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TO: H oward Friedman, Ted Ellenoff, Arnold Gardner, David Gordis

FROM: Marc Tannenbaum

DATE: March 1, 1985

RE: L'Osservatore Romano and press coverage of the audience
with Pope John Paul II



Conférence de Monsieur Jean KAHN

Président de la Communauté Israélite de Strasbourg

Président du Conseil Consultatif des Communautés
Juives d'Europe

Vice-Président du Conseil Représentatif des Institutions
Juives de France (C.R.I.F.)

Cercle Européen

Strasbourg, le 4 mars 1985

Monsieur le Président, Excellences, Mesdames et Messieurs,

La route est longue qui mène de la Synagogue aux yeux bandés et à la lance brisée qui ornent la Cathédrale de Strasbourg au Palais des Droits de l'Homme qu'inspire l'oeuvre de René CASSIN, fantassin de la liberté.

C'est dire que je mesure la signification de notre rencontre et j'apprécie l'honneur de venir exposer devant une assistance aussi brillante et représentative, l'approche des Communautés Juives aux réalités européennes. J'y suis d'autant plus sensible que Strasbourg réunit quelques unes des principales institutions qui façonnent l'Europe de demain, une Europe dont notre peuple connaît les sentiers les plus sinueux et les plus périlleux depuis l'antiquité jusqu'aux temps modernes.

Le moment est propice à la réflexion.

Nous nous trouvons aujourd'hui à une étape marquante, pour la Communauté Juive certes, mais aussi pour l'ensemble du monde libre, dont notre sensibilité est indissociable. 40 années se sont écoulées depuis la libération des camps de la mort où s'exerça la plus tragique entreprise de destruction scientifique d'un peuple au cours de l'histoire de l'humanité.

Lorsque l'on parle de Communauté Juive en Europe, il s'agit bien d'une poignée de Juifs rescapés, après le sacrifice de 6 millions d'êtres humains, hommes, femmes et enfants, sur l'autel du délire raciste et nationaliste.

Je pense au million et demi de Juifs vivant dans les pays européens libres (sans parler des 2 millions et demi de Juifs en U.R.S.S.). Ces Juifs ont survécu, par chance parfois, par miracle souvent, au broyage méthodique mis en place, non par un homme seul, mais par une société, ayant perdu le sens des valeurs les plus élémentaires et notamment des siennes propres, nationales ou chrétiennes.

Si j'évoque dès le début de mon propos, le douloureux cheminement contemporain des Juifs européens, après bien d'autres persécutions, meurtres collectifs et tortures physiques ou morales, qui ont jalonné notre itinéraire à travers les siècles, c'est qu'en vérité à travers la mémoire de leur âme et de leur chair, les Juifs ont acquis une sensibilité unique et parfois prémonitoire, quant aux menaces qui se profilent à l'horizon et qui risquent de frapper, de plein fouet, un monde démocratique, dont nous sommes aux avant-postes. Cette sensibilité que certains se plaisent à considérer comme excessive, voire irritante pour le confort de l'environnement social, n'est-elle pas justifiée lorsque l'on constate, 40 ans après Auschwitz, des faits pour le moins troublants qui devraient nous émouvoir tous. Ne trouve-t-on point d'une égale manière des écrivains, falsificateurs de l'histoire qui ont l'indécence morale de prétendre qu'il n'y eut jamais de chambres à gaz. Certains l'enseignent dans des universités françaises ou américaines. Il se trouve même un chimiste américain, William Lindsay, pour prétendre qu'il est physiquement impossible que des centaines de milliers de personnes aient été gazées.

2ème exemple : récemment, un des responsables de l'industrie allemande a l'arrogance de venir prétendre, devant une assemblée de 300 membres d'une organisation juive réunie à Munich, que les industriels allemands avaient toujours cherché à empêcher les exterminations massives de Juifs durant la période hitlérienne et que tous ceux qui prétendaient le contraire n'étaient que de vils menteurs.

3ème exemple : un jeune Ministre autrichien de la défense vient d'accueillir, personnellement et officiellement, un criminel de guerre, prématurément libéré des prisons italiennes après avoir fait massacrer en 1945, dans un village italien, 1800 hommes, femmes et enfants. Au même moment siégeait à Vienne les instances internationales du Congrès Juif Mondial.

4ème fait troublant : le Président des Etats Unis, Ronald Reagan, en visite en Allemagne Fédérale en mai prochain, est dissuadé d'aller visiter le Camp de Dachau, sous le prétexte qu'il ne serait point convenable de raviver des souvenirs pénibles pour l'opinion publique.

Ce fut, par contre, une joie immense pour nous que d'apprendre

la venue du Président Reagan devant le Parlement Européen, le 8 mai ; cela prend désormais la valeur d'un double symbole. 40 ans après, serions-nous devenu les témoins de l'oubli et d'une histoire maléable à la convenance de chacun ? Verrions-nous disparaître un sentiment de remords et de culpabilité. Non pas en Allemagne seulement, mais ailleurs également. Si tel devait être le cas, l'Europe aurait trahi sa propre dignité et sa grandeur. Dès lors que le crime a été déclaré imprescriptible, la mémoire devrait-elle être effacée ? Un continent sans mémoire ne mérite pas la liberté. C'est dire que Juifs, nous sommes par réflexe et par raison, portés à nous associer résolument au processus de construction de l'Europe démocratique et pluraliste. Nous y retrouvons aussi l'enseignement de nos Prophètes : la liberté, la justice et la paix. Nous avons le sentiment qu'avec nous, cette Europe se redécouvre et s'assume enfin.

La liberté

Pour avoir été, des siècles durant, privés de liberté, nous parlons en connaissance de cause lorsque nous affirmons que le respect des Droits de l'Homme constitue la règle élémentaire pour toute société civilisée et démocratique. C'est pourquoi nous nous sentons interpellés chaque fois qu'un être humain, quel qu'il soit, où que ce soit, se trouve privé du libre exercice de ses libertés fondamentales. Celle de s'exprimer, de se déplacer, de se défendre dans un procès équitable, de pratiquer le culte de son choix, d'affirmer son identité nationale et historique.

L'on ne s'étonnera pas dès lors que notre motif le plus fréquent d'intervention auprès des organismes internationaux et ceux de Strasbourg en particulier touche aux Droits de l'Homme et vise aussi à la défense de la liberté des Juifs et autres minorités, en U.R.S.S. ou dans les pays arabes. Nombreuses ont été nos démarches tant auprès du Conseil de l'Europe que du Parlement Européen lorsqu'il s'est agi d'intervenir pour la liberté d'Anatoli Chtcharanski et de Yossif Begun, dont le seul reproche qui leur est fait, est de vouloir enseigner la culture juive, et de tous les autres Juifs et non-Juifs opprimés, emprisonnés, torturés, en prison,

en hôpital psychiatrique ou dans des camps. Andréï Sakkarov et Eleina Bonnère nous tiennent autant à coeur que tous nos refusniks car notre combat se confond et s'identifie avec celui de tous les hommes épris de liberté. Nous n'avons pas été seuls dans ce combat ; nous avons toujours rencontré une oreille bienveillante lorsque nous nous sommes adressés aux institutions européennes, mais aujourd'hui où l'émigration d'Union Soviétique a été réduite ou pratiquement supprimée, et que l'on reparle d'un échange entre la sortie de 50.000 Juifs contre de la technologie de pointe américaine (cela nous rappelle étrangement le temps où les nazis voulaient échanger des Juifs déportés contre des camions militaires), nous pensons qu'il faille réfléchir à d'autres stratégies que celles du vote d'une résolution ou d'un blâme public décerné du haut d'une tribune. Les institutions européennes ne sauraient tolérer que la vie humaine soit assimilée à une marchandise faisant l'objet d'un troc économique ou diplomatique. Nos chancelleries devraient s'en souvenir au moment où l'on s'apprête à célébrer, en juillet, le 10^e anniversaire de la signature de l'acte final d'Helsinki sans oublier le quarantième anniversaire de Yalta. Pouvons-nous, par exemple, continuer à nous approvisionner en gaz soviétique aujourd'hui, où l'énergie n'est plus rationnée, lorsque nous savons le sort qui est réservé à des êtres humains en Russie ou lorsque nous apprenons que les gazoducs ont été construits sans doute par des hommes et des femmes déportés et incarcérés dans des camps à régime sévère. Pour l'Europe démocratique, la liberté, c'est aussi la tolérance, le respect de l'autre dans sa différence, l'acceptation de cette différence pour l'enrichissement culturel et social d'un patrimoine commun, qui constitue une partie de notre identité. Je ne puis, à cet égard, que saluer avec reconnaissance, la tenue, en décembre 1980, d'un colloque sur l'Intolérance organisé par le Conseil de l'Europe, à l'initiative du Congrès Juif Mondial.

C'est là que furent analysés les divers phénomènes de rejet et les mécanismes de la haine raciale ou sociale dont sont les victimes, certains membres d'une collectivité, non pas en raison de ce qu'ils sont individuellement mais en tant que groupe, différent par la couleur de leur peau, par leurs origines ethniques, culturelles, religieuses ou sociales. A l'occasion de ce colloque, l'on identifia, à l'aide d'exemples nombreux, la similitude entre le rejet de l'étranger de l'immigré, de l'homme de couleur et le rejet du Juif. L'on souligna également les risques d'aggravation de l'intolérance en situation de crise économiques. L'avertissement avait été lancé. En a-t-on vraiment tenu compte ?

Nous suivrons aussi avec une attention toute particulière la première conférence ministérielle sur les droits de l'homme que le Conseil de l'Europe organise à Vienne en mars prochain, les résultats qui en sortiront seront pour nous un test révélateur, nous en serons les garants tout comme les comptables vigilants.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de liberté, il nous faut aussi évaluer sans complaisance toutes les menaces surgissant dans différents pays d'Europe et qui pourraient signifier la renaissance, même discrète, d'une idéologie totalitaire, à caractère racial ou fasciste. A cet égard, nous sommes très préoccupés par certains mouvements d'extrême droite qui, s'appuyant sur un fond de crise économique et sociale, veulent, de façon démagogique, distiller à nouveau des idées, qu'il y a 40 ans, nous pensions disparues à jamais.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de préserver la démocratie, rien n'est jamais conjoncturel ou exagéré, rien n'est jamais dérisoire ; méfions-nous de ceux qui minimisent toujours et ne se veulent réalistes que face à l'irréversible, nous ne les suivrons jamais sur cette voie.

Ainsi, par exemple, le Front National en France nous inquiète énormément, comme il inquiète la hiérarchie catholique, selon les nobles paroles exprimées par Monseigneur De Courtray, Archevêque de Lyon, comme nous inquiètent des projets d'alliance possible entre des partis démocratiques et ce parti qui avalise le racisme. En différents pays d'Europe se sont créés des partis ou mouvements politiques aux idées comparables. Un groupe parlementaire fascisant existe d'ailleurs au Parlement

Européen même, où nous espérons qu'il aura, pour le moins, l'avantage de faire converger les vigilances, il sera comme le rappel d'une erreur collective.

Puis-je rappeler qu'en 1979, nous avons réuni l'ensemble des forces politiques alsaciennes, tous les partis, toutes les ligues de droits de l'homme, tous les syndicats, unanimement mobilisés, par nous, pour empêcher l'installation à Strasbourg d'une centrale européenne, l'Eurodroite, à l'instar de Me Tixier Vignancourt du P F N et du M S I italien et des autres fractions fascistes, et avons obtenu des pouvoirs publics l'interdiction de cette installation européenne de l'extrême droite à Strasbourg.

6 ans après, nous trouvons ce groupe implanté au Parlement Européen.

Dans cet esprit, il me plaît de saluer la création récente d'une Commission au sein du Parlement Européen dont le but est d'enquêter sur la montée du fascisme et du racisme en Europe. Tout doit être fait pour encourager les travaux de cette Commission, et de celles de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe qui traitent de questions similaires. Nous avons d'ores et déjà fait connaître notre totale disponibilité pour collaborer avec les parlementaires qui en sont membres. Ils peuvent compter sur notre aide, ils doivent compter sur notre présence.

Ne sous-estimons pas les oscillations de la courbe du racisme et du néo-fascisme en Europe. Dans cette Europe déjà cruellement divisée par les cicatrices de l'histoire N'attendons pas qu'il soit trop tard pour réagir et défendre la liberté contre toute contamination totalitaire. J'en viens au second enseignement de nos Prophètes :

la justice

Nous autres citoyens de ces pays d'Europe, dont le dénominateur commun le plus précieux est la démocratie, donnons à la notion de justice une place privilégiée.

Le Conseil de l'Europe, lui-même, ne fonde-t-il pas sa raison d'être sur la nature véritablement démocratique de ses membres, souvenons-nous de la Grèce, du Portugal, de l'Espagne, de la Turquie ou de Malte. Seuls, dans les pays qui vivent en

démocratie, l'égalité entre les hommes peut régner et seuls ces états sont en mesure de mettre hors la loi tous les anti-sémitismes, tous les racismes et toutes les injustices qui, depuis des siècles déjà, ponctuent l'histoire de ce continent. N'oublions pas qu'à peine 36 % des populations du globe connaît la chance de vivre dans des pays "libres", la plupart de ces démocraties se retrouvent aujourd'hui au sein du Conseil de l'Europe. Mais qu'il s'agisse d'antisémitisme d'état, dont celui de l'Union Soviétique est actuellement le plus redoutable (et le plus pervers - n'a-t-on pas essayé d'accuser les sionistes tout récemment d'avoir perpétré le génocide) ou de celui venant de particuliers parfois réputés bien pensants, nous ne ferons preuve d'aucune indulgence. Nous nous devons, ensemble, entre européens, de lutter sans cesse contre toute discrimination, raciste, sexiste, sociale, religieuse ou ethnique ; car toutes mènent à des excès incontrôlables. Nous sommes, quant à nous, bien déterminés à ne laisser passer ou filtrer quelque allusion que ce soit, quelque en fut-ce le niveau d'origine, l'inspiration ou la parure. Telle est la vocation du peuple Juif depuis Abraham. Mais une autre forme d'atteinte à la démocratie que nous dénonçons depuis de longues années déjà, souvent en vain, frappe aujourd'hui nos pays sans ménagement : le terrorisme. Qu'il s'agisse d'un terrorisme d'état ou de groupements divers, travestissant leurs crimes d'idéologies éphémères, il constitue une remise en cause de nos états qui du fait même de leur nature démocratique, sont particulièrement vulnérables et fragiles. N'oublions pas cependant que l'auto-destruction ne fait partie d'aucune charte démocratique. Les 10 et les 21 en Europe l'ont compris et paraissent s'organiser. En 1982 déjà, nous menions une démarche concertée entre les dirigeants Juifs de toute l'Europe auprès de Monsieur Piet Dankert, alors Président du Parlement Européen, auprès du Conseil de l'Europe aussi, au lendemain de l'attentat terroriste contre la Synagogue de Rome, pour inciter les Etats européens à concerter leur lutte contre les formes nouvelles de déstabilisation des sociétés démocratiques. Juifs européens, nous avons été les victimes en quelques années, de 1979 à 1982, sur 11 attentats perpétrés, de 9 visant des objectifs juifs, parmi les plus meurtriers :

Copernic, Anvers, Munich, Vienne, Berlin.

Nos avertissements au lendemain de l'attentat de Rome ne furent pas entendus, ou mal perçus, a moins que nous ne fussions considérés comme des cibles normales, naturelles ou plus évidentes que d'autres.

Il fallut que les auteurs de la terreur s'en prennent à d'autres cibles, telle que l'Otan ou les industries de l'armement pour faire sursauter les dirigeants des nations libres. Voici maintenant, qu'en plus de réunions discrètes, nos gouvernements vont de rencontres en conférences internationales, la concertation de la lutte contre le terrorisme se trouve projetée à la une de l'actualité.

Monsieur le Secrétaire Général du Conseil de l'Europe s'en est entretenu récemment avec le Président de la République française, le sujet a été évoqué par le Conseil des Ministres de l'Intérieur des 10, les polices et services spéciaux veulent collaborer davantage pour lutter plus efficacement contre une forme nouvelle de crime organisée, une internationale d'un genre nouveau.

Nous avons, nous autres Juifs, solidaires d'Israël, une vieille expérience de cette forme de combat de légitime défense. Nous dénonçons, depuis les origines déjà, la collusion entre les tueurs marginaux ou intégrés de l'O.L.P., les services secrets de Khadafi, de tous ceux qui mènent un bien étrange combat en Irlande, en Espagne (l'E.T.A.), en Belgique, en Italie, au Québec, au Kurdistan, en Amérique Centrale, en Arménie, avec leurs panoplies européennes, l'Armée Rouge, la Rote Armée Fraktion, Action Directe ; il s'agit là d'une véritable multinationale de la déstabilisation avec, en arrière fond, comme support logistique et militaire l'Union Soviétique, allié de coeur ou complice de rencontre.

Certains ont parlé du début de la 3ème Guerre Mondiale, déclenché par l'U.R.S.S. suite à ses échecs politico-militaires récents, fusées Pershing, érosion de l'écolo-pacifisme, plus fort engagement international des Etats Unis. Comme il s'agissait pour l'U.R.S.S. de rappeler que le processus de Yalta n'est peut-être pas parachevé.

Qu'attendons-nous, européens, pour ratifier les conventions de Dublin ou celles du Conseil de l'Europe sur la répression du terrorisme. Il nous faut élargir d'urgence l'espace judi-

ciaire permettant non seulement de juger ou d'extrader les terroristes, mais d'appréhender en commun toutes les menaces qui peuvent peser sur nos démocraties.

En ce qui nous concerne, Juifs français, nous allons intervenir ces jours prochains auprès du Ministre français de la Justice, Maître Badinter, afin de l'inciter à favoriser des actions concrètes telles la ratification de traités internationaux encore en suspens.

J'évoquerai enfin une forme ultime d'atteinte à la justice : la torture. Utilisée plus souvent qu'on ne l'imagine comme moyen de révéler une certaine forme de vérité, pour obtenir des aveux ou seulement terroriser. Nous nous devons de dénoncer avec vigueur ces pratiques inhumaines et de saluer les efforts du Conseil de l'Europe et plus récemment des Nations Unies pour les mettre hors la loi.

Mais à la longue liste de nos combats "contre" s'ajoute le plus noble des combats, celui POUR la

paix

Oui, nous Juifs européens, survivant aux guerres mondiales qui ont entre-déchiré les nations européennes, souhaitons ardemment la paix dans le monde, en Europe et bien sûr dans ce Proche-Orient qui a tant apporté à l'Occident.

Israël, terre d'asile des rescapés européens des camps de la mort et des Juifs réfugiés du monde arabe, n'aspire qu'à vivre en paix dans le cadre de frontières sûres et reconnues.

Le Premier Ministre israélien vient encore de le démontrer en réagissant positivement aux propositions Moubarak.

Malheureusement ses voisins ont très longtemps contesté ce droit légitime d'Israël à vivre en paix en tant qu'Etat jusqu'au traité de paix historique avec l'Egypte et en attendant que d'autres pays du Proche-Orient ne viennent rejoindre la table de négociation. Cette paix fut fatale au Président Sadate et fit exclure l'Egypte moderne et pacifique de la Ligue Arabe où siège pourtant l'O.L.P. qui fait du rejet de la paix avec Israël l'essence même de sa charte ; que l'Europe démocratique ne l'oublie pas.

C'est pourquoi, je voudrais souligner combien la récente

visite du Président de l'Etat d'Israël au Parlement Européen, à l'invitation du Président Pflimlin, a été ressentie non seulement comme une profonde preuve d'amitié entre l'Europe démocratique et le seul état démocratique du Proche-Orient mais aussi comme un geste politique dont le monde doit saisir toute la portée.

Les liens existants entre les deux institutions européennes et Israël peuvent et doivent encore être développés tant au plan parlementaire qu'inter-gouvernemental. Quelle richesse peut apporter un constant et meilleur rapport entre l'Europe et Israël sur le plan culturel, juridique, scientifique, médical, technologique.

L'Europe y remuerait aussi avec une certaine fidélité à elle-même et aux sources mêmes de sa tradition.

N'oublions pas que les Juifs ont bien souvent, avant le début du cataclysme, fourni un apport non négligeable au patrimoine des pays européens, au plan culturel, scientifique, économique et social. Vienne et Berlin nous laissent à cet égard une cruelle nostalgie.

Pourquoi ne pas profiter davantage de ce supplément d'âme aujourd'hui déployé au Proche-Orient, pour faire de la collaboration entre l'Europe et Israël, un ferment de paix, et affirmer ainsi l'exemplarité d'une portion toute proche d'identité commune. Aucun partenaire de l'Europe ne remplacera en cela Israël.

Soyons persuadés qu'Israël constitue pour l'Occident le seul point d'ancrage sûr et permanent tant au plan stratégique que politique et économique. N'oublions ni l'évolution récente de l'Iran, ni les incidents de la Mecque ni les naufrages sanglants du multiconfessionnalisme au Liban.

C'est la raison pour laquelle les Juifs d'Europe demandent aux instances européennes de ne pas céder aux offensives diplomatiques polyformes lancées ces dernières semaines par la Ligue Arabe et dont le but principal est d'introduire soit officiellement soit par missions interposées, l'O.L.P. à Strasbourg, une O.L.P. pionnière du terrorisme international dont nous restons les cibles privilégiées.

