies are much easier to introduce than to reduce or remove, especially since they have long been an integral part of the social welfare commitment that is rooted in the State's ideological foundation. The government, nevertheless, is considering a cut in the education budget of more than \$100 million. As a result, Israeli high school students would begin paying fees for their education, and university tuition would be increased. Reductions in the subsidies on medical care, electricity, fuel, and some basic foodstuffs are also being considered. One area which is unlikely to be cut is the heavily subsidized transportation system.

Protracted negotiations between the government, the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor), and the Israeli Manufacturers' Association, resulted in an agreement last November, commonly referred to as the "package deal," to freeze all wages and prices for three months, to reduce the workers' monthly cost of living adjustment (indexation) by one-third, and to place a temporary freeze on

new taxes. In addition, the government imposed a six month ban on the import of 50 luxury items, reduced by half the foreign currency allowance for travel abroad and banned the use of credit cards abroad.

While wage-price freezes have not worked well in the U.S., economic observers believe that the actual achievement of this kind of formula within the context of Israel's fragmented and politically charged society constituted a major development.

Gad Ya'acobi, Israel's Minister of Economics and Planning, declared in New York on January 9, that the "package deal" has, in fact, produced some positive results. During the past few months the real standard of living of Israelis has reportedly dropped by 10 percent. Minister Ya'acobi noted that private consumption declined by 40-50 percent in November, and that in December the inflation rate was about seven percent.

The measures included in the "package deal", however, are only interim steps, and the three parties to the agreement recognize that additional measures are needed. They are currently negotiating a second agreement to take effect when the "package deal" expires on February 2. Such a longer term agreement would not only continue the economic recovery, but would also be looked upon favorably by the Administration and Congress in evaluating Israel's aid request.

While the Israeli government intends to make the full \$1.4 billion cut in its budget by April, it faces a number of economic and political constraints which inhibit the budget-cutting process:

Foreign Debt: About half of Israel's \$22 billion budget is allocated to debt repayment and servicing. Nearly half of Israel's \$24 billion foreign debt is owed to the United States government. Minister Ya'acobi stated that Israel has never missed a debt payment, and has not asked the U.S. for a moratorium on such repayments. This is one area of the budget, therefore, which cannot be cut.

Defense: More than 25 percent of Israel's budget is spent on defense. About half of these expenditures go to importing weapons. In order to maintain its qualitative edge over hostile Arab neighbors, who have amassed large arsenals while refusing to engage in direct peace negotiations with Israel, defense has become a heavy burden on the Israeli economy. In 1982 alone Saudi Arabia's military expenditures exceeded Israel's entire GNP. Israel currently spends about one-third of its GNP on defense, compared with seven percent before the Yom Kippur War in 1973.

In addition, the need to maintain a domestic arms industry has been costly to the Israeli economy. About half of the country's industrial work force reportedly is employed in defense related concerns. The largest of these is Israel Aircraft Industries. Like other government-owned enterprises, such as the national airline EL AL, Israel Aircraft Industries is not profitable, but is nevertheless considered vital to the nation's security.

American military aid helps alleviate some of the burden that defense places on the economy. Because a militarily secure Israel is viewed by the U.S. as important to American national interests, military assistance is not being questioned, and the current level of \$1.4 billion in annual grants will not be affected by U.S. budgetary cuts. However, due to the economic problems in the U.S., Israel may not get the \$500-\$600 million increase in military aid it is

seeking for FY 1986. (For an analysis of the difficulties Israel faces in cutting its defense budget, see the enclosed article, "Future In the Balance," by Hirsh Goodman, The Jerusalem Post, November 30, 1984).

Raw Materials: the cost of importing essential raw materials has placed an increasing burden on the economy. While Israel spent only two percent of its GNP on imported oil in 1973, today it spends 12 percent. Deficient in raw materials and natural resources, Israel currently spends more than \$6 billion a year to import oil, raw materials and some foodstuffs.

Unemployment: the spectre of unemployment underlies the thinking of all government ministers as they debate which areas of the budget to cut. At the end of 1984, unemployment had reached seven percent and was continuing to rise. An immediate concern is that high unemployment will cause thousands of Israelis to emigrate, as was the case in 1966, when an economic recession led to an unemployment rate of 13 percent.

Rising unemployment may also aggravate tensions between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, and between Israel's Arab and Jewish communities. Unemployment in some Sephardi-dominated development towns has already reached levels of 20-30 percent. (As a consequence, some development town officials have expressed their reluctance to absorb any more of the newly arrived Ethiopian Jews unless additional job opportunities are created.)

Thus, given the delicate social fabric of Israeli society, the government must move cautiously as it takes the hard decisions to stabilize its economy and promote economic growth.

The key to economic growth is to increase exports. This will be a long-term process, involving the redirecting of workers from the government and service sector of the economy into more productive, export-oriented industries. In addition, Israel is planning reforms in its tax laws and in the bureaucracy in order to create incentives for foreign investment. Such incentives are needed to take full advantage of the opportunities made possible by the Free Trade Area which the U.S. and Israel have agreed to establish.

In the meantime, Israel will continue to require American economic assistance. Israel urgently needs to increase its foreign currency (dollar) reserves to at least \$3 billion dollars. One of the reasons the U.S. gave the FY 1985 economic aid in one lump sum last October was that the reserves had dropped below \$2 billion. Unless the country's foreign currency reserves are significantly increased, individuals, institutions and companies may be less inclined to deposit and invest in Israel. In addition, Israel now pays \$1.1 billion a year to the U.S. government in debt servicing alone, which equals nearly all the American economic assistance it is now receiving.

Because Israel's economic recovery is essential to maintaining its own security, and an economically strong and militarily secure Israel is vital to American national interests, there is general understanding within Congress and the Administration on Israel's need for American assistance. This understanding will be maintained and strengthened by additional evidence that Israel's national unity government is steadfast in its determination to implement the painful measures necessary to stabilize the economy, reduce inflation, and increase productivity. Together, Israel's economic policies and U.S.-Israel economic cooperation could lay the groundwork for an era of renewed economic growth and prosperity for Israel.

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 RELEASE AFTER 12 NOON
WEDNESDAY, JAN. 16, 1985**

NEW YORK, Jan. 16. . . A noted writer and social critic today voiced concern that the falling Jewish birthrate could be a serious threat to the Jewish future.

Speaking at an American Jewish Committee forum on current trends in American Jewish life, Milton Himmelfarb, director of the Committee's Information and Research Services and editor of the American Jewish Year Book, deplored the fact that "most of us do not really approve of bringing enough children into the world to assure a Jewish future."

Together with so many other middle-class Americans, Mr. Himmelfarb added, "we have assimilated the new wisdom: that it is our duty not to be the slaves of duty, that our duty is to ourselves."

There is a "false opposition," Mr. Himmelfarb said, between the concepts of "quantity" and "quality" with regard to the Jewish birthrate.

In reality, he stated, "quantity can be an indispensable requirement for quality. If you do not have enough children, you don't have any Jewish schools, any Jewish education, and finally, any Judaism."

There is also a "morale" factor, Mr. Himmelfarb asserted, when a dwindling Jewish population leads Jews to regard themselves as a disappearing group, with little hope for the survival of future generations of Jews.

The forum was the fourth and final in a series sponsored by AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Commission, of which Robert S. Rifkind is chairman. Past sessions dealt with the impact of Jewish values on family life and explored traditional and current Jewish communal responses to intermarriage and divorce.

EJP, Z
85-960-6

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1707

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

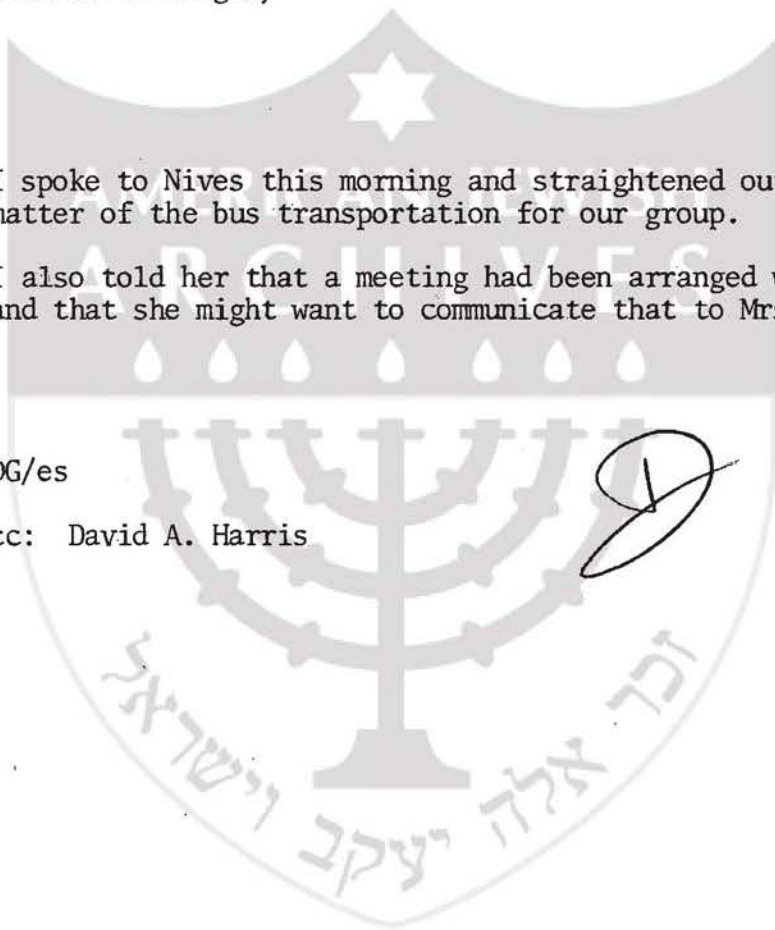
date January 16, 1985
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject Mission to Hungary

I spoke to Nives this morning and straightened out the matter of the bus transportation for our group.

I also told her that a meeting had been arranged with Havasi and that she might want to communicate that to Mrs. Seifert.

DG/es

cc: David A. Harris



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

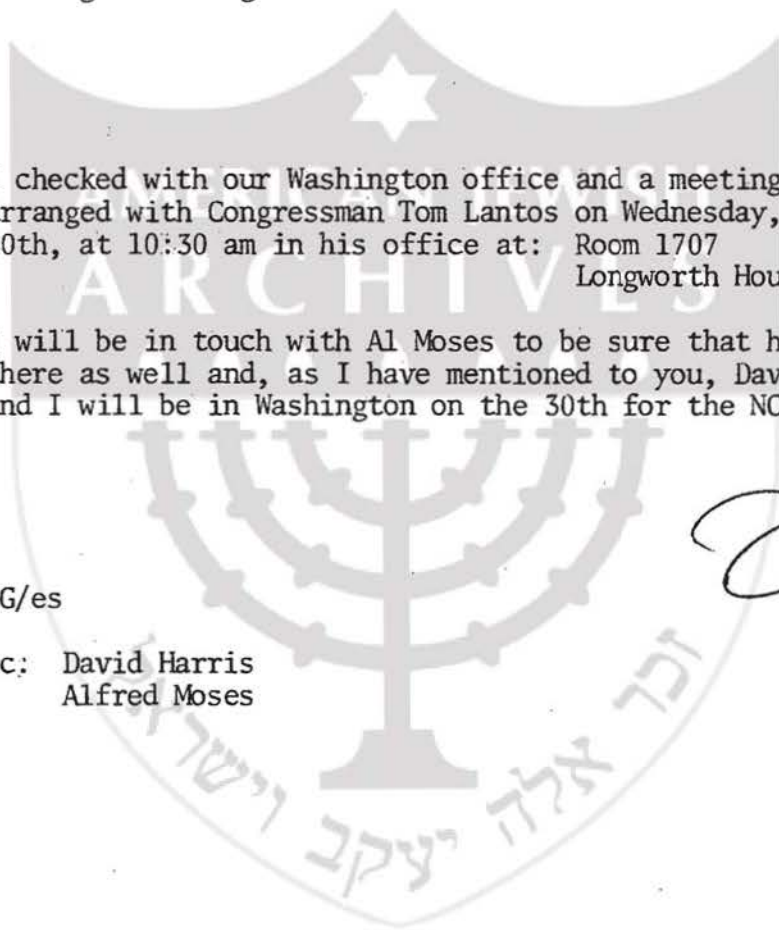
date January 16, 1985
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject Meeting with Congressman Lantos

I checked with our Washington office and a meeting has been arranged with Congressman Tom Lantos on Wednesday, January 30th, at 10:30 am in his office at: Room 1707 Longworth House Building

I will be in touch with Al Moses to be sure that he is there as well and, as I have mentioned to you, David Harris and I will be in Washington on the 30th for the NCSJ meeting.

DG/es

cc: David Harris
Alfred Moses



NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

ajc

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, Jan. 17....The American Jewish Committee made public today the text of a cable that was sent to Shimon Peres, Israeli Prime Minister, by Howard I. Friedman, AJC President, and David M. Gordis, Executive Vice President. The cable read:

"We are very grateful for your eloquence and leadership in defeating moves to end the law of return, which would have threatened Jewish unity. At a time when we are all concerned with difficult problems, we reaffirm our support for your efforts to solve them."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

85-960-11
AJRZ

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1707

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 17, 1985

to Marc Tanenbaum

from Jacobo Kovadloff

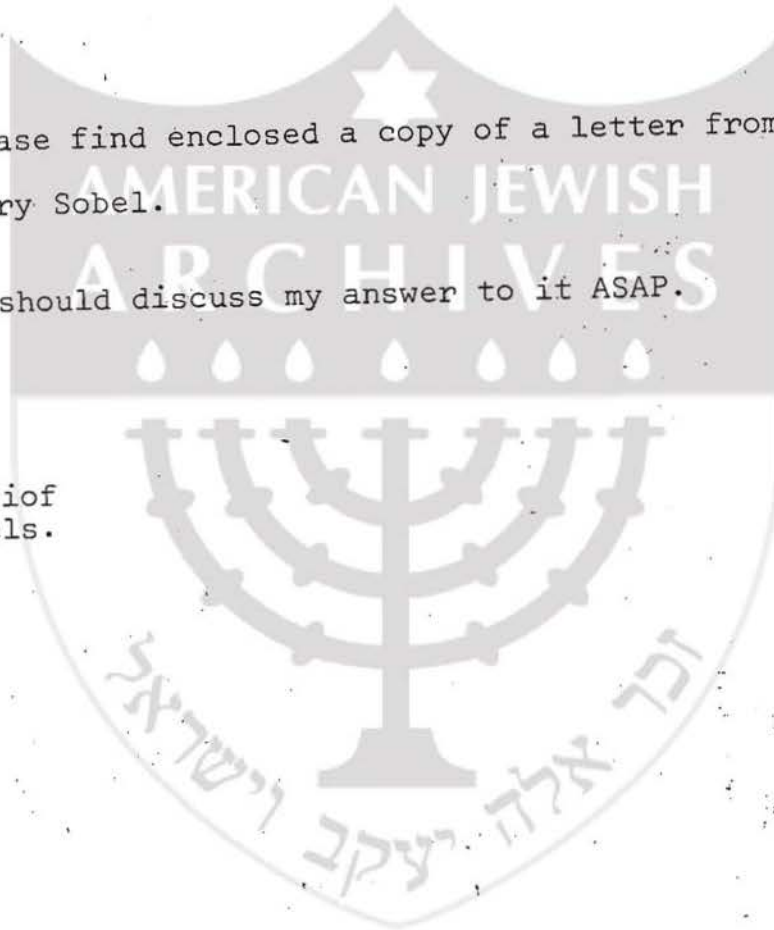


subject

Please find enclosed a copy of a letter from Henry Sobel.

We should discuss my answer to it ASAP.

JK/iof
Encls.



Rabino Henry I. Sobel

São Paulo, 7 January 1985

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.

JAN 14 1985

Dear Jacobo,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 December and enclosure to José Knoplich. You handled the Comentário affair with great tact! We are mindful of your efforts and grateful for your sensitivity.

Re the 20th anniversary of Vatican Council II: October 1985 sounds good. Perhaps a festive opening at the Hebraica in São Paulo on Saturday evening the 19th with the participation of the higher echelons of the Catholic Church? While I cannot guarantee results, I have good reasons to believe that important persons will be willing to attend. Maximum press coverage is likely.

Sunday morning, 20 October, can be devoted to a session on the progress of Jewish-Catholic relations since the promulgation of *Nostra Aetate* in 1965. And the afternoon session can deal, perhaps, with "tachlis" proposals for the future.

→ → → → →

2.

Rabino Henry I. Sobel

We can arrange "um almoço de confraternização" in between.

By all means, Jacobo, give me your suggestions so that together we can draft a tentative program before making up a list of Jewish and Catholic personalities whom we may want to invite.

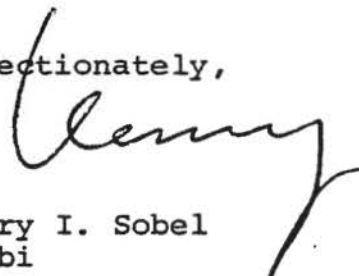
Can we think big, in terms of a North/South-American encounter? And maybe even get someone influential from the Vatican to lend prestige?

Our National Commission for Jewish-Catholic Dialogue under the auspices of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops may accept to serve as official co-host, together with the American Jewish Committee. But we will need funding. Hopefully the AJC will come through.

Jacobo: I see real possibilities. I await your feedback.

Our thoughts are with you in New York. I trust the surgery went well. Your friends in São Paulo wish you a solid and thorough recovery. Regards to Marc.

Affectionately,


Henry I. Sobel
Rabbi

HIS/po

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

NEW YORK, Jan. 18... On the fortieth anniversary of the disappearance of Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who saved the lives of more than 100,000 Jews in Hungary during World War II, Howard I. Friedman, president of the American Jewish Committee, urged that the memory of Wallenberg be perpetuated as "the greatest witness to man's capacity to sanctify life in the face of the darkest evil in known history."

"During the unspeakable crimes of the Holocaust," Mr. Friedman continued, "Wallenberg's selfless courage to rescue Jews from Nazi slaughter serves as an imperishable reminder of man's innate capacity to affirm life under the worst threat of personal peril and organized savagery and destruction. His deeds remind us of what is forever good in mankind and remain a symbol of hope and inspiration for all future generations."

Raoul Wallenberg, a Christian Swedish diplomat based in Budapest in 1944, disappeared en route to Soviet Army headquarters in Debrecen, Hungary, on January 18, 1945. He was never heard from again. Though on several occasions the Soviets have claimed that he died in 1947 in the infamous Lubyanka Prison in Moscow, Soviet authorities have never explained why he was imprisoned to begin with. The Soviets have also never responded to reports, as recently as the 1970's, that a Swedish prisoner alive in the Gulag may possibly be Wallenberg, despite repeated inquiries about the allegation from Wallenberg's family, many Western governments and thousands of private citizens.

Wallenberg succeeded in saving the lives of more than 100,000 Hungarian Jews by issuing them Swedish passports, which allowed them to escape Nazi-occupied Europe to various destinations off the continent. He was assisted in his efforts by support and funds from the Swedish Government. According to biographical accounts, Wallenberg's actions were prompted by an extraordinary sense of moral commitment and courage based on a profound appreciation of the Biblical injunction, "Thou shalt not stand idly by the blood of thy brother."

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85-960-10
EJP, PP, CP, FP, REL, 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;

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Jan. 18.....As Jews and Catholics proceed to mark the 20th anniversary of Vatican II's Declaration on Non-Christian Religions, scholars and theologians are reexamining the portrayal of Jews and Judaism in Christian educational texts, to determine to what extent the declaration has succeeded in revising anti-Semitic teachings in the church.

The first major compilation of essays devoted to this inquiry is published in the summer 1984 edition of the "Journal of Ecumenical Studies," a Temple University quarterly. It is believed to be the first publication issued in 1985 examining the impact of Vatican Council II on Catholic-Jewish relations in many parts of the world.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of International Relations of the American Jewish Committee, provides the journal's introduction, which includes essays, summaries of proceedings of ecumenical conferences here and abroad and book reviews.

Rabbi Tanenbaum points out that Nostra Aetate, adopted by Vatican II on October 28, 1965, and the Vatican's subsequent Guidelines on Catholic-Jewish Relations issued in 1975, had been preceded by a similar far-reaching declaration of the World Council of Churches, echoed by a number of other church bodies worldwide, all condemning anti-Semitism and calling for mutual respect between Christians and Jews.

"How extensive and meaningful have the revisions been of formerly negative and hostile images? What still remains to be improved?" asks Rabbi Tanenbaum. Prior to his present position, Rabbi Tanenbaum served for nearly 25 years as

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AJC's national Director of Interreligious Affairs. In that capacity, he was the only rabbi present at Vatican Council II and has been a pioneering leader in promoting understanding between Christians and Jews on an international basis.

Contributing responses, among others, are Judith H. Banki, associate director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, and Dr. Eugene Fisher, executive secretary of the Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish Relations of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

Dr. Fisher observes: "It is true that most blatant anti-Jewish canards have been eliminated from our religious educational discourse. For Catholics, the key to progress has been the direct language of the official documents, followed through by independent and creative action by the religious educators themselves. In my own study of American texts, I found a close correlation between what was explicitly stated in the Councils and actual revisions of the textbooks."

Regarding negative stereotypes and themes still embedded in Christian catechetical material, he isolates the following:

* A Latent Marcionite Approach to Hebrew Scriptures

Common terminology such as "Old Testament" and "Late Judaism" often have a perjorative and reductionist impact on student attitudes toward the Hebrew Bible.

* The Crucifixion and Deicide Charge

While significant progress has been made, there remains far more work to be done. Few textbooks or teachers' manuals provide the background necessary on the history of anti-Semitism or in the development of the passion narratives to provide an adequate preparation for students approaching these highly volatile texts.

* Legalism and the Pharisees

While Christian scholars have overwhelmingly established the historical falsehood of this negative stereotype of the highly complex pharisaical/rabbinical movement, studies show that the Pharisees are still depicted in unremittingly evil tones. And what is imputed to the Pharisees is imputed to all Jews of Jesus' time and to all Jews and Judaism throughout all time.

Ms. Banki writes: "The good news is that significant progress has been made. Much of the hostile invective has been eliminated from current materials, along with the deicide charge and the obscene notion of Jews suffering as the result of divine retribution. The bad news is that certain religious and historical themes, the struggle between the early church and synagogue, the Pharisees, the Jewish rejection of Jesus as Messiah can still call forth negative stereotypes and inaccurate generalizations about the Jew. If earlier textbook research indicates how wide the problems were, more recent research

indicates how deep the remaining problems go. I would guess that the most widespread misconception about Judaism among Christians today is that it is the religion of the Old Testament. In addition, the 'law versus love' dichotomy embodied in this perception is still common."

Adds Dr. Fisher: "In the Pope's address to representatives of bishops' conferences in March, 1982, he stressed that the task of religious instruction was not only to present the Jews and Judaism in an honest and objective manner but to infuse the curriculum throughout with a lively awareness of common spiritual heritage, taking seriously the faith and religious life of the Jewish people as professed and lived now. So, too, religious instruction should not absent itself on matters between the close of the apostolistic age and the present day, with the two great events of modern Jewish life, the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel."

Among the essays and contributors to this special Vatican Council II journal are:

"RESEARCH ON CHRISTIAN TEACHING CONCERNING JEWS AND JUDAISM:
PAST RESEARCH AND PRESENT NEEDS"
Eugene J. Fisher

"THE IMAGE OF JEWS IN CHRISTIAN TEACHING"
Judith H. Banki

"THEOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS TO CHANGING THE
IMAGE OF JEWS AND JUDAISM IN EDUCATION"
Ruth Kastning-Olmesdahl

"CATEGORIES FOR A CORRECT PRESENTATION OF JEWS AND JUDAISM
IN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS TRAINING"
Peter Fiedler

"THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION FOR THE CHURCH'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE
JEWISH PEOPLE"
Paul M. van Buren

"JUDAISM VIS-A-VIS CHRISTIANITY: HOW TO MAKE CHANGES"
John Carmody

The publication was made possible through generous grants from the Nathan Appleman Institute for the Advancement of Christian-Jewish Understanding and the Ruth U. Samuel Institute for International Programs in Interreligious Relations. Rabbi Tanenbaum serves as director of both Institutes.

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K043/tp/ar
A, EJP, PP, CP, REL, Z



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332 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604 312/427-4483

January 13, 1985

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"An Hour of Good News"


LEAD & OPENING	Presider, Chorale, and Announcer	
ANTHEM	"Ave Verum" Glen Ellyn Childrens Chorus Doreen Rao, Director	W. A. Mozart
WELCOME	David K. Hardin President of the Club	
PRAYER HYMN	"Search Me, O God" Sunday Evening Club Chorale	
PRAYER	Marc H. Tanenbaum	
SOLO	"How Lovely Are Thy Dwellings" Frank P. Marsala, Jr., Bass	Samuel Liddle
SCRIPTURE READING	Rachel Golden Evanston, Illinois	Deuteronomy 30:15-19
INTRODUCTION	The Presider	
STATEMENT OF FAITH	Hattie Williams Shalom Ministries Chicago, Illinois	
INTRODUCTION	The Presider	
ANTHEM	"Clap Your Hands" Glen Ellyn Childrens Chorus	David Eddleman
ANNOUNCEMENTS	Mr. Hardin	
SONG	"God Bless The Master" from Folk Songs of the Four Seasons Glen Ellyn Childrens Chorus	Ralph Vaughan Williams
INTRODUCTION	The Presider	
SERMON	HE WHO SAVES ONE LIFE SAVES AN ENTIRE WORLD Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum Director of International Relations American Jewish Committee, New York, N.Y.	
HYMN	"O. Worship The King"	Franz J. Haydn
CLOSING REMARKS	Mr. Hardin	
MUSICAL CLOSE	Mr. Sherman, organist, and Announcer	

O Worship the King, All Glorious Above


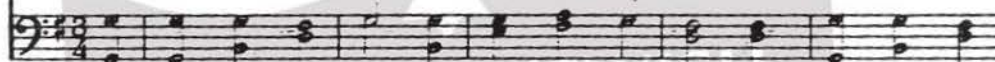
O Lord my God... Thou art clothed with honor and majesty. Psa. 104:1

Psalm 104
William Kethe, 1561
Adapt. by Robert H. Grant, 1833

LYONS 10 10 11 11
William Gardiner's *Sacred Melodies*, 1815
Arr. from Johann M. Haydn, 1737-1806



1. O wor - ship the King, all glo - rious a - bove, O grate - ful - ly
2. O tell of His might, O sing of His grace, Whose robe is the
3. Thy boun - ti - ful care what tongue can re - cite? It breathes in the
4. Frail chil - dren of dust, and fee - ble as frail, In Thee do we



sing His pow'r and His love; Our Shield and De - fend - er, the An - cient of
light, whose can - o - py space. His char - iots of wrath the deep thun - der clouds
air, it shines in the light; It streams from the hills, it de - scends to the
trust, nor find Thee to fail; Thy mer - cies how ten - der! how firm to the



Days, Pa - vil - ioned in splen - dor and gird - ed with praise.
form, And dark is His path on the wings of the storm.
plain, And sweet - ly dis - tills in the dew and the rain.
end! Our Mak - er, De - fend - er, Re - deem - er and Friend. A - men.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 22, 1985
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller
subject Austrian Art Treasures

Congressman Sidney Yates, at the suggestion of Hyman Bookbinder, called me regarding the situation relating to the art treasures held in Austria. He wanted to make a brief statement as part of a much more general presentation he was making, urging the Austrian Government to delay holding the proposed art auction. I gave him some general information and then got in touch with Saul Kagan.

Saul told me that he and Izzy Miller would be attaching themselves to the WJC delegation which will be meeting with Austrian officials some time during the WJC Executive Meeting in Vienna. There are tentative meetings scheduled with Chancellor Sinowitz, Foreign Minister Graetz, the Minister of Finance (I forgot his name) and the Minister of Science and Research Fisher, under whose auspices the art is stored and is eventually to be auctioned. They will be back from Vienna at the end of January or the first couple of days in February and Saul promised to call and let me know what happened.

Today he and Izzy Miller will be meeting with the Austrian Ambassador Klestil and with Tom Niles, Deputy Assistant Secretary of European Affairs, who is handling this particular issue re Austria. Miller will call Congressman Yates after the State Department meeting and brief him further.

DG/es

cc: Hyman Bookbinder
David Harris

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Jan. 21. . . Despite the complexities of the issue and the "hard choices" that have to be made, industrialized democracies must "retain a real commitment to high standards of protection and treatment for refugees and asylum seekers."

That is the conclusion of a just-published 18-page paper titled The Asylum Challenge to Western Nations, written by Gary E. Rubin, Director of the Center on Immigration and Acculturation of the American Jewish Committee, and published by the United States Committee for Refugees, with which Mr. Rubin was affiliated before joining the Committee.

The Committee's Task Force on Asylum Policy in the United States, chaired by George M. Szabad, recently stated that aid to refugees was in severe danger of being cut back, in large part because of growing numbers of people seeking asylum from political persecution in their homelands. It urged improving current modes of handling asylum "so that we can maintain our historic commitment to protecting persons in flight from oppression."

In his paper, Mr. Rubin asserts that the trend toward narrow interpretations of governments' obligations to refugees under international law must be reversed.

"Formulas developed more than 30 years ago," he states, "will not meet all conditions in the contemporary world. A real commitment based on the original 1951 Convention [Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees] is needed to protect populations at risk for reasons of persecution."

As in other complex areas, Mr. Rubin believes, the way toward improvement lies in understanding the nature of the issue, separating real concerns from

....more

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CSAE 1707

extraneous ones, and developing policy that speaks to current needs.

"Given that there is some consensus on refugee protection principles in the abstract," he says, "it seems feasible that a responsible humanitarian approach can improve the legal and institutional framework and be politically realistic, practical, and effective."

Among current problems, Mr. Rubin lists the following:

- * Increasingly, people migrate in a less orderly fashion than before to industrialized nations, many do so illegally.

- * The unstructured nature of their arrival, combined with the fact that large numbers are often involved, has greatly complicated industrialized democracies' responses.

- * Wars, natural disasters, famine, economic distress and persecution produce migrants in many areas of the globe. The sheer size of these human streams presents a formidable challenge to international efforts to aid and protect people in need.

- * A combination of sluggish economies, high unemployment, concern over total immigration, the substantial costs of resettlement efforts, and nativism have made many developed countries reluctant to admit significant numbers of newcomers of any kind.

While Western nations must continue generous admission policies, "resettlement in industrialized countries is neither a possible nor a desirable option for most refugees," Mr. Rubin believes. "The number of newcomers — refugees and other immigrants — that developed nations will accept each year falls far short of the number seeking to enter."

Moreover, he adds, "It has proven extremely difficult for many people fleeing Third World nations to adjust to modern societies and economies. On the other hand, repatriation to their homeland is not a viable solution for most refugees as long as the government they fled remains in power."

Mr. Rubin asserts that for the long term, most experts look to internationally assisted settlement of refugees in developing countries contiguous or close to their places of origin. This, he says, often requires less cultural transition for the refugees and less cost and, sometimes, can take advantage of available open space.

No single course of action will resolve all the issues, Mr. Rubin states, but, he insists, "Nations must be able to identify and find solutions for individuals whose fear of persecution is well-founded and who would face real danger if returned to their homelands."

To date, according to Mr. Rubin, serious consideration of refugee issues has been confined to small groups of government personnel, area experts, private agency workers, refugee advocates, and academics.

"However," he adds, "the issues speak directly to such broad concerns as how nations should balance domestic and foreign policy interests and realize humanitarian needs.

"All prospects are for refugee flows to continue as a major challenge, endemic to the modern world. Policy responses must be informed, sophisticated, politically adept, and creative. To accomplish this, the component issues must be better understood, and participation in policy debates must draw in a wider public."

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American Jewish Committee
Steering Committee
of the
Commission on International Relations

Monday, January 21, 1985 4 P.M.

Leo Nevas, Chariman

AGENDA

- 
- I. Board of Governors Institute in Israel
- Missions to Hungary, Italy and Spain T. Ellenoff
R. Goodkind
- II. Report of December Visit to France, Germany
and Israel D. Gordis
- III. Deepening Crisis in Soviet Jewry M. Riseman
- IV. Chairman's Report
- Update on Ethiopia L. Nevas
- V. Public Campaign on South Africa L. Nevas
- VI. American Jewish World Service L. Phillips

djg

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REPORT

JAN 21 1985

M. Janinbaum

From the Israel Office of the American Jewish Committee
Rehov Ethiopia 9, Jerusalem 95 149 Tel. 228862, 233551 Cable: Wishom, Jerusalem

THE REAL ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL DEBATE

by

S. Zalman Abramov

The debate concerning the limiting of MK Kahane's immunity was neither profound nor serious and merely provided Kahane with a platform from which he could proclaim his credo. Here is a sample of his comments: "Is it me you wish to silence? No. You want to still the voice of Judaism, the word of the living G-d ... This session is an expression of the fear and awe of me and of the true Jewish vision... This session illustrates the contradistinction between the hellenization toward Western culture and true Judaism and Zionism." It would seem that a person who claims to be the spokesman of Judaism, of "the words of the living G-d" and of "true Zionism," would not be taken seriously. Yet this is not the case, for Kahane's doctrine is shared, consciously or subconsciously by much of the masses in Israel.

In brief, Kahane's ideology, is the negation of Western culture, its antithesis - and as such the antithesis of Zionism as well. Western culture is the embodiment of humanism which is inspired by both Greek and Roman culture and prophetic Judaism. It includes the entire spectrum of human, religious and secular spirituality. At its foundation lies respect for all, created in

the image of G-d, for each persons's freedom and equality before the law, and as a direct consequence of these, upholding the law of a democratic society. These principles guided the leaders of our national revival - Herzl, Weizman, Ben Gurion and Jabotinsky. As the product of Western culture, it is not unusual then that the Zionist movement was the first democracy in the history of the Jewish people.

Among those who identify with **Rabbi Kahane**, one also finds those who regard themselves as disciples of **Zeev Jabotinsky**. It is thus worthwhile considering some of **Jabotinsky's** views. In an article **Jabotinsky** published September 26, 1926, as the leader of the Revisionist movement, he argued with **Martin Buber** who claimed that with our return to the East it is incumbent upon us to cultivate the customs of the East. **Jabotinsky** remonstrated against this opinion, arguing that our survival is assured only if we build our State on the values of Western culture. **Jabotinsky** particularly stressed the difference in the status of religion in these two cultures. After analysing Jewish orthodoxy he linked it to the East.

And what are Eastern aspirations? "To introduce religion into all aspects of life, into the law books, scientific research, dress, the kitchen, etc. The West, on the other hand, confines the domain of religion to the personal relationship of the individual with his Creator." He inveighs against the inferior position of women within the religious framework: "The

status of chattel, with restricted rights and inferior rank." As far as I'm concerned (said **Jabotinsky**), orthodoxy "does not represent the essence of Judaism." In a later article **Jabotinsky** stated his position towards the Arabs: "Like all Jews I am prepared to take an oath on our name and on the name of our descendents that we will never infringe upon their equal rights, nor will we make any attempt at expulsion or oppression."

NEGATORS OF WESTERN CULTURE

Thus, those who followed the founders of our national renaissance did indeed establish the state on the Western pattern. And while both **Rabbi Kahane**, a consummate racist, a law-breaker contemptuous of democracy, and his followers, see themselves as spokesmen of the "true Zionism," in actuality they are defying Zionism and distorting its substance.

Rabbi Kahane's ideology is first and foremost that of **Gush Emunim** - and not only theirs. In 1979 a **Gush Emunim** leader, **Rabbi Yoel Bin-Nun**, declared: "There is no need to expatiate on those who place Torah and the commandments above the law." This statement comes to teach of a supreme law which supersedes the laws of the land.

Like **Kahane**, these people negate Western culture. On September 3, 1982 one of their leaders, **Yedidia Segal**, stated: "The Torah of Israel and humanistic atheism have no bearing upon

one another. A teaching that aspires toward revenge in the manner of 'Blessed be he who seizes your little ones and dashes them to pieces upon a rock' is not humanistic. Its approach (is based) on different ethical grounds than those currently accepted in the Western world. Today a deliberation on a hostile response by the Arab population, must be judged by its effectiveness and there is no place for any humane treatment."

Kahane's ideology dictates the removal of the Arabs from the country. This is also the **Gush** position, irregardless of its low-keyed dissociation, uttered after the disclosure of a terrorist underground. **Haim Tsroyeh**, of **Shavei-Shomron**, wrote on August 29, 1982: "Without relating to any other aspect ... I would like to comment upon hatred of the Arabs. Are we really forbidden to hate the enemies of our people and rejoice over the attack against them?" (following the attack against the Arab mayors). **MK Drukman** followed suit: "Thus should all your enemies be annihilated, O Israel." A graduate of the **Noam Yeshiva** High school turned to **Rabbi Veizer** with a question about the laws of lawful warfare. The **Rabbi** replied: "The best Egyptians you shall kill, and the best snakes, crush their head." **Aharon Halamish**, a resident of Ofra, says: "We must try and make it difficult for the Arabs in Israel ... There is nothing wrong with making things hard for them and hoping that they emigrate." A firmer stand is expressed by **David Rosenberger**: "We must see to it that each time an incident occurs the Arab sector loses ...

The Arab public must be made to feel that the very ground under its feet is being pulled away ... a new revolutionary way must be adopted to deal with the Jewish-Arab conflict."

These views are held not only by **Gush Emunim** and many within the religious parties - but are also embraced by many others. Those who aroused the public to demonstrate violently in order to prevent the **Yamit** evacuation, came from other circles as well - **Knesset members** included. Those who voted against limiting **Kahane's** immunity and those who left the plenary hall during the voting, are not necessarily opposed to his approach. At first glance it seems that the controversy polarizing the country is a question of national borders. This however is not the case. Were this the topic of debate, a solution could be reached without violence, without law-breaking, without contempt of democracy and without religious fanaticism. The controversy extends beyond the question of national borders. That is clearly a political problem, whereas the issue dividing the nation runs deeper - touching upon the contrasts between two different cultures. The debate is so acute because it descends to the very root of our existence: Is our State oriented toward Western culture with its humanistic values, i.e; tolerance, human freedom, supremacy of the law and a democratic way of life - or is it oriented toward its antithesis, to Eastern culture with all its spiritual contents? Indeed **Kahane**, like his public and private supporters, symbolises the true struggle for the soul of

the nation. The focus of the national debate is not on the borders but is on the image and ethos of the people of Israel.

(This translation of an article by S. Zaman Abramov, originally appeared in the 2/1/85 edition of Ha'Aretz, and was produced and distributed as a public service.)

Documentation No. 85-585-1



January 21, 1985

Biography for U.S. Rep. William H. Gray, III. (D.-Pa.)

Chairman, House Committee on the Budget, 99th Congress

William H. Gray, 42, of Philadelphia, is serving in his fourth term in the Congress, having represented Pennsylvania's Second Congressional District since 1979.

He chairs the House Committee on the Budget in the 99th Congress. In addition, he serves on the Committee on Appropriations, where he is a member of the Subcommittee on Transportation and the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. He also serves on the District of Columbia Committee, where he chairs the Subcommittee on Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs, and on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

In his first term in Congress, Gray served on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Budget Committee, and the District of Columbia Committee. He was chosen by his freshman colleagues in the 96th Congress to represent them on the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. Also, he has served as Secretary and Vice Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

On the Foreign Affairs Committee, Gray authored the only new program offered by a freshman and passed by the Congress in this century. This legislation established the African Development Foundation to deliver visible U.S. aid to African villages.

In addition, his amendments to increase the numbers of minority and women officers in the Foreign Service were adopted by Congress and signed into law by President Jimmy Carter in 1980.

President Carter appointed Gray to chair the U.S.-Liberia Presidential Commission and to lead talks with the Liberian government following that country's coup in April, 1980. At President Carter's request, Gray represented the United States at the inauguration of Zimbabwe's government. He also participated in bilateral trade negotiations with Nigeria under the direction of Vice President Walter F. Mondale.

Most recently, Gray authored legislation to ban new investments by U.S. firms in South Africa. His proposal was approved by the House in the 98th Congress, but did not win approval by the Senate. It will be reintroduced in the 99th Congress. Also, Gray was one of the earliest Congressional voices to warn of the famine conditions in Africa. He visited Ethiopia in November, 1984 as part of an effort to expand and improve the effectiveness of U.S. aid there.

Raised in North Philadelphia, Gray attended Simon Gratz High School. He received a bachelor of arts degree from Franklin and Marshall College in 1963, earned his masters in divinity from Drew Theological School in 1966, and his masters in theology from Princeton Theological School in 1970. He completed graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University.

He has been the senior minister at Bright Hope Baptist Church in North Philadelphia since 1972, and was the minister at Union Baptist Church in Montclair, N.J. from 1964 to 1972.

In civil rights, Gray brought a legal case against a landlord who refused to rent him an apartment. Gray v. Serruto became a precedent-setting civil rights case when a New Jersey court ordered that financial damages be paid by those who discriminate in renting multi-family housing on the basis of race.

The Congressman is the founder and past president of five non-profit housing corporations which have constructed more than \$20 million in low and moderate income housing. He helped design the Philadelphia Mortgage Plan, which has produced more than \$100 million in residential mortgages for Philadelphia's inner-city neighborhoods.

Born in Baton Rouge, LA on August 20, 1942, Gray is the son of Hazel Yates and the late Dr. William H. Gray, Jr.

He is married to the former Andrea Dash, of Montclair, New Jersey. They are the parents of three sons: William H. IV, Justin Yates and Andrew Dash.

April 1985
85-964-21

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, Jan. 21. . . Despite the complexities of the issue and the "hard choices" that have to be made, industrialized democracies must "retain a real commitment to high standards of protection and treatment for refugees and asylum seekers."

That is the conclusion of a just-published 18-page paper titled The Asylum Challenge to Western Nations, written by Gary E. Rubin, Director of the Center on Immigration and Acculturation of the American Jewish Committee, and published by the United States Committee for Refugees, with which Mr. Rubin was affiliated before joining the Committee.

The Committee's Task Force on Asylum Policy in the United States, chaired by George M. Szabad, recently stated that aid to refugees was in severe danger of being cut back, in large part because of growing numbers of people seeking asylum from political persecution in their homelands. It urged improving current modes of handling asylum "so that we can maintain our historic commitment to protecting persons in flight from oppression."

In his paper, Mr. Rubin asserts that the trend toward narrow interpretations of governments' obligations to refugees under international law must be reversed.

"Formulas developed more than 30 years ago," he states, "will not meet all conditions in the contemporary world. A real commitment based on the original 1951 Convention [Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees] is needed to protect populations at risk for reasons of persecution."

As in other complex areas, Mr. Rubin believes, the way toward improvement lies in understanding the nature of the issue, separating real concerns from

....more

extraneous ones, and developing policy that speaks to current needs.

"Given that there is some consensus on refugee protection principles in the abstract," he says, "it seems feasible that a responsible humanitarian approach can improve the legal and institutional framework and be politically realistic, practical, and effective."

Among current problems, Mr. Rubin lists the following:

- * Increasingly, people migrate in a less orderly fashion than before to industrialized nations, many do so illegally.

- * The unstructured nature of their arrival, combined with the fact that large numbers are often involved, has greatly complicated industrialized democracies' responses.

- * Wars, natural disasters, famine, economic distress and persecution produce migrants in many areas of the globe. The sheer size of these human streams presents a formidable challenge to international efforts to aid and protect people in need.

- * A combination of sluggish economies, high unemployment, concern over total immigration, the substantial costs of resettlement efforts, and nativism have made many developed countries reluctant to admit significant numbers of newcomers of any kind.

While Western nations must continue generous admission policies, "resettlement in industrialized countries is neither a possible nor a desirable option for most refugees," Mr. Rubin believes. "The number of newcomers — refugees and other immigrants — that developed nations will accept each year falls far short of the number seeking to enter."

Moreover, he adds, "It has proven extremely difficult for many people fleeing Third World nations to adjust to modern societies and economies. On the other hand, repatriation to their homeland is not a viable solution for most refugees as long as the government they fled remains in power."

Mr. Rubin asserts that for the long term, most experts look to internationally assisted settlement of refugees in developing countries contiguous or close to their places of origin. This, he says, often requires less cultural transition for the refugees and less cost and, sometimes, can take advantage of available open space.

No single course of action will resolve all the issues, Mr. Rubin states, but, he insists, "Nations must be able to identify and find solutions for individuals whose fear of persecution is well-founded and who would face real danger if returned to their homelands."

To date, according to Mr. Rubin, serious consideration of refugee issues has been confined to small groups of government personnel, area experts, private agency workers, refugee advocates, and academics.

"However," he adds, "the issues speak directly to such broad concerns as how nations should balance domestic and foreign policy interests and realize humanitarian needs.

"All prospects are for refugee flows to continue as a major challenge, endemic to the modern world. Policy responses must be informed, sophisticated, politically adept, and creative. To accomplish this, the component issues must be better understood, and participation in policy debates must draw in a wider public."

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.

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RL 29/85

January 29, 1985

ZIONIST "COLLABORATION" WITH NAZIS STRESSED IN SOVIET
COMMEMORATION OF WORLD WAR II ANNIVERSARY

David Greenberg

A place has been allotted in Soviet preparations for commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II to Jewish themes that have long been familiar to students of Soviet anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic propaganda. These themes may be categorized as: the great contribution made by the USSR to rescuing the survivors of European Jewry by reason of its dominant role in the defeat of Nazi Germany; the alleged collaboration of Zionism with Nazism and Fascism and its affinity with those two ideologies; and the similarity of Israel's actions, particularly in Lebanon, to those of the Nazis.

Thus far, the principal vehicle chosen by the Soviet authorities to raise the Jewish issue within the context of the coming anniversary has been the Soviet Public Anti-Zionist Committee. As has been the case ever since the formation of this body, the Soviet authorities continue to maintain an ambivalent attitude towards it.¹ A development of far greater concern, however, from a Jewish point of view is the involvement in the campaign of the controversial anti-Zionist propagandist Lev Korneev.²

The first mention of the Jewish issue in the Soviet media in connection with the approaching anniversary seems to have been at the most recent press conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee on

1. See RL 170/83, "'Anti-Zionist Committee' Formed in Soviet Union," April 26, 1983; RL 324/83, "The Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee--A Harder Line on Soviet Jewry," August 27, 1983; RL 168/84, "The Anti-Zionist Committee Eclipsed?" April 24, 1984; RL 233/84, "Soviet Authorities Exclude Emigration Option for Jews," June 14, 1984.

2. See RL 345/83, "An Ominous Development in Soviet Anti-Semitic Propaganda," September 15, 1983; RL 53/84, "Article by Anti-Semitic Author Stirs Up Protests," February 2, 1984.

October 12, 1984,³ when Colonel General David Dragunsky, the chairman of the committee, opened the proceedings by saying that the Zionists had made every effort to belittle the role of the USSR in defeating Fascism. He claimed it had been "the victory of the Soviet Union that saved the Jews from total annihilation." While the Zionists had entered into cooperation with the Nazis for the purpose of establishing a Jewish state, Dragunsky went on, many Jews had fought against Fascism in both the Red Army and the Allied armies, and also in the partisan and resistance movements.

Instances of alleged Zionist-Nazi collaboration were cited by Samuil Zivs, Grigorii Bondarevsky, Tsezar Solodar, and Oleg Rybalchenko, other prominent members of the committee. They were backed up by Yulian Shulmeistr, a senior lecturer at Lvov University and a veteran anti-Zionist propagandist, and Evgeniya Finkel, who was described as a resistance fighter during the Nazi occupation. The instances included the "transfer agreement" of 1933; contacts between representatives of the Gestapo and Haganah (the Jewish underground army in Palestine); and the alleged betrayal of their communities by the Zionist leaders of Judenraete, the Jewish councils set up by the Nazis in occupied countries. The purported affinity of Zionism with Italian Fascism was demonstrated by Massimo Massara, who was described as an Italian historian. Finally, two Scandinavian members of the International Commission of Enquiry into Israel's Crimes against the Lebanese and Palestinian Peoples likened Israeli actions in Lebanon to Nazi practices. Mark Krupkin, a member of the presidium of the Anti-Zionist Committee cited the election of Rabbi Meir Kahane to the Knesset as evidence of increasing Fascist influence in Israeli society.

The true facts about the role played by Zionist organizations and by individual Zionists in the Nazi era are not accessible to ordinary Soviet citizens, who thus have little if any knowledge of Zionist participation in uprisings in the ghettos and extermination camps of Eastern Europe or of Zionist attempts to rescue Jews--attempts that were often thwarted by the refusal of other countries, including Palestine under the British mandate, to accept persecuted Jews. In this situation Soviet anti-Zionist propagandists are able to interweave fact and fiction and impart a sinister twist to events of that period.