N'oublions pas davantage qu'aucun des Etats membres de la Ligue Arabe n'a de statut démocratique ; revient-il vraiment à

l'Europe qui par ailleurs salue tous les efforts de démocratisation en Amérique latine, de servir de faire valoir aux régimes théocratiques et policiers du Moyen-Orient ? L'hommage rendu aux démocraties dans le monde ne doit pas donner mauvaise conscience à l'Europe.

J'aurais pu évoquer de nombreux autres thèmes qui interpellent les Juifs d'Europe, mentionner nos organisations non gouvernementales qui, par leur présence auprès du Conseil de l'Europe, apportent leur contribution aux efforts de construction européenne dans le domaine humanitaire notamment.

Un dernier mot cependant pour dire qu'au sein des organisations européennes, nous nous sentons chez nous ; avec elles nous entendons nous concerter à tous niveaux pour perpétuer notre contribution à la construction d'une Europe démocratique au service des Droits de l'Homme dans un espace le plus vaste possible.

L'identité juive, la sensibilité et l'expérience de notre peuple confèrent à cette Europe qui se crée un complément de conscience et fait de chacun d'entre nous la sentinelle de la démocratie pour tous et la mesure de la liberté de chacun.

L'apport des Communautés Juives qui ont illustré de leur esprit, de leurs souffrances et souvent de leur génie cette terre d'Europe, celle d'Albert Einstein, de Franz Kafka ou de Sigmund Freud, est à la fois celui de la raison, de la mémoire et de la conscience.

Que l'Europe des institutions et des hommes ne soit plus jamais l'Europe du silence, de l'indifférence ou de la complaisance.

Que l'Europe n'oublie pas qu'elle est amputée à l'Est d'une partie de sa propre identité culturelle.

Qu'elle lutte pour la démocratie et la liberté en assumant ses responsabilités envers le tiers-monde, les pauvres, les réfugiés, les affamés.

Qu'elle contribue à la paix mondiale en combattant le terrorisme et le totalitarisme qui l'inspire.

Que l'Europe des institutions mette pleinement à profit l'expérience et la disponibilité des Communautés Juives pour que la construction d'une société européenne juste et tolérante, constitue la réponse ultime au III^e Reich. Aux solutions finales, l'Européen, le démocrate doit opposer les interrogations permanentes, car la liberté c'est aussi le droit au questionnement, la remise en cause incessante de certitudes factices.

En concluant, j'invite nos amis chrétiens à méditer avec nous la parole du Prophète inscrite au fronton de notre Synagogue : "Plus fort que le glaive est mon esprit" ; ils comprendront pourquoi cette grande synagogue européenne ressuscitée de ses cendres est aussi la Synagogue de la Paix.



MAR 8 1985

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

CONFIDENTIAL

date March 5, 1985
to David Gordis
from Hyman Bookbinder *HB*
subject "We're a Movement" - Near East Report

If this article is even only half accurate, it reports a very important event -- and, whatever fault we may find in other AIPAC activities, this is one we should find encouraging and challenging to us. If indeed the Israel issue can arouse this much interest and excitement, it raises the question as to whether the broader Jewish interest can similarly be encouraged.

The obvious omission from the program, at least as reported, is presence from any of the broader Jewish agencies. Should we perhaps reach out to AIPAC and offer our resources -- speakers, P.R. etc -- for similar conferences in the future?

I realize, of course, that we should do nothing until we've thought through, and with other agencies, our basic questions about AIPAC's relationship to the Jewish community. But, in the final analysis, we may decide that instead of "beating 'em, let's join 'em" in those activities that seem worthwhile.

HB:dw

encl: Pg. 4 - NER 2/18/85

cc: M. Tanenbaum
I. Levine
M. Yarmon

BACK PAGE

"We're a Movement"

One former campus activist who recalled similar events in the 1960's said that she was "amazed at this turnout. Six hundred college students getting up on a frozen Sunday morning to attend workshops and organize. I thought today's college students were only into making money."

Old myths die hard. Not every student on campus in 1967 was at the barricades. Nor is the "average" student of 1985 a personification of apathy. Today, as in the "activist 60's" and the "apathetic 50's," there is a strong and vocal minority of college students who are involved in the business of making things happen.

They were out in force at Columbia University's Altschul Hall on Feb. 10, where AIPAC and the B'nai B'rith Hillel/Jewish Association for College Youth convened a day-long political seminar for pro-Israel students. The 600 students who attended came from 30 New York area universities.

Why did they come? One sophomore who traveled to Manhattan from a snow-bound upstate New York campus put it like this: "At my school there are maybe two dozen pro-Israel activists out of a student population of 3,000 or so. We work hard trying to confront the anti-Israel students but I feel that I need almost professional training in how to deal with the anti-Israel propagandists. And I also wanted to come down here because it's good to know that you're not alone. Look at this crowd. We're a movement."

That sophomore's goals of gaining training and inspiration were amply realized. The program—coordinated by two Columbia students, Ben Feder and Stacy Burdett—was a full one. I spoke first, addressing the day's theme: Jewish power vs. Jewish powerlessness. Tom Dine, executive director of AIPAC, then told the students that their pro-Israel efforts are essential. "It is not too early for you to get involved in legislative and in electoral politics," he said. He noted that last year students had worked to elect pro-Israel Congressional candidates and that they had lobbied on behalf of aid to Israel and the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area. "There is no limit to what you can do if you set your mind to it," he said. Dine said that AIPAC's student outreach operation—directed by Jonathan Kessler—is a vital and growing part of the pro-Israel lobby.

Congressman Tom Downey (D-N.Y.), who offered the "Congressional Perspective," provided a living illustration of the difference one young person can make. Downey, a powerhouse in the House of Representatives and one of the most pro-Israel members of either House, was first

elected to Congress when he was 24. He reached the Constitutionally-mandated age of 25 just prior to being sworn in and attended law school while in Congress. Today, at 35, he is a ten-year incumbent, one frequently mentioned as a candidate for Governor, Senator, and the White House.

Downey told the students that "you are especially important. Members of Congress expect your parents to write. They expect your parents to visit them. They'll be surprised by you." He said that many of his colleagues have grown "cynical" about the involvement of young people. "Prove us wrong," he said, "and you will have paved the way for yourself to have influence and support in Congress."

Downey's speech was followed by workshops on the role of media in the Middle East debate: the student as lobbyist; the black-Jewish alliance; the anti-Israel lobby on campus; and the Democrat and Republican parties and Israel. Among those leading the workshops were Jack Abramoff and Steve Girsky—presidents, respectively, of the national college Republicans and Democrats—and Bill Morton of the NAACP.

The last session ended at 5:30 PM. Students poured out of Altschul Hall, back to their dormitories or to the cars and subways that would take them to their home campuses. The excitement in the frigid air was almost palpable. Spotting the sophomore from the upstate campus in the crowd, I asked him if the day had turned out as he had expected. "I'm absolutely psyched," he said. "I learned so much. I can't wait to put it all to use."

Watching and listening to the Jewish campus activists as they headed off into the night, it was clear that the pro-Israel student movement is at a historic moment. For these campus activists, this is the 60's. □
—M.J.R.

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Committee for Economic Growth of Israel

Executive Office — 5301 North Ironwood Road, P.O. Box 2053, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 (414) 961-1000

Israel Office — 22 Bar Ilan Street, Tel Aviv (03) 226612

March 5, 1985

Mr. George Gruen
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear George:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed material. I am hopeful that the U.S. Congress and the President will agree that many changes have been made in the economy of Israel that will go along way towards helping to put Israel's economic house in order.

Very truly yours,

Elmer L. Winter
Chairman

ELW:kmc

Enclosures

cc: (with enclosures)
Dr. David Gordis
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Mr. Leo Nevas

CEG-I

March 6, 1985

"I LIKED WHAT I SAW IN ISRAEL"

Dear Friend:

I have just returned from a three-week trip to Israel. It seems that every time I visit Israel (this was my 24th time), it is an exciting time to be in Israel.

This trip was consumed with many meetings with senior business executives, Government ministers, Directors General of Government agencies, etc.

Let me confine this report to my observations relating to the request by Israel for additional economic assistance from the United States. This request is critical and I think it is important that all of us understand the nature of the American Government's request and Israelis response, in terms of presenting a detailed austerity economic plan.

Before going to Israel, I met in Washington with representatives of the State Department, a representative of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and Herb Stein. The message to Israel was uniform -- "Israel has to take a number of major cost cutting steps to restore her economy" as a condition to her request for additional aid from the United States.

While the relationship between representatives of the United States and the Israeli Coalition Government is excellent, Israelis have to recognize that there are many pressures being placed upon the U.S. Government to reduce its budget and cut the deficit in a substantial way. This may have a negative impact on Israel's request for additional aid.

I delivered this message to Israeli Government ministers and business executives. I can say there was a good understanding on the part of Israeli Government ministers that the timing for their emergency request of the United States is difficult. They also understand the importance of proving their case and spelling out the details of how the Israeli Government will take the necessary steps to restore their economy.

I must say that "I LIKED WHAT I SAW" in terms of what the Government of Israel has done in 100 days to help get the economy of Israel back on track. Reducing their budget by \$2 billion is no easy task and will cause a deep hurt among the Israelis. I sense a serious determination on the part of the Israelis to "bite the economic bullet" and take the consequences.

"I LIKED WHAT I SAW" in terms of the emphasis of the Coalition Government. I realize that there is infighting within the Coalition Government -- a situation to be expected. However, when the chips are down,

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March 6, 1985

Page Two

there seems to be a uniform policy flowing from the Coalition Government's debate on the economy. There is no question that the highest priority is being placed on fixing up the economy, for once and for all. Think back, if you will, to last fall when the "doomsayers" were predicting 1000% inflation. They have now gone into hiding since the inflation has been cut to 3.7% in December 1984, and 5.3% in January 1985. We ought to salute the Israelis for coming in with that excellent result.

I am enclosing a copy of a Press Release that I have issued. This describes the steps that the Government of Israel has taken to back up its request for further economic support from the U.S. Government. I would urge you to carefully read this release. We will need to be talking to our Senators and Congressmen about Israel's emergency needs for further funds. You can be most helpful in presenting Israel's needs, and the steps the Israeli Government has taken to get her economy back on track.

I would be very interested in your comments on this report. I will be getting back to you shortly with a report of discussions I had with many business executives in Israel, who are turning to us, in CEG-I, in increasing numbers, to help with exports to the United States and venture capital.

It was good visiting with you. Let me hear from you if you have any thoughts as to how we can step up our efforts to help build the economy of Israel. I think it is fair to say we play an important role in helping to build the economy of Israel. Let's increase our activities since this is the time when everything that we do has increased meaning to Israel.

Best wishes,



Elmer L. Winter
Chairman

ELW:bb
Enclosure



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

February 26, 1985

ISRAEL MEETS U.S. STANDARDS
FOR ECONOMIC HELP

By Elmer Winter, Chairman
Committee for Economic
Growth of Israel

Yitzhak Modai, Israel Finance Minister, will be meeting in Washington, D.C. with Secretary George Schultz. The discussions will revolve around Israel's request for economic assistance. In the meeting, Israel's Economic Development Plan will be presented to the United States Government. Secretary Schultz has made it clear to the Israelis that additional U. S. economic support will be tied to a workable plan that will help put Israel's economy back on track.

In the meetings Israel will need to spell out, in clear and precise terms, how her government will take the necessary steps to justify her request that economic aid to Israel be increased to \$1.9 Billion in 1986, and that she receive a supplementary appropriation of \$800 Million to the present allocation. Our government will carefully scrutinize the budget cuts suggested by Israel, and the steps to be taken to reduce the standard of living of the Israelis.

I suggest that there is more than ample proof that Israel has developed an Economic Development Plan that should be acceptable to the United States. Within a period of 100 days, Israel's Coalition Government has taken a number of steps to call for a herculean effort to bring her economic house in order. These steps which are

part of Israel's economic plan have produced the following results:

1. THE 1985 ISRAELI BUDGET OF \$23 BILLION WILL BE REDUCED BY \$2 BILLION OVER THE ACTUAL AMOUNT SPENT LAST YEAR.
Subsidies have been drastically reduced. Purchase of foreign goods and foreign travel have been curtailed. The Israel Government expects to realize some \$350-\$400 Million of new taxes. A 3% tax has been imposed on cars and privately owned boats and aircrafts. Cuts in Israel's budget are difficult to come by since 40% of the budget goes to debt service and 30% for defense. As a result, Israel must make most of its cuts in the remaining 30% allocated for human services.
2. ISRAEL HAS REDUCED ITS DEFENSE BUDGET AT GREAT RISK TO HER NATIONAL SECURITY AS PART OF THE SHARING IN THE BUDGET CUTTING PROCESS.
3. ISRAEL HAS DRASTICALLY CUT INFLATION.
During the year 1984 Israel's inflation rate reached 800%. As a result of the Wage and Price Freeze imposed in November 1984, inflation dropped to 3.7% in December 1984 and 5.3% in January 1985. This is a remarkable result and should put to rest the claims of the "doomsayers" who were talking last Fall about an inflationary rate in Israel of 1000%.
4. THE SECOND ECONOMIC PACKAGE INSTALLED ON FEBRUARY 5, 1985 IS WORKING EFFECTIVELY.
This plan will run for 8 months. It should save some \$200 Million in foreign currency by reducing purchasing from abroad. The prior freeze has produced a 7.5% reduction in per capita consumption.
5. THE EXPORTS FROM ISRAEL INCREASED 13% TO \$5.54 BILLION IN 1984 WHILE IMPORTS DECLINED 4.3% (\$8.4 BILLION IN 1983 TO \$8.07 BILLION IN 1984).
As a result, Israel's negative balance of payments has been reduced by \$600 Million or 12% compared to 1983. Of

particular interest is the fact that exports of science-based industrial products rose 21% in 1984. Israel's belt-tightening is evidenced by the fact that imports of consumer goods in 1984 fell by 34%. Exports for 1985 are estimated to increase by 12.7%.

6. A SIX-MONTH FREEZE ON NEW GOVERNMENT PURCHASE OF GOODS AND SERVICES HAS BEEN IMPOSED.
7. ISRAEL'S CURRENCY HAS BEEN DEVALUED, RAISING THE COST OF IMPORTS AND MAKING EXPORTS MORE ATTRACTIVE.
8. GOVERNMENT HIRING HAS BEEN FROZEN AND SOME 15,000 GOVERNMENT JOBS ARE BEING ELIMINATED.
9. THE COST OF LIVING ADJUSTMENT PAID TO WORKERS (COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS INDEXATION) HAS BEEN REDUCED BY ONE-THIRD. As a result, the linkage payments now cover only about half of the rise in the cost of living.

Israel needs temporary financial assistance from the U.S.A. to stabilize her foreign reserves which have fallen below the so-called "red line" of \$3 Billion. There was a reduction in the foreign reserves of \$282 Million in January 1985, bringing the balance to \$2.319 Billion. This meant that three-fourths of the \$1.2 Billion aid received from the United States on November 1, 1984 was used to support the foreign reserves. The request for additional emergency aid from the United States will help Israel overcome a crisis in her foreign reserves.

Our Government, in reviewing Israel's request for additional economic support, has the assurance that Israel's Coalition Government has placed the highest priority on economic development and financial independence. There is a "new" Israel where the decibels of dissent have declined. There is a willingness to go through a belt-tightening process as Israelis now begin to see light at the end of their economic tunnel.

The emergency funds requested by Israel from the United States will

help in a very major way to restore the economy of Israel and assure her security ... a condition that is of importance to the U.S.A. and to Israel.



CENTER FOR PLURALISM

The Center for Pluralism which we are considering has a number of primary objectives:

- Democracy*
- tolerance
- intergroup relations
- (1) To sponsor research studies on the interaction of the diverse elements in Israel's pluralistic society - - religious and non-religious; Jews of Sephardi and Ashkenazi origin; Israeli Jews and Arabs; Israeli Jews, Christians and Moslems;
 - (2) To sponsor religious-historical studies on values and teachings in Jewish tradition with emphasis on sources that uphold the unity of the Jewish people and support the concept of religious pluralism;
 - (3) To bring to the attention of the Israeli public information based on the intergroup experience and practice in the United States and other democratic societies, and to foster interdisciplinary examination of the relevance and applicability of the findings to the Israeli scene;
 - (4) To undertake a series of textbook analyses of religious, social science, history and literature school books in terms of what Israel's diverse religious and ethnic groups teach about each other. The content analyses would seek to identify negative caricatures and stereotypes, and seek to promote positive teachings and knowledge about the "out-group." (Similar studies have already been undertaken on Israeli textbook teachings about Diaspora Jewry, and vice versa.);
 - (5) To sponsor a series of conferences, seminars, and institutes led by Israeli and American experts that would introduce the findings of these researches and studies into public consciousness and intergroup behavior;
 - (6) To publish and disseminate widely scholarly research, essays, books, and pamphlets that would stimulate thinking about these intergroup issues;
 - (7) To stimulate discussion in the print and electronic media about the importance of fostering positive intergroup attitudes and behavior.
 - (8) To integrate and disseminate the creative programs of the Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations promoting strengthened Israeli-Diaspora ties through the new AJC Center.

March 8, 1985

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March 11, 1985

Dear Marc,

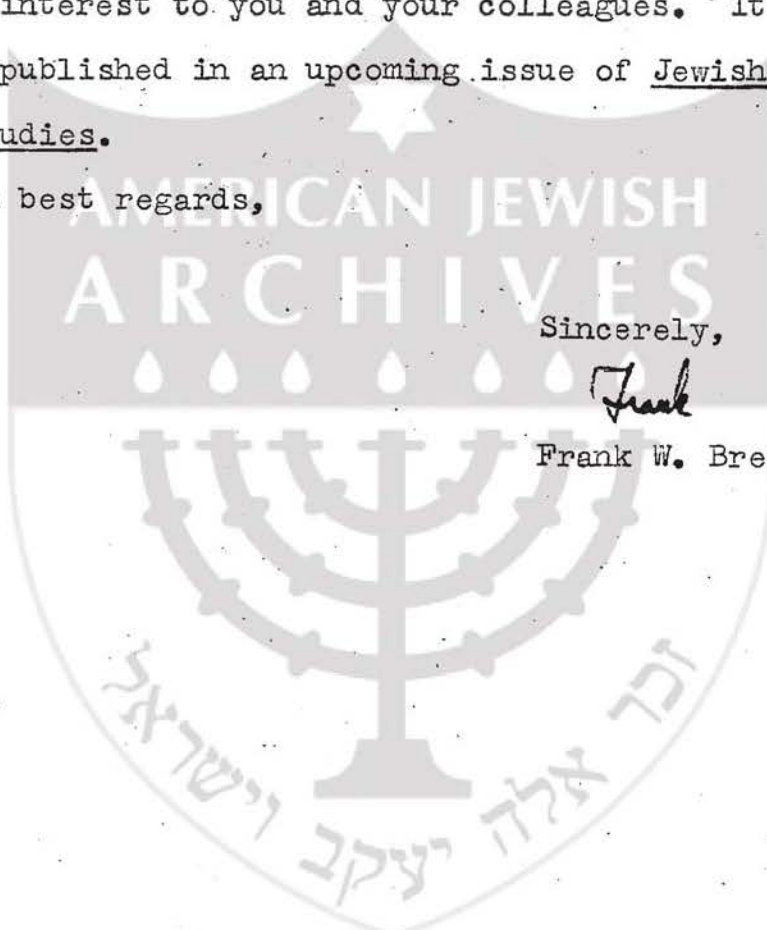
I am sending you the enclosed article as of possible interest to you and your colleagues. It is to be published in an upcoming issue of Jewish Social Studies.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank W. Brecher



Scholarship and the Diplomatic Roots of Israel

"There is no diplomacy without
military success"

Sir Edward Grey

British Foreign Minister, 1915

On the eve of her military conquest of Palestine, Great Britain in November 1917 took the rather gratuitous, and even peculiar, step of issuing the Balfour Declaration, which committed her to facilitating the establishment of "a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine." Herzl's founding Zionist dream of an independent Jewish State within fifty years was on the road to fulfillment.

The circumstances leading to the Declaration, which was contained in a letter from Foreign Minister Balfour to an English Zionist, Lord Lionel Rothschild, have been studied and debated since its issuance and remain of more than academic concern in view of the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. So it is with enormous interest that one turns to three major publications offered the reader this year on these matters to see how they deal with the issues.

The books are Barbara Tuchman's Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour¹; Joan Peters' From Time Immemorial: the Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine²; and Ronald Sanders' The High Walls of Jerusalem: a History of the Balfour Declaration and the Birth of the British Mandate for Palestine.³ Tuchman's is a re-issuance in soft cover of her 1956 work; the other two are fresh writings.