The allegations made at the press conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee were repeated a few weeks later in the youth newspaper Komsomol'skaya pravda.⁴ Replying to a request from

3. Literaturnaya gazeta, October 17, 1984.

4. A. Aleksandrov, "Al'yans zla," Komsomol'skaya pravda, October 31, 1984.

a Leningrad war veteran by the name of G. Ropshtein for information about attempts by "bourgeois" and "Zionist" propaganda to denigrate the Soviet people's victory in the Great Fatherland War, A. Aleksandrov reproduced passages from the proceedings of the press conference. After claiming that "a criminal alliance of Zionists and Nazis" had led to the massacre of six million Jews, he went on to contend that the Zionists were in any case only concerned with the Jewish victims and paid no attention to other crimes against mankind committed by the Nazis, including those against Soviet citizens of other nationalities.

The charge that the Zionists were preoccupied with Jewish victims of Nazism appeared once more in January of this year in a prominent article in Izvestia⁵ that contained only a passing reference to the press conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee. The author of the article, Karen Khachaturov, a deputy chairman of the board of the Novosti Press Agency who had led a Soviet delegation to Israel in May, 1983,⁶ was critical of what he regarded as the anti-Soviet tone of Israeli publications dealing with World War II. He claimed that he had examined a number of Israeli schoolbooks on the war that made virtually no mention of the Soviet contribution to the defeat of Hitler.⁷ He was particularly indignant that one schoolbook contained "a repetition of the well-worn theses of imperialist slander" about the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact of 1939.

A few days later, TASS released the text of an interview with Lev Korneev, the USSR's most virulent anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic propagandist.⁸ Korneev accused German "Zionist" (i.e., Jewish) bankers and industrialists of having financed the Nazis, of having been intent on preventing Jews from joining in the

5. K. Khachaturov, "Pokhititeli razuma," Izvestia, January 13, 1985.

6. See RL 215/84, "The Current Soviet-Israeli Relationship," May 29, 1984.

7. Khachaturov's criticism of Israeli schoolbooks seems, in a sense, to resemble a mirror image of an analysis by a former Soviet Jewish citizen of Soviet schoolbooks on Jewish issues (see Daniel Fish on Ruth Okuneva, "The Jews in Syllabuses of World and Russian History: What Soviet Schoolchildren Read about Jewish History," in Soviet Jewish Affairs, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 3-25).

8. TASS, in Russian for abroad and in English, January 17, 1985. Excerpts from a Reuters report of the TASS release appeared in The Times, January 19, 1985; The Daily Telegraph, January 19, 1985; and Le Monde, January 20-21, 1985. Only Le Monde appended data on Korneev and an explanation of the timing of the release.

struggle against Fascism, and of thus sharing responsibility for the extermination of the Jews.

Vicious and mendacious though these remarks are, they do not differ essentially from the allegations made at the press conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee and in the two subsequent newspaper articles connected with the forthcoming anniversary. They are certainly moderate by Korneev's standards. It may be recalled that Korneev's writings led to a clash between leading members of the Anti-Zionist Committee at a press conference held on June 6, 1983.⁹ On that occasion, Samuil Zivs felt obliged to dissociate the committee from Korneev's sentiments, but Yurii Kolesnikov, himself the author of novels about Zionist-Nazi "collaboration," insisted on the validity of such propaganda. As far as is known, Kolesnikov did not raise the issue at subsequent meetings of the Anti-Zionist Committee and was not even present at the press conference on October 12, 1984.

In late 1983, Korneev's prolific anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic writings led Ivan Martynov, a non-Jewish would-be emigrant living in Leningrad, to join with a number of Jewish refusedniks in the same city in initiating a lawsuit against Korneev under Article 74 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ("incitement to national dissension") and campaigning energetically for his expulsion from the scholarly and journalistic communities.¹⁰ It is possible that Martynov achieved some success; following an article in Trud on August 17, 1983, Korneev appears to have had nothing published for almost a year, until Izvestia, a paper to which he is not known to have previously contributed, printed a commentary by him on the Israeli general election that was almost free of Korneev's customary invective.¹¹ Three months later, another similarly uncharacteristic piece appeared in Sovetskaya Rossiya.¹² Nothing more seems to have been heard of Korneev

9. See RL 324/83.

10. AS 5137 and AS 5151. Criticism of Korneev also came from one unexpected source. In a letter dated September 28, 1983, Lieutenant General N. Makeev, chief editor of the Defense Ministry daily Krasnaya zvezda, wrote to Martynov's wife Varvara Solov'eva that the paper was "aware of his [Korneev's] unworthy conduct and abuse of his official position, and we do not therefore ask him to contribute to the paper and we do not intend to do so" (AS 5151, p.90).

11. Lev Korneev, "'Protsvetanie' za chuzhoi schet," Izvestia, July 20, 1985.

12. Lev Korneev, "Yadernyi kulak Tel'-Aviva," Sovetskaya Rossiya, October 19, 1984.

after that until the interview released by TASS in January of this year. It may not be completely coincidental that only a few days before the interview appeared, Martynov was reported to have been given a suspended eighteen-month sentence on a charge of forging a certificate connected with his employment.¹³

It may well be that the leaders of the Soviet Public Anti-Zionist Committee would welcome a firm mandate from the Soviet authorities to take charge of propaganda on the Jewish question for the forthcoming anniversary. After all, reminding the Soviet population of the true heroic role played by Jewish combatants in the Great Fatherland War would earn the body prestige. It is most unlikely, however, that the authorities would consent to this. It is far more probable that the purely negative role alleged to have been played by Zionists will continue to be the predominant theme of Jewish involvement in the commemoration of the anniversary. Under no circumstances do the Soviet authorities appear ready to allow the Anti-Zionist Committee to play any genuinely representative role vis-a-vis Soviet Jewry. Indeed, it is even questionable whether the committee will remain the principal vehicle of the present negative propaganda campaign.

13. Jews in the USSR, London, January 17, 1985.



The American Jewish Committee

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Vatican Council II was a major historic event in the nearly 2,000 years of interaction between Jews and Christians. The Council's many positive achievements have profoundly changed the ways in which Jews and Christians regard one another.

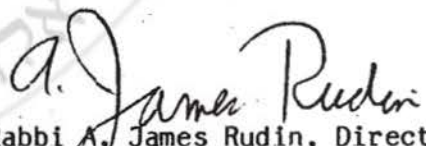
The American Jewish Committee played a significant role both before and during the Council's deliberations, and since 1965, the AJC has enlarged and intensified its interreligious programs throughout the world.

We are pleased to provide this Resource Kit in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of Vatican Council II. The Kit provides an analysis of the Council's contribution to improved Christian-Jewish relations. It also offers specific program suggestions, a syllabus for a course on Christian-Jewish relations, and the texts of several important documents.

Special thanks go to Rabbi Alan Mittleman, author of the Kit and to Judith H. Banki, who offered many important suggestions and insights. Both are staff members of the American Jewish Committee's Interreligious Affairs Department. We count it a privilege that this Kit was prepared in consultation with Dr. Eugene J. Fisher, Executive Secretary, Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

This Kit is meant to be used in the Christian and Jewish communities. We hope that it will serve as the basis for a wide range of interreligious activities. Above all, we hope that it will contribute to building mutual understanding and respect between Jews and Christians.


Mimi Alperin, Chair
Interreligious Affairs Commission


Rabbi A. James Rudin, Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

January, 1985

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-- a fund for international relief and development --

PROSPECTUS

January 1985

PREFACE

A major new effort to help the poor in the developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America has been launched by leaders of the Jewish community in the United States. The organization, known as the American Jewish World Service, will be a conduit for funding international disaster relief and long-term development programs benefiting people in need regardless of religious background. It is the first such American Jewish organization to be established.

The founders of the American Jewish World Service are motivated by the ethics of Judaism, a legacy from the experience of slavery and exodus, the law of Mount Sinai, and the ages of suffering. The founders believe that even modest efforts can both save lives now threatened by famine and help construct more self-reliant societies throughout the poor areas of the world.

In that endeavor, we are pleased to join our colleagues in Catholic Relief Services, Church World Services (Protestant), Lutheran World Relief, American Friends Service Committee (Quaker), Mennonite Central Committee, among others who have long provided channels for the humanitarian expression of their people.

The following pages describe the first programs and financial needs of the organization. To ensure its success, we need to raise funds in the coming weeks for both institutional development and critical needs overseas. At this historic beginning, we invite you to become a Founding Supporter of the important work to be done by the American Jewish World Service.

LAWRENCE S. PHILLIPS
Chairman

LAURENCE R. SIMON
President

AMERICAN JEWISH WORLD SERVICE
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1. Background: The Crisis of World Hunger and Poverty

Hunger and malnutrition are the most immediate and urgent problems confronting nearly a quarter of the human race. Some are victims of warfare or natural disaster, but most are the victims of a poverty so devastating that it requires new solutions and an effort of unparalleled proportions.

Statistics reflect a grim reality:

By World Bank estimates, at least 800 million persons in developing countries are so seriously malnourished that they do not have sufficient energy for routine physical labor. Of this number, over half are young children.

40,000 children die every day from malnutrition and consequent infection.

140 children out of every 1,000 born in the poor nations die before they are 1 year old. In developed countries the average is 12 per 1,000.

The World Health Organization estimates that 300 million children are retarded in growth and mental development. In the poorest countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, 70 to 80 percent of the children will have their genetic potential for growth and development impaired.

Water-related diseases are the major causes of death of 12 million children under 5 every year.

There are 5 million deaths every year from dehydration caused by diarrhoea. Most of these deaths can be prevented by Oral Rehydration Therapy -- a mixture of salt, sugar and water which costs between 10 and 20 cents.

Less than 5 percent of the rural population in developing nations is within easy reach of medical care.

5 million children die every year from measles, diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, poliomyelitis and tuberculosis. Immunization against these diseases costs approximately \$5 per child. Polio alone affects more than 500,000 children every year.

Every six seconds a child dies and another is disabled from a disease for which immunization exists.

There are 130 million disabled children in developing countries.

250,000 children go blind each year in developing nations from Vitamin A deficiency.

These figures seem overwhelming. Yet progress is being made in thousands of small communities, wherever the causes of poverty are being addressed. Where agrarian reform programs give landless peasants access to arable land, child mortality rates decrease. Where irrigation of rice fields yield crops during dry as well as rainy seasons, families used to seasonal hunger now generate surpluses. When safe drinking water is available to otherwise impoverished villages, the incidence of disease, especially in children, is cut dramatically.

Development programs that work best to reduce poverty and hunger are almost always small-scale and the result of democratic participation. The poor in developing nations, if given access to resources and appropriate technical assistance, are the best judge of what works.

All too often, however, community initiative is overwhelmed by exogenous forces far more powerful and destructive. Drought in Africa now threatens the lives of 150 million people. Despotic rulers unleash reigns of terror or perpetuate their wealth at the price of village poverty. Low world commodity prices and unequal terms of trade crush the potential for development in small producer communities.

The problems are complex. But the solutions begin with a transformation at the village level, with non-governmental efforts -- ideally in concert with enlightened governmental policies -- and with the assistance of caring people everywhere.

2. The Purposes of the American Jewish World Service

In the light of such pervasive need, the founders of the American Jewish World Service recall the teaching of the Talmud: "Whoever saves one life is as one who has saved the whole world." When we are called to save "one life," that life is not defined religiously or nationally. That life today may be Jewish or Hindu, East European or African, white or black -- whoever is vulnerable to conditions of poverty which breed hunger and disease.

Many Jews today, mindful of those words, contribute to a host of organizations working internationally to alleviate suffering. Our own organization, however, will allow us, as Jews, to exert a visible presence in the developing nations, thus sowing the seeds of good will for our own people while acting on our deepest moral obligations to others.

Therefore, the American Jewish World Service has been founded to serve these purposes:

- A. to channel funds for international famine relief and long-term development projects leading to better food production, health and self-reliance for the poor;
- B. to provide an opportunity for American Jews to act upon their humanitarian concerns for impoverished peoples through a distinctly Jewish organization;
- C. to provide opportunities for people-to-people contact for young and older Jews alike interested in studying and working on self-reliant development efforts in developing nations.

3. Questions and Answers about an American Jewish World Service

Q. Does the American Jewish World Service duplicate or compete with established Jewish organizations?

A. No. The excellent work being done by existing organizations is directed almost exclusively toward needy Jewish populations. Their work must continue unimpeded. AJWS works with impoverished peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America without regard to religious or ethnic background.

Q. Does the American Jewish World Service duplicate or compete with non-Jewish organizations?

A. No. The needs of poor peoples in the developing world are so great and the total services of all private voluntary agencies are so limited that the work of AJWS adds to rather than duplicates existing efforts. Likewise, the work of a Jewish organization complements the assistance provided by other religiously affiliated groups such as Catholic Relief Services, Church World Services (Protestant), Lutheran World Relief, the American Friends Service Committee (Quaker), the Mennonite Central Committee, etc. Many American Jews already contribute generously to secular relief and development organizations. To some degree there may be a drawing off of support from these groups but generally U.S. private voluntary organizations agree that increased opportunities to give benefits all by raising consciousness and motivation among the donor public.

Q. Is a Jewish organization welcome in developing nations?

A. Yes. The gesture of caring is not lost on people in need. There may be a few places (e.g. Libya) where AJWS would be unwelcome, but the response from all other parts of the world is strongly positive. Israel itself is undertaking development (mostly agriculture) projects with African countries and an amendment to the U.S. Foreign Aid Act proposes to fund joint U.S. - Israeli technical assistance projects in developing nations. As a non-governmental organization, AJWS is forging its own relationships in the developing nations based on the quality of its assistance.

Q. In which countries does AJWS plan to work?

A. The number of project countries will be kept small to concentrate benefits and maximize in-country expertise. Initially, AJWS is responding to the crisis of drought and famine in Africa with programs begun or planned in three of the most severely affected countries. We are also in discussions for a program of support for rural development in Sri Lanka. When fully established, AJWS will operate in 8 - 10 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. (See the section below on "Overseas Program Areas and Methodologies" for more details.)

Q. But isn't it most crucial that Jewish money go for the welfare of Jews?

A. It is crucial that the welfare of Jews everywhere be guaranteed. There can be no compromise on this. It is also in the interests of Jews and of the whole world that we honor our deepest spiritual and cultural values by doing what we can to alleviate hunger and disease wherever they plague humankind. Many Jewish families already contribute generously to international relief and development programs which benefit non-Jews without lessening their commitments to a secure future for world Jewry. We also have much to offer, as a highly educated people, besides money. Doctors, technicians, scientists have critical skills to contribute to the alleviation of poverty and suffering. These are priceless gifts.

4. Overseas Program Areas and Methodologies

A. Program of Peasant Agriculture and Health. Most of the population in developing nations live in rural areas as small farmers and as agricultural workers. Though rural life is poor, subsistence agriculture still provides the best guarantee against hunger. The basic staples of life are grown mostly by small farmers while large, technologically advanced farms are usually devoted to export crops cultivated to earn foreign exchange.

The challenge of rural development is largely to create viable peasant agricultural communities which can meet their basic needs and generate a surplus to increase the quality of life. In order to reverse the usually fruitless urban migration of people in search of employment, rural communities must offer the possibility of access to land and water, as well as agricultural extension services, credit and marketing assistance. They must also become healthier places less prone to water-borne diseases and must provide primary health care.

To accomplish this, rural community organizations have formed in numerous countries and aim to increase local production and health care delivery. Where government policies are most enlightened, grassroots initiatives are reinforced and supported from above. But the experience of development efforts around the world teaches us that the best policies ultimately fail in the absence of democratic village-level organizations which can articulate the genuine needs of the poor and influence the surrounding political economy.

American Jewish World Service is establishing collegial relationships with such organizations in order to fund programs that:

- a. increase the local institution's capacity to design and implement self-help projects,
- b. reach the poorest sectors of rural communities, and
- c. incorporate women and other traditionally excluded groups in the process of development.

Project priorities in agriculture include small-scale irrigation and crop storage, while in health the emphasis is being placed on provision of potable water and other preventive measures.

B. Program of Assistance to Refugees. Millions of people in the Horn and Southern Africa, in South-East Asia, and in Central America are displaced from their communities or have become refugees across national boundaries. They are refugees from war, poverty, desertification and other disasters. The care of refugee communities is usually left to international and multilateral aid agencies as host countries into which refugees flood are often nearly as poor as the disaster area. The life of the refugee is typically the most insecure on earth: physically barren, emotionally traumatized, economically dependent, and militarily threatened. Yet in recent years much work has gone on in the science of refugee settlements that enable affected populations to re-establish communities, albeit displaced, with many of the necessities for a productive and self-reliant existence.

The aim of the American Jewish World Service program of assistance to refugees is to further the application of self-reliant strategies for care and resettlement programs when circumstances permit. In all its work, American Jewish World Service seeks to link humanitarian refugee assistance to longer-term development programs in order to mitigate the affects of disasters, and to lessen vulnerability to abrupt environmental changes.

C. Special Fund for the Survivors of Genocide. Upon compelling evidence of genocide anywhere in the world against any people, the American Jewish World Service Board of Trustees may authorize use of a special fund for assistance to survivors. This act would make available emergency resources outside of the regular program areas in an attempt to save and rebuild lives and cultures. Careful attention to definition and criteria for the determination of acts of genocide would be the responsibility of a panel of experts. Much work has already gone on in this area, but its application to the developing world would be a contribution to the advancement of human rights and international recognition.

D. Criteria for Project Selection.

1. American Jewish World Service seeks opportunities to assist impoverished peoples to gain the resources (including capital, skills, knowledge and other assets) necessary for human and social development.
2. At times of great emergencies, American Jewish World Service will respond with disaster relief. Such programs will aim to move toward rehabilitation and development as rapidly as the situation allows. AJWS is acutely aware

of the problem of dependency that prolonged relief and food aid programs may reinforce.

3. Special care will be taken to assess the impact of program support on vulnerable or traditionally excluded groups such as women and ethnic minorities.

4. Funding shall be made available for programs without prejudice against any religious or ethnic groups.

5. Rural development shall be emphasized over urban in order to strengthen the social and economic fabric of agricultural communities.

6. Funding of programs should be directed to the non-governmental sector when possible or advisable. Emphasis should be placed on strengthening indigenous non-governmental development organizations with proven records of projects reaching the poorest groups in rural society.

7. Programs should be periodically evaluated for social and economic impact. Evaluation criteria should be built into projects from the outset and participatory methodologies utilized when appropriate in order to establish a collegial and learning process approach to development.

8. American Jewish World Service shall maximize its impact and expertise by limiting the number of countries in which it will work. For the immediate future, the organization will work in no more than five countries.

9. The criteria for project selection shall be understood as in process of review at all times enabling the organization to evolve more effective methodologies based on cumulative empirical evidence.

E. Appropriate Resources. Resources committed to these processes of development should enable people to become self-reliant and avoid greater dependence.

Often cash grants or interest-free loans committed through fiscally responsible entities are the most appropriate resources to encourage use of local labor and raw materials in meeting a project's objectives.

Technology transfer may be appropriate when skills and new technologies can be absorbed by local people or when emergency conditions require immediate access.

Technical assistance from expatriate experts is important when specialized knowledge is needed on a project or in a disaster situation. American Jewish World Service will place qualified people in positions abroad when needed. A "People-to-People Skills Bank" will match overseas needs with skilled individuals available for short and medium-term assignments.

The use of commodities, such as food aid, will be strictly limited to emergency relief and reconstruction in which instance food stocks will be acquired as close to the distribution point as possible. Every attempt will be made to phase out food aid as programs of self-reliance are able to decrease dependency on outside commodities.

F. First Program: Africa Famine Relief and Development.

Over 150 million people, mostly young children, are at serious risk of starvation in Africa in the coming year. While Ethiopia is experiencing the worst famine in its history, there are over twenty other African countries quickly approaching emergency conditions. Several are already at the point of famine.

In Mozambique alone, over 100,000 people died of hunger last year and the situation is worsening. American Jewish World Service has sent a public health and rural development specialist, Paul Epstein, MD, MPH (Public Health) to Mozambique to conduct an in-country assessment and establish relief and development projects. Dr. Epstein, who is associated with the Harvard Medical School, is also establishing the in-country logistics for AJWS teams of specialists to support emergency and development efforts.

We are assessing refugee needs in Zimbabwe where numerous people from Mozambique have swelled relief camps and strained their ability to provide adequate care. As in any border operation, we are mindful of the dangers of increasing the relief "magnet" which draws increasing numbers across national boundaries.

Several other countries are under consideration for AJWS early famine relief and development efforts. We will report on these soon.

5. GOVERNANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

A. The Board of Trustees. A voluntary Board of Trustees has been established as the legal entity of a non-profit organization. When fully formed, the Board will have 50 to 60 members including leading figures of Jewish communities nationwide and representatives of key American Jewish organizations. The Trustees are critical for communicating the purposes of the American Jewish World Service to the Jewish community as well as overseeing the policies and administration of the organization.

The Chairman of the Board is Lawrence S. Phillips, President of the Phillips - Van Heusen Corporation. (See Attachment for current Board of Trustees list.)

B. Administration. American Jewish World Service is building a small but highly professional staff responsible for identifying and monitoring overseas programs in peasant agriculture, health, and refugee care. In addition, staff responsibilities include coordination of fund-raising and public/press relations.

The President of the American Jewish World Service is Laurence R. Simon who had been for the last seven years a director of Oxfam America. (See Appendix for biographical sketch.)

6. BUDGET SUMMARY

A detailed organizational budget is available upon request.

	1985	1986
Africa: Famine Relief & Rural Development	250,000	700,000
Asia: Rural Development	25,000	100,000
Latin America: Rural Development	25,000	100,000
AJWS Institutional Development	100,000	200,000

Notes:

1. Program estimates are based on minimal sums needed to start effective operations. Africa Famine Relief and Development program can utilize many times minimal budget if money is available.

2. AJWS budgets its initial expenses at not more than 25 percent of income once operational -- comparable to those of other U.S. private voluntary organizations. With increased funding, that ratio of expenses to income will be reduced significantly.

7. REQUEST FOR FUNDING

A. Founding Supporters. A ROSTER of FOUNGING SUPPORTERS will include the names of those who contribute five thousand dollars or more to establish the first programs of the American Jewish World Service. The names of these individuals, corporations, foundations, and synagogues will always have an honored place in the history of the American Jewish World Service.

B. Friends of AJWS. Contributions of any amount to this life-saving work are a great mitzvah. The American Jewish World Service will remain a very lean, cost-effective operation thus guaranteeing that contributions of all sizes will be meaningfully employed in effective aid programs. We intend to stay in touch with all Friends of AJWS, to invite you to regional gatherings and briefings, and otherwise demonstrate to you the value we place on your participation in the American Jewish World Service.

C. Tax Exempt Contributions. While the American Jewish World Service awaits its approval from the Internal Revenue Service to receive tax exempt contributions directly, contributions should be made payable to and mailed to:

**The Synagogue Council of America
Attn: Rabbi Henry Michelman
327 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016**

**and please indicate on your check
"for the American Jewish World Service"**

We are grateful to the Synagogue Council for this temporary but crucial conduit for funding.

APPENDIX



BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LAURENCE R. SIMON

Until he joined in the founding of the American Jewish World Service, Larry Simon was a director of Oxfam America, the international development organization begun in Oxford, England in 1942. With Oxfam for seven years, he has been the director of Policy Analysis and was for three years the Overseas Projects Officer for Central America and the Caribbean. A specialist in agrarian reform and rural development, he has worked in and studied problems of underdevelopment in 19 countries including Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kampuchea, India, Sri Lanka, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Haiti.

The author of numerous articles on international development, Simon is the co-author of a widely-read study of the El Salvador land reform. He has also served as General Editor of Oxfam's Impact Audit books on development assistance including studies of El Salvador, Guatemala, Kampuchea, Vietnam, and the Southern African states. He has delivered academic papers at the Latin American Studies Association, the International Congress of Americanists, and other forums, and lectures widely on American campuses.

Larry Simon has taught at Fordham University at Lincoln Center and at the City University of New York. Born in 1945, he grew up in New York City, did his undergraduate work in philosophy at Queens College, and graduate studies in phenomenology at the New School for Social Research. His academic background in international development includes an M.A. from Clark University where he is a Ph.D. Fellow in the School of Geography.

FEB 8 1985



The American Jewish Committee

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

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

February 4, 1985

Dear David:

Enclosed is a samizdat article from the magazine L'Alternative that I thought would be of interest to you as it deals intelligently both with the few facts available and rumors and suppositions around pro-Fascist groups in the USSR.

To situate the magazine: L'Alternative appeared a few years ago and is known as the most serious publication put out by the "critical left" here and its attitudes toward Soviet Socialism. Unfortunately, for budget and editorial and source material reasons, publication has been suspended after the Jan/Feb issue, though an attempt will be made to seek another kind of framework, and with the same name.

With very best regards,

Cordially,

Nives Fox

Enclosure

Mr. David Harris
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

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Déclaration des fondateurs de la revue « L'Alternative »

Les luttes menées en Union soviétique et dans les autres pays d'Europe de l'Est pour les libertés démocratiques, individuelles et collectives, et contre la répression, rencontrent un écho croissant dans l'opinion publique.

Il manque aujourd'hui, en langue française, une publication qui donne le plus systématiquement possible des informations sur ces luttes et sur la répression. Le but de L'Alternative est d'être cette publication : il s'agit de rassembler les informations, les documents, les opinions émanant des différents groupes ou individus qui participent à ces luttes, ou qui, plus simplement, sont victimes de cette répression ; de donner à la masse des anonymes, des travailleurs, la possibilité de se faire entendre ; de favoriser des enquêtes, des dossiers, des reportages ; d'être un lieu de dialogue.

Ce travail d'information et de confrontation est la condition d'une défense concrète, systématique, des opposants victimes de la répression (quelles que soient leurs convictions politiques ou religieuses) et d'une solidarité active avec les luttes pour les droits démocratiques ; et cela sans se substituer aux comités de défense existants.

L'Alternative est une revue indépendante. Ceux qui en prennent l'initiative ne se reconnaissent, pour la plupart, ni à l'Ouest dans le « système » capitaliste, ni à l'Est dans le « système » qui n'a de socialiste que le nom ; ils pensent que l'ordre mondial qui s'est établi par le concours de ces deux types de sociétés n'est pas une fatalité. Ils sont opposés à tous les régimes totalitaires, policiers et répressifs. Ils sont convaincus qu'à l'Ouest les forces socialistes, les courants progressistes, le mouvement ouvrier, les formations de gauche et d'extrême gauche — quels que soient les noms qu'on leur donne — ne peuvent plus ignorer, s'ils veulent rendre leur projet crédible, les questions fondamentales que posent ceux qui, à l'Est, luttent pour les libertés démocratiques.

Face aux démarches diplomatiques des gouvernements occidentaux, pour qui les droits de l'homme ne sont qu'une monnaie d'échange, nous pensons qu'il n'existe de véritable efficacité à long terme que dans le soutien organisé de l'opinion publique à ces luttes.

L'Alternative veut apporter les premiers éléments d'un dialogue. Ce dialogue, c'est celui qui doit être mené, d'une part entre tous ceux, individus, groupes, tendances, qui, isolés, à l'Est, trouveront là un point de confrontation et de convergence ; et d'autre part tous ceux qui, à l'Ouest, ne peuvent rester insensibles à leur voix, à leurs luttes, à la répression qui les frappe, sous peine de se condamner eux-mêmes à une impuissance définitive.

Efim Etkind, Victor Fainberg, Piotr Eguidés, Paul Goma, Natalia Gorbanevskaia, Miklos Haraszti, Jan Kavan, Pierre Kende, Petr Kral, Antonin Liehm, Jiri Pelikan, Leonid Pliouchitch, Krzysztof Pomian, Alexandre Smolar, Kiril Yanatchkov, Vadim Bielotserkovski, Ferenc Feher, Jürgen Fuchs, Agnès Heller, Ludvik Kavin, Cronid Lubarski, Bernd Markovski, György Markus, Boris Weil.

Novembre 1979



L'Alternative — Revue bimestrielle.

Rédaction-administration :
4, rue Trousseau — 75011 Paris.
Tél. : (1) 807.19.05.
N° commission paritaire : 62 176.

Secrétaire de la rédaction : Anne Colas.
Directeur : François Maspero.

Rédaction : Mihnea Berindei, Karel Bartosek, Laetitia Cavaignals, Istvan Kemeny,
Anne Colas, Éric Laurent, François Maspero, Émile Noiraut, Jacques Rupnik, Lubos Sochor,
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Groupes fascistes en URSS

Un texte samizdat

Nous publions ci-dessous le premier texte samizdat* (dont la rédaction date du début de 1983) consacré à l'apparition et au développement en Union soviétique de groupes de jeunes se réclamant de l'idéologie fasciste : depuis plusieurs années déjà, ces groupes manifestent le 20 avril, date anniversaire de la naissance d'Hitler, et cela non seulement à Moscou mais aussi dans plusieurs villes de province : Leningrad, Ioujno-Oural'sk, Sverdlovsk, Kourgan, etc.

Ce texte est moins une description de ces groupes et de leurs activités qu'une tentative de les situer à la fois par rapport à d'autres phénomènes de groupes apparus dans la jeunesse — tels les groupes très structurés de supporters de certaines équipes de football — et par rapport aux autorités. Ces dernières, d'habitude si promptes à réprimer, ont toujours fait preuve d'une grande mansuétude à l'égard de ces groupes fascistes. L'auteur du texte met en relation cette tolérance avec la perméabilité toujours plus grande d'une partie de l'appareil du Parti et de l'État aux thèmes de l'idéologie fasciste ; ceci l'amène à formuler une hypothèse qui en l'état actuel peut paraître pour le moins un peu hâtive : largement manipulés, ces groupes constitueraient les futures troupes de choc qu'une partie de l'appareil du Parti se ménagerait dans la perspective de futurs affrontements pour le pouvoir.

* Ce texte a été publié pour la première fois à l'Ouest dans la revue *Strana i mir*, publiée par C. Lubarski à Mûnich (n° 1-2).

Ces derniers temps, dans les rues, les squares et les parcs d'un grand nombre de villes soviétiques, on rencontre de plus en plus souvent, surtout le soir, des bandes de jeunes, dont la tenue vestimentaire, les paroles et le comportement rappellent de façon frappante les modèles tristement célèbres de l'Allemagne des années 20. On reconnaît immédiatement ces jeunes à leur uniforme particulier : blousons noirs, bottes à bouts pointus, lunettes noires, tempes rasées et même, assez souvent, insignes portant une croix gammée, de fabrication semi-artisanale. L'année passée déjà, les Moscovites ont été les témoins d'une tentative de manifestation fasciste aux abords du monument Pouchkine, le 20 avril, jour anniversaire de la naissance d'Hitler. Cette année, les directeurs des établissements secondaires, ainsi que les secrétaires des organisations du Parti de ces établissements, ont été réunis avant cette date pour recevoir des instructions pour le cas où se manifesteraient « des éléments fascistes appartenant à des groupes de jeunes irresponsables ». Bon nombre d'enseignants ont même déclaré ouvertement à leurs élèves : « Le 20 au soir, ne sortez pas, la milice va embarquer tous les adolescents ». Et de fait, le 20 avril, des jeunes fascistes se sont manifestés dans toute une série de villes. Leur apparition a pris des formes très diverses : dans certaines villes, quartiers, rues ou cours d'immeubles, les fascistes ont défilé en rangs, aux cris de « Heil Hitler ! » et « Sieg Heil ! » ; dans d'autres villes, revêtus de leur uniforme, portant des brassards, ils ont fait irruption dans les cafés et les discothèques fréquentés par la jeunesse, en scandant les mêmes slogans ; ailleurs, il y a eu des manifestations la nuit. Dans beaucoup de cas, les fascistes ont provoqué des bagarres et

ont roué de coups des vétérans de la dernière guerre qui portaient leurs décorations. Bagarres à coups de poings, mais aussi avec des objets contondants. Les participants à ces actions étaient pour la plupart des jeunes, étudiants et ouvriers, des élèves des classes supérieures de lycées ainsi que d'instituts techniques.

Des faits aux rumeurs

Voilà pour les faits. Ensuite on entre dans le domaine des rumeurs et des mythes. Ils sont innombrables. Pour prendre un exemple : d'après certaines sources, le nombre des participants à ces manifestations aurait été de plusieurs centaines, voire de plusieurs milliers. On parle de nombreuses arrestations. On raconte que lors de perquisitions, on aurait découvert des armes blanches et des armes à feu, des fichiers de noms, des statuts d'organisations réglementant de façon très stricte l'activité de leurs membres (cotisations mensuelle de cinq roubles, liste des châtimens — y compris la peine de mort — encourus par les « renégats »...). On dit aussi qu'en remontant le fil de ces organisations, on arrive à l'Ouest, etc. etc.

Quelles qu'aient pu être les dimensions réelles de ces interventions fascistes, il est clair que l'on ne se trouve pas en présence de « faits isolés », ni même d'une forme nou-

velle de sous-culture chez les jeunes, mais qu'il s'agit d'une tendance durable dans le développement de la société soviétique. Il ne fait aucun doute que cette tendance est le produit de facteurs réels présents dans la vie sociale de notre pays.

De quoi se nourrit la jeunesse actuelle en URSS ? Plus précisément, de quoi peut-elle bien se nourrir ? Les idéaux communistes de la période révolutionnaire se sont dissipés, ils ont été discrédités par la pratique du « socialisme réel ». L'enthousiasme des années 20 est presque complètement tari, et de toute façon, on se demande de quoi il pourrait bien se nourrir. D'un côté, il y a les « affaires » : « l'affaire du poisson », qui s'est terminée par l'exécution d'un vice-ministre ; « l'affaire des diamants », à laquelle se sont trouvés mêlés la famille et le proche entourage de Brejnev ; mais aussi toute une série d'affaires criminelles ou semi-criminelles qui ont débuté après la mort de Brejnev : on y trouve mêlés des organismes du ministère de l'Intérieur, le Comité sportif, des représentants de la sphère culturelle ; la corruption au sein de l'État, du Parti, dans la vie économique, a pris des dimensions effrayantes. Les enfants et les petits-enfants, les gendres et les belles-filles des dirigeants du Parti remplissent les amphithéâtres d'établissements d'enseignement supérieur de pointe, se divertissent dans des datchas « réservées », ont droit à des magasins spéciaux, se déplacent dans leurs voitures personnelles de marques inconnues, font une carrière fulgurante, occupant méthodiquement les postes de direction laissés libre par leurs parents. A l'autre extrémité, il y a les « murs aveugles » d'un grand nombre de facultés et d'instituts universitaires, les dizaines de milliers de colonnes d'affichage avec les annonces jaunies (« *Jeune couple. louerait chambre* »), l'entassement quotidien dans les transports en commun, les scandales dans les queues, dans les magasins d'alimentation, l'inflation, l'absence de perspectives sérieuses pour ce qui est du travail — en un mot, une lutte sans fin et épuisante pour la vie. Où sont les pôles de référence permettant à la jeunesse actuelle de s'orienter ? Non pas là-bas, dans un avenir qu'on distingue mal, mais aujourd'hui, tout de suite ? Six mois à peine se sont écoulés depuis la mort du Secrétaire général (il s'agit de Brejnev, ndt), et l'on se demande où il est passé, lui dans le rayonnement (ou à l'ombre) duquel tous ces jeunes sont nés et ont été élevés. Dans les slogans, les émissions, les articles des journaux, on ne trouve plus aucune trace de lui, il s'est dissipé comme une fumée. Mais pourquoi parler des morts ? Prenez par exemple le Secrétaire et membre du Politburo du CC du PCUS, Tchernenko : aujourd'hui encore il a lu le rapport d'orientation devant le Plénum, mais dans les couloirs de certains établissements, on conseille à voix basse de ne plus le citer (*l'auteur du texte fait allusion à la rivalité qui a opposé Andropov à Tchernenko dans les mois qui ont suivi la mort de Brejnev*, ndt). A quoi la jeunesse peut-elle se raccrocher ? A quoi peut-elle croire ? Où est-il possible de se trouver soi-même, de se réaliser ? Comment exprimer sa protestation à l'encontre de cette hypocrisie totale ?

« Fans » et « punks »

Et voilà qu'un peu partout, comme des champignons, apparaissent des semblants d'organisations, des bandes de « fans » regroupant les supporters des équipes de football. Aujourd'hui, il ne s'agit plus simplement de clubs d'amateurs, mais d'un mouvement puissant et structuré. Apparemment, le contenu de leur activité est tout à fait innocent : le « soutien » à leur équipe. Ils s'occupent de la fabrication de banderoles, de tee-shirts, d'insignes avec des slogans sportifs ; ils inscrivent souvent ces slogans avec de la peinture indélébile là où il est difficile de les enlever : aux étages

supérieurs des immeubles officiels ou d'habitation, sur les monuments, etc. De telles organisations de « fans » existent dans beaucoup de grandes villes : Moscou, Leningrad, Riga, Tallin, Vilnius, Minsk, Kiev, Tbilissi, etc. Non seulement elles débordent d'enthousiasme et de conviction pour la défense de leur équipe préférée (les calmer au cours d'un match est plus difficile et plus dangereux que de maîtriser un criminel récidiviste armé, si l'on en croit l'avis autorisé des agents du ministère de l'Intérieur), mais de plus, elles sont bien organisées : chaque membre verse chaque mois une cotisation de 5 roubles, il existe une direction avec plusieurs secteurs (organisation, finances, gestion, etc.). Les « fans » les plus actifs sont envoyés en « mission » dans d'autres villes pour « y organiser le soutien », y établir des liens ; ils y vont avec des moyens et munis des adresses de « collègues ». Les principes de recrutement sont en général assez simples : croire en son équipe et la soutenir activement, exécuter sans rechigner les décisions des dirigeants, recruter ses amis pour l'organisation. En règle générale, les « fans » ne mettent en avant ni mots d'ordre, ni revendications ou programmes politiques.

Il existe également d'autres organisations de jeunes, moins nombreuses (par exemple, les punks) dont l'apparition et l'activité constituent une réaction de la jeunesse soviétique face à la situation sociale et économique, politique et idéologique, psychologique et morale qui s'est créée dans le pays.

Toutefois, il est difficile d'expliquer l'apparition et l'activité des groupes et organisations fascistes par les facteurs objectifs énumérés ci-dessus.

Si la protestation spontanée de la jeunesse en Union soviétique a pris au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années des formes diverses, la réponse du pouvoir a toujours été la même. Lorsque le jeune ouvrier Anatoli Martchenko a essayé de quitter le pays (sans emporter de documents secrets, ni pour lutter contre le pouvoir soviétique, simplement pour vivre dans un autre pays), il a été condamné en tant que « traître à la patrie » à six ans de camp à régime sévère. Lorsque l'étudiant Vladimir Boukovski a protesté en lisant des poèmes devant la statue de Maïakovski, il s'est retrouvé en hôpital psychiatrique. Lorsque Edouard Kouznetsov a protesté en cherchant à s'enfuir en Israël avec des amis, après s'être emparé d'un avion, il a été condamné à la peine capitale, peine commuée ensuite en quinze ans de camp à régime spécial. Lorsque le jeune ingénieur Chtcharanski a protesté en réclamant l'application des Accords d'Helsinki, il a eu treize ans de camp. Le jeune ouvrier, Mikhaïl Koukobaka, qui avait protesté en apportant dans son atelier la Déclaration des droits de l'homme pour la donner à lire, s'est retrouvé en hôpital psychiatrique. On pourrait donner ici les noms de centaines de jeunes gens (de nationalités différentes, exerçant des professions variées, ayant des situations personnelles très diverses) qui ont lutté pour le droit à la liberté de parole, de conscience, le droit à l'émigration, la liberté de réunion, le droit de grève, qui ont protesté contre l'arbitraire, l'hypocrisie et la corruption. Non seulement ils ont été victimes d'une répression féroce, immédiate, mais encore, dans la plupart des cas, personne n'est au courant de leur sort.

Une répression insignifiante.

Que se passe-t-il, par contre, lorsque des jeunes en blousons noirs font leur apparition dans la rue, en scandant « *Heil Hitler!* », en provoquant des bagarres, en rouant de coups des vétérans de la dernière guerre ? Leur châtement se réduit en général à un entretien éducatif, à la projection « à

des fins éducatives » de bandes d'actualité, dénonçant le fascisme et le néo-fascisme. Très rarement, l'affaire se termine par une condamnation à une courte peine de détention (l'article utilisé est celui réprimant le « hooliganisme »). Presque tous les cadres de ces jeunes fascistes sont bien connus de la milice et du KGB. Que se passe-t-il ? Faut-il en conclure que la guerre terrible, qui a coûté la vie à vingt millions de personnes n'a pas eu lieu ?

Ce qui est important, c'est l'orientation politique, idéologique des interventions de ce nouveau mouvement. Son credo : un pouvoir fort, un État fort, débarrassé des Juifs, des « intellectuels pourris » et de façon plus générale de tous les pleurnicheurs, pacifistes et autres traîtres. Ils saluent la création de comités antisionistes, l'instauration de l'état de siège en Pologne, l'intervention en Afghanistan. [...]

Bien que les véritables inspirateurs du mouvement fasciste naissant en URSS préfèrent rester dans l'ombre, un faible rayon a tout de même percé, éclairant les mécanismes

cachés du régime de la partocratie. Ainsi, pour prendre un exemple, à une époque, on a diffusé dans l'appareil du Komsomol, de façon semi-légale, un document intitulé *Code des mœurs*, rédigé par V. Skourlatov permanent à l'agitation au comité du Komsomol de la ville de Moscou, et reproduit sur l'offset du comité de ville. Le *Code* invitait les éducateurs du Komsomol à « développer au sein de la jeunesse un état d'esprit qui la rende disponible pour une lutte permanente et sans merci non seulement aujourd'hui et demain mais aussi après-demain... En premier lieu, vient la transformation révolutionnaire du peuple, puis l'extension et la transformation de l'espace vital... Afin de garantir la pureté morale du peuple, il convient de réfléchir en profondeur à un système d'encouragement de toutes les formes de stratification et de fonctionnement en castes. Cesser de dorloter la jeunesse ! Introduire les châtiments corporels. Le meilleur des maîtres, c'est le fouet. Recevoir des coups, cela forge le caractère. L'extermination totale de tout principe exogène est la garantie que l'on atteindra un objectif noble. Il n'y a pas d'activité plus vile que celle de "penseur", "d'intellectuel" de "Goujon philosophe" (allusion à une fable célèbre de Krylov, Ndt) et il n'y a pas de cause plus noble que celle de soldat. L'intellectuel est l'esclave d'une



Viatcheslav Syssoïev :
La vie est devenue meilleure

raison morte, alors que le soldat est le maître de la vie. Le destin d'un homme se confond avec sa force et sa naissance : celui qui est né esclave, sera toute sa vie un esclave est un vaincu ; par contre, celui qui est né pour dominer, sera vainqueur même dans la mort. Pour que le peuple ne dégénère pas, pour qu'il ne devienne pas un peuple d'esclaves et de robots, il faut raviver et affirmer pour toujours le culte du soldat, culte sain, qui conduit à la véritable immortalité. » Ce texte de Skourlatov est paru en 1965. Mais aujourd'hui encore, parmi les responsables du Parti, du Komsomol et de l'État sont diffusés toutes sortes de « réflexions », de « lettres ouvertes », de « mémoires ». Ces textes ronéotypés, s'ils sont non-officiels dans leur forme, sont, sur le fond, à la fois apologétiques et menaçants. Admirer la fermeté des dirigeants du Troisième Reich, de Hitler mais aussi et surtout de Himmler et de Borman, louer les méthodes de travail et les structures du parti nazi et du ministère de la Propagande, etc., est devenu tout à fait à la mode. Les livres consacrés au Troisième Reich sont très populaires, surtout parmi les jeunes fonctionnaires. Certes, ces discussions n'ont lieu que dans des cercles restreints, lorsqu'on se retrouve avec les « siens ». De plus, on fait comme si de tels discussions et enthousiasmes et même un simple intérêt pour ce « sujet » étaient dangereux et pouvaient provoquer des désagréments.

Le rôle du KGB

La fascisation de la vision du monde des fonctionnaires de l'appareil trouve, sans aucun doute, une issue dans l'activité du KGB.

Sur ce point il est difficile de dire avec certitude qui exerce une influence sur qui : le KGB sur l'appareil du Parti et de l'État, en diffusant sous le manteau toutes sortes de « matériaux », mais aussi de la « littérature » tout à fait légale comme le livre de N. Iakovlev *La CIA contre l'URSS*, dont on vient de sortir une troisième édition ; ou l'appareil d'État sur le KGB, par le biais d'un accroissement permanent des revenus et des privilèges des agents de la Sécurité d'État, par l'élargissement des prérogatives du KGB et du ministère de l'Intérieur et l'augmentation de leurs effectifs (la décision récente du Politburo d'introduire des sections politiques au sein du ministère de l'Intérieur poursuit fondamentalement deux objectifs : l'augmentation des effectifs et le fait que l'activité des organismes du ministère de l'Intérieur ne soit plus soumise au contrôle de l'appareil local du Parti). Actuellement, nous ne savons pas encore à quel point cet état d'esprit et ces opinions ont pénétré les niveaux inférieurs du pouvoir ; il faut toutefois rappeler que K.V. Rousakov, Secrétaire du Comité central du PCUS, lors d'une conférence idéologique à Tallin, a insisté, alors qu'il parlait des différents types de déviation au sein de la jeunesse soviétique, essentiellement sur les punks et les pacifistes. En juin 1983, au Plénum du CC du PCUS, K.Ou.Tchernenko, qui

parlait des insuffisances du travail idéologique au sein de la jeunesse, a exprimé sa « profonde préoccupation », due non pas aux actions des fascistes ou la diffusion semi-légale d'une littérature ouvertement « cent-noire », mais au fait que « sur les écrans ou sous la plume de certains auteurs se trouvent au premier plan des ratés, les ennuis de la vie de tous les jours, des personnages courbés et geignards. Et ceci, alors que la jeunesse a besoin d'un idéal, incarnant la ferveur pour nos idées, l'amour du travail et le courage... »

On peut affirmer avec une assez grande certitude ceci : même si, par certains côtés, il présente certains éléments de protestation spontanée, le mouvement fasciste, d'extrême-droite, qui se développe et se renforce actuellement parmi les différentes couches de la jeunesse soviétique est tout à fait utile à certains groupes de dirigeants : s'il n'est pas directement inspiré par eux, il est soutenu secrètement dans la perspective de son utilisation pour atteindre certains objectifs stratégiques.

Un tel calcul a été provoqué, apparemment, par les changements intervenus au niveau politique et idéologique à l'échelle internationale au cours de ces dix dernières années. Fondamentalement ces changements résident dans le fait que les idéaux communistes, discrédités par la pratique du « socialisme réel », ont cessé d'être la force motrice du progrès social et politique. [...]

Tout cela rend difficiles et même impossibles les objectifs stratégiques des dirigeants soviétiques, que sont la consolidation et l'extension du régime de la partocratie, essentiellement par le biais de facteurs extérieurs. Aussi, l'accent est-il de plus en plus mis sur les facteurs intérieurs : « renforcement de la discipline », raidissement dans la gestion de l'économie, accroissement des prérogatives et des effectifs des organes de répression. Un rôle particulier est apparemment dévolu à l'expérience de la « révolution culturelle » chinoise et à ses principaux acteurs : les troupes d'assaut de la « jeunesse patriotique ».

Pour l'instant, les fascistes chez nous ne sont pas nombreux. Pour l'instant, les « braves » miliciens observent les manifestations épisodiques des jeunes fascistes : ils conduisent ponctuellement ces « jeunes gens bruyants » dans les locaux de la milice et ont avec eux des discussions éducatives. Pour l'instant les fonctionnaires de l'appareil du pouvoir baissent la voix, lorsqu'ils discutent de « l'intervention courageuse » de Goering au procès de Nuremberg. Pour l'instant le Soviétique moyen écarte ces pensées angoissantes : « Ce n'est pas possible qu'il y ait en URSS d'authentiques fascistes ! Tous ces jeunes se déchaînent, mais ces sottises finiront bien par leur sortir de la tête ! ». Pour l'instant la propagande officielle proclame partout : « réduction », « freinage », « négociations »... Cependant, la propagande « brune » cherche à effrayer le citoyen moyen avec « la terreur que font régner les sionistes infiltrés à tous les niveaux du pouvoir », avec « le retour à la démocratie judéo-ploutocratique », tout en s'efforçant de « développer parmi la jeunesse un état d'esprit qui la prépare à une lutte permanente et sans merci non seulement aujourd'hui et demain mais aussi après demain. »

BY FAX

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 6, 1985
to David M. Gordis, Marc H. Tanenbaum, George E. Gruen - c/o Israel Office
from Kenneth Bandler
subject Draft NJCRAC Joint Program Plan Propositions

Charney Bromberg has asked us to submit a resolution for consideration by the NJCRAC Plenum on the "Who is a Jew" issue. Below is a draft resolution I have prepared. I would appreciate your comments, and ask that you promptly send them to me via FAX.

Proposition: Who is a Jew? Proposed Amendment of Law of Return

Changing Conditions: A proposal to amend the Law of Return so that only conversions to Judaism performed "in accordance with Halacha" would be recognized by the State of Israel was defeated in the Knesset in January. But, the religious parties and their allies in other political parties can be expected to make another attempt later this year to have the Knesset define who is a Jew.