Despite the extensive number of books on the subject, several important murky areas remain to be clarified, such as: Did Sir Henry McMahon, Britain's top man in Egypt, exclude Palestine from the areas he "promised" Sherif Hussein of Mecca, in the name of Britain in 1915, as part of an independent Arab state? Was there in fact a significant contradiction between what McMahon wrote Hussein to encourage him to revolt against the Turks and what the British and their Allies soon thereafter secretly agreed to in planning post-war arrangements in the area? And what were the true motivations of the British leaders in issuing the Balfour Declaration: strengthening the Allied military effort by encouraging support for their cause by world Jewry? using the Jews as a mere tool in anticipated post-war negotiations over who would control Palestine? or meeting those British leaders' own religious aspirations of having the Jews return to the Holy Land as an essential preliminary step, they believed, to the return of the Messiah?

As it turns out, a reading of the three works under review gives one a feel for the issues at hand but not a basis for reaching balanced judgments. That is because the three, while certainly taking on the relevant questions, by and large fail to handle them in an objective, comprehensive fashion; though they have the earmarks of being serious studies, they lack particularly the substantive grasp essential to first-class historical writing. Perhaps this is due to the three writers' shared background as nonspecialists with a jaundiced, rather American perspective of a period

when European imperialism dominated world politics. Each also has a strong sympathy for the Jewish cause (the one gentile, Peters, is even more polemically involved on the Jewish side than the other two). Together, the three are an interesting illustration of how even modern, Western works having the trappings of scholarship (footnotes, sources, bibliography, index) can be, whether subtly or crassly, diluted and adapted to meet pre-conceived conclusions regarding emotionally charged subjects.

Bible and Sword

While Tuchman's book is the most readable of the three in terms of style and internal consistency, its chapter on the events of World War One, unaltered from the original edition, is a disappointing display of poor scholarship. Its uncorrected re-issuance betrays a disregard for the kind of historian's responsibility to the public that Tuchman herself has been preaching in recent years. For her to repeat error for blatant error, when the true facts were verifiable (even in 1956) is unpardonable. For example, with reference to McMahon's October 1915 letter to Hussein (often considered as the heart of Britain's Magna Carta to the Arabs), she asserts that the part which definitely excluded Palestine from the envisaged independent Arab state was the following: "...portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab," and must on that account, McMahon told Hussein, be excepted from the proposed state.⁴ Tuchman says that this excepted area "simply means Palestine,"⁵ when it actually simply meant Lebanon and only by a difficult

stretch of the imagination could the phrase also cover Palestine. It is this fateful phrase, not mentioned in McMahon's advance consultations with London, that has been latched onto by the Arabs in their belated, post-war argument that Palestine had been promised to them by McMahon, thereby nullifying Balfour's subsequent promise to the Jews.

The better argument for Tuchman's case that Palestine indeed was excluded by McMahon from an independent Arab state rests elsewhere in his correspondence with Hussein -- and not cited by her: (a) McMahon said that Britain could make no promises regarding any area where her ally, France, had interests (clearly, Palestine was one such area); (b) McMahon also told Hussein that Britain will assure the protection of the Holy Places -- which could only mean that those Places, in Palestine, would not form part of an independent Arab state; and, (c) McMahon, moreover, made clear that, whatever Britain's promises to Hussein, all was contingent upon a timely and broad-based Arab revolt against the Turks (this never occurred, and the delayed revolt, while marginally useful to the British, never got beyond an uneven "local" uprising, to use Lawrence of Arabia's expression.)

Tuchman further states that, "while the Sherif was being promised one form of sovereignty, his future territories were being allotted among the Allies under another form." ⁶ This is a reference to the secret 1916 Agreement between Great Britain, France and Russia (the so-called Sykes-Picot Agreement, named for the principal British and French negotiators) assigning various parts of Turkey's Asiatic Empire either as spheres of influence or as totally

independent states in the post-war period. For example, Arabia proper was to be accorded unencumbered independence, Syria and Lebanon were assigned to France's sphere of influence, Palestine was to be placed under an international administration, and Transjordan and Mesopotamia (Iraq) were to fall within Britain's sphere of influence. Tuchman's allegation of conflicting commitments between McMahon's correspondence with Hussein and the Sykes-Picot provisions grants too much too quickly, as I have shown above in comparing the two, and it gives undue credence to charges that the British were double-dealing at Arab expense in Palestine and elsewhere. She is also implicitly arguing against herself by maintaining that Palestine was "certainly"⁷ excluded by McMahon from the prospective Arab state--- an exclusion that would be exactly in line with Sykes-Picot a few months later!

In what is perhaps her most eyebrow-raising judgment, Tuchman asserts that "the fatal error that was to cause all the trouble" was the Balfour Declaration's failure to call for the development of a Jewish "state", as distinct from the more modest "national home."⁸ Her point is that, if the UK had only been explicitly clear from the beginning that its firm policy was to preclude making Palestine into anything but a Jewish state, then the Arabs and the local British administrators, instead of constantly undermining the Declaration during the inter-war years, would have bowed to reality early in the game, and the Arab-Jewish conflict would have been avoided. This is a remarkably naive point of view, because it holds that a particular choice of language in the Declaration could have had a profound influence

on events in the field. More importantly, it demonstrates Tuchman's failure to appreciate that Britain's scope for action in this area was limited; the Declaration was issued only after consultation with Britain's Allies and the US, none of which (not even the UK) was about to agree to endorse, in 1917, a call for even an eventual Jewish state. Moreover, such a call would have gone well beyond the terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

Tuchman makes another important historical error when she says that Britain veered from the original terms of the League of Nations Mandate by deciding, in 1922, to withhold applying the provisions for a Jewish national home from that part of mandated Palestine lying to the east of the Jordan River (i.e., Transjordan).⁹ In point of fact, the League's terms from the start (1922) consciously authorized, in Article 25, the withholding from Transjordan of precisely those kinds of provisions.¹⁰ Perhaps part of Tuchman's problem was that she mistakenly lumped Article 25 among the "technical" sections of the League Mandate;¹¹ another is her apparent assumption that the League approved the Mandate prior to 1922.¹²

It must be remarked that every page of Tuchman's chapter on these events is flawed by factual errors, some so bizarre as to be comical. Thus, Sir Henry McMahon's title was "High Commissioner" of Egypt and not "chief at the Arab Bureau,"¹³ which was merely a British military intelligence unit in Cairo. Lawrence of Arabia could not have been "at the elbow" of Sherif Hussein during the latter's 1915 correspondence with McMahon¹⁴ because Lawrence did not make even his first trip to Arabia until after the revolt commenced in mid-1916; that

correspondence, therefore, could not possibly have "confirmed" any promises made by Lawrence to Hussein concerning the scope of Arab independence.¹⁵ And Sir Mark Sykes, Britain's principal wartime negotiator on Middle East questions, was not a "foreign service officer"¹⁶ but a Member of Parliament. This notable let-down in Tuchman's usually dependable level of scholarship invites speculation whether attitudinal problems may have been at play here to account for her disappointing effort, including the decision for uncorrected re-release this year. We know from her own pen that she strongly dislikes agreements, such as Sykes-Picot, which are secretly negotiated and concluded.¹⁷ It may also be relevant that Tuchman's grandfather, Henry Morgenthau, President Wilson's Ambassador in Constantinople during the first part of World War One, was thwarted at public embarrassment to himself by British and Zionist officials in 1917 from undertaking a diplomatic initiative with Turkey over Palestine.¹⁸

From Time Immemorial

Joan Peters' book reports on these wartime matters in much less detail than Tuchman's, and much too much of her discussion is relegated to extensive notes at the back of the book. Peters seems mainly interested in demonstrating her strained thesis that, even during this period, the Jews were far from a negligible political presence in Palestine, and that the Arabs after the war were given an inordinate amount of the area originally promised the Jews.

In her zeal to make her case, Peters unfortunately repeats Tuchman's erroneous argument that the British violated the terms of the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine

by exempting Transjordan from the Jewish homeland provisions, which, she says, were to have applied to all of mandated Palestine, both east and west of the Jordan River.¹⁹ In addition, as Ronald Sanders in his book points out, the borders of the Palestine Mandate, by including Transjordan, went up to Iraq and Arabia and were "far beyond what anyone could reasonably have called the historic boundaries" of Palestine.²⁰ In other words, the slogan we increasingly hear today from some pro-Israeli groups, that "Jordan is Palestine" does not hold water from any realistic historical point of view. There simply is no factual basis to a propagandistic claim that Israel is entitled to retain all of the West Bank on the ground that the Arabs in Jordan would still be in control of most of the land which was originally destined for a Jewish homeland under the Palestine Mandate. The League never envisaged Transjordan within that homeland.

A related problem is Peters' ignoring a point she makes elsewhere that the 1917 Balfour Declaration did not, as the Zionists in their negotiations with the British had requested, call for establishing "Palestine as" a Jewish national home but rather called for that home to be established "in Palestine." Clearly, the British right from the start put the Zionists on notice that they could not expect to have all of Palestine (let alone Jordan). Peters also conveniently neglects to mention anywhere the existence of the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, whose provisions, if reported, would have undermined her case that, during the war, Transjordan and Palestine were as one in the minds of the British and her Allies.²¹ Under Sykes-Picot, the territory

west of the Jordan River (Palestine proper) was assigned to an international administration, while the land east of the Jordan (Transjordan) was to fall under that part of an independent Arab state which would be within the British sphere of influence. Surely, Peters could not seriously argue that the British, in 1916, would treat Transjordan one way (Arab) and, in 1917, in another (Jewish).

While these errors by Peters are understandable, because they are unfortunately widespread in the literature, it is hard to tolerate her direct misrepresentation of what US policy was at that time. She alleges that the Americans at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference endorsed the eventual establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine,²² with the affected Arab population to be transferred to Transjordan. Investigation of her source shows that, although she claims to be quoting from a "United States recommendation at the Peace Conference,"²³ actually it is from an internal memorandum of the US delegation;²⁴ of course, US policy at Paris was almost at the opposite end of the pole from the one Peters says it was.

The High Walls of Jerusalem

Of the three books under review, by far the most comprehensive, systematic and dependable regarding the events leading to Britain's taking of Palestine is this one, which draws upon fairly recently opened British Government archives. It shows that, contrary to what some have contended, Britain did not from the start of the war intend to take direct control of a land corridor from the Mediterranean shores of Palestine to the Persian Gulf shores of Iraq; nor was

its evolving policy during the war a "mess",²⁵ incoherent and inconsistent, as writers such as Tuchman contend.

Sanders traces the basic logic of British Middle East policy as the war progressed, and he also, like his distinguished predecessor, Leonard Stein, author of The Balfour Declaration, combines this theme with a parallel detailed history of British-Zionist relations. The result is a useful update of some of Stein's more magisterial treatment of the material; especially important is the documentation demonstrating that both the Foreign Office professionals and the cabinet were in agreement on the desirability, if only for immediate war purposes, of issuing a pro-Zionist declaration. The documentation proves that there was a widely held, if exaggerated, view at the time that the Jews, if motivated, were powerful enough to make a difference in the Allied effort to keep Russia in the war and to accelerate US military involvement. Thus, Sanders refutes the position held by Tuchman and others that it was only in the 1930's that the theory evolved that the true British purpose in issuing the Declaration was indeed to bring world Jewry more actively into the Allied cause²⁶ and that, according to the Tuchman view, the Declaration's only real purpose was to satisfy the "consciences" of Britain's leaders themselves, while dismissing the importance of the Jews in the war process.²⁷

At one point in his book, Sanders refers to himself as a "prosaic historian,"²⁸ and this regrettably is the case, if we define such an historian as one who too often lacks

the insightful judgment, the breadth of knowledge, the literary grace essential to any excellent historical writing. An entire chapter could be added to his book to correct factual errors, to tie up loose ends, and to straighten out internal contradictions.

Sanders, rather astoundingly, and without substantiation, attributes to a "misunderstanding" of his instructions from London McMahon's fuzzy and unauthorized description to Hussein of the prospective Arab state's boundary lines;²⁹ Sanders even maintains that McMahon actually intended to include Palestine within that Arab state.³⁰ This is untenable: McMahon was intimately familiar with his government's post-war plans for the area and, accordingly, with the special status Palestine inevitably was to have under those plans.

Sanders later confusingly but correctly retreats from his position by noting that McMahon in fact "satisfactorily equivocated" in his correspondence with Hussein through his general reservation that Britain could make no promises regarding areas where France had interests.³¹ Sanders concludes that the Arabs were really promised "practically nothing at all,"³² which is an error in the opposite direction, in light of the fact that, starting immediately after the war and within thirty years, essentially all of the "purely Arab" territory, as described by McMahon, achieved full independence after centuries of Turkish rule. Consistent with Sanders' carelessness, he errs in reporting that McMahon

omitted mentioning to Hussein that the Holy Places would fall under a special administration; ³³ as I have already noted, McMahon certainly did.

Turning to the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Sanders' otherwise straightforward rendering of the facts is marred by his statement that Sykes "conceded" Mosul, in northern Iraq, to the French sphere of influence "in appeasement" for France's agreement to enlarge the area in Palestine destined for international administration. ³⁴ Actually Sykes was not negotiating on his own but within narrow terms of reference and under the closest supervision of Secretary for War Kitchener (a fellow expert in the area); and his official instructions were to insure that France assumed responsibility for Mosul because Britain wanted a buffer zone between her own sphere and that of Russia, her traditional adversary on the "route to India." (It is instructive to recall that UK Prime Minister Lloyd George right after the war sought and obtained French Premier Clemenceau's agreement to reassign Mosul to Britain's sphere, precisely because post-revolutionary Russia was no longer a threat to India; Clemenceau also at that time approved Britain's other request to assign Palestine to British rather than international administration. These were the two key post-war changes to the Sykes-Picot Agreement.)

Sanders errs significantly by reporting that Hebron, in southern Palestine, was assigned by Sykes-Picot to the independent Arab state ³⁵ - a glance at his map in the book ³⁶ would have shown him that the area down to Beersheba was definitely included within the internationally administered part of Palestine. Further undermining reader confidence

is Sanders' self-evidently incorrect quote from the alleged Text of the agreement, as follows: "there should be established [in Palestine] an international administration, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia, and subsequently in consultation with Russia, Italy and the representatives of Islam"; the correct text reads: "...and subsequently in consultation with the other Allies, and the representatives of the Sherif of Mecca."

Of interest also is Sanders' misstatement that it was the Council of Ten (a Paris Conference body which included the US) which assigned the Mandate for Palestine to Britain when it was actually the Supreme Allied Council (UK, France and Italy) that did so at the 1920 San Remo Conference, which the US did not attend and which, therefore, was unencumbered by the kinds of awkward questions that the US had raised earlier at Paris regarding the true wishes of the affected native populations.

All in all, we must still await additional scholarship before the questions raised earlier in this review are clarified. In the meanwhile, it is a sad commentary that one is better off sticking with the classics to date on this particular subject matter (e.g., Stein, Kedourie, Gilbert and Friedman) to be sure of the facts that are known at least so far.

Footnotes

1. New York: Ballantine Books, 1984. Pp.xvi, 412.
2. New York: Harper & Row, 1984. Pp. x, 601.
3. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984. Pp. xx, 746.
4. P. 328.
5. P.328.
6. P. 327.
7. P. 321.
8. P. 199.
9. Pp. 344-345: "Second thoughts had counselled the British to separate Trans-Jordania under the 1922 White Paper from the terms of the Mandate; but with that exception the Mandate was allowed to stand as drafted at San Remo and as confirmed by the League...."
10. For example, see J.C. Hurewitz's "The Struggle for Palestine", New York: Schocken Books, 1976, P.20, where he further points out that this key article was inserted into a revised draft of the Mandate as early as August 1921 and that "the Zionists formally assented to this arrangement."

11. P.346.
12. See footnote 9, above.
13. P.321..
14. P. 327.
15. P.325.
16. P.325.
17. For example, P.320: "Behind and between these military campaigns [in and around Palestine] were carried on some of the war's most complicated, entangled, and mutually conflicting maneuvering of the kind that so disgusted President Wilson with secret covenants secretly arrived at.... It would be foolish as well as futile to extract a basic British policy out of this mess."
18. An interesting report on this episode is contained in William Yale's article in World Politics, April 1949.
19. For example, P. 239: "Britain nevertheless quietly gouged out roughly three-fourths of the Palestine territory mandated for the Jewish homeland into an Arab emirate, Transjordan, while the Mandate ostensibly remained in force but in violation of its terms.... The League of Nations Mandate for Palestine remained unchanged even though Britain had unilaterally altered

its map and its purpose." Also see map on P. 236.

20. P.655.

21. For example, P.235: "The League of Nations and the British had designated the land called 'Palestine' for the 'Jewish National Home' - east and west of the Jordan River from the Mediterranean to Arabia and Iraq, and north and south from Egypt to Lebanon and Syria."

22. P.235: "Thus, the territory known variously as 'Palestine', as 'South Syria', as 'Eastern and Western Palestine', or as part of 'Turkey' had been designated by international mandate as a 'Jewish National Home', concerning which the United States declared, 'That there be established a separate state of Palestine.... placed under Great Britain as a mandatory of the League of Nations...that the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there....and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact....'." Also see her footnote on P.511: "The Jews, the British, and the Americans all stated the recognition that a Jewish independent state would indeed exist when Jews were the majority of the country and had set up their governing apparatus."

23. P.518.

24. Paul S. Rubinfeld, "Integrity of Palestine", Midstream, August/September, 1975.

25. See footnote 17, above.
26. See Tuchman, P.336: "The theory that it [the Balfour Declaration] was issued to win the hearts of the Jews of the United States and of Russia is a windy product of the thirties...."
27. Tuchman, P.339: "Consciously or not, the objective was the British conscious, not the Jewish."
28. P.97.
29. P.252: "He and his advisors in Cairo simply misunderstood the diplomatic language of the Foreign Office...."
30. P.252: "...and, through their misunderstanding, arrived at a conception of the proposed Arab territory that did not [author's emphasis] intend to exclude Palestine...."
31. P.253.
32. P.253.
33. P.252: "To be sure, the Christian Holy Places required some form of international control, perhaps even a Jerusalem conclave, but no one in Cairo seems to have thought of this as significant enough a compromise to Arab desiderata to be worth mentioning." Yet, as Sanders points out four pages earlier, McMahon did include among the terms by which the British would recognize the inde-

pendence of the Arabs the point that the British would "safeguard the Holy Places against external aggression." Obviously, this in itself implied that at least part of Palestine was to be excluded from an independent Arab state, especially taking into account an additional phrase regarding the Holy Places in McMahon's letter, but not mentioned by Sanders, that Britain also "will recognize their inviolability."

34. P.308.

35. P.305.

36. P.306.

37. P.307.

38. P.654.



Frank W. Brecher

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

March 15, 1985

The Honorable George Shultz
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary of State Shultz:

As the Congressional Co-sponsors of the Interparliamentary Group for Human Rights in the Soviet Union (IPG), we are writing to offer suggestions for recommendations to be put forth at the Ottawa experts meeting on human rights and fundamental freedoms.

We also submit a list of priorities, in terms of issues in the implementation of Basket I, Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act, which hopefully will be useful to you in preparing strategy and policy for the Ottawa meeting.

As you know, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia still falls short of the expectations established in the Final Act. The ongoing noncompliance of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act by these nations is the cause of serious concern on the part of all governments and private citizens who value freedom.

The Ottawa experts meeting on human rights and fundamental freedoms will evaluate implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, with particular reference to Basket I, Principle VII-- "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief."

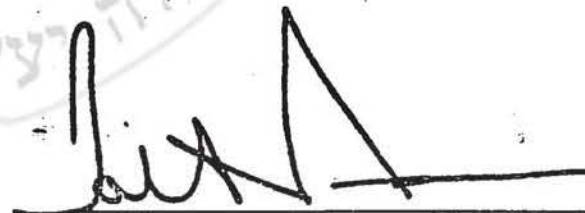
The assembled experts will make recommendations to the participating States as to improvements in the States' respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The attached proposals are offered as a contribution towards framing the discussion surrounding these recommendations.

We appreciate your attention to these ideas and proposals, and look forward to receiving comments at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,



Tom Lantos
Member of Congress



John E. Porter
Member of Congress



Charles Grassley
Member of Congress



Dennis DeConcini
Member of Congress

PROPOSALS FOR RECOMMENDATIONS TO BE MADE AT THE OTTAWA EXPERTS MEETING:

- I) "Consistent with the provisions of Basket I, Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act, the participating States will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual freely to acquire or possess belief, acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience."
- II) "Consistent with the provisions of Basket I, Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act, the participating States will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to maintain contacts with other individuals or groups who share the individual's religion or belief, and who reside in the territories of the participating States."
- III) "Consistent with the provisions of Basket I, Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act, the participating States will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to seek respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms through appeal to international organizations to which the participating States may belong. Such appeal may be made in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and, inter alia the International Covenants on Human Rights, by which the participating States may be bound. Such appeal by an individual will not result in the curtailment of the enjoyment of the human rights and fundamental freedoms recognized and respected by the participating States."
- IV) We support proposals to increase the number of human rights experts meetings in the context of the Helsinki process. These meetings should be scheduled to take place between the major Review meetings.
- V) We also support recommendations aimed at providing mechanisms for recourse to protect the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In this regard, we believe the following areas should be stressed:
 - a) Provision for appeal to international legal bodies, e.g. the International Court of Justice or the European Court of Human Rights
 - b) Provision for the International Red Cross to examine or investigate the conditions of individuals who have been arrested or imprisoned as a result of their attempts to know and act upon their rights in this field.
 - c) Adoption of a Draft Convention for the Protection of the Exercise of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, similar to the Draft Convention adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on February 1, 1985 (see appendix A).