Comment: The repeated attempts by a religious and political minority within Israeli society to seek an amendment to the Law of Return represents a concerted effort not just to legislate on Israeli citizenship law, but also on Jewish life in the Diaspora. Most Jews around the world, including the United States, are not affiliated with Orthodox congregations or organizations. In addition, aliyah from the United States in all likelihood will continue to be negligible. The aim of the proposed amendment's proponents is, therefore, not directed solely at restricting immigration to Israel under the Law of Return to individuals who are Jews as defined by Jewish law. Their wider aim is to delegitimize the Conservative, Reform, and other movements which make Judaism a pluralistic and rich religion.

Strategic Goals: The Jewish community relations field should:

- continue to encourage a greater level of tolerance within Israeli society for the broad range of Jewish religious life.
- urge Knesset Members to reject any amendment of the Law of Return when such a proposal is submitted again.
- seek ways by which Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform leaders can find a universally acceptable method of conversion.

KB/es

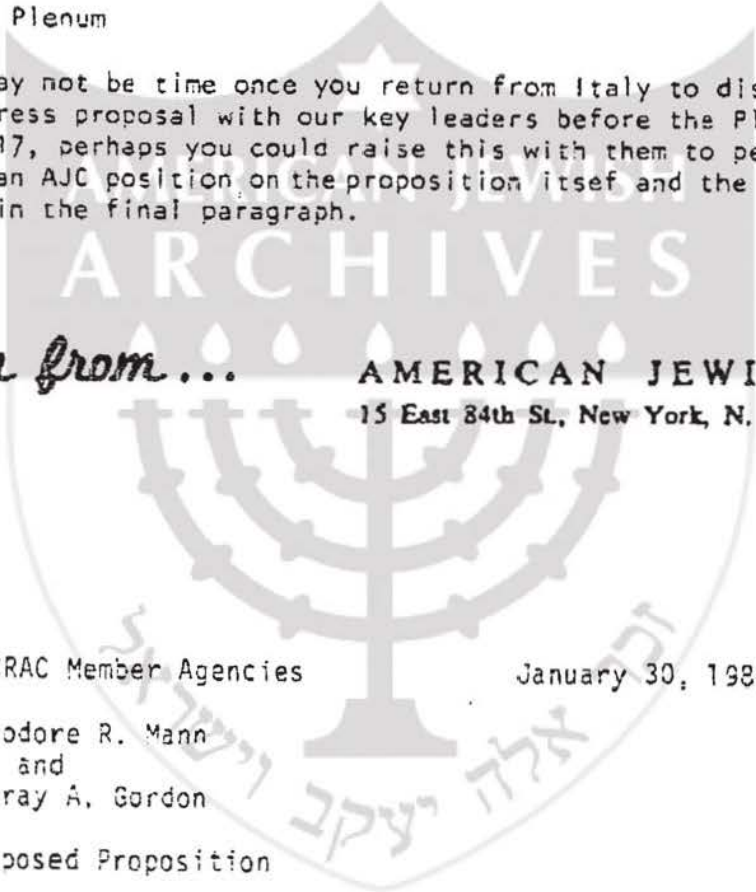
F A X

מכתב

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date 2/7/85
to Marc Tanenbaum - Jerusalem
from David Harris
subject NJCRAC Plenum

As there may not be time once you return from Italy to discuss the attached AJCongress proposal with our key leaders before the Plenum begins on Feb. 17, perhaps you could raise this with them to permit formulation of an AJC position on the proposition itself and the recommendation in the final paragraph.



Memorandum from ... **AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS**
15 East 84th St., New York, N. Y. 10028 • TR 9-4500

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies January 30, 1985
FROM: Theodore R. Mann
and
Murray A. Gordon
SUBJECT: Proposed Proposition

On behalf of the American Jewish Congress, we are enclosing herewith a Proposed Proposition that will be brought before the NJCRAC Plenum in San Francisco.

We are sending the Proposition to you in advance of the Plenum so that your agency will have the opportunity to consider it and to take a position on it.

Warm regards.

Proposed Proposition

We support all efforts to achieve verifiable arms control agreements that improve existing means of conflict resolution between the superpowers and such other agreements and conduct as will end the nuclear arms race and lessen the likelihood of nuclear war.

We support responsible public action on behalf of these goals by the Jewish community relations field.

Responsible public action requires an ability to make difficult judgments regarding technologically complex issues and to discern the bona fides of positions taken by both sides in negotiations. Responsibility also entails an understanding of the imperatives of a negotiating process, which includes patience and the assertion by both sides of maximal positions, and requires a careful calculation of the consequences of bringing public pressure on one party to a negotiation when none is brought on the other.

To assist communities in making decisions regarding the timing, nature and intensity of public action in these matters, we recommend that there be created a task force of member agencies and such outside experts as they deem advisable, and that their periodic deliberations be communicated to all NJCRAC agencies.

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

Via messenger

February 8, 1985

Dr. David Kimche
Director General
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Hakiryah Romema
Jerusalem

Dear Dr. Kimche:

I am most grateful to you for your helpful and incisive tour d'horizon before our AJC leadership group on Thursday morning.

Your insights will be most helpful to us in our foreign relations work.

At the request of Mr. Edward Elson of Atlanta, Georgia, I am enclosing his draft letter to Dr. Walter Young, Honorary Consul General of Liberia.

If the letter is acceptable, Mr. Elson would appreciate your having it sent to him by diplomatic pouch to Atlanta. His address is: Edward P. Elson, 65 Valley Road, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30305.

I have asked Dr. George Gruen to follow up with your staff to obtain the background information on a) South Africa and b) Anti-Israel and anti-Jewish materials in the Egyptian press and media. We will put this to good use.

With warmest good wishes and, again, with much appreciation, I am

Cordially yours,

Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations

MHT:swh
encl.

February 8, 1985

Dr. Walter Young
Honorary Consul General
Republic of Liberia
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Young:

I was delighted to receive the especial representative that you appointed for the Government of Liberia, Edward E. Elson. It was gratifying to learn of the interest of Liberia in promoting its economic development, with the encouragement and assistance of the State of Israel.

Without question, there are numerous areas where our mutual interests could lead to significant rewards for both countries. Working together to attain the goals set forth in your letter introducing Mr. Elson would be of substantial interest to us. Israel has long enjoyed the technical knowledge and expertise that could contribute to the realization of your objectives.

Sincerely yours,

David Kimche
Director-General

COMMITTEE FOR JEWISH CLAIMS ON AUSTRIA

FEB 19 1985

SUITE 1901

15 EAST 26th STREET

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

Cable Address: "MECULTFUND" New York

Tel.: (212) 679-4074

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Board of Directors

February 13, 1985

FROM: Dr. Israel Miller, President

Reference is made to our memorandum of December 24, 1984 concerning the art objects which were confiscated by the Nazis and are currently in custody of the Austrian Government. I am pleased to inform you that we met with the Austrian Chancellor Fred Sinowatz, in Vienna, and arrived at the following understanding:

1. The Austrian Government will prepare, by June 30, 1985, a complete inventory of the art works presently stored at the Mauerbach Monastery, in museums, embassies, and other locations.
2. The Austrian Government will disseminate this inventory to all of its embassies, legations, and consulates throughout the world, which will be made available to potential claimants.
3. The Austrian Government will provide an opportunity for former owners or their heirs to present claims for any of these objects within a specified period of time which will be publicized outside of Austria.
4. The Austrian Government will arrange for an appraisal of the art objects on the understanding that our Committee will have the opportunity to review the appraisals with the help of outside experts.
5. The Austrian Government accepts the principle that the heirless and unclaimed Jewish property should be utilized for programs benefitting surviving Jews persecuted by the Nazis in Austria.

We expressed our satisfaction with the response of the Austrian Government to our specific representations and took particular note of the Chancellor's statement that the Austrian Government does not wish to profit from these objects which were looted by the Nazis. We assured the Chancellor that our Committee will utilize all of its resources to inform potential claimants of the action of the Austrian Government.

Member Organizations: Agudath Israel World Organization, Alliance Israelite Universelle, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, American Zionist Federation, Anglo-Jewish Association, B'nai B'rith International, Board of Deputies of British Jews, Canadian Jewish Congress, Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief, Conseil Representatif des Institutions Juives de France, Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, Jewish Agency for Israel, Jewish Labor Committee, South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Synagogue Council of America, World Council of Jews from Austria, World Jewish Congress, World Union for Progressive Judaism.

I would like to express my appreciation to Edgar Bronfman, President of the World Jewish Congress; Jack Spitzer, Honorary President of B'nai B'rith, and Vice President & Treasurer of our Committee; Israel Singer, Executive Director of the World Jewish Congress; and Saul Kagan, our Executive Director, for their participation in the meeting with Chancellor Sinowatz.

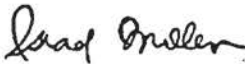
Prior to our meeting with the Chancellor, Saul Kagan and I met with the leadership of the Vienna Jewish Community to ensure a united Jewish position vis-a-vis the Austrian Government. We invited Ivan Hacker, President of the Vienna Jewish Community, and Paul Grosz, Vice President of the Vienna Jewish Community, to join us at the meeting with Chancellor Sinowatz. The Jewish Community had previous discussions with the Austrian officials on this subject which were inconclusive. The leaders of the Community also described to us the needs of the Community and, in particular, the plans to rebuild their Home for the Aged.

During our stay in Vienna, Jack Spitzer, Saul Kagan, and I, met with the United States Minister to Austria, Felix Bloch, and John Becker, the political officer of the United States Embassy. The art objects in question were turned over to the Austrian Government in 1955 by the United States Government as part of the State Treaty under which Austria regained full independence from the four occupying powers.

Following the meeting with the Chancellor, Saul Kagan met with a senior official of the Ministry of Science and Research which has direct custody of the art objects to discuss the practical implementation of the understanding reached with Chancellor Sinowatz. We have been assured that the inventory may be ready even before June 30, 1985.

We believe that we achieved our initial objective. We know, however, from over 30 years of negotiations with the Austrian authorities concerning indemnification and restitution problems, that the Austrian Bureaucracy moves very slowly and is frequently uncoordinated. The implementation of our understanding with Chancellor Sinowatz will involve not only the Ministry of Science and Research, but also the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Justice. It will be necessary for us to monitor closely the specific steps which will be taken by the Austrian Government in this matter. We are also maintaining contact with the State Department and the Austrian Embassy in Washington. We will keep you informed of any further significant progress.

IM/fr


Dr. Israel Miller

Statement by Howard I. Friedman,
President of The American Jewish Committee,
presented during an audience with His Holiness
Pope John Paul II, and delegation of AJC leaders
on Thursday, February 14, 1985
at Apostolic Palace, Vatican City

Your Holiness,

It is with warm sentiments of esteem and respect that I express the heartfelt greetings of Shalom, of peace and well being, to you on behalf of this delegation of leaders of the American Jewish Committee.

We regard this audience with Your Holiness as a particularly auspicious occasion in the history of the Catholic Church and the Jewish People. We meet with you to acknowledge the anniversaries of two climatic events:

First, 1985 marks the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II and the defeat of the demonic ideology of Nazism whose core was racial and religious anti-Semitism. Second, 1985 commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the ending of Vatican Council II and its adoption of the historic declaration of Nostra Aetate.

As the Nazi trauma has appalled us with despair over human evil, so the twentieth anniversary of the close of Vatican Council II has inspired all of us with hope and promise for a more humane future. The adoption of the

Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions on December 28, 1965, marked a decisive turning point in the nearly 2,000-year encounter between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people.

Nostra Aetate repudiated anti-Semitism and the infamous canard of collective Jewish responsibility for the death of Christ. It thereby rejected distorted teachings of Christian doctrine which have resulted in centuries of anti-Jewish hatred, prejudice, suffering and the prolonged shedding of Jewish blood. Nostra Aetate was a definitive acknowledgement by the Church of the permanent validity and legitimacy of Judaism as the authentic religious faith of the Jewish people.

We wish to acknowledge the act of justice and service to truth represented by that declaration, and your own moving pronouncements calling for mutual respect and collaboration between Catholics and Jews in common service to humanity. It is no exaggeration to state that as a result of these far-reaching pronouncements and the practical actions they have inspired that greater progress in improved Catholic-Jewish relations has taken place during the past two decades than in the past two millenia.

The American Jewish Committee takes special pride in this encouraging process, for we were privileged to be intimately involved through collaboration with the late Augustin Cardinal Bea and his Secretariat throughout

Vatican Council II. We have helped implement numerous concrete actions that have resulted in significant improvement in relations between Catholic and Jewish peoples in the United States and in other parts of the world. Yet much remains to be done, and we pledge our continued cooperation in helping further Catholic-Jewish solidarity and friendship. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming Synod of Bishops you have called will give further impetus in this direction.

As a pioneering human relations agency, the American Jewish Committee has shared Your Holiness' vision of upholding human dignity by vigorously advocating the universality of civil and political liberties, and, in particular, religious liberty for all peoples everywhere, especially those in oppressive totalitarian societies.

At this moment, we are actively engaged in close cooperation with Catholic Relief Services and other relief agencies in seeking to relieve the suffering, hunger and deprivation of millions of fellow human beings in Ethiopia and Africa generally. That life-saving collaboration between the Catholic and Jewish peoples in service to an anguished humanity is the latest testimony to the new spirit made possible by Vatican Council II.

Your Holiness, American Jewish Committee leaders come to this Audience with you after a ten-day intensive mission in Israel. We have met with Israeli Jews,

Christians and Muslims, with Palestinian Arabs, with government leaders and ordinary people. Everywhere we have found a great yearning for peace, for co-existence, for an end to conflict, violence and terrorism. We know that these goals are dear to the heart and mind of Your Holiness.

Our visit to Israel has reinforced our conviction that the primary obstacle to peace in the area is the ongoing illusion of most of Israel's neighbors that somehow, without formal recognition of sovereign legitimacy of other States, Israel's continued existence can be undermined.

Nothing can contribute more to peace in the area than the dispelling of that illusion. That is why the extension of recognition throughout the civilized world is so vital.

We appreciate deeply your clear grasp of that reality as expressed in your Apostolic Letter, Redemptiois Anno, which emphasized the Church's recognition of the State of Israel and the deep ties between the Jewish People and city of Jerusalem in these words:

"For the Jewish people who live in the State of Israel, and who preserve in that land such precious testimonies to their history and their faith, we must ask for the desired security and the due tranquility that is the prerogative of every nation and condition of life and of progress for every society . . .

"Jews ardently love her [Jerusalem], and in every age venerate her memory, abundant as she is in many remains and monuments from the time of David who chose her as the capital, and of Solomon who built the Temple there. Therefore, they turn their minds to her daily, one may say, and point to her as the sign of their nation."

Your Holiness, we recognize the complexity of the problems involved, but we dare to hope that the spirit that inspired your Apostolic Letter will lead to steps that will formalize the diplomatic ties between the Holy See and the State of Israel and her people.

Such an historic act, we believe, would be a watershed event in Catholic-Jewish relations. It would help create a sense of reality that is indispensable to peace, and would be a fitting culmination of Vatican Council II. Above all, it would be an act of profound spiritual and ethical significance in advancing the cause of world peace.

May God bless you and strengthen the work of your hands.

David Rockefeller, North American Chairman

Trilateral Commission

345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

FEB 19 1985

Central America and its political struggles have occupied the front pages of our newspapers for so these many years, yet the American public is still confused as to what is happening there and why. The primary cause is the power struggle within the United Nations.

When Truman permitted the United Nations to use the American flag as its charter and the Flag of its member nations, he hoped that it would have a unifying influence, combining all nations under a protective umbrella, ensuring the integrity of national boundaries, and guaranteeing the civil rights of their people. Unfortunately concerted action to develop the American Family to fund the U. N. budget soon gave way to contention between the freeworld and the iron-curtain countries. Encouraged by the salestalks of international construction firms, member nations borrowed heavily both internally and externally to fund new infrastructure and industry, using the American Flag as collateral for their loans.

The problems of debt-funding led to so much rivalry and contention that ambassadors to the U.N., fearing another global war, agreed to lessen tensions by playing limited "wargames" using the American family as pawns in these deadly international chess games, on which member nations gamble human lives and physical resources. Competition between the public and private sectors within the United States for possession of the American family is symbolized by hot-war battles between communist and freeworld forces on selected battlefields. The Berlin Airlift, the Korean War, Castro's defeat of Batista and the Bay of Pigs, the Middle East Wars, the Vietnam War, and the troubles in Central America have followed one after the other in rapid succession.

A new dimension was added when the Catholic Church claimed sole ownership of the American Family and organized Catholic faithful in the U.S. and other countries to attack, destroy and exploit them for Catholic enterprises. Many who thus unwittingly attacked their own flag and country were destroyed or repressed by local authorities. Many fled to other countries, creating the refugee problem which has escalated the time honored sanctuary movement into a major headache for the U. S. Immigration authorities, causing arrest and indictment of sixteen church leaders for conspiracy.

This three way battle (Catholics vs. Communists vs NonCatholic-NonCommunists) was recently highlighted by Senator Kennedy's diplomatic mission to Ethiopia and South Africa to publicize the political sins of these two NonCatholic countries. The goal of the Roman Catholic Church is reportedly to establish a monolithic Catholic empire, another Pax Romana, which will combine the nonCommunist world under the leadership of the Vatican, obliterating all national boundaries.

An all-out drive to capture control of American foreign policy in order to use it to further Catholic goals appears to be underway. In 1962 Georgetown University (a Jesuit Catholic institution in Washington D.C.) established a Center for Strategic and International Studies to train American diplomats in Catholic international policy. Funded by church revenues (swelled by the tithes of the drug-smuggling American Mafia) and supported by Catholic parishioners who tend to vote in a block, large numbers of Catholics have been elected to Congress and have assumed control of the foreign policy committee chairmanships in both houses. Under the Reagan administration, Catholics have claimed the Cabinet posts of Secretary of Labor and Secretary of Health, and a professor on leave from Georgetown U. was appointed to be our ambassador to the United Nations. When President Reagan was shot in an assassination attempt he was taken to Georgetown U. Hospital to be treated.

Although Catholics are a minority in our country (an estimated 51 million out of a total population of 226 million) they now exercise a disproportionately large amount of power in Congress and in our State Department, and are making rapid inroads in the Executive and Judiciary Branches, and in state and local governments. Priests have been withdrawn from active participation in politics but they are still there behind the scenes, holding the reins of power. They encourage a high rate of reproduction among their congregations, and are demanding that Congress fund their private schools with Federal tax dollars, and that our borders be opened to the predominantly Catholic populations of Central and South America.

The United Nations appears to be splitting into two hostile camps along religious lines: a Catholic headquarters located in the Irish Catholic city of New York and headed by a Roman Catholic from Peru, and a non-Catholic headquarters in the militantly Protestant city of Geneva, Switzerland, headed by a non-Catholic secretariat. In the New York headquarters the Communists and the Catholics confront each other in a stony impasse which discourages discussion and negotiation as futile. In sharp contrast, the headquarters in Geneva breathes an atmosphere of religious freedom and intellectual ferment in which Protestants, Moslems, Jews, Socialists, Buddhists, etc. voice and debate their proposals in enthusiastic throngs, and eventually arrive at workable compromises.

When the Pope invaded this Protestant stronghold in the summer of 1984, the local newspapers mocked his views that the developed countries must open their borders and share their resources with the poor nations, and that the American Flag (which is also the flag of Switzerland) must be destroyed and exploited to fund the Vatican budget. Cartoons derided him for his failure to realize that what he is seeking is his own destruction and the destruction of the Catholic Church.

The Pope is a great humanitarian, but obviously unschooled in the realities of international politics and economic history. The elimination of national boundaries would be more likely to result in the impoverishment of all than in raising the living standards of the poor. Views similar to his, held by Roman Catholic authorities in ancient Rome precipitated the downfall of the great Roman Empire and plunged the Western World into 700 years of the Dark Ages from which it was rescued only by the Protestant revolt against the domination of the Roman Catholic Church and the ensuing Industrial Revolution.

The free enterprise system has proved to be a powerful engine for generating economic growth and rising standards of living over a 200 year period. The Catholic Church, by attacking the international institutions on which the freeworld economic system is founded, is endangering the continuation of this long term trend which benefits all peoples and all nations of the world.

Respectfully submitted,

Cecily Woods Blanco

Dr. Cecily Woods Blanco
Doctor of Theoretical Economics
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MAR 12 1985

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : February 25th, 1985
to : Marc H. Tanenbaum
from : Sergio Nudelstejer
subject : Visit to the Jewish Communities of Venezuela, Colombia, and Panamá.

I would like you to know that, as agreed, from March 14th through the 30th, I will visit the Jewish Communities of Venezuela, Colombia and Panama.

During my visit to Venezuela I will be present at the Emergency Meeting of the Latin American Committee for Soviet Jewry, which will take place from the 16th through the 18th of March and in which I will participate the presidents of the most active committees of the Continent.

While in Panamá, besides knowing the prevailing situation, I will also prepare a program for the next visit of the Lay Leadership Delegation of the Miami Chapter (their visit will also include Guatemala).

I consider that now is a most important time to visit these countries and to be in touch with the Jewish Communities in each of them. Upon returning I hope to be able to send in to you reports on each of these countries.

Sometime this same year, I plan to visit Guatemala, Salyador, Honduras and Nicaragua as well.

Will appreciate any comments or suggestions you might have concerning this mission. Meanwhile, my best and cordial regards to you.


copie: David Harris.

MAR 12 1985

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : February 26th, 1985
to : Marc H. Tanenbaum
from : Sergio Nudelstejer
subject : Visit to the Jewish Community of Cuba



Would like you to know that, as previously planned, we have made it possible that Rabbi Abraham Palti, of the Sphardic Community in Mexico and Mr. Jacobo Contente distinguished lay leader of our Jewish Community, visit the Jewish Community of Cuba from the 10th through the 17th of March. Both of them have their visa to make this trip. Mr. Contente knows some of the members of the Jewish community in Hayana through a previous trip he took there last year.

The cost of the visit of Rabbi Palti to Cuba will be covered by the Central Jewish Committee of Mexico (representative body of Mexican Jewry) and Mr. Contente is covering himself his expenses. Thanks to our suggestions and pressure, this visit will take place.

Among the ideas expressed for this visit can be mentioned our interest that the small Jewish Community of Cuba should be visited at least twice a year by a Rabbi, who will carry on with the religious services on Friday night and Shabbath, and also during his week's visit, he will give a lecture and meet with the members of the Community.

We also consider of importance that they find out if there are any families who wish to leave the country and in this case, see what can be done to help them. For your information, in Caracas, Venezuela, there functions a Home where the Jewish immigrants from Cuba have been taken in and taken care of until their families get them the necessary documents for them to go to the U.S.

All the information that these people can get during their visit to Cuba will be for us very important so as to continue giving the Cuban Jews moral and religious support, with the necessary precautions so as to avoid endangering the Community. As soon as these two people return from Cuba, I will have a full and detailed report which I will send in to you immediately.

Please feel free to make all comments and observation you deem necessary. Receive as always my best and cordial regards.

copies: David Harris
Jacobov Koyadloff.

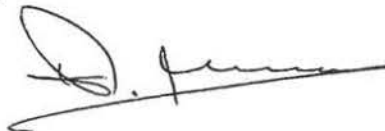
MAR 12 1985

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date : February 26th, 1985

to : Marc H. Tanenbaum
from : Sergio Nudelstejer



subject

I am writing to you concerning the memo dated January 15th sent to me by Bill Gralnik about the Lay Leadership Delegation to Central America, specifically to Panama and Guatemala.

Independently of the decision taken previously that in 1986 we would have a Leadership Delegation to Central America inviting different chapters such as the ones from Los Angeles, Dallas, Houston, Denver and Miami, Bill has said in his memo that a group of members of the Miami Chapter have expressed their desire to visit Panama and Guatemala, communities with whom they have been in touch since we invited them to the FEDECO meeting (Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama), which was held in the city of Antigua in Guatemala, January of last year.

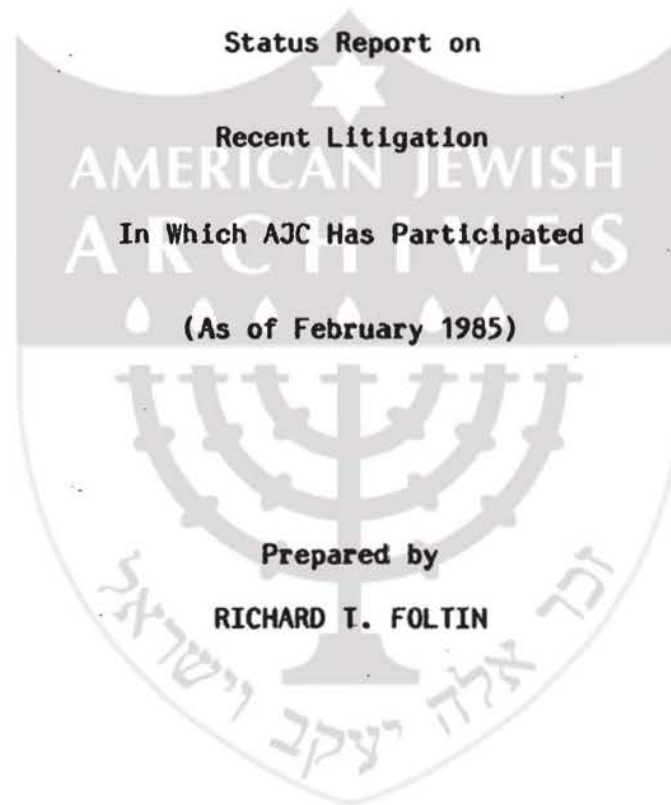
After an exchange of opinions, and with the approval of the Department of International Affairs, I suggested to Bill Gralnik that this visit take place from April 21st through the 26th. Should this proposition be approved I will immediately start preparing the program.

I am very interested in your opinion and suggestions on this issue. Please let me know immediately. Best cordial regards.

SN/eeg

copies: David Harris
G. Dubow
Harold Applebaum
Bill Gralnik

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE



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

NEW YORK STATE CLUB ASSOCIATION, INC. v. THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Description of Case

AJC Involvement

Status

An incorporated association, representing 125 private clubs and associations in the State of New York, commenced an action in New York State Supreme Court in October, 1984, challenging the constitutionality of a New York City law which prohibits discrimination because of sex, race or national origin in places of public accommodation or amusement. The law specifically exempts from compliance "any institution, club or place of accommodation which is in its nature distinctly private." The law further provides that a club or institution may not be considered "distinctly private" if it has more than 400 members, provides regular meal service and receives payment directly or indirectly from non-members for furtherance of trade or business.

The plaintiff asserts that the New York City law unconstitutionally infringes upon the rights of individual members of private clubs to free association, is unconstitutionally vague and overbroad and is in conflict with an anti-discrimination state statute.

AJC joined with several groups in a brief amicus filed in the Appellate Division, First Department of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, supporting defendants in their opposition to plaintiff's motion for a preliminary injunction. The brief was prepared by the New York Civil Liberties Union.

The brief argues that the challenged statute comports with the constitutional principles delimiting the government's power to prohibit discrimination in the private sphere, by setting forth criteria designed to avoid regulatory interference with constitutionally protected "intimate" associations. Moreover, the brief argues, the challenged statute places no unjustifiable burden on plaintiff's freedom of "expressive" association, since expressive activities are not the purpose of the private clubs. Finally, the brief argues, the challenged statute is intended to clarify, and does not contradict, existing state law.

In conjunction with its commencement of this action, plaintiff sought a preliminary injunction staying enforcement of the law pending determination of the underlying action. This motion was denied by the New York State Supreme Court on November 30, 1984, upon the court's finding that the plaintiff had failed to demonstrate a likelihood of success on the merits or that it would suffer irreparable harm in the absence of an injunction. In so finding, the court explicitly held that plaintiff's challenges to the constitutionality of the law were "not 'weighty'." Plaintiff has appealed the denial of the preliminary injunction to the Appellate Division, First Department of the New York State Supreme Court. Oral argument before the Appellate Division has not yet been scheduled.

Description of Case

Haitian refugees who had been incarcerated in Federal prisons and detention facilities, pending determinations on their applications for admission, asylum or parole, brought a class action against officials of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, alleging that their treatment by low-level government officials was the result of invidious discrimination based upon their race or national origin. The petitioners further alleged that they had not been informed of their entitlement to apply for asylum, and that they were constitutionally entitled to be so informed.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined, as a member of the National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, in an amicus brief in support of the petitioners, filed by, among others, the NCHR, the Committee on Migration and Refugee Affairs of Interaction and the Members of the Congressional Black Caucus Task Force on Haitian Refugees. The brief was prepared by the NCHR. The brief is consistent with AJC policy, as reflected in the recommendations of AJC's Task Force on Asylum Policy, which endorses strong guarantees of due process and the right of aliens to be informed of their right to counsel in formal asylum appeals, while opposing detention unless absolutely necessary.

Status

The District Court for the Southern District of Florida found that the Fifth Amendment guarantees of equal protection applied to the Haitian petitioners, but held the petitioners had not met their burden of proving that low-level government officials had acted with discriminatory intent. On appeal, a three-judge panel of the Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit upheld the District Court on the applicability of the Fifth Amendment, but reversed as clearly erroneous the factual determination that there had not been an adequate showing of discriminatory intent. Thereafter, on rehearing en banc, the Court of Appeals reversed the three-judge panel, holding that the Constitution was simply inapplicable to applications for admission, asylum or parole. While noting that the courts do have authority to review decisions of immigration officials to ensure that they act in accordance with applicable statutes and regulations, the court further held that excludable aliens have no constitutional or, under the particular legislative scheme enacted by Congress, statutory right to be informed that they are entitled to apply for asylum. On December 3, 1985, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review this case. Oral argument is scheduled for March 25, 1985.

DEVINE v. NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

<u>Description of Case</u>	<u>AJC Involvement</u>	<u>Status</u>
<p>In March, 1983, an action was commenced by seven legal defense funds, including the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., challenging certain regulations, issued by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, which barred charitable organizations that advance their goals by litigation from participation in the Combined Federal Campaign. The CFC is an annual organized charity drive which constitutes the sole means by which charities may solicit federal employees at their workplaces. Plaintiffs contend that the First Amendment forbids their being barred from participation in the CFC on the grounds enunciated in the challenged regulations.</p>	<p>AJC prepared, and filed in the U.S. Supreme Court, a brief <u>amici</u>, in which it was joined by the National Council of Jewish Women, the Synagogue Council of America and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The brief was written by Richard T. Foltin, Associate Legal Director of AJC's National Affairs Department.</p> <p>The brief supported plaintiffs' contention that the challenged regulations violate the First Amendment. Firstly, the brief argued, the CFC is a "limited public forum," and the denial to legal defense funds of access thereto, based upon the funds' utilization of litigation to advance their goals, is a content-based discrimination which cannot survive the constitutional standard of strict scrutiny applicable to content-based regulation of speech in public forums. Secondly, the brief argued, even if the CFC is a "nonpublic forum" (in which case the Government need ordinarily only show a reasonable basis for the grounds on which it restricts access thereto), the Government improperly denied access to the CFC by basing that denial on plaintiffs' constitutionally-protected activity of utilizing litigation to protect the fundamental rights of others.</p>	<p>The U.S. District Court for the D.C. District struck down the challenged regulations, holding that the CFC is bound by the First Amendment protections applicable to a limited public forum and that the Government had not made the showing necessary to justify the challenged regulations. The Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit affirmed the District Court's decision, holding, however, that it was not necessary to decide whether the CFC is a "public forum," since, even if the CFC is a "nonpublic forum," the challenged regulations were not reasonably related to a legitimate state objective. The Government appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which, on October 29, 1984, agreed to review the case. Oral argument was heard on February 19, 1985.</p>

AJC Involvement (continued)

The brief was submitted in accordance with AJC policy, which is committed to the protection of the civil and constitutional rights of all Americans.

HUNTER v. UNDERWOOD

Description of Case

An action was brought by convicted misdemeanants, challenging, as a violation of their Equal Protection rights, a provision of the Alabama Constitution which disenfranchised persons convicted of certain enumerated misdemeanors, or of misdemeanors constituting "crimes of moral turpitude." Plaintiffs allege that the nonprison offenses warranting disenfranchisement were specifically selected by the 1901 Alabama Constitutional Convention with the intent to disenfranchise blacks on account of their race, and that the provision had exactly its intended effect.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined with the NAACP in a brief amicus filed in the U.S. Supreme Court in support of plaintiffs. The brief was prepared primarily by the NAACP. The brief argues that the challenged provision, while facially neutral, violates the Fourteenth Amendment in that it was enacted for a racially discriminatory purpose, based upon the Constitutional Convention's perception, clearly enunciated at the time of enactment, that there were certain crimes which blacks were statistically more likely to commit.

Status

The District Court for the District of Alabama dismissed plaintiffs' claim, holding that plaintiffs had failed to show evidence of discriminatory purpose in the enactment of the challenged provision. The Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit reversed, holding that the lower court had erred in not finding that the challenged provision was specifically adopted with the intent of disenfranchising blacks on account of race; and further holding that the state had failed to meet its burden of demonstrating that the provision would still have been adopted had a permissible "good government" motive been the sole consideration. On October 9, 1984, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the State of Alabama's appeal from the decision. Oral argument is scheduled for February 26, 1985.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE VILLAGE OF SCARSDALE v. McCREARY

Description of Case

In two separate cases, subsequently consolidated, the Scarsdale Creche Committee and an independent group of citizens each brought suit against the Board of Trustees of the Village of Scarsdale, demanding that the Village be compelled to permit private citizens to erect a Creche display on public land during the Christmas holiday season. Plaintiffs argue that the Village's denial of such permission constitutes a violation of their First Amendment right of free speech.

AJC Involvement

AJC and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. have filed a joint brief amicus in the Supreme Court arguing that the Village's decision to deny permission for the Creche's erection was mandated by the Establishment Clause, since there are present none of the secularizing components that led the Court, in Lynch v. Donnelly, to conclude that the public sponsorship of a Creche in Pawtucket was not, in context, unconstitutional. The brief further argues, in the alternative, that the Village was certainly not constitutionally required to allow erection of the Creche, even if such erection was constitutionally permissible. Rather, the brief argues, the Village's action was an appropriate exercise of discretion, given local conditions and the constitutionally-mandated state interest in maintaining neutrality with respect to religious institutions. This is consistent with AJC policy that separation of religion and government is the surest guarantee of religious liberty for citizens of all or no denominations. The brief was written primarily by Jed S. Rakoff, a member of the New York Chapter Legal Committee, and Ellen B. Cohn, an associate of Mr. Rakoff's.

Status

In June, 1984, a three judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit ruled unanimously that the free speech clause of the First Amendment required the Village of Scarsdale to allow private citizens to erect a Creche, standing alone, on public park land. In so ruling, the Court of Appeals overturned the earlier determination of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York that the Village was not constitutionally required to grant such permission. The Village appealed the Court of Appeals' ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court, which, on October 15, 1984, agreed to review the case. Oral argument was heard on February 20, 1985.

ABBOTT v. BURKE

Description of Case

A class action was brought by students of various school districts in New Jersey challenging the constitutionality of the New Jersey school financing system under the Education Clause of the New Jersey Constitution and the Equal Protection Clauses of the New Jersey and United States Constitutions. Plaintiffs allege that the financing system relies too heavily on local taxable wealth and unfairly favors communities with high property values. Consequently, educational resources are allocated according to criteria unrelated to education. The resulting discrimination, based on race, national origin and wealth, deprives the plaintiff class of predominantly poor and minority students of a "thorough and efficient system of free public schools," as mandated by the New Jersey Constitution, and denies such students an equal educational opportunity.

AJC Involvement

AJC's New Jersey Chapter has filed a brief amicus in the New Jersey Supreme Court, in support of the plaintiffs' challenge to the New Jersey school financing system. Richard Altman, a member of the National Legal Committee, drafted the brief.

Status

On November 15, 1983, Judge Virginia Long of the Superior Court of New Jersey, Chancery Division, Mercer County, dismissed the case for failure to exhaust administrative remedies before seeking a judicial resolution. Plaintiffs appealed to the New Jersey Supreme Court for a reversal of this dismissal and reinstatement of the case. The New Jersey Supreme Court heard argument on November 27, 1984. A decision is expected in the near future.



CUOMO v. BALDRIGE
(previously CAREY v. BALDRIGE)

Description of Case

A suit was brought to require the U.S. Census Bureau to adjust the 1980 population figures for New York City and State to reflect more accurately the number of black and Hispanic residents in the state. The disproportionate undercounting of these New York residents, plaintiffs contend, would result in a constitutionally impermissible dilution of their votes and a reduction in federal funding for New York programs where disbursements are based on census figures.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined in a brief amicus in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in conjunction with the American Jewish Congress, Catholic Charities of Brooklyn and New York, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, the New York JCRC, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the New York Urban League, and the State Communities Aid Association. The brief was prepared by the law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison. In the brief it was argued that the undercount violates the requirement of "one person, one vote"; that it imposes upon minorities a "badge" of slavery in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment; and that the District Court's order to adjust the figures to remedy the undercount was appropriate and should be upheld.

Status

On December 29, 1980, the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York held that the Census Bureau had undercounted the population of New York City and State to a degree "disproportionate to the national average." The Court ordered an adjustment to compensate for this undercount of black and Hispanic residents. On June 12, 1981, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit reversed the District Court ruling and remanded the case to the District Court for a new trial. Plaintiffs' petition for certiorari in the U.S. Supreme Court was denied on March 8, 1982. Accordingly, the case was remanded to the District Court. Defendants had asked the District Court to stay the retrial pending resolution of their request to transfer the case to the District of Maryland for multi-district treatment. However, that request was denied and a new trial was held before Judge John E. Sprizzo in the early part of 1984. There followed an extensive post-trial briefing schedule which was concluded only recently. Post-trial oral arguments before Judge Sprizzo have not yet been scheduled.

AVAGLIANO v. SUMITOMO SHOJI AMERICA, INC.

Description of Case

Eleven female employees of Sumitomo Shoji America, Inc. ("Sumitomo"), a company incorporated in New York but wholly-owned by a Japanese firm, brought a class action suit against Sumitomo under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, the Civil Rights Act of 1966 and the Thirteenth Amendment. Plaintiffs claimed that Sumitomo's policy of hiring only male Japanese nationals for executive and managerial positions discriminated against them on the basis of sex and national origin. Sumitomo's defense was that Japanese companies and their wholly-owned subsidiaries were exempt from the application of Title VII by a 1953 Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between the U.S. and Japan (the "1953 Treaty") which gives them the right to engage "executive personnel, attorneys, agents and other specialists of their choice." At issue, then, is whether an American subsidiary of a foreign company must comply with U.S. laws prohibiting discrimination in employment based on sex or national origin.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined in a brief amicus in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit with the American Jewish Congress, the ACLU, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. The brief was prepared by the American Jewish Congress. We argued that Sumitomo, as a United States corporation, has no standing to invoke provisions of the 1953 Treaty regarding freedom of choice in the selection of executive personnel. Furthermore, even if Sumitomo may invoke the 1953 Treaty, Sumitomo must nevertheless comply with Title VII in its hiring practices. The intent of the 1953 Treaty was to put Japanese nationals and companies on an equal footing with local citizens in conducting business in the U.S., not to exempt them from domestic anti-discrimination laws. Finally, we argued that male gender and Japanese nationality are not bona fide occupational qualifications ("bfoqs") which would excuse Sumitomo's discriminatory hiring practices.

Status

The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York denied Sumitomo's motion to dismiss on the ground that Sumitomo, an American company, lacked standing to invoke the 1953 Treaty. On appeal, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit affirmed the denial of the motion to dismiss, but on different grounds. The Second Circuit ruled that Sumitomo had standing to invoke the 1953 Treaty, but was nevertheless subject to Title VII obligations. The Court stated, however, that the "bfoq" exemption from Title VII should be construed broadly in this case. On June 15, 1982, the Supreme Court reversed the Second Circuit and ruled unanimously that subsidiaries of Japanese companies incorporated and doing business in the United States are American companies subject to Title VII prohibitions against employment discrimination. Since the company is not a company of Japan, it has no standing to invoke the 1953 Treaty to defend its practices. However, the Court's decision left open the issue of whether Japanese nationality is a "bfoq" that will permit Sumitomo to continue preferring Japanese citizens to some degree. The case was ultimately remanded to the District Court, which, in January, 1985, certified that the plaintiffs were appropriate class representatives. The action is expected to go through lengthy discovery proceedings before trial.

ROBERTS v. UNITED STATES JAYCEES
(previously GOMEZ-BETHKE v. UNITED STATES JAYCEES)

<u>Description of Case</u>	<u>AJC Involvement</u>	<u>Status</u>
<p>An anti-discrimination suit was brought by the state of Minnesota against the United States Jaycees to prevent the national organization from revoking the charters of local Minnesota chapters that afford full membership rights to women in violation of national Jaycees' policy. The Minneapolis and St. Paul chapters have been admitting women as full members since 1974 and 1975 respectively. When the national organization sought to revoke their charters in 1978, members of the local chapters filed discrimination charges with the state's Department of Human Rights. The national Jaycees filed suit in federal court to enjoin the state's enforcement proceedings on the ground that the state law, which forbids discrimination by places of public accommodation, is unconstitutionally vague as applied to the Jaycees, and violates the constitutionally protected free association rights of the members of this organization.</p>	<p>AJC joined in a brief <u>amicus</u> to the U.S. Supreme Court with seventeen organizations, including the National Organization for Women, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and 13 other women's rights organizations. The brief, which was prepared by the National Organization for Women, argued that the Jaycees is a business organization, and not a social or political association, and that applying the state's anti-discrimination law to the Jaycees is constitutional and accords with the important national policy against sex discrimination.</p> <p>The brief was filed in accordance with AJC policy, which long has considered private club discrimination to be among the most serious and largely ignored vestiges of bigotry in this country.</p>	<p>In 1982, the U.S. District Court for the District of Minnesota upheld the application of the Minnesota Human Rights Act to the Jaycees. On June 7, 1983, a divided panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit reversed, holding that the Jaycees' rights of association were violated by application of the anti-discrimination law and that the law was unconstitutionally vague as applied. A petition for rehearing <u>en banc</u> was rejected on August 1, 1983. Minnesota appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which agreed on January 9, 1984, to review the case. Oral argument was heard on April 18, 1984.</p> <p>On July 3, 1984, the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the determination of the Court of Appeals, holding that the statute, as applied, did not infringe upon constitutionally-protected rights of freedom of association and that the statute was not unconstitutionally vague or overbroad. The Court noted that the local Jaycee chapters were not small or selective enough to afford constitutional protection to</p>
	<p><u>Status (continued)</u></p>	
	<p>their decision to exclude women, and that the state's compelling interest in prohibiting sex discrimination outweighed the Jaycees' associational rights.</p>	

KROMNICK v. SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILADELPHIA

Description of Case

Four white teachers brought an action against the School District of Philadelphia challenging the validity of a quota system in hiring and involuntary transfers for the purpose of maintaining faculty racial balance. The quota system had first been imposed in 1978 at the insistence of the Federal Office of Civil Rights as a remedial device to desegregate school faculties. In 1982, the Office of Civil Rights informed the district that it could discontinue the quota because the school faculties had been successfully integrated. Nevertheless, the district decided to retain the quota system. Plaintiffs claimed that the continued use of this racial quota violates the Constitution and Federal statutory law.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), American Jewish Congress and the Polish American Congress in a brief amicus filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. The brief was written by Steven A. Asher, Esq., a member of ADL and AJC. The brief argues that the faculty racial quota violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The brief cites the Settlement Agreement reached in Reichman v. Bureau of Affirmative Action (in which AJC was actively involved) as evidence that Pennsylvania state policy is in opposition to quotas and permanent proportional group representation.

The brief filed was in accordance with AJC policy opposing all quotas but supporting other constructive affirmative action measures, including reasonable goals and timetables.

Status

On January 17, 1983, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania ruled that the district's continued use of a racial quota to maintain racial balance violates the Constitution and Title VII. The school district appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. On July 17, 1984, the Court of Appeals reversed the judgment of the District Court, ruling that the "race-based" involuntary transfer policy" did not violate either the Constitution or Title VII. Plaintiffs subsequently requested that the Supreme Court review the case. On January 7, 1985, the Supreme Court declined to grant review, allowing the Court of Appeals' decision to stand.

WILLIAMS v. THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS

Description of Case

Thirteen black police officers brought a class action suit against the city of New Orleans in 1973 for employment discrimination in the hiring and promotion of police officers. Prior to trial in 1981, however, the parties moved jointly for judicial approval of a proposed settlement. The proposed consent decree provided for significant affirmative changes in the recruiting, hiring, training and promotion standards and procedures of police officers. Included in the decree was a proposed promotion quota which required that one black officer be promoted for every white officer promoted until blacks constituted 50% of all ranks within the police force. Objections to the promotion quota were filed by classes of female officers, Hispanic officers and white officers, collectively constituting three-fourths of the police force, who were granted leave to intervene for the limited purpose of challenging the proposed decree.

AJC Involvement

AJC filed a brief amicus in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit opposing the promotion quota, but supporting the other remedial provisions contained in the decree. We argued that the promotion quota is unduly harsh to non-black officers and, in light of the other numerous and comprehensive remedial measures set forth in the proposed decree, is unnecessary to achieve the state's interest in eradicating the effects of prior discrimination. The quota would therefore violate the equally compelling interest of non-black individuals to be free from government discrimination denying them the equal protection of the law. Furthermore, the proposed racial quota would violate Title VII of the Equal Rights Act of 1964. The brief was prepared by Andrea Klausner, AJC staff attorney, with the assistance of James Greilsheimer, a member of AJC's National Legal Committee. The brief was filed in accordance with AJC policy opposing all quotas but supporting other constructive affirmative action measures including reasonable goals and timetables.

Status (continued)

Thereafter, the case was remanded to the District Court for further proceedings. The parties recently submitted a revised consent decree for approval by the District Court, consideration of which is now pending.

Status

On June 11, 1982, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana refused to approve the proposed decree unless the promotion quota was deleted. Plaintiffs appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. On December 16, 1982, a three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit reversed, and remanded to the district court with directions that it approve the consent decree, including the quota. The United States subsequently sought and was granted permission to intervene as a party appellee to seek further appellate review and to file a suggestion of rehearing en banc. On February 14, 1983, the Fifth Circuit agreed to rehear this case en banc.

On April 23, 1984, the Fifth Circuit, contrary to the earlier ruling of its three-judge panel, affirmed the decision of the Eastern District Court in a 7-6 decision. The Fifth Circuit majority rejected the arguments of the Justice Department that Title VII does not ever permit the use of quota systems and limits remedies to actual victims of prior discrimination. However, continued the court, the district court did not abuse its discretion by refusing to enforce the quota in this case on the basis of its unduly harsh impact on innocent non-black officers.

IN RE HIRABAYASHI, YASUI and KOREMATSU

Description of Case

Gordon Hirabayashi, Minoru Yasui and Fred Korematsu, three Japanese Americans, each filed a petition for a writ of error coram nobis, in Seattle, Portland (Oregon) and San Francisco, respectively, seeking to reopen the landmark Supreme Court cases of the 1940's which upheld the evacuation and internment of Japanese Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Petitioners were defendants prosecuted and convicted for resisting the World War II evacuation. Their petitions allege that officials of the War Department altered, withheld and destroyed evidence relating to the loyalty of Japanese Americans, and that Navy and FBI intelligence reports indicating that there was no military necessity for the evacuation of Japanese Americans from the western states were suppressed, in order to influence the Supreme Court to uphold the constitutionality of the evacuation and internment.

Status (continued) <2>

(iii) Hirabayashi. In May, 1984, Judge Robert Voorhees denied the Government's motion to summarily vacate Gordon Hirabayashi's conviction, and set an evidentiary hearing on Hirabayashi's petition for a writ of error coram nobis for June 17, 1985.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined with the Asian American Law Students Associations of Stanford and Rutgers Law Schools, the National Black American Law Students Association, the Association of Latin American Law Students of Rutgers Law School and the National Lawyers Guild in a brief amicus, prepared by Prof. Eric Neisser of Rutgers Law School, supporting petitioners' claim.

The brief was filed in accordance with AJC policy which views the treatment of the Japanese Americans during World War II as a "gross violation of the rights and dignity of American citizens" and authorizes us to join with the Japanese American Citizens League "in coalitions as future situations warrant."

Status (continued) <1>

(ii) Yasui. On February 16, 1984 Judge Robert Belloni granted, without an evidentiary hearing, both Minoru Yasui's petition coram nobis and the Government's motion to summarily vacate the conviction of Minoru Yasui. Yasui has appealed the denial of an evidentiary hearing to the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Briefs have not yet been filed.

Status

(i) Korematsu. On October 4, 1983, the United States moved the U.S. District Court in San Francisco to vacate the conviction and dismiss the indictment of Fred Korematsu. While stating that it would not be appropriate to defend this forty year old misdemeanor conviction, the Government did not, however, concede the underlying invalidity of the internment orders. Judge Marilyn Patel initially granted the petition coram nobis by vacating Korematsu's conviction without written opinion.