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT:

I) Performance Issues

- a) Denial of access to materials necessary for the free practice of religion or belief, e.g. the prohibition of Hebrew-language material for Soviet Jews; the lack of Bibles and other materials for Christian believers, especially Catholics in Lithuania; the denial of religious materials and publications for prisoners; the prohibition of importation of religious materials;
- b) Restrictions on or denial of contact with co-religionists abroad, e.g. the continuing repression of "unregistered religious groups" and the harassment of foreign co-religionists attempting to meet with individuals or religious groups;
- c) Arrest or imprisonment of individuals attempting to practice religion or belief, e.g. the more than 340 Christian and 50 Jewish prisoners in the Soviet Union, and the alarming increase in anti-religious propaganda by the official media; and
- d) Repression of monitoring groups, especially that targeted by the Soviet Union against Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, and Anatoly Shcharansky;
- e) Although not primarily the focus of the Ottawa meeting, reference to performance under Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act should be made, especially in the areas of:
 - 1) Family reunification, emigration, and national repatriation particularly for Jews and ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union;
 - 2) Failure to resolve outstanding cases of marriages between citizens of different states; and
 - 3) The continuing problem of the free flow of information, particularly with reference to radio jamming, working conditions for journalists, and non-delivery of mail to and from citizens of the the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

II) Tactical Issues

- a) There should be a separation in the review of implementation between the record of the Soviet Union and each of its Warsaw Pact Allies;
- b) Avoidance of bloc-to-bloc confrontation between members states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact is desirable.

III) Policy Issues

- a) Whatever recommendations are made by the experts assembled at Ottawa, there should be satisfactory assurance that language, policy, technical or procedural improvements are verifiable and subject to periodic review in the ongoing Helsinki process.

- b) Every effort should be made to avoid a generic discussion as to the proper definition of the term "human rights and fundamental freedoms". While there are significant philosophical differences among the participating States as to which human rights are necessary prerequisites to freedom, i.e. the distinction between political/civil and economic/social rights, these differences should not obscure a forthright evaluation of actual performance, by all the participating States, in implementing the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.



APPENDIX TO THE RECOMMENDATION

Draft Convention for the Protection of the
Exercise of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Article 1

The High Contracting Parties undertake to secure the rights and freedoms set forth below to all persons under their authority.

Article 2

- a. Everyone has the right to invoke and assert human rights vis-à-vis public authorities or the courts.
- b. Everyone has the right to obtain information on the substance and scope of human rights.
- c. Everyone has the right, whether on his own or with others, whether spontaneously or on an organised basis, to seek to ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms by appealing to parliaments, governments, authorities or the public, including the United Nations or any other international organisation, even if, in so doing, he criticises the authorities of his country or of other countries.
- d. Anyone who avails himself of these rights shall not suffer any de jure or de facto prejudice, whether through judicial or administrative measures, such as the withholding or withdrawal of practical advantages, or through defamation, intimidation or threats.

Article 3

Action by public authorities to prevent the safeguards provided for in Article 2 above from being applied or to curtail or circumvent them shall be unlawful.

Article 4

The High Contracting Parties undertake, in the conduct of their internal and external relations and in particular in the drafting and application of national legislation and the conclusion of international treaties, to promote respect for human rights throughout Europe. To that end, they shall hold consultations and investigate procedures or institutions providing means of establishing and preventing gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Europe.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 15, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

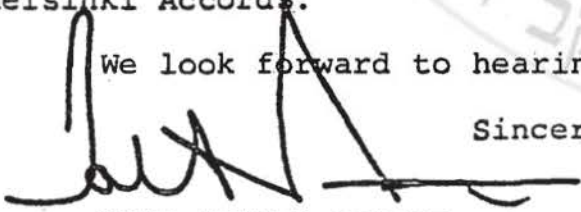
We are writing this letter regarding a resolution we have sponsored designating May 7, 1985, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day." This legislation, S.J.Res. 15/H.J.Res. 132, has overwhelming bipartisan support in the Congress and is expected to pass in the near future.


As you know, on May 7, 1985, a meeting of experts on human rights and fundamental freedoms will be convened in Ottawa, Canada, to discuss questions concerning respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as embodied in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (often referred to as the Helsinki Accords.) This is the first time since the CSCE was signed ten years ago that representatives of the 35 signatory nations will meet to discuss the basic human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

Knowing of your past efforts to achieve full implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords, we believe that a White House signing ceremony for this resolution would not only be a perfect opportunity to bring greater visibility to the issue of human rights, but would also demonstrate the bipartisan support for American policy concerning the CSCE. Furthermore, we believe a White House ceremony would demonstrate Western unity regarding noncompliance with the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

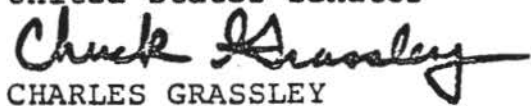
We look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,


JOHN EDWARD PORTER
Member of Congress


TOM LANTOS
Member of Congress


DENNIS DeCONCINI
United States Senator


CHARLES GRASSLEY
United States Senator



United States
of America

No. 1—Part II Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 99th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 131

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1985

No. 1—Part II

Senate

By Mr. DeCONCINI (for himself, Mr. GRASSLEY, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. QUAYLE, Mr. METZENBATH, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. BOREN, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. BUMPERS, Mr. SYMMS, Mr. COHEN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. EXON, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. PRESLER, Mr. CHILES, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. DIXON, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. SASSER, and Mr. HARKIN):

S.J. Res. 15. Joint resolution to designate May 7, 1985, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

HELSINKI HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

Mr. DeCONCINI. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce today with Senator GRASSLEY and 27 of our colleagues a joint resolution that authorizes and requests the President of the United States to designate May 7, 1985, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day."

This year marks the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, often referred to as the Helsinki Accords.

On May 7 of this year a meeting of experts on human rights and fundamental freedoms will be convened in Ottawa, Canada, to discuss questions concerning respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as embodied in the Helsinki accords. This meeting will be attended by representatives from the 35 nations who joined together in signing the Helsinki accords on August 1, 1975.

The principles of this resolution are universal. We are all members of the human family, and so long as any member of that family does not enjoy full human dignity and rights, none of us is truly free. While men and women are oppressed in other lands, our freedom is only partial. But so long as we defend the freedom of all men, the tyranny under which they live is mitigated.

In agreeing to the Helsinki accords, the signatory nations have acknowl-

edged their adherence to the principles of freedom. Not, perhaps, to the sophisticated modes of parliamentary democracy, but to the basic rights of citizens to enjoy at least the minimal respect by their government of their individuality and personal worth. In the contemporary world where governments seek the recognition of other nations, this is the least we can demand.

Unfortunately, several signatory nations have not adhered to the human rights standards of this agreement. The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania, have not fulfilled their commitments to the Helsinki accords by denying individuals their inherent rights to freedom of religion, thought, conscience, and belief.

By proclaiming May 7, 1985, the opening date of the Ottawa meeting of experts on human rights and fundamental freedoms, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day," we are reaffirming our commitment to the principles upon which our own democracy was founded. We are sending a message to the signatory nations, particularly the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, that we expect them to live up to their international agreements.

Mr. President, I urge each Member of this body to let his commitment be known. In the words of President Gerald Ford at the signing ceremony of the Helsinki accords:

History will judge this conference not by what we say here today, but by what we do tomorrow—not by the promises we make but by the promises we keep.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of this resolution be printed in the Record at this point.

There being on objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S.J. Res. 15

Whereas this year will be the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (hereafter in this preamble referred to as the "Helsinki Accords");

Whereas on August 1, 1975, the Helsinki Accords were agreed to by the Governments

of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Yugoslavia;

Whereas the Helsinki Accords express the commitment of the participating States to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion";

Whereas the Helsinki Accords also express the commitment of the participating States to "promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development";

Whereas the Helsinki Accords also express the commitment of the participating States to "recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practise, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience";

Whereas the Helsinki Accords also express the commitment of the participating States in whose territory national minorities exist to "respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere";

Whereas the Helsinki Accords also express the commitment of the participating States to "recognize the universal significance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for which is an essential factor for the peace, justice and well-being necessary to ensure the development of friendly relations and co-operation among themselves as among all States";

Whereas the Helsinki Accords also express the commitment of the participating States to "constantly respect these rights and freedoms in their mutual relations and will endeavor jointly and separately, including by co-operation with the United Nations, to promote universal and effective respect for them";

Whereas the Helsinki Accords also express the commitment of the participating States to "confirm the right of the individual to

know and act upon his rights and duties in this field";

Whereas the Helsinki Accords also express the commitment of the participating States in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms to "act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" and to "fulfill their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field, including inter alia the International Covenants on Human Rights, by which they may be bound";

Whereas the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania, in agreeing to the Helsinki Accords, have acknowledged an adherence to the principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms as embodied in the Helsinki Accords;

Whereas the aforementioned Governments have not fulfilled their commitments to the Helsinki Accords by denying individuals their inherent rights to freedom of religion, thought, conscience, and belief;

Whereas on May 7, 1985, a meeting of experts on human rights and fundamental freedoms will be convened in Ottawa, Canada, to discuss questions concerning respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as embodied in the Helsinki Accords;

Whereas this meeting is called for in the concluding document of the Madrid Review Conference of September 9, 1983; and

Whereas this meeting will be attended by representatives of all Helsinki signatory nations; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That—

(1) May 7, 1985, the opening date of the Ottawa meeting of experts on human rights and fundamental freedoms, is designated as "Helsinki Human Rights Day";

(2) the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation reasserting the American commitment to full implementation of the human rights and humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Accords, urging all signatory nations to abide by their obligations under the Helsinki Accords, and encouraging the people of the United States to join the President and Congress in observance of "Helsinki Human Rights Day" with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities;

(3) the President is further requested to continue his efforts to achieve full implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords by raising the issue of noncompliance with the Governments of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania at every available opportunity;

(4) the President is further requested to convey to all signatories of the Helsinki Accords that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is a vital element of further progress in the ongoing Helsinki process; and

(5) the President is authorized to convey to allies and friends of the United States that unity on the question of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is the most effective means to promote the full implementation of the human rights and humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate is directed to transmit copies of this joint resolution to the President, the Secretary of State, and the Ambassadors of the thirty-four Helsinki signatory nations.



7-8 - Tamar / Staff



The American Jewish Committee

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

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

March 15, 1985

Dear Marc:

As you can see, not much luck with appointments.

You will remember my mentioning that it would be the week after elections (cantonal, but very political and important this year because of the present situation).

Laurent Fabius is in his own area on Sunday, and back in Paris a lot of effervescence is expected ~~on~~ the following couple of days. Must add that both Atger and a Mr. Jean Gabriel Fredet, in the Prime Minister's office, could not have been more kind and helpful, until the last minute. The second expressed hope that matters will be easier at some other time.

Same for Roland Dumas, with the variation of having ^{had to} stay ~~on~~ in Moscow because of Chernenko's death and first Gorbatchev contact, so that his schedule altogether in a mess.

As for Ambassador Ovadia Soffer, he is on home leave in Israel and returns to Paris on March 25.

It could be quite interesting to have a session with Tamar Golan, journalist, expert on Africa. If you agree (and she is available) please let me know as rapidly as possible, so I can arrange this with some advance time. We could try for Monday, after Roudy -- or Sunday.

I will not disturb you on Saturday in case you are resting; but of course you can reach me at home (tel. 707.0496). Whatever, I will be at the Salon Taittinger on Sunday, around 11:15.

Yours,

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1220 S.W. Morrison, Suite 930
Portland, Oregon 97205

To: *Marc Tanenbaum / David Harris*

From: **Susan Abravanel**

For your information *As we discussed*

Your comments *As promised*

Please share with _____

Remarks:



The American Jewish Committee

PORTLAND CHAPTER • Ste. 930, 1220 S.W. Morrison St. • Portland, Oregon 97205 • (503) 295-6761

March 19, 1985

The Honorable Mark Hatfield
Room 322
Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hatfield:

On March 5, 1985, a joint American Jewish Committee/Anti-Defamation League statement was submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in support of ratification of the Genocide Treaty.

On behalf of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, I would like to thank you for your support of ratification of this treaty as it stands, without changes that could cripple its intent and effect.

As representatives of victims of a genocide without parallel in our times, and moreover, as this country's pioneer human relations organization, we look to ratification as in America's national interest. Not only will it put us in a better position to protest acts of genocide in other countries, but also will preclude a challenge to the American commitment to human rights.

We would be happy to provide any additional supportive material or assistance that you may wish on this issue.

With best regards,

Merritt Yoelin
Chapter Chairman

MY:mlb

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

100-107100-1000

date March 19, 1985
to Sidney Liskofsky
from Allan Kagedan
subject NCSJ Planning Meeting for Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting,
April-May 1985.

Mervin Riseman and I attended this meeting, called by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and chaired by Stanley Lowell. Representatives from the Canadian-Jewish Congress, ADL, B'nai B'rith International, The Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry, and the Committee of Concerned Scientists attended.

Allan Rose of the Canadian Jewish Congress provided some background information. NATO countries intended to make certain that the Ottawa meeting dealt broadly with human rights issues, including those of family reunification and cultural rights. Furthermore, Canada, and probably the U.S., accepted the idea that the Soviet Jewry concerns of Israel, a Mediterranean state with which the CSCE agreed to have contact and dialogue under the Helsinki Accord, could be discussed in Ottawa. The Ottawa meeting's Secretariat will be manned by Canadians and this should be helpful. The Canadian official supervising arrangements for the meeting, Harry Jay, reported that some 90 NGOs would be in Ottawa. The meeting would produce a concluding document, but as in previous Helsinki meetings there would be no other press releases or summary reports.

The question arose of under what auspices there should be a Jewish presence at Ottawa. Participants agreed that, as in the past, Jewish representatives should work under the International Council on Soviet Jewry. There was also general agreement, again as in the past, that the International Council would approach member organizations for contributions towards the funding of staff at the Ottawa meeting, though no specific figures or details were discussed.

On the question of whether Jewish representatives should be in contact with representatives of other ethnic and/or dissident groups, the policy previously adopted was reiterated, that is, that while there was no problem in sharing information, and even coordinating activities with other groups to avoid conflict, no cooperation in terms of any public statement where demonstration should occur, on the ground that the Soviet Jewry issue was unique. It also was agreed that the Canadian-Jewish Congress would staff an office at the Ottawa meeting.

The question was raised of what the Jewish community wished to see in the recommendations for follow-up that would be prepared by the experts. Allan Rose reported that the European countries and Canada had already prepared their follow-up suggestions. Jerry Goodman reported that the U.S. delegates to Ottawa would have their instructions prepared within two weeks. In order to draw up suggestions that could be made to the U.S. Delegation on this matter, the group agreed to strike a sub-committee to meet within the next few days to consider recommendations on this point.

Jerry Goodman reported that a new version of the "Blue Book" was ready in draft form, and that the final version would be available by April 1st. The content of the updated book was good, and should be useful for the Ottawa meeting, where it would be distributed to members of the various national delegations.

In terms of other suggestions for activity, participants mentioned: alerting European-Jewish communities to contact their national foreign ministries; holding a meeting with Richard Schifter, who will head the U.S. delegation to Ottawa; trying, as was the case of the Madrid meeting, to coordinate activities with the Union of Councils of Soviet Jews; and staging media events with prominent figures in the Soviet Jewry movement to publicize the issue.

On the general subject of Soviet attitudes on the question of Soviet Jews, Allan Rose reported that, in recent months, the Soviet Ambassador to Canada had been in frequent contact with the Canadian Jewish Congress and, for the first time, had agreed to receive a delegation from that organization to discuss Soviet Jews. This rather unusual Soviet stance raises the question of whether to approach Soviet delegates in Ottawa on matters of concern to the Jewish community.

The meeting concluded after about one hour and fifteen minutes of discussion.

AK/cpa
I022 (IRD-2)

Gorbachev fails to lift Soviet Jews' hopes

By Howard A. Tyner

Chicago Tribune

3/20/85

MOSCOW—At this city's central synagogue Saturday night, there was the usual talk about emigration. If the leadership change here has raised a few hopes or lifted any spirits among Soviet Jews, it wasn't readily apparent.

"We think of ourselves as a kind of currency that the Soviet government is keeping to be spent at some time in the future," said Boris, a former chemist with a passion for reading English-language magazines.

"How and when we are spent depends on the circumstances, not the man in charge."

The new man in charge, Mikhail Gorbachev, has stirred hopes in the West for better relations with the Kremlin. But Jews here, who know that emigration increases whenever the international climate improves, remain skeptical about what lies ahead.

"We will believe he means something different when he does something different, not before," another man outside the synagogue said.

Since the mid-1970s, the synagogue on Arhipova Street has served as an informal gathering place for Soviet refuseniks—Jews refused permission to emigrate. Last Saturday night, clustered in small knots in front of the building's granite columns, they exhibited little emotion about the leadership turnover.

The picture for Soviet Jews who want to emigrate is not a bright one. The rate of emigration, often considered a barometer of East-West relations in general, has sunk to nearly zero.

Western figures show only 88 Jews were allowed to leave in February and 61 the month before. According to the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, the total for all of last year was only 908.

During the 1970s, when detente was more the order of the day, almost 250,000 Jews

Assignment: Moscow

emigrated, reaching a peak of 51,300 in 1979. That was the year the Kremlin ordered its troops into Afghanistan, provoking a sharp reaction by the West and sending the international scene into tension-filled gloom.

Beginning in 1980, the number of exit permits plunged sharply to a recent average of 80 a month.

How many of the estimated 2.5 million Jews still living in the Soviet Union want to leave is a matter of debate. Twice in the last 18 months, a Soviet official has insisted publicly that virtually all those who sought to emigrate have done so already.

But Jewish organizations in the West contend



Gorbachev

that 350,000 Jews have embarked on the long and difficult emigration process, which routinely results in loss of jobs and ostracism by friends and colleagues.

During the last year or so, police have cracked down on activists promoting Jewish religion and history. Particular attention

has been focused on unofficial teachers of Hebrew who hold courses in private apartments.

Since October, 1983, six of them have been arrested and sent to labor camps on charges ranging from possession of narcotics to resisting arrest.

Some of those waiting to leave say they have been summoned by officials and told that exit permits on a large scale never again will be issued. The implication is that they should abandon their plans and return to their former lives as normal Soviet citizens.

But most refuseniks cling tenaciously to the idea that a resumption of warmer superpower relations will open the emigration door again at least a crack—and that they will be the ones allowed to leave.

The resumption of U.S.-Soviet arms talks in Geneva last week fed such hopes. There also were reports in January that a Soviet official had told a visiting American it would be "no problem" for emigration to go back up to 50,000 annually if bilateral ties were improved.

But Western experts here said this probably was designed to get the powerful Jewish lobby in the U.S. to bring more pressure on Washington for East-West accord.

That would include an improved climate for trade, which, many of the experts contend, is Moscow's real goal in lifting its ties with the U.S. out of the deep freeze of the last several years.

How Gorbachev's elevation will affect this is unclear. His background as a technocrat suggests he will push for an improvement in trade without necessarily trying to re-establish a 1970s-style East-West detente.

In that case, Jewish emigration could play a role. But no one is willing to predict if Gorbachev will opt to allow a token increase in departures as a gesture of his intentions or wait until the climate improves before responding with more exit permits.

Meanwhile, for the refusenik community there is little choice but to drop in as usual at the synagogue on Saturday nights, swap stories—and wait.

"Nobody asks currency whether it wants to be spent or not, or how," says Boris.



FROM: Richard Cohen

March 19, 1985

- TO: 1. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

Remarks:

- Please return ()
Your action ()
Your files ()
For your info ()
Let's discuss ()

The enclosed vita describes a summa cum laude graduate of Rutgers, with an M.A. from Princeton now getting his Ph.D. in Congressional attitudes toward Israel. He was brought to my attention by Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, a close friend of the young man's father. If you think you may have something for him, please write or call John Michael Lewis directly.

MAR 21 1985

JOHN MICHAEL LEWIS

400-D Devereux Avenue,
Princeton, N.J., 08540
(609) 924-6165

167 Hartley Avenue,
Princeton, N.J., 08540
(609) 921-1788
(After July 1, 1985)

OBJECTIVE: To work for an organization which promotes U.S. support for Israel.

EDUCATION: Currently engaged on research for Doctorate: An examination of the influence exerted by non-Jewish domestic actors in the U.S. over Congressional attitudes towards Israel. An assessment of the impact on Congress of a potential decline in domestic support for Israel.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, M.A., Politics, January 1984.
Courses included: American government (3), International Relations (4), American Diplomatic History.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, B.A., Politics, May 1981.
Senior thesis examined the attitudes of American Churches towards Israel and measured what influence they exerted over U.S. Foreign Policy towards Israel.

TEL-AVIV UNIVERSITY, September 1977 to June 1978.
Courses included: Israeli Foreign Policy, Israeli Politics, Arab-Israeli Conflict, Arab Politics.

HONORS AND AWARDS: Elected to Phi Beta Kappa; graduated Summa Cum Laude; Political Science Honors Society; Henry Rutgers Scholar.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

- Nov '84 - Feb '85 Intern, Senator Frank Lautenberg, Newark, N.J., Reviewed applications to military academies; aided constituents.
- Jan '82 - Jun '84 Assistant Instructor, Princeton University., Conducted classes; led discussions; graded examinations.
- Apr '84 Educational Testing Center, Princeton, N.J., Prepared questions for State Department Foreign Service Exam.
- Aug '81 - Sep '81 Interviewer, Opinion Research Corporation, Princeton, N.J., Conducted various polls by phone on various political issues.
- Jan '77 - Jun '77 Volunteer, Kibbutz Ramat Hashofet., Worked in plastic factory.
- Jul '74 - Jun '76 Volunteer, Kibbutz Kfar Blum., Worked in Orchards, cotton fields, garden and kitchen, both alone and in charge of others.
- Sep '72 - Jul '74 Articled Clerk, Accountants, Casson & Beckman, London, England Verified tax returns and balance sheets and audited firms.

SPECIAL SKILLS AND

INTERESTS: Knowledge of French and Hebrew; travelled extensively through Western Europe and Israel. Interests are Current Events, Playing and watching soccer and reading.

REFERENCES: Available upon request.

*Memo*

March 22, 1985

TO: CRC Executives

FROM: Charney V. Bromberg, Associate Director

RE: Recommended Response on Death of CBS Newsmen in South Lebanon

The following message was sent out today to communities on our Instant Telecommunications Network:

"National and local member agency members of the Israel Task Force Strategy Committee with whom I consulted on the death of the CBS newsmen in South Lebanon recommend that member agencies not issue statements on this tragedy. Ironically, many of us first learned about the deaths while discussing last Sunday evening's CBS broadcast, in which Israel was harshly condemned for imposing restricted access and censorship on the press in South Lebanon.

"While recommending that no statements be issued or letters written, if you are asked for comment, you might want to refer to Shimon Peres' response to CBS News President Ed Joyce (reproduced below) and President Reagan's responses to questions on this subject during last evening's news conference, also reproduced below.

"Both characterized the incident as tragic, but reject the possibility that it was, in any way, intentional."

Shimon Peres' Cablegram to Ed Joyce:

"I wish to express my deep sorrow at the tragic death of two newsmen in South Lebanon. Please convey my condolences to the families and to CBS News and my wishes for full and speedy recovery to the wounded.

"The tank crew involved did not deviate from the strict order concerning the protection of innocent bystanders. It appears that the cameramen took position in the midst of a group of armed men who were engaged in active hostility against the IDF.

"I reiterate Israel's long-standing and unqualified commitment to freedom of the press and totally reject any suggestion that the incident was anything but derivative of the tragic situation in Lebanon and the circumstances under which we are forced to carry out our duty to protect the lives of our soldiers."

(over)

President Reagan's Press Conference Answer to Question on This Subject:

CBS Casualties

Q. Mr. President, back to the Middle East for a minute. As you know, three Lebanese who were working for CBS News taking pictures during some hostilities were shot at by the Israeli army today. Two were killed and one was critically wounded. I was wondering if you have a reaction to the incident and if you plan to lodge any protest with the Israeli Government.

A. Well, first of all, I'd like to know all the details of this. I'm quite sure, in combat of that kind, this was not a deliberate killing. You were, they were engaged in gunfire with armed persons who were also were in civilian clothes, not uniformed, as they would be in a war. So, these things can happen. And it is a tragedy. And all I can say is that I think all of us have a great feeling of sorrow about the tragedy that is going on there in Lebanon and particularly in South Lebanon now as the Israelis try to withdraw. And whichever side the acts of terror, the retaliation, both of them, are leading to tragedies that just seem to be so, so needless.

Q. Are you saying that the Israelis were engaged in gunfire with other people at the time? Because one report said that they just opened fire on the newsmen, who were obviously taking pictures and covering

A. Your own news program tonight showed an awful lot of gunfire with very sophisticated weapons, including grenade launchers and they were obviously being used by civilians, at least people in civilian uniforms. They weren't Israelis. So, yes, this, this is one of the things that happens in this kind of warfare where you're not fighting another country's army.

If you have any questions, please call me.

CVB:tn

O,EX

*Memo*

March 22, 1985

TO: NJCRAC Member Agencies

FROM: Arden E. Shenker, and Rabbi Israel M. Miller, Co-Chairs,
NJCRAC Israel Task ForceRE: Follow-through on Letters of Commendation to the Administration

You are all aware of the essential message—at least, the message publicly reported—that the President and Secretary of State, as well as members of Congress, delivered to Egyptian President Mubarak during his recent visit to Washington: support for direct Arab-Israel negotiations; no support for indirect or U.S./Jordanian/PLO talks. This was repeated unambiguously by the President in his press conference last night (transcript enclosed). He also made reference to the pending trip of Assistant Secretary Richard Murphy to the Middle East for the purpose of encouraging a Jordanian/non-PLO Palestinian delegation. But even in this regard, the President made crystal clear that the United States does not intend to negotiate with such a delegation or slip into the role of initiating and thereby directing the course of negotiations by inviting such a delegation for bilateral U.S.-Arab discussions. The President said, "It's a case of their inviting us, not the other way around, and we've said that we'd be happy to discuss with them, but they've got to understand we are not getting into the direct negotiations. That's none of our business. We're only to do what we can to help."

Convening yesterday, members of the NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee felt that this memo (then in draft) recommending letters of commendation to the President, should be deferred pending any comments the President might make about the peace process and clarification of the U.S. approach to a Jordanian/non-PLO Palestinian delegation. There was agreement that U.S. efforts to encourage non-PLO Palestinian leadership to step forward would be positive so long as the Administration does not get drawn into a dialogue with the Arabs for the purpose of coordinating position in advance of, or as a substitute for, direct Arab-Israel negotiations. It would appear from his response to the press that the President is aware of the Arab desire to bend the process in this direction and rejects it even as he seeks to give encouragement to President Mubarak and King Hussein.

Keeping this in mind, the Strategy Committee reaffirms the thrust of our March 4 memo: that the articulated position of the Administration on behalf of direct negotiations deserves the highest degree of support and approval.

We want, particularly, to commend to your attention the lead editorial in yesterday's New York Times, enclosed. It is a concise rebuttal to Hussein's attempt to shift the burden of peace to the United States.

-more-

Recommendations

Drawing upon the comments above, the enclosed New York Times editorial, material sent previously on March 4 and 8 and the President's own statements yesterday, the NJCRAC Israel Task Force Strategy Committee recommends that:

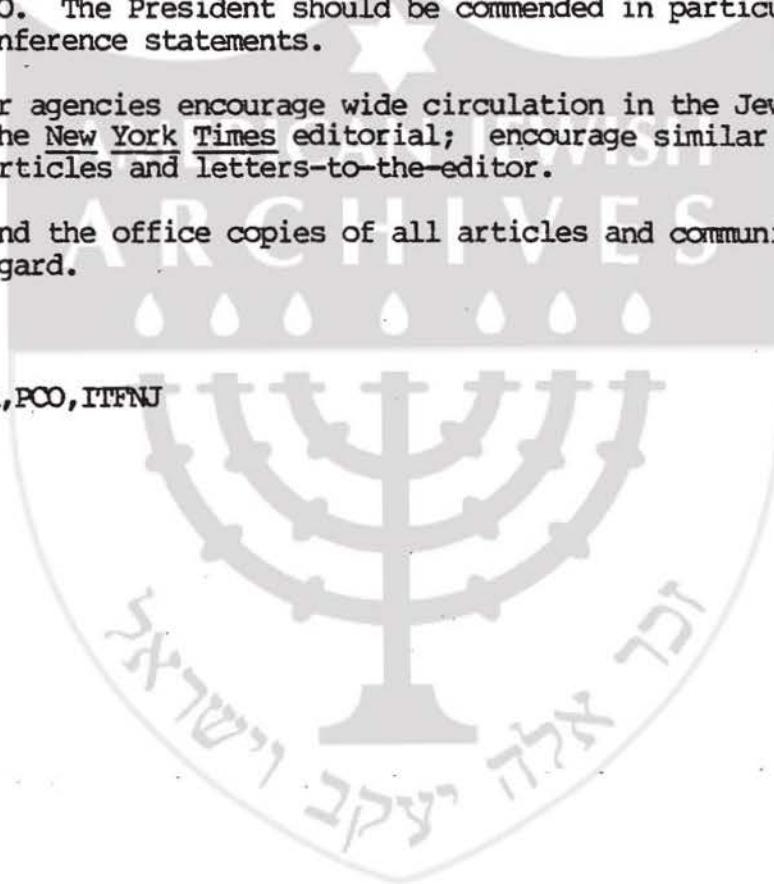
1. Member agencies which have not already done so should write letters of commendation to the President and Secretary of State for their clear and unequivocal articulation of a realistic American policy calling for direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel and for reaffirming that the U.S. will not deal with the PLO. The President should be commended in particular for his March 21 news conference statements.

2. Member agencies encourage wide circulation in the Jewish and general communities of the New York Times editorial; encourage similar local editorial comment, op-ed articles and letters-to-the-editor.

Kindly send the office copies of all articles and communications developed in this regard.

AES/gl

EX, O, X, XEC, CHAIR, PCO, ITFNI



That 'Last Chance' in the Middle East

In the high-stakes diplomacy of the Middle East, the hardest thing is to stand alert while doing nothing. For a change, the United States is doing that very well.

There has been considerable commotion in Egypt, Jordan and the P. L. O. in recent weeks, signaling interest in a new approach to Israel. It turns on a proposal, already fudged, to create some kind of Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza, vaguely linked to Jordan and vaguely at peace with Israel. It has come with warnings from King Hussein that this is the Arabs' last best offer, America's "last chance" to force Israel to accept. Or else what will happen?

What will happen is that Israel will in any case keep withdrawing from Lebanon and retrenching to repair its economy. Egypt and Jordan will keep contending they've done their best to qualify for more American aid. And the battered Palestine Liberation Organization will keep looking to deal itself back into the affairs of the region.

This is not the last chance to bring these exhausted belligerents toward a recognition of realities. The most important reality is that the Arabs will finally have to negotiate with Israel, not the United States, and that is best emphasized by holding America's mediators willing but not too ready.

Overeagerness is an old American vice in the Middle East. It was understandable as long as the commitment to Israel strained relations with all Arabs and interfered with the oil trade. Trying to ride two ponies in opposite directions, Americans thought it best to keep cracking diplomatic whips.

As Egypt's President Sadat became the first to realize, however, there's a better way to qualify for American aid and protection: Accept Israel. It was surely easier for him to trade peace for the empty Sinai than it will be for King Hussein to bargain for a strategic enclave inhabited by a million Palestinians. But now that the P. L. O. has been defanged and Israel is losing the taste for absorbing so many Arabs, time can be a pacifying force.

Then what of those promising Arab declarations? They imply acceptance of the Reagan Plan for a West Bank entity linked to Jordan. Yet Yasir Arafat failed to sell even that ambiguity to his P. L. O. and still talks of an unattainable independent state. To Egypt's reading, King Hussein implies he's ready to negotiate with Israel, but the King and his Saudi friends show a discouraging preference for bargaining only with the United States.

So President Reagan properly refuses to pretend that a deal is at hand. He knows that the Arabs and Israelis have ample grounds, mostly economic, for wanting to impress him with their conciliation. If King Hussein has really regained the right to negotiate for West Bank Palestinians, let the Arab League ratify his approach. If Egypt's President Mubarak intends to give new life to the Camp David peace, let him prove it. Any genuine approach to Israel can only reinforce the healthy pragmatism of Israel's Prime Minister Peres.

When truly ready for American mediation, the parties will have no trouble reaching the White House. When that moment comes, it will be not a last chance for peace, but a first.

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National Jewish Relations Community Advisory Council

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's news conference last night in Washington, as recorded by The New York Times:

Middle East Policy

Q. Mr. President, in your first term you proposed your own Middle East peace plan and you sent special envoys to the region to seek solutions. You even sent in marines to try to stabilize Lebanon. These days we hardly ever even hear you mention the Middle East and last week President Mubarak went home disappointed when he asked for your help in getting peace talks started again. I wonder if you could tell us tonight, sir, what you expect to gain from the new policy of disengagement and what do you expect to be achieved over there?

A. Well, it isn't disengagement, and let me point out I believe it's a misapprehension that President Mubarak left disappointed. He made no requests. He told us what he was doing, and certainly we complimented him highly upon what he is doing — I think it's great.

But our proposal in the very beginning was that we did not want to participate in the negotiations — it wouldn't be any of our business to do so but that we'd do whatever we could to help bring the warring parties together — in effect you might say continue the Camp David process and continue trying to find more countries that would do as Egypt did and make peace. And we haven't been idle. We've not only had President Mubarak here but a short time before that we had King Faud of Saudi Arabia. Masri, the Foreign Minister, is now here, and we still feel the same way. We have been trying to build up a relationship with the Arab nations as well as the relationship that we have always had with Israel, and we discussed with President Mubarak the — yes, the things that he has proposed and the idea of the Palestinians.

We did have to make it clear that we couldn't meet if it was the P.L.O. They still refuse to recognize the U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, and they refuse to agree or admit that Israel has a right to exist as a nation. But we have said Palestinian representatives, yes. There's a large Palestinian community, and I'm sure that there are people that do not consider themselves represented by the P.L.O.

Q. Do you see a direct role for the United States in any talks over there?

A. Well not the direct role in sitting at the table and negotiating. That must be done in direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel. And I think that King Husein, the position he's taken — that was the one we had hoped — and he did take two years ago when we suggested all of this and things broke down with the Lebanese conflict and now thanks to Mubarak pushing ahead and Husein, I think that there is a reasonable chance. And we have another traveling ambassador on his way back there in a few weeks.

Middle East Talks

Q. Mr. President, back, talking about the Middle East, you've been told by King Hussein, I believe, or at least King Hussein has said it publicly that his agreement with Yasir Arafat does include recognition of Israel's right to exist and a renunciation of the use of force. Under those conditions would you then at least consider the possibility of inviting a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation for a meeting if you thought they would lead to direct talks and if they did not include any members of the P.L.O.?

A. Well, as I say, we're willing to meeting with a joint group — Palestinian and Jordanian — but at the moment not the P.L.O. because we have not had any statement from them that they do recognize Israel and they will recognize 242 and so forth. But there are many Palestinians who don't feel that they're represented by the P.L.O., and any delegation of them — for example many of those who are living and holding local offices on the West Bank — but....

Q. Do you think then that it would be possible? Would you consider the Mubarak approach, which is for the United States to invite a joint delegation, if you had an understanding about the composition of the Palestinians?

A. Well, this is what President Mubarak was talking about and that they're putting together — It's a case of their inviting us not the other way around, and we've said that we'd be happy to discuss with them but they've got to understand we are not getting into the direct negotiations. That's none of our business. We're only to do what we can to help.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 26, 1985
to Western Regional Advisory Board
from Merritt Yoelin, Chairman, Portland Chapter
 Executive Committee, Portland Chapter
subject RESOLUTION: SOUTH AFRICA (Revised)

WHEREAS, House Bill 2001 has been introduced into the Oregon House of Representatives, introducing disinvestment and divestiture proceedings against South Africa; and

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of the Portland Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has indicated its desire to support HB 2001; and

WHEREAS, the position of the American Jewish Committee, as stated at the National Executive Council meeting in Chicago, November, 1984, does not include consideration of such economic sanctions; and

WHEREAS, the Portland Chapter, desiring a change in AJC policy to allow the chapter to support HB 2001, has requested a review of national policy on this issue by the International Affairs Commission, and other appropriate National AJC bodies.

Be it here resolved that the Western Regional Advisory Board of the American Jewish Committee endorse the Portland Chapter's request for a review of AJC National policy on disinvestment and divestiture in South Africa. The Board further recommends that AJC chapters in the Western Region support the Portland Chapter's request.

MY:nlb

- cc: David Gordis
- Harold Applebaum
- Marc Tanenbaum
- David Harris
- Neil Sandberg
- Ernest Weiner
- Bonnie Feinman
- Hinda Beral
- Joan Tamis
- Barbara Hurst
- Diane Steinman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 26, 1985
to Area Directors and Executive Assistants
from George E. Gruen *GEG*
subject Middle East Peace Efforts

I am attaching for your information the letter sent by AJC President Howard I. Friedman to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak elaborating the reasons why we disagree with certain aspects of his proposals to restart the peace process by bringing a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to Washington and suggesting an international conference. The letter also states our serious concern that Egypt's failure to normalize diplomatic relations with Israel and the continuing appearance of blatantly anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic articles and cartoons in the Egyptian media will undermine the psychological basis for peace.

I am also enclosing another copy of the AJC statement of March 5, 1985 regarding recent Middle East peace efforts. Our view that the Hussein-Arafat agreement of February 11 "falls far short of a serious peace proposal" has been confirmed by subsequent developments. Some of Arafat's own key supporters within al-Fatah have denied that the agreement constitutes a readiness to recognize Israel. Meanwhile, the Syrian-backed opponents to Arafat within the PLO have intensified their activities. Reuters reported from Damascus, on March 25, that "six Palestinian guerrilla groups opposed to the policies of Yasir Arafat, . . . said today that they had formed the Palestinian National Salvation Front to fight Israel. . . . The National Salvation Front was announced by former speaker of the Palestine National Council, Khaled Fahoum."

When I asked Jordanian Foreign Minister Taher Masri, at a meeting sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute in Washington on March 18, how Jordan expected to deal with the Syrian opposition to the Hussein-Arafat agreement, he replied that King Hussein's call for an international conference was in part designed to meet their objections. As you know, the Syrians and their Soviet mentors have long been calling for an international conference. The reasons Israel and the U.S. have opposed this approach is, as indicated in Mr. Friedman's letter to President Mubarak, because it would reintroduce the Soviet Union as a major actor in the negotiations and would also give Syria a veto power, thereby strengthening the more extreme Arab demands and increase the likelihood of failure to reach any agreement. As demonstrated by historical experience, the only successful peace negotiations in the Middle East have been bilateral and step-by-step.

I am also enclosing a Washington Post article of March 23, 1985, in which Secretary of State George P. Shultz attempts to clarify the U.S. position regarding a possible visit by a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to Washington and the American role in negotiations.



The American Jewish Committee

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

Howard I. Friedman, President • 1600 One Wilshire Building, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017 • 213/629-0274

March 14, 1985

President Hosni Mubarak
c/o His Excellency Abdel Raouf el-Reedy
Ambassador L & P
Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt
2310 Decatur Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. President:

As one of the group of American Jewish organizational leaders who met with you in Washington on Monday, March 11, 1985, may I take this means of expressing to you my own organization's appreciation for your generous sharing of time and thought at that meeting. Because the format of the meeting, involving more than two dozen people, makes it extremely difficult to pursue in depth a substantive dialogue, I am taking the liberty of writing this letter to you. What I say here, of course, is only intended to reflect the views of the American Jewish Committee and does not purport to speak for others, although I believe these views are widely shared.

Our leadership met with you, as you will recall, in late October, 1981, in Cairo, shortly after you assumed the presidency of Egypt. That was a particularly constructive meeting and had the effect of conveying most dramatically to us your own commitment to the integrity of the peace process with Israel and your determination to broaden it to the fullest. In that same spirit, we have taken some satisfaction in your more recent efforts to expand the peace process itself. It is, however, primarily because of our appreciation of the seriousness of purpose which has always characterized you that we want to voice to you our conviction that certain aspects of your recent initiative may be counter-productive to what we view as the primary ingredient of the peace process.

Peace can only be achieved, as it was between Egypt and Israel, through direct negotiations between Israel and its adversaries. That is so in our view because the underlying obstacle to peace in the area has always been Arab refusal to accept the reality and sovereign legitimacy of the State of Israel. President Sadat cut through that mind set completely when he made it clear that he was prepared to negotiate directly with Israel as a legitimate sovereign entity.

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President ■ THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chair, Board of Governors ■ E. ROBERT GOODKIND, Treasurer ■ HONORARY PRESIDENTS: MORRIS B. ABRAM, ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, RICHARD MAASS, ELMER L. WINTER, MAYNARD I. WISHNER, MARTIN GANG, RUTH R. GODDARD, ANDREW GOODMAN, RAYMOND F. KRAVIS, JAMES MARSHALL, WILLIAM ROSENWALD ■ EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENTS EMERITI: JOHN SLAWSON, BERTRAM H. GOLD ■ ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council ■ EMILY W. SUNSTEIN, Associate Treasurer ■ VICE-PRESIDENTS: NORMAN E. ALEXANDER, Westchester ■ WILLIAM S. TROSTEN, Acting Director ■ ROBERT S. JACOBS, Chair, Board of Trustees ■ RITA E. HAUSER, Chair, Executive Committee ■ HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS: NATHAN APPLEMAN, MAX M. FISHER, Honorary Chair, National Executive Council ■ EDWARD E. ELSON, Atlanta ■ RICHARD J. FOX, Philadelphia

President Hosni Mubarak
Page Two
March 14, 1985

Nothing less will be productive with respect to the securing of peace between Israel and its remaining adversaries. That is why we respectfully suggest that the preliminary negotiations which you have urged between the United States and a negotiating group consisting of Jordanians and Palestinians, including in the latter PLO representatives, is not a foundation upon which positive results can be predicated. Rather, it is seen by most observers as an attempt to press the United States into a posture of dealing with representatives different from those with whom Israel can reasonably be expected to negotiate. I understand that our own government's recognition of that reality has been plainly and unequivocally conveyed to you and we believe it is based on sound principles.