On April 19, 1984, after a written request by Prof. Neisser on behalf of amici, Judge Patel issued a written opinion supporting the setting aside of Mr. Korematsu's conviction. While the court refused to grant the Government's motion to dismiss the indictment summarily and without looking anew at the record, it also refused to evaluate new evidence presented by the petitioner and to make findings of fact, as petitioner requested. Rather, the court engaged in a limited review, looking only to the original record, to material contained in a recent Congressional report and to certain additional documentation in order to determine whether to grant the petition coram nobis. The court concluded, on that basis, that there was sufficient evidence of government wrongdoing that a manifest injustice would be done in letting Mr. Korematsu's conviction stand. The decision has not been appealed by either party.

AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE v. CITY OF CLEARWATER

Description of Case

A lawsuit was brought by a group of non-profit organizations which solicit funds in Clearwater, Florida, challenging the constitutionality of a charitable solicitation ordinance recently enacted by the city of Clearwater. The ordinance was intended to prevent fraud in the solicitation of funds, and was aimed at curbing alleged abuses by the Church of Scientology, whose headquarters are in Clearwater. However, the ordinance was framed so broadly and vaguely that it arguably would hinder the legitimate fundraising efforts of churches and other bona fide charitable organizations by imposing onerous registration and reporting requirements. Plaintiffs sought to enjoin the enforcement of the ordinance on the grounds that it violated numerous constitutional rights, particularly the First Amendment rights of free exercise of religion, free speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association and the right of privacy. The ordinance was subsequently amended, and a second lawsuit was brought by plaintiffs seeking enjoinder of that amended ordinance on the same grounds.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined as a plaintiff with Americans United for Separation of Church and State; the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; the Florida Council of Churches; the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.; and the Suncoast American Baptist Church in the two suits filed in federal district court in Florida.

Status (Continued)

enforcement of the amended ordinance pending the outcome of the appeal. Briefing has been completed on the appeal pending with respect to the original, unamended ordinance. Plaintiffs have submitted the brief on their appeal with respect to the amended ordinance, but defendants' briefs on that second case have yet to be filed. Oral argument will be heard on both cases simultaneously, after completion of briefing on the second case.

Status

On March 28, 1984, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Florida ruled that the ordinance was clearly unconstitutional and enjoined its enforcement. The city of Clearwater appealed this ruling to the Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit, and, at the same time, amended the ordinance in an apparent attempt to resolve the constitutional shortcomings. Plaintiffs, contending that basic constitutional defects still remain in the amended ordinance, filed a new lawsuit in the District Court challenging the revised law. On July 24, 1984, without providing the evidentiary hearing requested by plaintiffs, the District Court upheld the amended ordinance as constitutional, but expressly indicated that plaintiffs should pursue an interlocutory appeal with respect to the Court's decision. Plaintiffs subsequently moved in the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals for leave to appeal on two grounds: plaintiffs asserted that the District Court had erred in not providing an evidentiary hearing with respect to factual questions bearing on the constitutionality of the amended ordinance; in the alternative, plaintiffs asserted that the amended ordinance should have been stricken as facially unconstitutional. The Court of Appeals granted the requested leave to appeal, and also enlarged an injunction previously issued by the District Court so as to enjoin

THORNTON v. CALDOR, INC.

Description of Case

This action involves the validity of a Connecticut religious accommodation statute which bars employers from requiring their employees to work on their designated Sabbath. Unlike a similar federal law, the Connecticut law does not make an explicit exception if accommodating the employee would cause the employer undue hardship.

Plaintiff, a Presbyterian, was the store manager of one of the Caldor stores. When the state's "blue laws" were repealed, plaintiff was assigned to work approximately one Sunday a month. Mr. Thornton refused to work on Sundays, his Sabbath, and further refused the employer's offer of a transfer to another branch not open on Sundays. As a result, he was reassigned to a non-supervisory position with lower pay. Plaintiff challenged this decision as a violation of the Connecticut religious accommodation law. Caldor argues that the law violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. Although Mr. Thornton has died since the initiation of the lawsuit, his estate, which is being represented by the American Jewish Congress and the National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs, is continuing the appeal. The estate argues that the law is constitutional because it protects an employee's free exercise rights.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined with the ACLU in a brief amicus to the U.S. Supreme Court. The brief was prepared by the ACLU in close consultation with AJC, to reflect our joint viewpoint. The brief argued that the statute could be interpreted as requiring merely "reasonable accommodation," and not absolute statutory preference, of an employee's religious beliefs. Thus, we argued that the statute should be reviewed "as applied," and not on its face, as the Connecticut Supreme Court did. We urged consequently that the case should be remanded to the Connecticut Supreme Court for a determination of whether Caldor in fact made an attempt to reasonably accommodate plaintiff's religious needs.

The brief filed was in accordance with AJC policy, which supports federal law requiring a reasonable accommodation to the religious needs, practices and observances of employees, unless the employer can prove that granting such accommodation would cause undue hardship in the operation of his business. AJC believes this standard fairly balances the twin constitutional imperatives of government neutrality toward religion under the Establishment Clause and individual religious liberty under the Free Exercise Clause.

Status

The state mediation board and a Connecticut trial court had ordered that Mr. Thornton be reinstated with back pay and not required to work on Sundays in accordance with the state statute. The Connecticut Supreme Court reversed, holding that the Connecticut statute violated the Establishment Clause on its face. The case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court which, on March 5, 1984, agreed to hear the case. Oral argument was heard on November 7, 1984. A decision is expected in the near future.

SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF GRAND RAPIDS v. BALL

Description of Case

AJC Involvement

Status

An action was brought by six Michigan taxpayers and Americans United for Separation of Church and State challenging the constitutionality of Michigan's "shared time" and "community education" programs. Under the "shared time" program, the school district offers substantive courses from its general curriculum to religious school students during regular school hours on the premises of the religious schools in classrooms leased by the school district. The teachers in the program are employed and paid by the city. The "community education" program involves similar arrangements except that the courses are scheduled either after or immediately preceding the regular school day.

AJC joined with the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in a brief amicus to the U.S. Supreme Court. The brief was prepared by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs with input from AJC and NCC. The brief supported plaintiff's contention that the Michigan programs violate the Establishment Clause. The arguments made in our brief were in accordance with AJC policy which endorses "shared time" programs, provided that certain basic safeguards are adhered to in their implementation. Such safeguards, such as that instruction be provided on public school premises and that all students in the programs be under the exclusive jurisdiction of public school authorities, are absent from the Michigan programs.

The U.S. District Court for the Western District of Michigan ruled that the programs were unconstitutional and enjoined the state from continuing to operate the programs. On September 23, 1983, by a 2 to 1 vote, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit affirmed the district court and held that the programs violate the Establishment Clause. The Sixth Circuit found that the taxpayers have standing to bring this challenge and that the programs have a primary effect which advances religion and excessively entangles the government with religion.

The city and the state appealed the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, which, on February 27, 1984, agreed to review the case. Oral argument was heard on December 5, 1984. A decision is expected in the near future.

WALLACE v. JAFFREE

Description of Case

An action was brought by Ishmael Jaffree, the parent of children attending the Mobile public schools, challenging the constitutionality of an Alabama statute authorizing a moment of silence for prayer or meditation in the public schools. Mr. Jaffree, an avowed agnostic, objects to the religious practices conducted in his children's classrooms. Plaintiff contends that the law authorizes officially sponsored silent prayer in the public schools, in violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The state, supported by the Federal Government, concedes that the purpose of the law is to return voluntary prayer to the public schools, but argues that such a religious purpose is constitutional.

AJC Involvement

AJC joined with the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the ACLU in a brief amicus to the U.S. Supreme Court. The brief was prepared by the American Jewish Congress.

The brief supports plaintiff's contention that the Alabama law violates the Establishment Clause, in accordance with AJC policy which states that "organized prayer, whether spoken or silent, constitutes an act of worship and has no place in public school classroom or assembly."

Status

The Federal District Court in Alabama dismissed Mr. Jaffree's lawsuit. On May 12, 1983, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit reversed the district court and struck down the statute on Establishment Clause grounds. The state appealed this ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court, which, on April 2, 1984, agreed to review the case. Oral argument was heard on December 4, 1984. A decision is expected in the near future.



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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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to Marc Tanenbaum
from James Rudin
subject

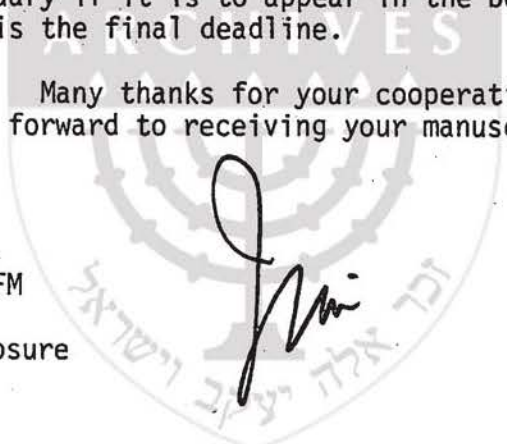
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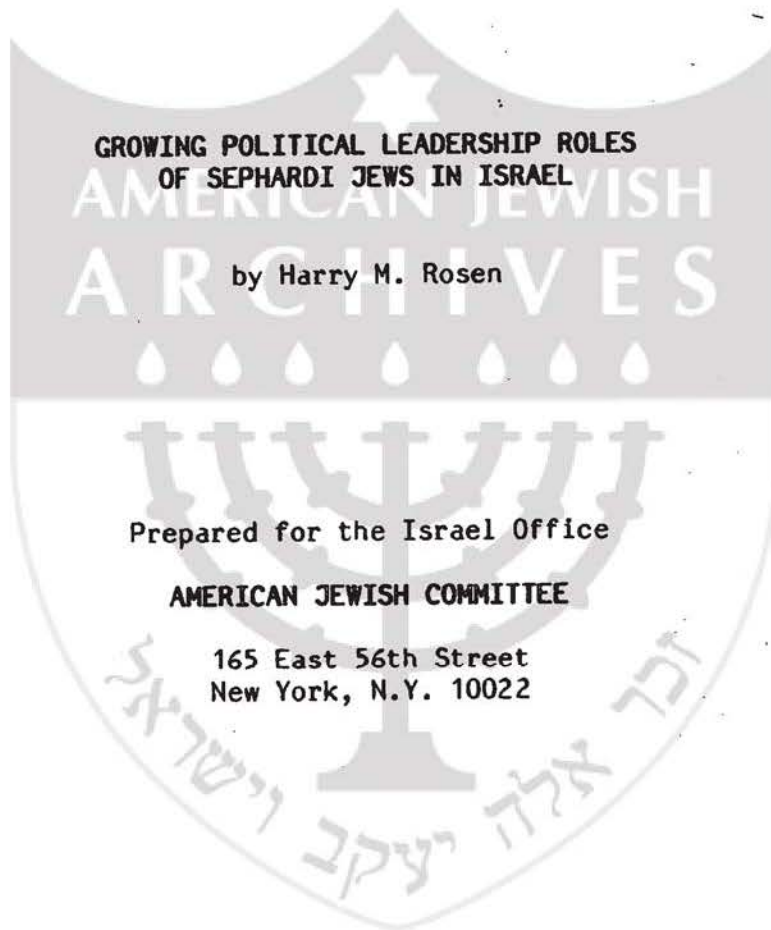
I am enclosing a copy of George Higgins' article for the Paulist Press book on Catholic-Jewish relations. Your article will be the Jewish counterpart of George's piece. We absolutely need your manuscript by the end of February if it is to appear in the book. March 1st is the final deadline.

Many thanks for your cooperation. I look forward to receiving your manuscript.

AJR:FM

Enclosure





GROWING POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ROLES
OF SEPHARDI JEWS IN ISRAEL

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

by Harry M. Rosen

Prepared for the Israel Office

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

PREFACE

Recognizing the paradox in Israeli society that the current majority in Israel's Jewish population is -- and has for some years been -- the Sephardim, while positions of power have remained predominantly in the hands of Ashkenazim, the American Jewish Committee's Israel Office commissioned this monograph by Harry Rosen to examine whether or not change has occurred in recent years. And if so, to what extent the Sephardi community has been acceding to political leadership. Sephardi involvement in selected and representative bodies and organizations is studied as an index of absorption, shared leadership, ranking and hierarchical arrangements.

The results are encouraging. Sephardim are rising in political leadership roles in most of the bodies selected for study. The Israeli-born Sephardi is doing much better than his immigrant father. Differences between Ashkenazim and Sephardim bear continued attention but are being progressively reduced. And if differences continue to exist -- and they do -- they are due not to immutable prejudice but to "the unequal history of opportunity."

We hope this preliminary study, which is only one of AJC's current efforts in the area of intergroup relations, will stimulate further research and will serve to create better understanding of the social characteristics of Israel's changing, growing society. I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments and suggestions of my colleagues, Dr. George E. Gruen, Director of Israel and Middle East Affairs in the International Relations Department, and his associate, Kenneth Bandler, during the course of the preparation of this study and its revision for publication.

Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff, Director
Israel Office



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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Harry M. Rosen is Secretary-General of the Jewish Agency for Israel. He received a B.S. in Biology and Public Health from M.I.T. and an M.S. in Social Administration from Ohio State University. After a distinguished career in the United States and France with Jewish and non-sectarian organizations, he made aliyah with his family in 1967. Mr. Rosen is the author of several books, including Arabs and Jews in Israel (1970) and Volunteerism in Israel (1979), both published by the American Jewish Committee.

LEADERSHIP ROLES OF SEPHARDI JEWS IN ISRAEL

After spending several months preparing this study, and reflecting on my own observations after almost sixteen years in Israel, I conclude that Sephardim are increasingly finding their place in leadership positions in Israel. While the proportion of Sephardim in leadership positions will undoubtedly continue to grow, there remain great tensions between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, especially in the political arena where the confrontation is between the "ins" and the "outs." However, these tensions are also spreading to the social arena, as the consciousness of potential Sephardi political power develops, and the disadvantaged part of the population organizes itself and presses for better housing, services, and general economic conditions.

In my view, another generation will see Sephardi leadership firmly established in all sectors of Israeli life, perhaps in the dominant positions politically. Another generation will see the Sephardi-Ashkenazi confrontation blurred and ultimately replaced by confrontations of "ins" and "outs" and "haves" and "have-nots" based on class or other lines, but not on ethnic lines.

"Sephardi" vs. "Oriental"

Many people use the terms "Sephardi" and "Oriental" interchangeably. According to Dr. Sammy Smooha, a noted professor of sociology at Haifa University, the term "Oriental" rather than "Sephardi" more accurately describes the people of whom we are speaking. For many Sephardim, however, the term "Oriental" has pejorative connotations. Leaders in the World and American Sephardi Federations, for example, have expressed to me their strong resentment of the term. Professor Daniel Elazar, writing about confusion on the semantic level, has said that "in conventional usage, Ashkenazim are labelled 'Western' and Sephardim 'Oriental', terms clearly intended to reflect prevailing assumptions with regard to culture and modernity. In fact, however, these terms are more self-serving (to Ashkenazim) than accurate."

Dr. Smooha defines "Orientals" as "Jews from the Near East and North Africa, including descendants of Jews from Spain." Descendants of Jews from Spain include some southern European communities, such as those in Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. In addition, the Jews of Soviet Bokhara, Georgia and Tat are generally included in the non-Ashkenazi category.

For the purposes of this study, we will define Ashkenazim as the Jews of Eastern and Central European origin, while Sephardim or Orientals are Jews originating from North Africa and the Middle East, as well as those European Jewish communities whose ancestors came from Spain and Portugal. Since the terms "Sephardi" and "Ashkenazi" are commonly used in Israel -- for example, there is an Ashkenazi and a Sephardi chief rabbi -- we will include the Jews of Arab and Islamic country origin, in the category of Sephardim.

Social and Economic Indicators

The Statistical Annual of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics monitors the social and economic status of Ashkenazim and Sephardim according to "Continent of Origin" such as Afro-Asia and Europe-America. The Director of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Professor Moshe Sicon, summarized recent trends in a paper presented at a conference on "Social Divisions in Israel: The Ethnic Dimension," at the Hebrew University in May 1983.

According to Professor Sicon, the Israeli population has changed from a nation of immigrants to a nation of Sabras, or native-born Israelis. More than 57% of today's Jewish population was born in Israel. While Jews of European origin used to comprise the majority of the population, Jews originating from Arab and Islamic countries now make up more than 50% of the population. The continued influx of immigrants from Europe, primarily from the Soviet Union, during the 1970s, and the U.S. has prevented the Sephardi percentage from rising even further. An examination of the population according to age group indicates that the Sephardim will continue to grow as a percentage of the total population. For example, some 60% of Jews in the 15-29 years-old group are of Sephardi origin, while among the elderly the larger percentage is of European-American background.

Sicon presented statistical evidence showing that the gap between the two groups is closing in some areas, such as health, though wide disparities remain in others. In the areas of adult and infant mortality, there is now almost no difference between those of Afro-Asian and European-American backgrounds. A similar development has taken place with regard to fertility and birth control. Whereas in 1951, those of Afro-Asian background had twice the number of children as did those of European-American origin, in 1982 parents of Afro-Asian origin were having only five percent more births than their European-American counterparts. While Sephardim have decreased their fertility rate tremendously, Ashkenazim have maintained a steady rate. With regard to the average age at marriage, the difference that used to exist between the groups has largely disappeared; Sephardi women, who used to marry at an early age, now get married at an age similar to the European-American women (20 to 24).

Wide gaps between Ashkenazim and Sephardim remain in terms of educational achievement and geographic distribution. Those Jews who originally came from African and Asian countries generally had very low educational exposure. Programs were set up in Israel to teach the next generation starting from the pre-kindergarten years. Almost all of those born in Israel have had at least an elementary school education, placing them on a par with their co-religionists of European-American origin.

At the high school level the disparity between the two ethnic groups is significant. Although 77-83% of Sephardim attend high schools, a percentage that is similar to Ashkenazim, the kind of high school attended further reinforces the gap in education. The vast majority of Ashkenazim are enrolled in academic high schools. Only one-third of the Sephardi high school students are in such programs, while two-thirds are in vocational and agricultural programs. This predominance in technical and agricultural programs closes the door to further academic study in university for which academic instruction on the high school level is required. Perhaps as a result, Ashkenazi enrollment predomi-

nates at the university level. Approximately 50% of Israeli-born children of European-American descent have had university education, compared with only five percent of those with Arab and Islamic country origins.

Professor Sicron also noted that the government's policy of settling Sephardi immigrants affects their social integration into Israeli society. When the new immigrants came en masse from Arab and Islamic countries, Sicron noted, they were sent to towns and neighborhoods according to national origin. This resulted in settlements, frontier towns and neighborhoods having one nationality dominance. Of 797 rural settlements, 20% are populated by Sephardim. Of these, 74% are one-country dominant in origin. (It should be noted that in the moshavim established since 1948, some 70% of the population is of Sephardi origin. Forty percent of city neighborhoods are one-country origin dominant.) About 75% of the European-American originated population live in areas that are overwhelmingly Ashkenazi.

The number of marriages between Sephardim and Ashkenazim steadily increased over the years and now represents some 20% of all Jewish marriages in Israel. If we include such ethnically mixed marriages among children born in Israel, the percentage is 23%.

Sicron raised the question whether the choice of partner was determined by nationality or whether educational achievement was the primary determining factor. For example, the percentage of mixed marriages increased when the husband is Sephardi and has 16 or more years of education, because he is more likely to marry an Ashkenazi girl with high educational achievement, since the number of Sephardi women with 16 years of education is limited. Similarly, an Ashkenazi man with more than 16 years of education rarely married a Sephardi. Ashkenazi men usually seek out Ashkenazi women with similar educational backgrounds. Those with a low education level may marry Sephardi women with similar level of education. When a Sephardi female marries an Ashkenazi male, the educational levels of both are usually low. When a Sephardi male marries an Ashkenazi female, their combined educational average is usually high.

In his report, Sicron did not discuss the comparative economic status of the two groups. However, the Central Bureau of Statistics' studies of urban wage earners reveal a serious gap in income. In 1981, Sephardi family income, with an average of 1.6 wage-earners per household, equaled 80.8% of Ashkenazi family income. This represented an improvement over 1965, when Sephardi family income was only 71.7% of Ashkenazi family income. But Sephardi families in 1981 had an average of 4.6 persons per household, as compared with 3.1 persons per Ashkenazi household. This means that Sephardi per capita income was only 55% of Ashkenazi per capita income in 1981.

The figures for Israeli-born wage-earners, however, indicate that the gap is closing. Although the figures are not broken down according to continent of origin of the fathers, there is no question that the Israeli-born generation of Sephardi families is doing much better than the parent generation. With 1.6 wage-earners per household, Israeli-born household income in 1981 was 97 percent of European-American household income. With an average of 3.6 persons per household, per capita income was 84% of European-American family income.

The figures continue to show a direct correlation between years of schooling of wage-earners and income. The less formal education, the less income. The more years of schooling, the more income. In a society where more and more education is required for Israel's increasingly technology-based industry, the educationally disadvantaged become the economically disadvantaged. To the extent, therefore, that Sephardim have less higher education than Ashkenazim, the income disparities will continue.

The Issue of Leadership

Political leadership is the principal concern of this paper. The term "leader," as used here, betokens influence, power, a constituency. Actually, I see leadership as a reflection of the status of Sephardim in Israel thirty-six years after the rebirth of the State. Clearly, the Ashkenazim play the majority role in Israel, although they constitute something less than half the Jewish population. Dr. Smootha writes: "Despite their numerical preponderance (about 55 percent of all Israeli Jews), they (Orientals) occupy a subordinate position in the Jewish community. The Ashkenazim, European Jews, are the old-timers who founded the new Jewish society, set up its Western or Eastern European social institutions, and still run it."¹

Although Dr. Smootha wrote the above in 1978, it is still true today. Political power is still in the hands of Ashkenazim. The school system continues to reflect the values and culture of the Eastern European founding fathers of Israel. The closest thing that Israel has to the "Protestant ethic" of the United States, cited as the American ethic and established by a distinct minority, is the "kibbutz ethic," established by Israel's "Pilgrims" beginning a century ago.

The vast majority of Ashkenazim will argue that ethnic discrimination is not a factor inhibiting Sephardi leadership achievement. But many Sephardim maintain that discrimination is indeed a significant factor hindering their advancement. One theory about the nature of relations between Sephardim and Ashkenazim widely accepted by Israeli sociologists (most of them, incidentally, Ashkenazim), is described by Dr. Smootha as the "absorption-modernization model of Oriental-Ashkenazi relations." This is a "Zionist" model, what Smootha calls "a nation-building perspective." The problem is seen in terms of "absorbing" the masses of Jews who came to Israel in the early years of the State from the Arab and Islamic countries of North Africa and the Middle East, and then "modernizing" them to fit into the modern "western" society which Israel was building. For those who accept this model, Israel has been successful by and large in carrying out "Mizug Galuyot," the "fusion of the exiles," into some kind of Israeli entity.

How then can one explain the clearly ethnic-based confrontation that has appeared in Israeli society in recent years? How can one explain the frustrations expressed by an increasing proportion of the largely Sephardi disadvantaged sector of Israel's Jewish population?

¹ Dr. Smootha is preparing an annotated bibliography on Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations for the American Jewish Committee.

At the Hebrew University conference on "Social Divisions in Israel: the Ethnic Dimension," the distinguished Israeli sociologist Professor S.N. Eisenstadt, a supporter of the "absorption-modernization" model, agreed that there were indeed dangerous tensions between the two groups. However, he sees these tensions deriving not from cultural differences between the two groups, but from internal developments in Israel. In the early years of the State, Professor Eisenstadt notes, all immigrants were united in the common struggle to build the State. It was not until the late 1950s and 1960s, that labels based on country of origin began to apply, and divisions in the society became apparent. Professor Eisenstadt further notes that the Jews from North Africa and the Middle East do not demand separatism. Rather, they express frustration in terms of not being able to advance fast enough within the society.

Professor Smooha says that "Oriental-Ashkenazi relations can be better conceptualized in terms of a 'dynamic paternalism-cooptation' model" than by an absorption-modernization model. He continues: "Briefly, the Orientals are coopted into an Ashkenazi-dominated system. Since they are still 'unqualified,' they cannot move freely into higher echelons because of Ashkenazi paternalism, yet their status is changing with the erosion in the inhibitory forces." Professor Smooha takes the centuries-old separatism of the two ethnic groups as a point of departure. "The mass influx of 'forgotten' Oriental Jews after 1948 presented a problem to the established Ashkenazi groups, which viewed them as 'backward' non-Europeans... The policies of immigrant absorption and modernization were employed in a piecemeal, partial fashion in order to avert the possible hazards of overflowing the Western structure with Orientalism, rather than to promote equality and integration. While professing the ideals of the ingathering and merging of exiles, the Ashkenazim looked down on the Orientals as 'a generation of the desert.' This paternalistic, strong though unofficial, ideology, which conceives of the Orientals as impossible to be perfected, has delayed full equality to the next generation or reserved it to the select few."