We likewise feel profoundly that the process will be most productive if it is not sought by means of a universalist format. Peace can best be built step-by-step. A logical next step would be negotiations with Jordan. As you know Israel has indicated that it would not object to the inclusion of Palestinians who are not PLO officials in such a Jordanian delegation. The alternative of an international conference will encourage the most extreme demands of Israel's adversaries to become the common denominator upon which the totality of Israel's adversaries can join together. Moreover, it suggests a key role in the ultimate negotiating process for the Soviet Union. I realize that you, too, share that apprehension. Such an approach would not be a formula for success, but rather a prescription for failure.

I hope you will forgive the frank spirit in which I address these remarks to you. You have always been a man characterized by openness and frankness. Because we share a common commitment to a meaningful peace in the area, I write you only to provide you with our own sense of the inherent limitations and deficiencies in some aspects of the approach which has recently been advanced.

We share with you as well an appreciation of the importance of the psychological dimension in the fostering of peace among nations. The people of Israel made heavy sacrifices for the sake of peace with Egypt and the Government of Prime Minister Peres has indicated its readiness to take additional risks for true and lasting peace with all its neighbors. Yet we found during our recent visit to Israel many Israelis who are asking themselves whether the Arab world will ever really accept Israel in its midst. They argue that if Arab hatred is unalterable then why made additional sacrifices and take additional risks for peace?

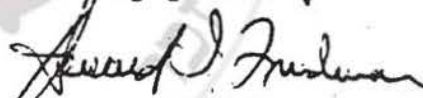
President Hosni Mubarak
Page Three
March 14, 1985

I believe that Egypt's actions play a crucial role in molding attitudes in Israel as well as in the Arab world. The prompt return of the Egyptian ambassador to his post in Israel would help to reverse the popular pessimism within Israel about Arab attitudes and could also encourage other Arab parties to enter into direct peace talks with Israel.

In this connection we are also distressed to find that articles continue to appear in the Egyptian press, including the semi-official Al Gomhouria, which are not only harshly critical of Israel but contain vicious anti-Jewish stereotypes. Such articles go far beyond legitimate criticism of specific Israeli policies in that they attribute malicious and evil characteristics to all Israelis and to the Jewish people as a whole. We are deeply concerned that the cumulative effect of this hate propoganda among the Egyptian people will be to undermine the progress that has been made thus far by Egypt and Israel to create a new atmosphere of tolerance and reconciliation between Arabs and Jews.

Please be assured that we want to be helpful in any way we can to advance the peace process and look forward to an early opportunity to discuss with you in the same spirit of frankness our mutual concerns as well as our mutual aspirations.

Sincerely yours,



Howard I. Friedman,
National President,
American Jewish Committee.

HIF:JA

bcc: Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum
Dr. David Gordis
Dr. George E. Gruen

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS

By Howard I. Friedman, President

The American Jewish Committee welcomes the latest initiatives of Prime Minister Peres of Israel and President Mubarak of Egypt to improve relations between their two countries and to encourage efforts to broaden the Camp David peace process through direct negotiations. King Hussein of Jordan has indicated that he also favors negotiations on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 and the participation of Palestinians in the framework of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

We welcome the signs of good faith manifested in Jerusalem, Cairo and Amman. We believe that the insistence by the Reagan Administration that the primary responsibility for resolving the issues in dispute rests on the parties in the Middle East has had a salutary and sobering effect within the Arab world. The repeatedly demonstrated readiness of the Government and people of Israel to make significant concessions for the sake of peace may also have finally evoked a positive response.

However, many difficulties remain. Indeed, it has become increasingly doubtful in recent days whether Yasir Arafat and the factions of the fragmented Palestine Liberation Organization that remain loyal to him are genuinely prepared to recognize the legitimacy of Israel and its right to live within secure and recognized borders, as required by Resolution 242. It thus remains to be seen whether King Hussein will be willing and able to enter negotiations with moderate Palestinian representatives, who are not officials of the PLO and who favor permanent peace with Israel in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian context.

There is thus no basis for premature jubilation. Indeed, the Hussein-Arafat joint agreement of February 11, 1985 is not only full of ambiguities but contains elements that are fundamentally inconsistent with the peace process agreed upon by the United States, Israel and Egypt. It falls far short of a serious peace proposal.

Yet one should not be overly pessimistic, for the peace process has always been fraught with difficulties. We are confident that the United States Government will continue to offer its good offices to aid all parties who genuinely seek peace through negotiations.

We trust that during President Mubarak's forthcoming visit to Washington, President Reagan will also impress upon him the importance that the United States attaches to full normalization of Egypt's relations with Israel as a necessary practical step in restoring the positive atmosphere to further the advancement of the peace process.

March 5, 1985
85-580-8

Shultz Says Peace 'Action' Is in Mideast

3.23.86
**Reagan Offer Called
No Change in Policy
US + PLE**

By John M. Goshko
and David Ottaway
Washington Post Staff Writers

The State Department yesterday appeared to be pulling back from President Reagan's offer of a possible meeting here with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation as Secretary of State George P. Shultz said that "the action is in the Middle East" in terms of reviving the Arab-Israeli peace process.

But at the same time, Shultz said he is eager "to keep the ball rolling" in light of new Arab proposals to revive the Middle East peace process.

Shultz held an unscheduled second meeting yesterday with Jordanian Foreign Minister Taher Masri after Reagan's statement at his Thursday news conference that "we're willing to meet with a joint group." His offer sparked speculation about increasing U.S. interest in Arab proposals and possible imminent shifts in the previously cautious U.S. attitude toward them.

But after the meeting with Masri, Shultz told reporters: "The possibility of visits here is one thing. But the parties are really in the Middle East. So I think likely that's where the action most likely will be."

Even before Shultz spoke, administration officials insisted that Reagan's offer did not signal a change in the longstanding U.S. policy of trying to bring about direct talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

They said that Reagan had meant to indicate his willingness to meet such a delegation if the move showed promise of leading to direct talks. But, the officials added, this idea was only one of the options being considered by the administration, and they added that the United States had not yet decided what course offers the best chance for

movement toward negotiations. The issue is delicate for all parties because of the implication that U.S. reception of a joint Arab delegation would be tantamount to recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Reagan tried to circumvent that problem by reiterating U.S. refusal to accept any PLO members in the delegation prior to PLO recognition of Israel's right to exist.

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, while expressing willingness to negotiate directly with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation that has no PLO members, publicly has op-

posed the idea of such a group going to Washington for preliminary talks that would not include Israel.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said Israel has sent "some mixed signals" about its attitude on U.S. talks with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. "There are some indications that they [Israel] would be interested," Speakes said.

But yesterday the Israeli Embassy here reiterated Israel's concern that the Arabs would use a Washington meeting to circumvent direct talks with the Jewish state and to bring members of the PLO into the process "through the back door."

Reagan's additional comment Thursday that "we are not getting

into the direct negotiations" created confusion about whether the United States was on the verge of renewed activism in the peace process or was distancing itself from increased involvement.

A senior U.S. official, commenting on Reagan's statement, said he was trying to underscore the U.S. belief that the Arabs and Israelis must resolve their differences between themselves. But, the official added, Reagan did not mean to imply the United States was withdrawing from its role as "a full partner" in the American-sponsored Camp David accords.

He said the United States would continue to act as a mediator if the peace process could be revived and

expanded with Jordanian participation.

At a meeting with reporters earlier yesterday, Masri said he did not know what the mechanism for selecting the Palestinian members of the delegation might be, and he proposed that the United States should suggest names Jordan could pass on to the PLO for its consideration.

"We didn't try to work out anything of that kind," Shultz said after the 40-minute session with Masri. But he said there was "general agreement" that some Palestinians would have to be involved in any talks.

Other U.S. officials acknowledged that the problem of finding potential Palestinian delegation

members acceptable to all parties is likely to be discussed by Assistant Secretary of State Richard W. Murphy when he goes to the Middle East in mid-April to explore the various options.

Masri, following the lead taken by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak when he visited here last week, stressed that any Palestinians chosen would have to be approved by the PLO. As a result, he said, their reception by U.S. officials would be regarded as American recognition of the PLO.

The idea of the meeting was among several proposals that Masri and Shultz discussed at their first meeting Wednesday and that might be explored further by Murphy

when he visits the region. U.S. officials said that other topics included a Jordanian request for the United States to endorse a limited form of Palestinian self-determination and an Egyptian suggestion that the foreign ministers of the United States, Egypt and Jordan meet to help select members of the joint delegation.

The officials said that any U.S. declaration on self-determination would have to be made within the context of Reagan's September 1982 peace initiative calling for the Palestinian-inhabited West Bank and Gaza Strip to get independence "in association with Jordan" rather than as an independent Palestinian state.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 26, 1985
to Area Directors and Executive Assistants
from George E. Gruen *GE*
subject Middle East Peace Efforts

I am attaching for your information the letter sent by AJC President Howard I. Friedman to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak elaborating the reasons why we disagree with certain aspects of his proposals to restart the peace process by bringing a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to Washington and suggesting an international conference. The letter also states our serious concern that Egypt's failure to normalize diplomatic relations with Israel and the continuing appearance of blatantly anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic articles and cartoons in the Egyptian media will undermine the psychological basis for peace.

I am also enclosing another copy of the AJC statement of March 5, 1985 regarding recent Middle East peace efforts. Our view that the Hussein-Arafat agreement of February 11 "falls far short of a serious peace proposal" has been confirmed by subsequent developments. Some of Arafat's own key supporters within al-Fatah have denied that the agreement constitutes a readiness to recognize Israel. Meanwhile, the Syrian-backed opponents to Arafat within the PLO have intensified their activities. Reuters reported from Damascus, on March 25, that "six Palestinian guerrilla groups opposed to the policies of Yasir Arafat, . . . said today that they had formed the Palestinian National Salvation Front to fight Israel. . . . The National Salvation Front was announced by former speaker of the Palestine National Council, Khaled Fahoum."

When I asked Jordanian Foreign Minister Taher Masri, at a meeting sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute in Washington on March 18, how Jordan expected to deal with the Syrian opposition to the Hussein-Arafat agreement, he replied that King Hussein's call for an international conference was in part designed to meet their objections. As you know, the Syrians and their Soviet mentors have long been calling for an international conference. The reasons Israel and the U.S. have opposed this approach is, as indicated in Mr. Friedman's letter to President Mubarak, because it would reintroduce the Soviet Union as a major actor in the negotiations and would also give Syria a veto power, thereby strengthening the more extreme Arab demands and increase the likelihood of failure to reach any agreement. As demonstrated by historical experience, the only successful peace negotiations in the Middle East have been bilateral and step-by-step.

I am also enclosing a Washington Post article of March 23, 1985, in which Secretary of State George P. Shultz attempts to clarify the U.S. position regarding a possible visit by a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to Washington and the American role in negotiations.



The American Jewish Committee

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

Howard I. Friedman, President • 1600 One Wilshire Building, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017 • 213/629-0274

March 14, 1985

President Hosni Mubarak
c/o His Excellency Abdel Raouf el-Reedy
Ambassador L & P
Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt
2310 Decatur Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

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President Hosni Mubarak
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HIF:JA

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March 5, 1985
85-580-8

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3.23.85
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No Change in Policy
US & PLO**

By John M. Goshko
and David Ottaway
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movement toward negotiations. The issue is delicate for all parties because of the implication that U.S. reception of a joint Arab delegation would be tantamount to recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

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SOVIET NATIONALITY SURVEY

Vol. II, No. 3, March 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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DISCRIMINATION SOVIET-STYLE

Soviet propagandists are always eager to detect and condemn "discrimination" in Western societies. In so doing, they hope to persuade fellow citizens that Soviet life is unsurpassable and to trigger anti-Western attitudes in the Third World. Understandably, USSR officials are particularly sensitive to Western accusations of Soviet discrimination: not only are such charges ideologically embarrassing, but they also undermine the effectiveness of the Soviet Union's own propaganda.

It is often argued that restrictions on Jewish access to higher education are a principal form of Soviet discrimination. Not unexpectedly, the Soviet propaganda machine vehemently denies even the possibility of artificially low educational quotas for Jews. On May 15, 1984, for example, a

young woman claiming to be a Jewish student at Moscow State University informed Western reporters of the complete absence of anti-Jewish discrimination in the USSR's higher educational institutions.

What, then, are the facts about Jews and education in the USSR? Statistics are revealing. Between 1969 and 1979, the number of Jewish students in Soviet higher educational institutions plunged by half. Neither emigration nor demography can explain this precipitous decline; discrimination does. Unofficially conducted surveys of applicants to Moscow State University's Department of Mathematics and Mechanics support this conclusion. In 1979-1983, on average, while 80% of qualified applicants with two non-Jewish parents gained admission to the department, on-

ly 13% of similarly qualified Jewish students gained entrance. Indeed, in 1979, one applicant, Gleb Koshevoy, who was initially suspected of being Jewish and therefore was rejected, won admission after submitting a family tree and proving three generations of non-Jewish ancestry.

Emigres have provided additional insight into anti-Jewish practices in Soviet educational institutions. A young woman, now a doctoral candidate in computer science at an American university, describes how, when she took an admissions test in Moscow State University, Soviet examiners gave her mathematical problems that were impossible to answer in the allotted time. This method of discrimination is so well-known in the Soviet scientific community that the problems reserved for Jewish students have been dubbed "Jewish questions." Human rights activist Andrei Sakharov, a physicist, described his attempt to take a 10-minute test given to a Jewish university applicant as follows:

I chose one of the problems on the list. Of course, the student taking the examination is not allowed to choose the particular problem he wishes to solve. I found a very pretty solution to my problem, but it required a non-trivial and ingenious argument, and it took me much more than one hour. Moreover, I was able to work quietly at home. I needed to use my considerable experience in solving these difficult mathematical problems as well as my large store of mathematical knowledge.

Why does the Soviet government permit, indeed encourage, such discrimination? The answer lies in Soviet nationality policy, which endeavors to co-opt the elites of larger, territorially-based nationalities by promising them and their children a middle-class future. Since education is a passport to the middle class, the Soviet regime excludes Jews from universities in favor of Russians and other prominent ethnic groups. Such discrimination, So-

viet officials reason, will enhance the regime's popularity with important nationalities.

In addition, because most of world Jewry lives in the Western democracies, Soviet officials mistrust Jews and therefore wish to deny them the educational training required for positions of prestige in Soviet society. Jewish emigration has served to fortify this mistrust, but it is misleading to argue that emigration causes discrimination, since it is discrimination that impels Jews to leave in the first place. Besides, discrimination has affected all Soviet Jews -- even those with one Jewish parent -- regardless of whether or not they have applied to emigrate.

For Soviet Jews interested in pursuing higher education, the future seems bleak. Indeed, it is likely that anti-Jewish discrimination will increase. The recently adopted School Reform, which will halve the number of students accepted to higher educational institutions, is bound to increase competition for admission to these schools. Given past experience, the Soviet regime may be expected to alleviate the competition by reducing still further the Jewish university quota. The Kremlin may also try to direct popular irritation with the reform against the Jews by arguing that reduced access is due to alleged Jewish over-representation in universities.

Soviet spokesmen look high and low in Western societies for cases of ethnic and racial discrimination. They would be well-advised to redirect their efforts. For there is ample evidence of home-grown, Soviet-style, discrimination.

Allan L. Kagedan

(A.L.K. is International Relations Policy Analyst at the American Jewish Committee.)

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THE KIDNAPPING OF LEBANESE JEWISH LEADERS

(An International Relations Department Background Analysis)

by George E. Gruen, Ph.D.
Director, Middle East Affairs

Four leaders of the Lebanese Jewish community were kidnapped in a series of abductions carried out by armed men in Beirut over the past weekend. The kidnappings have been confirmed by the Beirut police, but no group has publicly claimed responsibility nor have family members been contacted with ransom demands.

According to information obtained by the American Jewish Committee from its Paris office and from other reliable sources in the U.S., Europe and the Middle East, the following is known about the kidnap victims and the circumstances of their abduction:

1. Dr. Elie Khallak, 59, a prominent physician, was kidnapped from his home in West Beirut on Friday night by armed men in uniform.
2. Haim Cohen, an elderly member of the community, whose functions include distribution of Kosher meat.
3. Elie Srour, 68, whose community functions include preparing the dead for burial. Neither Cohen nor Srour is wealthy. They were both kidnapped during the Sabbath in the vicinity of the main synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil old Jewish quarter.
4. Isaac Sasson, the president of the community, was kidnapped by armed men on Sunday. He had been out of the country on a business trip to the United Arab Emirates and was dragged away by three armed men when he arrived at the airport in Moslem West Beirut. (This information is different from that in the Associated Press dispatch from Beirut of March 31, which says that he was dragged from his home in Wadi Abu Jamil.) Mr. Sasson, 68, is director of the pharmaceutical department of Khalil Fattal & Fils, a major Lebanese trading company. Friends sought to warn him not to return to his home in West Beirut but to go directly to the relatively safer Christian section of the city, but his abducters, who obviously knew of his travel plans, intercepted him either immediately as he got off the plane or in the vicinity of the airport. Mr. Sasson suffers from diabetes.

Dr. Khallak and Mr. Sasson are well connected in Lebanese society. Dr. Khallak's patients include prominent members of the various ethnic and religious communities. He has scrupulously stayed out of politics, and, in fact, the son of one of the Palestine Liberation Organization's leaders was treated by him. Mr. Sasson also has contacts among Muslim as well as Christian business circles.

The two led a Jewish delegation that met with President Amin Gemayel on August 23 last year to discuss the deteriorating situation of the dwindling Jewish community, which is now estimated at less than 100.

The Lebanese authorities and friends of Messrs. Sasson and Khallak inquired about their whereabouts with the various armed militias, including the Amal, the main Shi'ite militia organization, but no trace of them was discovered. This has led to speculation that the four Jewish men were abducted by persons connected with the Shi'ite fundamentalist group, Hezbollah (the Party of God). This group is closely aligned with the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and has been implicated in attacks upon American and other Western installations in Lebanon.

Today, Monday, April 1, rumors were circulating that a fifth member of the Jewish community, Clement Dana, 80, had also been taken captive.

This well organized wave of kidnappings has filled the Jewish community with fear and has raised deep concern among Jewish communities around the world. It is to be noted that even during the height of the civil war, which broke out in 1975 and has continued intermittently ever since, the Jewish community as such was not targeted. Most of the Jewish community has left because of the uncertain economic situation and the physical danger of living in a war zone. There are no special restrictions upon the community, which has been free to practice its religion and was protected by the authorities -- to the extent that there was any functioning central authority.

In June 1967 some 6,000 Jews still lived in Lebanon, but because of the psychological, political and economic pressures generated by the Six Day war in the neighboring countries, the Lebanese Jewish community shrank to half by the end of the year. Additional emigration occurred during subsequent periods of turmoil. By 1981 the community had declined to about 200 and it is believed that the community today is only a fraction of that number, with some estimates as low as several dozen. In many cases most family members have established residence abroad and only the breadwinner remains in Lebanon to continue his business or profession.

The first prominent Lebanese Jewish leader to be kidnapped was Albert Elia, the secretary-general of the community, who was dragged into a car as he was walking to his office in the synagogue on September 6, 1971. Subsequent investigations disclosed that the kidnappers had been working for Syrian intelligence. Mr. Elia died after having been tortured in the al-Mazeh prison outside of Damascus.

But there were no cases of Lebanese Jews being kidnapped by Lebanese elements until last year. On July 1 Raoul Sobhi Mizrahi, 54, an electrical engineer who ran an electrical supply company, was kidnapped by three armed gunmen from his apartment in West Beirut. There were no ransom demands. He was beaten to death and his body was discovered on July 3. A group calling itself the "National Resistance Army--The Nation's Liberation Faction" said it had killed Mizrahi "because he was an Israeli agent." His family firmly denied this, but noted that the Amal Shi'ite militia had warned Mizrahi that his life was in danger if he maintained commercial ties with Israel. On August 15, three armed gunmen kidnapped Salim Jammous, who had been secretary-general of the

Jewish community, from his car near the main Beirut synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil quarter. No group claimed responsibility and it is possible that he is still being kept captive.

The American Jewish Committee has been in contact with the United States Government and other diplomatic and human rights channels in efforts to locate and obtain the release of the kidnapped Lebanese Jewish leaders.