Professor Avraham Friedman, Senior Lecturer in Business Administration at the Hebrew University, draws from the corporate experience with upward mobility to make the point that "the Ashkenazim got in first." The Ashkenazim were already firmly rooted in Palestine when the State was established in 1948. They had already laid the foundations of the establishment that would govern and set the tone for the State. Since it was a young as well as a small establishment, they could preempt virtually all the positions, and hold on to them for a long time. Add to this the advantages in educational level of the Ashkenazi pioneers, and one can see how they dominated the leadership echelons in Israel for such a long time.

It, therefore, would appear that Sephardim were not barred from leadership positions by virtue of their being Sephardim, but that the crucial issue was unequal qualifications which were translated into unequal opportunities. In a country where the correlation between income, for example, and years of schooling is direct, consider that less than 20% of university graduates come from the Sephardi community.

Indeed, Professor Chaim Adler argues that the social and economic gap will be further narrowed when the educational gap is closed. There are many social scientists and other observers of Israel's ethnic scene who also believe the answer lies in education. It must be remembered that only twenty years ago Israel had an illiteracy rate (defined as zero years of schooling) of some 16%,

almost all of it concentrated in the adult population of Arab and Islamic country origin. This does not exist today simply because all children must go to school for at least ten years, and, in fact, the proportion of youth in high school - something near 80% - is almost the same for both ethnic groups.

To be sure, as noted above, there is a much higher proportion of Sephardi youth in vocational tracks of high school education and proportionately less in the academic tracks. (But, in a country whose economy is developing increasingly in the direction of high technology, this may become an advantage rather than a handicap.) In the meantime, however, in terms of stereotypes, Ashkenazim are associated with academic education and Sephardim as - at best - "Johnny-come-latelies" to higher education. While the proportion of Sephardim in universities remains far below their proportion in the population, it is increasing rapidly.

Co-optation of Sephardim by the Ashkenazi-controlled establishment has been a major factor in the leadership achievements of Sephardim. In recent years, however, groups that are predominantly Sephardi, such as the Tami and Shas parties, have given the kind of public exposure to Sephardi leaders which has enabled them to move upward significantly, particularly in the political field. We are increasingly finding that where the majority of the constituency is Sephardi, the elected officials are Sephardi especially in the case of local politics. Many of the young Sephardi leaders who "learned the business" in local politics are now mobilizing the large Sephardi constituencies to help them achieve leadership roles on the national scene.

The influence of the sizable Sephardi electorate in Israel's national elections has been well documented by the Israeli pollster, Hanoah Smith, who is Director of the Smith Research Center in Jerusalem. In a special report prepared by Mr. Smith for the American Jewish Committee in August 1984, "Highlights of Israel's Election Results: Polarization, Fragmentation and Ethnicity", he projected that by 1990 Sephardim will constitute more than 50% of all Jewish voters. This means that in future Knesset elections the Sephardi electorate will play an even more crucial role, which cannot be ignored by any of the major political parties. It also means that Sephardi political leaders will advance through the ranks of the establishment parties, which until now have been dominated by Ashkenazi politicians.

While Jews of European-American origin and those of Arab and Islamic country origin voted similarly in all national elections from 1949 to 1969, the Sephardim have thrown their electoral weight behind the Likud Party and its allies in the last three elections. Thus, as Mr. Smith points out in his report, Labor and parties allied with it gained only 24.6% of this vote in 1977, 22.5% in 1981, and 21.5% in 1984. The Likud and its allies received nearly 70% of this vote in 1981. Despite the unresolved situation in Lebanon and the serious economic problems, some 72% of the Sephardi vote went to Likud in the 1984 elections. While Mr. Smith points out that his opinion surveys show that the Sephardim prefer Likud because they perceive that party as being better on the social and economic issues, he notes that the reasons for the dramatic shift in voting patterns by Sephardi Jews are still the subject of much debate in Israel.

Sephardim in Leadership Roles

Professor Smooha has gathered extensive data on Oriental leadership roles in a broad range of political fields, the army, police, and public organizations, for his book, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978). For the purposes of this paper his researchers recently updated much of this information through 1983. For certain political positions, I have incorporated the results of the 1984 national elections.

The researcher faces certain difficulties in classifying individuals as Oriental or Ashkenazi from rosters of office-holders, when he relies mainly on the name and some common knowledge about the person. For example, Ohayon is known to be a Moroccan name, and Chayat is an Iraqi name. But Deputy Prime Minister David Levy obviously could not be classified by name alone. It is common knowledge that he was born in Morocco and, therefore, he can be labelled accordingly for the purposes of this study. There are, however, many Cohens and Levys in the Oriental community, as there are in the Ashkenazi community, who cannot be so easily categorized. Professor Smooha's researchers, therefore, classified as "Oriental" only those individuals who are definitely known to have Arab and Islamic country origins. When there was any doubt, the individuals were listed as Ashkenazi. Thus, the figures given below are probably conservative on the Oriental side.

Prime Ministers and Presidents

There have been six Presidents of Israel, one of whom was of the Sephardi community. Yitzhak Navon, who served as President from 1978 to 1983, is of Moroccan origin. As yet, there has not been an Oriental Prime Minister. However, during the previous Likud government, David Levy who was born in Morocco, served as Deputy Prime Minister.

Cabinet Ministers

In 1955, one of the twelve Cabinet Ministers was Oriental (8.3%), while in 1973, two of the 18 were Oriental (11.1%). In 1983, four of 19 Ministers were of Oriental background (21.1%). (It should be noted that the last government had eight Deputy Ministers, three of whom were Oriental (37.5%).) The current Government of National Unity has 25 Cabinet Ministers, four of whom are Sephardi. They are: Yitzhak Navon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education and Culture; David Levy, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Construction and Housing; Moshe Katzav, Minister of Labor and Social Affairs; Moshe Shahal, Minister of Energy and Infrastructure; and Yitzhak Peretz, Minister of Interior.

Knesset Members

In 1955, ten of 113 Jewish Members of Knesset were Sephardi (8.8%), in 1973, 19 of 114 Jewish MKs (16.7%), and in 1983, 30 of 115 MKs (26.1%) were of Arab and Islamic country origin. As a result of the national elections held

last July, the current Knesset has 113 Jewish members, 32 of whom are Sephardi (28.3%). This reflects the steady, if gradual, rise in the percentage of Sephardim in the nation's parliament.

Supreme Court Justices

The High Court commands great prestige in Israel, as in most western countries. There are many Sephardi lawyers, and probably a goodly number of judges. In 1973, the first Sephardi judge was appointed to the Supreme Court. There is only one on that bench today, out of ten justices.

Israel Defense Forces

The number of Orientals in leadership positions in the Israel Defense Forces has definitely improved, but the exact figures are difficult to obtain because of the name problems. The importance of the IDF in terms of security and in the daily life of the nation gives officers very high status and prestige. In addition, the IDF is the key social integrating institution in Israeli society. Professor Smootha reports that in an interview in the late 1970s with then Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan, he was told that at least 30% of all army officers were from the Sephardi community.

The present Chief of Staff, General Moshe Levi, is Sephardi. A previous Chief of Staff, the late David Elazar, came from Yugoslavia and is thus considered to belong in the Sephardi column.

In 1955, according to Professor Smootha's data, there were no Orientals among six Major Generals, and in 1973, none among 21 Major Generals. However, his data show three Sephardim among 24 Major Generals in 1982.

Newspaper reporters do not always exercise the same scientific caution as sociologists. In a recent article reviewing the status of Sephardim in the IDF, journalist Yaakov Haelyon wrote in the Hebrew daily Ma'ariv (March 28, 1983) that "It is inconceivable that the Israel Defense Forces would entrust human lives and security - the very soul of the nation - to people selected on the basis of national origin or in order to 'balance' ethnic ratios." He continued: "When I investigated the ethnic issue in the IDF, I was both surprised and proud² to learn that many Oriental Jews held command, expert and leadership positions and that they played a major role in contributing to our security - in the field and at headquarters - throughout all of Israel's battles." Haelyon could not list the names of all the brigadier-generals, but he reports that at least five IDF Corps are headed by Sephardim, and many others serve as senior staff officers, division commanders and in other classified positions. Without being able to account for all of them, Haelyon found 13 brigadier-generals, a rank which he stresses "is not awarded easily or over-generously in the IDF."

² Note: I don't know whether the "proud" is an indication that he is himself Oriental -- to use his own designation -- or whether he is being a proud Israeli.

Police Force

The police force is commonly viewed as being made up of Sephardi "troops" and Ashkenazi "commanders." In 1955, barely four percent of all police officers (holding commissions) were Sephardim. In 1969 the proportion had jumped to 25%. It was not possible to get more recent figures, but it is generally accepted that the proportion of Sephardi officers in the police force has increased substantially since 1969. Sephardim do occupy top posts. Ma'ariv reporter Haelyon cites the examples of the National Chief of Police Operations, who was born in Kurdistan; the Moroccan-originated commander of the Tel Aviv District; and the Libyan originied head of the Quartermaster Division; who formerly served as deputy commander of the Northern District.

World Zionist Organization

The WZO continues to be a stronghold of Ashkenazi domination. From 1955 to 1960, only one of 51 Israeli members of the Zionist Executive was Sephardi. In 1972-73, six of 45 members were Sephardim. A significant change was initiated with the affiliation to the WZO of the World Sephardi Federation, and the establishment within the WZO of a Department for Sephardi Affairs. Today, three of the 20 Israeli members of the Zionist Executive and seven of the 49 Israeli members of the Zionist General Council are Sephardim. The current Chairman of the Zionist General Council is Sephardi, as were his two predecessors, one of whom was Yitzhak Navon.

Histadrut

This is the General Federation of Labor in Israel, a very powerful body in which are organized the vast majority of Israel's workers. Israel Kessar, who was born in Yemen, is the current Secretary-General of the Histadrut. He is the first Sephardi to hold that position. The Histadrut dates back to long before the establishment of the State, and founded many of the country's social, health and educational institutions. It is also a major entrepreneurial institution, its holding company Hevrat Ovdim owning and/or controlling some 22% of Israel's industrial production. In other words, the Histadrut is a highly important and prestigious public body.

In 1956, there were no Sephardim on the thirteen-member Central Committee of the Histadrut. In 1973, five of the 20 members were Sephardim. In 1983, there were 12 Sephardim among the 42-member Central Committee. On the Executive Council, which had 91 members in 1956, there were eight Sephardim. In 1970, the proportion had risen to 34 out of 163. In 1983, there were 84 Sephardim among the 198 members of the Executive Council, or 42.4%.

Among the thirty-four General Secretaries of unions in 1983, ten were Sephardim. On the Executive of the holding company Hevrat Ovdim, there are four Sephardim among the 32 members, and 14 among the 62 members of the Secretariat (not very high, but a higher proportion than in the Presidium and Executive Committee of the Industrialists Association of Israel).

Political Parties

In a country with so political a culture as Israel political parties are obviously important bodies, and considerable influence and prestige is attached to membership in the governing bodies of the parties.

In 1983, about 30%, or 1,200, out of some 4,000 members of the governing committees of five major political parties were Sephardim. In 1950, only eight out of 104 of members of the top governing bodies in five major parties were Sephardim. In 1973, the proportion was 14 out of 130. Because the current lists of the Herut³ committees could not be obtained, it is necessary to depend on "informed" estimates. It is estimated that today 35 of the estimated 170 members of the top committees of five major parties are Sephardim.

With the splintering and regrouping of Israel's political parties, it is difficult to make accurate comparisons between the situation today and five and ten years ago. However, given the available data, there are some interesting trends. From the early 1950s to 1973, there was a fairly consistent proportion of Sephardim in the Labor Party's top committee, the "Bureau": about 9-12% of a body averaging from 17-22 members. Today there are 80 people in the Labor Party Bureau, of whom 13, or 16.3% are Sephardim. In the much larger Central Committee, with 1,143 members, there are 363 Sephardim (31.8%).

The National Religious Party has the highest proportion of Sephardim in its top committees: seven out of fifteen members in one committee (46.7%), and 17 out of 59 on the other top committee (28.8%). In the larger, lower-echelon committees, the proportions are 24.6% (17 out of 69 members) and 42.5% (105 out of 247 members), respectively.

The Liberal Party has low percentages compared to the other parties -- only one Sephardi in its eight-member Presidium; six out of 48 and 53 out of 244 in its lower committees.

The proportions for the Herut Party have varied considerably over the years, for reasons that perhaps can be explained simply by the changes in the party structure. With an Executive Committee ranging from nine members in 1949-51 to 31 members in 1973, the percentage of Sephardim was zero in 1949-51 and 12.9% in 1973. However, in 1968-70 the proportion was 31.3%, and in the two prior Executives about 20%. Unfortunately, as stated above, the lists for 1983 could not be obtained, but there is unquestionably a high proportion as compared with most other parties, somewhere between 30-35% by some estimates. As for the larger Central Committee, there were only two Sephardi members of the 29-member committee in 1949-51 (6.9%), 73 out of 251 members in 1973 (29.1%) and an estimated 35-40% in 1983.

Considering how poorly the Labor Party fared in the last two elections in predominantly Sephardi neighborhoods, I would have expected a much lower percentage of Sephardi committee members in Labor than in Herut. This is not the case, and the answer to the why of Labor's performance at the polls, as far as the "neighborhoods" are concerned, must be sought elsewhere.

³ Herut is the main political party in the Likud bloc.

Local Bodies

Where Sephardim are the majority population, they hold the political power. It is a pyramidal phenomenon, as we have seen in the parties. Sephardim hold a much greater proportion of the posts in local authorities and other bodies because they are by far the largest proportion of the population in the development towns and the smaller local units.

In 1955, only 11 of 96 heads of local authorities were Sephardi, and by 1972, the proportion had increased to 33 out of 98. In 1983, there were 44 Sephardi heads of local authorities out of 100.

Referring now only to 1983 figures, the influential local Workers' Councils have 45 Sephardi Secretaries out of 68, or 66 percent.

The cooptation theory undoubtedly was politically applicable in the early and middle years of the State, insofar as party - then Ashkenazi - control over local constituents is concerned. It is much less the case today, perhaps not applicable at all. The local bodies have served to propel their Sephardi leaders onto the national scene. Nowhere is this more true than in Herut. It may well be that the politically-wise Herut leaders, with their image as a "populist" party, maintain this image by "coopting" this local leadership. But these new leaders - former mayors of development towns, for example - know their political strength is in the people who made them leaders in the first place. As this knowledge grows and with it political sophistication, the cooptation formula may well be reversed, with the leaders of the Sephardi voter majority "coopting" the Ashkenazi "minority" where it is needed.

What Does it All Mean?

The figures tell the story: the Sephardi share of leadership in Israel is growing. More specifically, in the political field, it is clear that the Sephardi community will determine the next government. The Sephardim are becoming a numerical majority in the electorate. It is true that the near equality in birth rate and the larger proportion of Ashkenazim among new immigrants may in time reduce the margin of Sephardi numerical majority. In the meantime, the younger Sephardi population has more children reaching voting age.

There will undoubtedly continue to be more Ashkenazim in positions of political leadership for another generation. Nevertheless, they will have to take the Sephardi voters more and more into account. Likud has a potential Sephardi Prime Minister in David Levy. And, the name of another Sephardi, Yitzhak Navon, has been advanced as a possible Labor candidate for Prime Minister. In the party elections that preceded last July's Knesset elections, both Levy and Navon were serious contenders for the top position of their respective parties. Although Yitzhak Shamir retained his position as Herut leader, and thus Likud's candidate for prime minister, Levy received an impressive 40% of the votes, including substantial support from Ashkenazi members of the Herut Central Committee, and was placed second on the party's list for the Knesset elections. Navon was easily the most popular candidate of the rank and file to head the Labor Party, but in the interests of preserving party unity, he

decided not to challenge the incumbent party leader, Shimom Peres. In any case, for a moment it seemed very possible that in 1984 Israel would have its first Sephardi prime minister.

Political dominance, if - and probably when - they achieve it, by Sephardim is not necessarily the answer to the ultimate position of Sephardim in Israeli society. Nor is it class. The answer to those who claim the differences are class rather than ethnic background is that, for the Sephardi population, the net result is the same: their position is still inferior.

Professor Smooha insists that the issue is ideological. The origin of pre-vailing ideologies in Israel today is Ashkenazi. The Sephardi community has not yet had a chance, he says, to shape new ideologies which can challenge those of the dominant Ashkenazim. In establishing the framework for his chapter on "Pluralism and Inequality," Professor Smooha points out that "pluralism stands simply for cultural diversity and social separation, and inequality refers to socioeconomic gaps and power disparities." He points out further that "Orientals and the Ashkenazim... share the same core-culture, i.e., language, nationality, religion, family structure and basic ideology."

The need to settle the land and the accompanying need to build a country in the most literal sense made labor a basic ideological value of Israel's pioneers and founding fathers. Labor in this pioneer sense has since become rather devalued. Tolerance of differences and "love of brothers" were seen as values brought from Eastern Europe, although they are values basic to Jewish life everywhere and throughout the history of the Jewish people. Indeed, in recent months, police (ironically, many of them Sephardim) are trying to cope with violent riots in the Ashkenazi Mea Shearim quarter of Jerusalem, where the haredim - religious zealots - are invoking formal curses on those working on archeological digs, and stoning the police in the process. And it should also be noted that Rabbi Meir Kahane, who has called in the Knesset for anti-democratic measures against the Arabs, was born in Brooklyn, New York, and is of Ashkenazi origin. Thus, a measure of humility would be proper for Israelis of western origin who fear that as Israel's population becomes increasingly Sephardi in origin there will be a weakening of "western democratic values" in the country.

There are a number of developments in Israel today which point to the emergence of new ideological values, and, certainly, concerns which will find their expression in new or redefined values. The impetus seems to be coming from the Sephardi side. One basic concern of the nation is the social gap. For most of Israel's 36 years as a state, the eyes of the population were always turned towards the borders. The major concern was defense and security. Election campaigns were fought on the issues of economic and foreign policies. No political party in Israel included social policy as a top priority in its campaign platform.

There are new winds blowing across the political scene today. More and more, political leaders, mainly Sephardim, are calling for greater attention to social issues. It is no accident that much of the support for the candidacies of David Levy and Yitzhak Navon as potential leaders of their respective parties is based on the social views of these men. The young leaders in Herut, whose base was their leadership in development towns, are talking about social justice

and equal opportunity at home rather than about foreign policy. This is becoming increasingly important as the austerity measures being adopted by the government to deal with the economic crisis lead to cuts in social services.

The Black Panthers, a group from Musrara, a Jerusalem slum neighborhood which is almost entirely North African, first gave organized expression to the call for equal opportunity. A whole new generation of leadership is coming of age in the deprived city neighborhoods and the development towns. They are the members of the local steering committees in some 70 predominantly Sephardi neighborhoods and towns, who are responsible for the planning and implementation of Project Renewal in their communities. It was the American Jewish contributors who, having watched the failure of urban renewal programs in the United States, made it a condition of their participation in Project Renewal that the local residents constitute at least half of the local steering committees. Thus, after some five years of successful experience in Project Renewal, these local leaders are beginning to feel their political oats, and must increasingly be reckoned with as an important factor in Israel's political scene.

The Jewish Agency, in conjunction with the World Sephardi Federation and the University of Haifa, initiated some years ago a program called "Bridging the Gap," which made it possible for civil servants in development towns to complete or acquire at least the first university degree. Dr. Yael Yishai, of the Political Science Department of Haifa University, conducted a study of the graduates of this program. Two of the conclusions drawn from this research are the following: Graduates are the sons and daughters of Sephardi immigrants who live in the development towns and neighborhoods. Second, higher education has created a significant transformation in the life of these graduates, psychologically raising their self-esteem, financially improving their standard of living, and in a certain measure increasing their political involvement.

Here, then, is another element encouraging the growth and development in Israel of a new breed of political leader - young Sephardim concerned with social values. Together with the new activities deriving from Project Renewal, there are already a few thousand Sephardim who have started to climb the ladder of leadership, carrying with them new goals and new values.

Finally, one small but very significant new development is worth noting here: the emergence of a movement called "East for Peace." The Jerusalem Post article of July 8, 1983 describing the movement is captioned "Smashing the Stereotype," namely, that the Sephardim are all hawkish in their views on solving the Arab-Israel conflict. The opening paragraph states: "East for Peace aspires to be much more than a Sephardi version of Peace Now. The movement, barely one month old, has on its agenda nothing less than a total revolution in Israeli society." The movement's aims, as stated in its founding proclamation, are: to encourage the peace process in the Middle East; to combat allegations that Oriental Israelis are extremist, violent and hostile to peace; to further the political consciousness of the Oriental masses, who have been subject to political manipulation, and to support their struggle for the realization of their true social and cultural rights.

In concluding the article, journalist Daniel Gavron writes: "How significant is East for Peace? A colleague points out that the late Elie Eliachar, a leading Sephardi figure in Jerusalem, used to say the same things about peace and about Oriental Jews being able to make contact with the Arabs. But Eliachar

was a representative of the small Sephardi aristocracy, while East for Peace represents the mass immigration of the 1960s, the 'second Israel', which is at last starting to find its voice. Only time will tell whether we are seeing the emergence of just another marginal protest group, or a dynamic movement which will turn this country on its head."

Looking at East for Peace as part of the new social thrust of a new Sephardi leadership, and looking at the history of the past several years in terms of growing Sephardi political position and power, I see the leadership gap being closed. I see Sephardim assuming their deserved place in Israeli society. But I don't know what kind of culture, what kind of values my grandchildren will have. Whatever it will be, it will not be Sephardi or Ashkenazi - it will be Israeli. And I am hopeful that the new Israeli leaders will continue to enrich Israel's democratic society.



85-580-5

February, 1985

IRD-2 L044/smm/ed:2/28/85

The American



Jewish Committee

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February 1985

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.

February 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE - ISRAEL OFFICE
LIBRARY-INFORMATION CENTRE

The American Jewish Committee's Library-Information Center maintains a specialized collection of relevant and readily accessible materials on the subjects of American and world Jewry.

The policy of the library is to emphasize speedy access to information, with stress on quality of selection rather than quantity. Care is invested in the selection of representative materials which are thoroughly processed and made available to the Israeli reader who may not have the time nor inclination to sift through massive amounts of material. Up-to-date subject files containing news clippings and pamphlets and thoroughly-indexed periodicals are enormous time-savers for researchers. Ours is the only library in Israel to maintain a centralized and thoroughly accessible collection on these subjects which is available to the public.

In addition to the large numbers of pamphlets, articles and news clippings arranged by subject files, the collection contains over 6000 volumes plus hundreds of bound periodicals. The library's Hannah Hirschhorn Baumann Americana Collection contains hundreds of books on the subject of Jewish life in America. The library also receives over 120 Anglo-Jewish periodicals regularly.

Services include the lending library, reading room and reference service. Requests for information are received daily by telephone, correspondence and in person. The library also serves as a repository for American Jewish Committee printed materials. The library provides a printed list of "Recently Arrived Items" four times a year that is mailed to about 2000 institutions and selected individuals. It is widely used as a reference tool for those interested in the latest books on the subjects of our library. All new AJC publications are mentioned in the list. The many requests for these items are met promptly by the library staff.

Although specialized in nature, the library is widely used by many kinds of people including university professors, students, schools, journalists, organizations, institutions and businesses. In addition to Jerusalemites, people regularly come to the library from as far away as Haifa, Beersheba and various kibbutzim.

Originally founded to serve the AJC Israel Office staff, the library was opened to the public about 15 years ago. Its role has been expanding ever since. There are many directions the library could take toward the further expansion of its services. In keeping with

the goal of the AJC's Israel Office to interpret American Jewry in Israel, the library could become a modern information and cultural center along the lines of the U.S. Information Center. Modern methods could be introduced, such as video tapes, micro readers, soundproof reading room, study booths and computerized information services. Additional staff hours would lead to expansion of services, extension of outreach and increased public awareness. Despite tremendous progress in recent years, there are gaps in the library's collection; for example, the American Jewish literature section is weak. Systematic expansion of this section would attract many new readers.

The assignment of the senior librarian as Assistant Editor of Tefutsot Israel has helped integrate AJC's informational services in the country.

Ellen Infeld - Librarian
Michelle Morowitz - Assistant Librarian