April 1, 1985
85-580-12

H028/IRD(2) e1



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 3, 1985
to Subcommittee on South Africa
from Allan Kagedan
subject Current Bills Before Congress

Bills Before Congress

There are twenty-three bills before the current session of Congress dealing with the Republic of South Africa (RSA). A brief summary of each bill is attached. One may divide the bills, and the actions they propose, into the following categories:

A. ENHANCING HUMAN RIGHTS

- 1) Legal enforcement of Sullivan Principles
- 2) Condemnation of violence in RSA and request for Secretary of State investigation
- 3) Condemnation of "homelands" policy

B. RESTRICTING IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

- 1) Ban on import of RSA gold coins or Kruggerands
- 2) Ban on import of coal and uranium
- 3) Ban on export to RSA of nuclear technology and other goods
- 4) Ban on export of "militarily significant items"

C. DISCOURAGING INVESTMENT

- 1) A ban on investment or new investment by US persons in RSA
- 2) A ban on US bank loans to RSA firms
- 3) Prohibition of investment in RSA by "Certain Employee Funds"
- 4) Prohibition of Commodity Credit Corporation from investing funds in RSA
- 5) Denial of Foreign Tax Credit for taxes owed to RSA

MEMORANDUM

Bills Before Congress (cont')
Memo April 3, 1985

D. DIPLOMATIC ACTIONS

- 1) Sever diplomatic relations with RSA within two years if apartheid is not abolished
- 2) Close down RSA "honorary consulates"

Explanatory Notes

US Investment in South Africa

As of December 1983, US direct investment in RSA was estimated at \$2.2 billion. In addition, US financial institutions held \$3.6 billion in outstanding loans to RSA borrowers; only \$146 million of this is loaned directly to the RSA Government. US investors also held \$8 billion worth of shares in RSA mines, and US firms employed 127,000 blacks.

Kruggerands

In 1984, \$500 million worth of Kruggerands were sold in the United States.

Nuclear Technology

The US Government states that it supplies only safety-related equipment for South Africa's nuclear program.

Uranium and Coal

Currently, the US imports 30% of its uranium from South Africa, and 60% of our imported coal is from RSA.

Honorary Consulates

RSA has "honorary" consulates - small facilities run by local residents - in eight American cities.

AK:DG

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The American Jewish Committee, this country's pioneer human relations organization, has been devoted since its founding to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur. In this tradition, we reaffirm our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, and we call for its speedy elimination.

We applaud the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a courageous and eloquent leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. The award symbolizes universal recognition of the justice of this cause.

Unhappily, in South Africa, voices of protest against apartheid are often silenced harshly. Lack of due process and detention without trial are prominent features of life, with attendant abuse of political power.

Recently enacted constitutional reforms, belatedly offering partial representation to Indians and "coloreds," have left the system of racial segregation intact; unfortunately, they fail to enfranchise South Africa's overwhelming black majority. The policy of "resettling" blacks in poverty-stricken "homelands" has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands -- perhaps millions. The influx control laws and the Group Areas Act aggravate the suffering of the black population.

The role that those outside the country can play in combatting apartheid is limited. But they can help to enhance the prospects for peaceful change, which would benefit South Africans of all races and religions.

Thus, we endorse programs by private groups and government agencies, in the United States and abroad, for educating black and other non-white South Africans to assume a prominent role in the economic and public life of their country. Education can be a powerful force for social change, a key element in dismantling apartheid.

Furthermore, all American companies operating in South Africa should be urged to apply fair employment practices toward blacks. These include desegregating the workplace, permitting workers to join trade unions providing equal pay for comparable work, initiating job training programs, creating opportunities for career advancement, and improving health, housing, and school facilities. Additionally, all European firms doing business in South Africa should be urged to adhere to the fair employment principles enunciated in the 1977 EEC Code of Conduct. Such practices by Western firms can contribute significantly to the long-term goal of building a society based on equality and justice.

Finally, we urge the United States Government, and all other Western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Chicago, Illinois, November 2, 1984

rpr

84-550-81

3/85

SOUTH AFRICA: ACTIVITY GUIDELINES

During 1984, the question of how Americans might assist in the effort to eliminate apartheid, South Africa's policy of legally-entrenched discrimination, has become a significant public issue in many American cities.

The American Jewish Committee, which has long been concerned with the problem of apartheid, addressed the issue most recently in a Statement on South Africa, adopted by its National Executive Committee in November 1984. Geared toward the national debate over policy on South Africa, the Statement also implies guidelines for chapter activity. If your chapter is approached to participate in anti-apartheid activities, these guidelines may be helpful.

General Approach

*AJC unequivocally condemns apartheid; it also realizes that there are legitimate differences of opinion on what are the most effective means of improving the condition of black South Africans. AJC believes that non-violent change serves the best interests of all South Africans and is the surest path to dismantling apartheid. Agents of non-violent change within South Africa include numerous anti-apartheid human rights agencies, trade unions, church groups, legal bodies and professional and business associations.

Protest

*AJC endorses citizen protest against apartheid that can take the form of peaceful demonstration, seminars, and interreligious or intergroup dialogues on apartheid. Participation is advised only when other participants impose no requirement of support for specific U.S. policies toward South Africa, and do not advocate violent change. Also, attempts to allege invidious connections between Israel and South Africa - when Israel is a minor trading partner of that country - must be opposed. Such manipulative activity harms the anti-apartheid cause.

Public Diplomacy

*AJC encourages the U.S. government and public figures to protest against apartheid, both publicly and privately.

Education

*AJC favors U.S. government and private programs to train qualified black South Africans to acquire technical and other training to prepare them to participate fully in the economic and public life of their country.

Encouraging Internal Change

*AJC urges U.S. companies operating in South Africa to apply fair employment standards to their black workers, and to permit them to join trade unions. U.S. companies should also initiate on-the-job training programs, and provide health services. Enhanced black participation in economic life can fuel peaceful change.

*The AJC at this point does not support divestment; there is no conclusive evidence that it is an effective weapon against apartheid. So far, South Africa has resisted economic pressures by finding new trading partners and by increasing its self-sufficiency. Furthermore, departure of U.S. firms from South Africa, caused by divestment activities, will harm the 70,000 black workers employed in them; it may also cripple the multi-racial trade union movement, recognized by, and based in, U.S. companies.

Consonant with its commitment to promote and protect human rights, the American Jewish Committee will continue to work for the elimination of apartheid, a flagrant denial of fundamental freedoms.

Prepared by the International Relations Department's Division of International Organizations.

85-570-4
3/22/85

"If you are hungry and thirsty take a gun. . ."

وإذا كنت جوعان وعطشان
فخذ إغذى...



اسرائيل تنقل يهود اثيوبيا الى الارض المحتلة

Israel transfers Ethiopian Jews to the occupied lands.



Caption at the top: The situation develops after the blowing up of the American outpost.

Caption at the bottom: "We told you that it is beneath your dignity to work with your hands...We'll do your dirty work for you." (Note the classical anti-Semitic stereotypical portrayal of the Israeli (Jewish?) person speaking to Uncle Sam.)

"HOW CAN WE UNDERSTAND THE JEWS? THE JEWS BETWEEN VALUE AND PRICE"

by
Mohamed Abdul Aziz Abdel Latif

(This essay was published in the Journal of Al-Azhar, September 1984)

In a speech of his, a former President of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, [sic] said about the Jews: "Wherever the Jews happen to be the moral standard deteriorates and commercial transactions are conducted in dishonest ways." ("The Jews - History and Creed," by Dr. Kamel Sa'afan - Al-Hilal, p. 114).

The American President confirms in this statement a fact about the Jews which is well-known throughout the generations and in all the different countries and environments the Jews happen to be. It is that the Jews rarely conform in their conduct and in their dealings to the values followed by others or to such virtues as honesty, honor or patriotism...

This has always prevented the Jews from the feeling of loyalty and honest dealing and concurring with others. This is apparent in the ban they exercise on charging interest among themselves whilst allowing it on money they lend to non-Jews which has often led to the dispossessing and the deprivation of others.

Some tend to explain this trait as a natural "degeneration" with which the Jews are born. However, the French philosopher, Sartre, attributes it to the reflection of the status the European Christian societies granted them. It was the status of the "cursed" or the "untouchable" to prevent them integrating into these societies or sharing in their values. This has led the Jews to acquire the material and moral attributes that such an attitude would bring with it. ("Israeliat" - by Ahmad el-Din, Al-Hilal, p. 123).

If we have any comment about these opinions, we would say that we reject the principle of "naturalism" since man's character and attributes are determined upon man's birth. We do not disagree with Sartre's thesis except in where it lays the whole responsibility for the "casting out" upon the non-Jews without holding the Jews themselves responsible, even to a certain extent, for this attitude. There is no doubt that their lending money with interest in societies where such transactions are forbidden as a religious value, in accordance with Christianity and Islam, or as a social value in accordance to traditions and culture, is enough reason for this attitude of "casting out" that has been adopted towards them. The intensity of the antagonism felt towards them has been fanned by the fact that they themselves considered themselves to be a mass outside and separate from the circle of the societies they lived with. Socially, they would not mix with these societies nor would they marry into them, except on a very narrow scale. Nationally, they would not share the aims and national aspirations of these societies, just as it happened when the Jews of Warsaw refused to join the Polish national revolution in the nineteenth century against the Russian invader. By this, they had hoped to achieve their

own interest of lightening the extent of persecution under which their brethren the Russian Jews were living, as well as to obtain for themselves a special status in Poland by supporting the invader. This goes to prove that they lack the value of loyalty towards the country. In this connection we must not forget the attempts at immigration to Israel made by Russian Jews in spite of the restrictions exercised by the Russians to force their Jews to remain in their original homeland, Russia. The strange thing is that the majority of these immigrants are atheists, a fact that creates the situation in which it is unacceptable to justify this conduct on their part by claiming that it is out of a desire to live in a homeland with which they are tied by religion. It is rather the desire of not belonging or being tied to the land where they have been born and reared.

The reason for this, in our opinion, is that the formation of "values" needs elements which the Jews did not possess throughout their history.

These are:

1. An Origin to Belong to:

Where this is concerned, no exact origin is known for them. What has been written in their books about this is characterized by contradictions. Once, it is to be "Kaldonian", once "Aramic" and sometimes "Amorian". It is not possible to refer them to a single place of origin because they differ from each other in the same degree their places of residence differ where their color, height and complexions are concerned.

2. An Environment or a Homeland to be Tied to

Since their departure from their original homeland in south Iraq or Trans-Jordan, the Jews have wandered from one homeland to another. Thus we find them in Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, etc. Since each of these homelands had its own thoughts and style of living, the Jews have been influenced by them with the result that their Hebraic tribes in the old days were divided into "Bnei Israel" and others. "Bnei Israel" then were divided in the land of Canaan into "twelve tribes" that differed from each other in their manners of living, although they were the same with regard to language and origin. This has continued to be so even at the present time when we find them divided into Oriental and Western Jews. (The Israeli Society Until Its Dispersion - by Dr. Fuad Hassanein, p. 6).

3. A Creed in Which to Believe

A creed is supposed to conform to the [ethical] "value" and foster it. Their creed in this regard lacks this quality, since it instills in them the feeling of being different and superior to others and urges them not to cooperate with them. Moreover, all that is good in this creed is limited to the followers only. If the creed ordered, "Do not kill; do not steal," what is meant, according to them, is that this should be applied among themselves only, but they are allowed to do that to others who are not followers of their creed.

4. Spiritual and Cultural Heritage to Belong to:

Their heritage as shown by their books and the history of their elders encourage them to commit every kind of evil and to abstain from any virtue. These books are full of all sorts of lies, falsehood, deceit and religious and social abnormalities. This is shown by the way they portrayed their ancient fathers - falsely and deceitfully. Thus, our Father Lot is portrayed as committing incest with his own two daughters; our Father Jacob is portrayed as conspiring against his brother Esau, whom he deprives of his birth right of being the elder son and of his father's blessings. And so is the case with many others. That is why we find no sign in history to distinguish them or to reveal in them traits of greatness.

Because the Jews realize these facts about "value" and feel within their hearts their lack of it or even their failure to share in it, they have tried to destroy it.

Their way of doing that is by supporting any [writer's] pen as long as its influence, whether intentionally or unintentionally, helps corrupt others while glorifying the Jews, just as they did in the case of Nietzsche who divides morals into two: The morals of the masters, such as violence and disregard of principles; and the morals of slaves, such as loyalty and mercy. They do so because this (teaching) conforms with the Jewish spirit. (The Jewish Danger by Mohamed Khalifa al-Tunisi, p. 101.)

They [the Jews] have reservations with regard to values as follows:

1. "Values" are a relative thing. Thus a thing that has a value in one society has no value in another.
2. It is like any other social phenomenon in that it is governed by instability and discontinuity and because of this it does not call for conformity.
3. It submits to racial factors such as race and religion and therefore does not allow others to follow it.
4. It obstructs the movement of society towards universality.
5. With the emergence of the power of finance, money has become the present measure of value and "price" has become the modern form of the value of exchange.

Their aim from all this is to attain the obliteration of the idea of "value" and to exchange it with the idea of "price." Their apparent justification is that "price" is tied up to money which is a universal language that is not affected by race or religion of whoever possesses it. Besides, price achieves the exchange and transaction of ownership without any complication. The hidden aim, however, is their purpose of exchanging what they do not possess, as their history demonstrates, i.e. "value," for what they have, i.e. "money." Maybe the best example to clarify this conception of theirs and to uncover their aim, as shown by us, is their attempt at buying a homeland or to effect a

transaction for a homeland. Herzl, their leader, wrote in his own memoirs on July 7, 1896: "We are ready to pay twenty million pounds to the Turkish Sultan as a price for Palestine, improving thereby his budget."

Sultan Abdul Hamid's reply to this strange behavior on their part was: "I cannot sell not even one foot of this land because it does not belong to me but it belongs to my people and I would not accept any dissection for any purpose." He asked Herzl to stop his effort and to have the Jews keep their billions. (Forbidden to Deal With, Mohamed Awad, pp. 19-20.) But when Herzl was faced with Abdul Hamid's rejection of the principle of price, he repeated his attempt, employing the old economic conception of "value", which is the relation between exchanging one merchandise for another, and he offered the Sultan [the island of] Cyprus together with more money in exchange for Palestine.

It is worth mentioning that because Herzl lacked the concept of the "value" of a homeland, he thought it a merchandise or an object. Since this is how he looked at it, then it should have a price. Sultan Abdul Hamid, on the other hand, looked at the homeland as a [fundamental] "value" that cannot be evaluated by a [monetary] price, and therefore giving up any part of it is paramount to cutting off a piece from oneself and dissecting [a human body].

In order to give our conclusion about the question of "price" with which they are trying to convince the world, we would say:

Price transfers ownership, as they say, but it cannot create "value", because price is connected with money while value has other measures. Our proof comes from their own history and reality. Thus, after having attained the homeland, we find their majority prefer staying outside it because they primarily lack the value of belonging. They further their own interest, the "price", by staying outside it, so much so that their former President [sic], Ben-Gurion, declared that every Jew will remain without "God" unless he leaves his original homeland and comes to Palestine.

WHICH UN RESOLUTIONS?

On countless occasions in the past - and now again, in the Hussein-Arafat agreement - Arab leaders have referred to "UN resolutions" as an essential basis for any Middle East peace settlement. Actually, it is just another way of avoiding direct talks with - and recognition of - Israel.

Which United Nations resolutions do these leaders have in mind?

- * On 10 November 1975, the UN ^{General} Assembly, taking note of the earlier Declaration of Mexico, which promulgated the principle that international cooperation and peace require, among other things, "the elimination of Zionism," referred to Zionism as "a threat to world peace and security" and determined that Zionism was "a form of racism."
- * On 16 December 1982, the UN Assembly declared that Israel "is not a peace-loving member-state" and called upon all states "to suspend economic, financial and technological assistance to and cooperation with Israel, to sever diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Israel... and to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with Israel, in order totally to isolate it in all fields."
- * On 19 December 1983, the UN Assembly called upon all states "to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, economic and financial aid, as well as of human resources" (Jewish immigration).
- * On 13 February 1985, the UN Commission on Human Rights condemned Israel "for its continued occupation of the Arab territories, including Palestine." ("Palestine" is a euphemism for Israel itself.)

These are just a few of a long list of UN resolutions on the Palestinian issue adopted, at the PLO's behest, by the UN's Arab-Moslem-Soviet bloc automatic majority.

In the course of the years, the UN's anti-Israel resolutions have become increasingly hostile, one-sided and inflexible. They ignore Israel's most elementary rights and interests and have now reached the point (see last item in above listing) where Israel's very right to national existence is openly challenged. Clearly, the blanket utilization of UN resolutions on the conflict - as advocated by Arafat - could easily produce a prescription for Israel's removal from the map of the Middle East. Needless to say, Israel will not acquiesce in the application of such a prescription.

The quest for peace in the Middle East will stand a chance of succeeding only if it builds on what has already been accomplished in this domain. And it must take into account two fundamental facts-of-life:

1. The only UN resolution accepted, so far, by both Israel and Arabs is Security Council Resolution 242, upon which the Camp David Agreements are based.
2. No peace settlement - in the Middle East or elsewhere - has ever been achieved without direct talks between the parties directly concerned.

Appendix

SOME RECENT UN RESOLUTIONS ON 'PALESTINE' AND ISRAEL

"The Commission on Human Rights ... Recalling World Health Assembly Resolution WHA 37.26 of 17 May 1984, which condemned Israel for its continuing occupation of the Arab territories, including Palestine....

"1. Resolutely condemns Israel....

"7. Decides to place on the provisional agenda of its forty-second session as a matter of high priority the item entitled, 'Question of the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine.'"

(UN Doc. E/CN 4/1985/L 16, 13 February 1985)

NOTE: The words "including Palestine," in this resolution, indicate plainly that the intention of the framers of this document was to negate Israel's legitimacy in any part of Palestine!

"The General Assembly ... Calls upon all states to put an end to the flow to Israel of any military, economic and financial aid, as well as of human resources....

(102nd plenary meeting, 19 December 1983)

"The General Assembly ... Determines once more that Israel's record and actions confirm that it is not a peace-loving member-state... Calls once more upon all member-states.... To suspend economic, financial and technological assistance to and cooperation with Israel; To sever diplomatic, trade and cultural relations with Israel; Reiterates its call to all member-states to cease forthwith, individually and collectively, all dealings with Israel, in order totally to isolate it in all fields;"

(108th plenary meeting, 16 December 1982)

"The General Assembly ... Taking note of the Declaration of Mexico ... 1975 ... which promulgated the principle that international cooperation and peace require ... the elimination of ... zionism....

"Taking note also of the Political Declaration ... adopted at the Conference ... held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, which most severely condemned zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology ... Determines that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

(2400th plenary meeting, 10 November 1975)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 28, 1985

to David Gordis


from Milton Himmelfarb

subject Attached copy of title page(?) of Al Mostakbal

Al Mostakbal, an Arabic-language journal, is printed in France, as the legend below the picture shows, and is also mailed from Brooklyn by Al Kalima, no doubt another Arabic journal.

The legend, as translated in the margin, is "The emigration of 25,000 Ethiopian Jews to Israel...The Sixth War." (Between 1948 and 1982 there were five wars between Israel and Arabs.) The art work shows an impartial Nazi-like racism about Jews and Africans alike.

Perhaps you can think of people to whom it would be useful to show this.



MH:rg

- cc: Hy Bookbinder
 Eugene Dubow
 Irving Levine
 James Rudin
 ✓ Marc Tanenbaum
 William Trosten
 Mort Yarmon

Soviet Jewry: An Overview

by

David A. Harris, Deputy Director
International Relations Department

I. Background

The Soviet Jewish community, officially numbering 1.8 million,¹ is the third largest Jewish community in the world. As a juridically recognized nationality, one of more than 120 nationalities in the USSR, Jews in the Soviet Union are in the unique position of being both a nationality and a voluntary religious community. Thus, a child born to Jewish parents must, at the time of registration for an internal passport (required of all Soviet citizens at age 16), indicate "Jew" as his/her nationality, even though he may not have any religious identification.

Although the Soviet policy toward nationality generally is one of ostensible encouragement of native language, culture and folklore, the Jews have been targetted for assimilation by a deliberate effort to deny them even the basic means of transmitting culture, identity and history afforded virtually every other group. The reasons are complex but derive from a traditional policy of anti-Semitism that predates the October 1917 Revolution, coupled with political exploitation of a visible and vulnerable group, scapegoating to divert public attention from other pressing problems, and fear of the possible implication of a strong, identified Jewish community.

Thus, surviving at great cost the horrors of Stalin's terror, particularly the "Black Years" from 1948 to 1953 - the charges of "Cosmopolitanism," the murder of Yiddish writers and poets, the infamous Doctors' Plot and Stalin's planned deportation of all Soviet Jews to Siberia on the eve of his death; the loss of more than one million Soviet Jews during the Holocaust; and the effort to relegate Jews to a denial or even shame of their identity (at the same time that, ironically, Soviet nationality policy forced the Jewish identity, through the passport system, on children of Jewish parents), Soviet Jews became "The Jews of Silence," to borrow the title of Elie Wiesel's moving book about his visit to the USSR in 1965.

¹ Unofficial estimates of the Soviet Jewish population, taking into account inadequacies in the census method and other factors, range from 2.2 to 3 million.

II. THE EMERGENCE OF A MOVEMENT

How remarkable, therefore, that, despite fifty years of Soviet pursuance of such a policy of forced assimilation, the Israeli victory in the Six Day War in 1967 virtually galvanized the Jewish community into a sense of pride and nascent activism. At about the same time, the novel Exodus by Leon Uris was being unofficially circulated (in Russian) and also had an extraordinary impact on Soviet Jews. In 1968, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia dashed the emerging hopes spawned earlier in the decade of a possible thaw or liberalization in the Soviet bloc, including the USSR. Many Jews, reacting to these developments, and to the growing anti-Semitism/anti-Zionism in the Soviet bloc in the wake of the Six Day War and the liberalization efforts in Poland and Czechoslovakia, began a campaign for repatriation to Israel, the Jewish homeland. And thus an extraordinary phenomenon occurred whose importance cannot be overstated. In the midst of a totalitarian state which had amply demonstrated its willingness and ability to suppress individuals who challenged any aspect of Soviet authority, a movement emerged. Petitions to Soviet and Western government officials, demonstrations in public squares and in the offices of state authorities, contact with the Western press corps in Moscow, and other open manifestations to underscore the Jewish demand to be permitted to leave for Israel, started in the late 1960's and increased from year to year.

It is important to note that, from the beginning, the Jewish activism was based on certain principles: repatriation, family reunification,² respect for Soviet Law, non-violence.³ It was the notion of repatriation, in particular, that distinguished the Jewish movement from a number of other movements in the USSR. Jews did not seek to change the nature of the Soviet system, a fundamentally threatening concept to Soviet authorities, nor did they seek the unrealistic goal of free emigration, much as they may have privately shared these aims. Rather, the Jews sought to leave for Israel, which they considered their historic homeland, pursuant to Soviet precedents which have permitted the repatriation of specific groups -- Germans, Greeks, Poles, Turks -- to their respective homelands.

As the Jewish movement spread to both the main and smaller Jewish population centers -- to such cities as Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Minsk, Tblisi, Odessa, Kharkov -- large numbers of Jews began the application process by requesting a vyzov, an affidavit from relatives in Israel. At the same time,

² The concept of family reunification was endorsed by Premier Kosygin in 1966 in a statement in Paris in which he indicated the U.S.S.R. would permit reunification of its citizens with family abroad. It took on additional importance in 1975 with the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act. This document, to which the U.S.S.R. was signatory, specifically endorsed the principle of family reunification.

³ The one event that might be interpreted to have been other than non-violent was the 1970 attempt of nine Jews and two non-Jews to hijack a plane from Leningrad to Sweden. No weapons were involved, and the group was arrested before boarding the plane. Importantly, the arrest and the subsequent trial, at which two defendants were given the death sentence, literally galvanized world public opinion and Western leaders, aroused attention to the dramatic plight of those seeking to leave, and led to the commutation of the death sentences (to long prison terms).

the emergence of unofficial private study groups in Hebrew language, Jewish history and culture, and Judaism occurred in the absence of any official opportunities and as an intrinsic part of the growth of national Jewish consciousness.

III. THE BALANCE SHEET

Struggling against extraordinary odds, in the midst of a totalitarian state, the movement achieved a number of successes:

1) From 1968 to 1984, more than 270,000 Soviet Jews, previously thought to have been assimilated, asserted their Jewish identity, took the risk of applying and were successful in obtaining exit visas.

2) Interest in the issue came from many quarters: Democratic and Republican Administrations, the U.S. Congress, the academic, labor, religious and scientific communities, foreign governments. Seldom had such a human rights cause generated such support both in the U.S. and abroad.

3) There emerged an heroic group of people in the U.S.S.R. who took special risk by teaching, writing, speaking out and demonstrating, that is, who became activists and symbols in the struggle.

On the other hand, there have been very serious and growing problems:

1) The rate of departure has fluctuated and is today at the lowest point since 1970. Less than 75 Jews per month left in 1984 compared to an average of more than 4,000 per month in 1979.

2) A number of activists have been arrested, tried in courts on trumped-up charges, and sentenced to terms in prison or labor camps. Prominent among the Prisoners of Conscience are Anatoly Scharansky (13-year sentence) and Iosif Begun (12-year sentence). In 1984 a new wave of arrests occurred, targetted at Hebrew teachers and other Jewish activists, and involving defamation of Judaism, allegations of links between Jewish ritual practice and drugs, and desecration of Jewish religious items.

3) Many exit applications of Jews have been denied. There are today an estimated 10-15,000 "refuseniks" in the USSR, several hundred of whom have been waiting for ten years or more while living in extremely difficult conditions without regular employment and often under surveillance.

4) Anti-Semitism, often thinly disguised as anti-Zionism, and manifested in policies affecting higher education and employment, and in books, magazines and newspaper articles and television programs, including Nazi-like caricatures and cartoons of Jews and Judaism, continues unabated.

5) There are but a handful of rabbis, mostly aged, to serve the remaining 50-55 synagogues. There are no rabbinical seminaries in the USSR, no Jewish religious associations or institutions, no courses of Hebrew available to Jews, no courses in Jewish history, no teaching of the Holocaust. As part of the "Potemkin Village" or facade built for primarily Western consumption, visitors

will find a few synagogues in reasonably good condition, a handful of Yiddish books (but no Hebrew titles), a rare musical or theatrical offering, and a few Jewish spokespersons, often under the rubric of the so-called Anti-Zionist Committee (formed in 1983), who hasten to assure Western visitors that all is well in the USSR.

IV. TALKING TO SOVIET OFFICIALS

Western visitors who have sought to discuss the plight of Soviet Jewry with Soviet officials have encountered a variety of responses, such as:

- a) There is no more emigration because no more Jews seek to leave.
- b) The only Jews who are refused exit visas are security risks.
- c) The issue is an internal matter and Western inquiries represent unjustified interference.
- d) All Soviet nationalities are treated equally in the spirit of the Leninist concept of encouragement of the development of nationalities.
- e) There are more anti-Semitic instances in the U.S. than in the USSR; indeed, anti-Semitic vestiges of the Tsarist period have been eliminated under Bolshevik rule.
- f) If anything, Jews are a privileged nationality, disproportionately represented in such professions as law, medicine, science and the arts.
- g) There is no such thing as a Prisoner of Conscience -- Scharansky and the others are criminals convicted of criminal acts.
- h) Jews do not need to go to Israel; they have a homeland of their own -- the Jewish Autonomous District (Birobidzhan) in the USSR.
- i) The issue of Soviet Jewry is unimportant and irrelevant in the context of East-West relations and the hovering threat of nuclear catastrophe.
- j) The issue is not within "the competence" of the official.

Let us briefly examine each of these responses:

a) More than 375,000 Soviet Jews have requested affidavits from Israel but have not yet left. Thousands of Western visitors, including parliamentarians, other public officials, journalists and religious leaders of many faiths have personally met with Soviet Jews unable to leave in a score of cities.

b) Many Jews are refused for no reason or for patently false reasons that have nothing to do with security. Some are refused for work they performed 10-15 years ago; others are refused because of an absence of parental permission (regardless of the age of the applicants); still others because of the vagaries of the bureaucratic system.

SOVIET JEWRY: AN OVERVIEW/5

c) The USSR, being signatory to a number of international agreements which guarantee freedom of conscience and religion (Helsinki Final Act, Universal Declaration of Human Rights), freedom of culture (UNESCO Covention Against Discrimination in Education, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), freedom of family reunification and right to leave (Helsinki Final Act, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), and freedom from discrimination and persecution (UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), cannot claim that these issues are strictly internal matters.

d) Jews, as has been discussed above, are not only not treated equally with other nationalities but have been targetted for cultural and religious disappearance. While other nationalities do encounter often serious difficulties, none is as threatened today with respect to its very continuity as are the Jews.

e) Documentation of anti-Semitism in the USSR abounds and Soviet anti-Semitism, unlike any anti-Semitism that may exist in the U.S., is either government-inspired or government-sanctioned.

f) Young Jews seeking to enter Soviet universities have increasingly little chance of acceptance at the prestigious universities and find many career paths closed. A study of admissions policy at Moscow University's Mathematics Faculty clearly demonstrated a pattern of discrimination against Jewish applicants (and landed the two authors of the study in prison). Certain professions are entirely closed to Jews, and vertical mobility in others is increasingly limited.

g) Scharansky, Begun, Nudel, Brailovsky and the scores of others were imprisoned only for their beliefs and their Jewish activism, not for any criminal acts. The "crime" of Ida Nudel, for which she was sentenced to four years internal exile on a charge of "malicious hooliganism," involved displaying a banner from her Moscow apartment which read "KGB, Give me a visa to Israel". Iosif Begun's "crime," for which he has now been sentenced a third time, was the teaching of Hebrew.

h) Birobidzhan is a distant, desolate region in the Far East, thousands of miles from the Jewish population centers, and has a small Jewish population numbering well under 10,000. Since its founding in 1934 as a Jewish autonomous region, it has never been able to attract a substantial Jewish population, nor has it ever been permitted to develop Jewish educational, cultural or religious institutions.

i) The issue of Soviet Jewry has always been important to the West because it underscores the repressive nature of the Soviet system, undermines Western confidence in Soviet willingness to adhere to international agreements and norms of behavior, and represents an unacceptable legacy in the wake of the Holocaust. On the other hand, Soviet moves to increase emigration and ease the plight of Jews would surely help to remove a stumbling block to improved East-West relations.

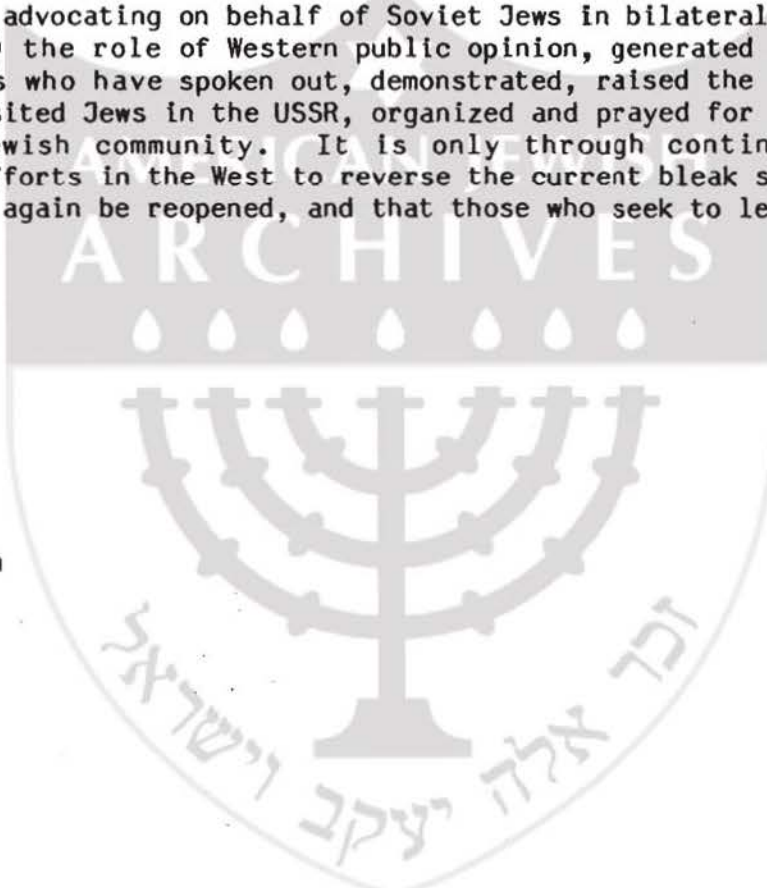
j) Western specialists believe that all Soviet officials who have contact with foreigners must report either vertically and/or laterally to the appropriate organs the substance of discussions, therefore, it is important to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry at most, if not all, meetings with Soviet officials.

V. CONCLUSION

The success of the Soviet Jewry movement has always depended on four factors: a) the courage and determination of Soviet Jews themselves to assert their identity and to seek the right to leave and to return to their historic homeland; b) the existence of the State of Israel as a home of the Jewish people and the support Israel has given to the movement; c) the role of Western governments in advocating on behalf of Soviet Jews in bilateral and multilateral forums; and d) the role of Western public opinion, generated by concerned Jews and Christians who have spoken out, demonstrated, raised the issue with Soviet officials, visited Jews in the USSR, organized and prayed for the redemption of the Soviet Jewish community. It is only through continued and, indeed, intensified efforts in the West to reverse the current bleak situation that the gates may once again be reopened, and that those who seek to leave are permitted to do so.

March 1985
85-550-28

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Appendix: Jewish Emigration from the Soviet Union



1968 - 1970	4,235
1971	13,022
1972	31,681
1973	34,733
1974	20,628
1975	13,221
1976	14,261
1977	16,736
1978	28,864
1979	51,320
1980	21,471
1981	9,447
1982	2,688
1983	1,314
1984	896



Congressman **JACK KEMP**

31ST DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

Congressman Jack Kemp is currently serving his eighth term in the U.S. House of Representatives where he holds a key leadership position as Chairman of the House Republican Conference. He was elected to Congress in 1970 following 13 years of leadership as a quarterback in the American and National Football Leagues.

Congressman Kemp, whose Western New York district encompasses much of suburban Buffalo, New York, was a quarterback for the Buffalo Bills from 1962 to 1969. He helped lead the team to League Championships in 1964 and 1965 and was twice selected All-League Quarterback, once with the San Diego Chargers in 1960 and later with the Buffalo Bills in 1965. He was President of the AFL

Players Association for five years and helped negotiate one of the most comprehensive pension contracts in professional football history. Kemp was selected as the Most Valuable Player in the League in 1965, and in 1983 he received the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame's Gold Medal for excellence in leadership both on the football field and in the nation's legislative arena.

During his years in Congress, Representative Kemp's top priority has been the reform of our nation's fiscal, monetary, and economic policies in order to restore full employment without inflation.

In 1981, Congressman Kemp's tax reform legislation — the Kemp-Roth Bill — providing for a 30 percent reduction in marginal tax rates for all and "indexing" of the tax code was, in large part, adopted by Congress and the Administration. In 1984 he introduced a far-reaching tax reform bill which would lower the top personal rate to 25 percent, simplify the tax code by closing inefficient loopholes, and broaden the nation's tax base while protecting families and the working poor.

Congressman Kemp has been a leader in promoting reform of the Federal Reserve's monetary policy. In the spring of 1984 he introduced monetary reform legislation designed to reduce uncertainty and speculation in financial markets by requiring the Federal Reserve to publish monetary policy decisions on the day they are adopted. A companion bill was also introduced to establish long-term price stability as the overall objective of Federal Reserve monetary policy, providing a "price rule" for stabilizing the value of the dollar. This was designed to help bring down interest rates without causing inflation.

Mr. Kemp, together with Democratic Congressman Robert Garcia of the South Bronx and Congressional Black Caucus leader Bill Gray of Philadelphia, has been a pioneer for the concept of free enterprise zones. They have formed a unique bipartisan coalition in Congress to revitalize the inner cities of America by providing special tax and regulatory incentives to encourage entrepreneurship and job creation in the private sector of the urban economy.

As the ranking Republican on the Foreign Operations subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, Representative Kemp is a key leader in redesigning and reforming U.S. security and economic assistance programs to strengthen free world alliances and to develop U.S. foreign policy credibility. In 1984 Congressman Kemp served as a Senior Counselor to the President's National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, which was chaired by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, and was a U.S. observer to the 1984 presidential elections in El Salvador.

Representative Kemp is also a member of the House Budget Committee and the Task Force on National Defense. In 1983 he was a member of a U.S. Congressional delegation visiting Moscow and Leningrad. He was an active Congressional delegate to the SALT talks in Geneva from 1979 to 1981, and to the Jerusalem Conference on International Terrorism in 1979 and the 1984 Washington Conference on Terrorism sponsored by the Jonathan Institute.

Congressman Kemp and his wife Joanne are dedicated to the cause of human rights, with particular emphasis on the plight of Soviet Jews. They also helped to establish C.R.E.E.D., the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents, an organization devoted to improving the conditions of Christians behind the Iron Curtain.

Congressman Kemp is the author of *An American Renaissance: A Strategy for the 1980s*, the soon-to-be-published *The American Idea: Ending The Limits To Growth*, and is co-editor, with Professor Robert Mundell of Columbia University, of *A Monetary Agenda for World Growth*.

Born and educated in Los Angeles, Mr. Kemp received his B.A. from Occidental College in 1957.

Jack and Joanne are the parents of four children: Jeffrey, Jennifer, Judith, and James. Their hometown is Hamburg, New York, and they have a residence in Bethesda, Maryland.



Boston University

University Professors
745 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215
617/353-4566

Elie Wiesel, *Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities*

April 3, 1985

Dear Friend:

I have rarely become involved in specific political campaigns. There are exceptions however. Susan Alter is one. She is now standing for re-election to the New York City Council. I support her.

I have known Councilwoman Alter for many years. She was the first orthodox woman to be elected to the City Council, and has since been a champion of all Jewish causes and all worthwhile activities in the city. She has been a proud and ardent voice for Israel in the City Council and has been closely identified with the development of the Holocaust Memorial in New York City.

Last year, she joined me in a delegation to Roumania to examine at first hand, the tragic consequences of the Holocaust, and the welfare of the remaining Jews in that country. Subsequent to that, she undertook a visit to Israel to study the absorption of Ethiopian Jewry in the Holy Land.

As a representative of a minority district in Brooklyn, Councilwoman Alter has been a major factor in diffusing the Black/White, Black/Jewish confrontations in our city.

As a political leader and as an enlightened and devoted Jew, Susan Alter has earned my respect and affection. She needs help and support in her re-election bid. Because of her intelligent analysis and presentation of issues and policies, she has emerged as a potent and dynamic positive influence in the City Council and she has impacted favorably on many of the problems that face us today.

For our sake and for the sake of the city which needs good and honest elected officials, I ask you to help her in her campaign.

Sincerely yours,

Elie Wiesel

Elie Wiesel

PLEASE SEND YOUR GENEROUS CONTRIBUTION TO:

COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT SUSAN ALTER
463 East 19th Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11226

MY SINCEREST THANKS AND APPRECIATION.

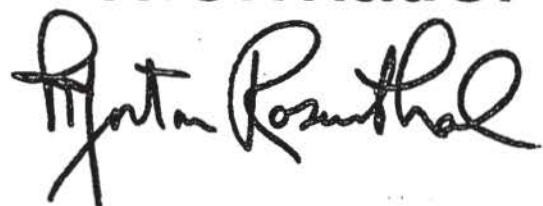
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

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

For Your
Information

MEMORANDUM



Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal

To: Latin American Affairs Committee

From: Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal

Date: April 3, 1985

Subject: El Salvador: Report on the National Elections/Jewish Community

The citizens of El Salvador turned out in large numbers on Sunday, March 31 to participate in both national and local elections. I was there as a member of the United States Official Observer Delegation to the El Salvador Elections. The names of all members of the delegation, selected by the White House, are attached.

Members of the delegation spent the entire election day visiting polling places in all parts of the country. Most sites were reached by helicopter and others by cars. I visited four cities, traveling in an armored car. Collectively, the delegation members went to 30 different cities and towns.

Upon our return to San Salvador, we got together to prepare the attached statement which reflects what we saw and experienced, one which all of us endorse enthusiastically. It was prepared easily, because there were no significant differences of opinion to negotiate. Representatives Weber and Dornan did not sign the statement because they had left for Honduras before the final text was ready for circulation among the members of the delegation.

A highlight of election day was our meeting with President Jose Napoleon Duarte, who invited the delegation and U.S. Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering to meet in his home an hour after the polls closed. Sitting in a rocking chair on his patio, President Duarte exuded happiness and excitement, having just won an upset victory which gave him and his PDC party a clear majority in the National Assembly and control of most municipal governments. (See attached articles for details.) He spoke to us of his intention to use the victory to proceed with the "democratic revolution" which he initiated upon his return from exile in 1979. He also stressed his determination to renew his efforts to bring the revolutionary forces within the political process by negotiations and thus end the random violence which plagues the country.

That El Salvador is still a country at war was evident when, upon arrival, we stepped off the U.S. presidential jet. A convoy of armored cars awaited us, with two heavily armed guards in civilian clothes assigned to each vehicle. The caravan of five cars sped into the city with a motorcycle escort. The Hotel Presidente, where the international observer delegations were quartered (there were 146 observers from 40 countries), was ringed by armed guards and off-limits to anybody not having the special identification tag which each observer received within minutes of his arrival.

The guerilla war even intruded into our meeting with President Duarte when an aide asked him to take an urgent telephone call. One hundred Salvadoran troops were besieged by a larger number of guerillas in a town along the Honduran border. Then a second urgent call and the President made the decision to have the troops withdraw across the border into Honduras. He told us that his primary objective was "to save lives," even though it might cause diplomatic problems with Honduras. He also ordered a C-47 gunship to be sent to provide protective fire, despite the hazard posed by fog in the region.

I was deeply moved by conversations with ordinary Salvadoran citizens who came out in large numbers and patiently participated in the democratic process. Perhaps the most succinct motive for their participation was the answer given to me by a "campesino" (peasant farmer) who said "for a better life" and "because I am 100% a democrat."

The meeting with President Duarte and all of my other experiences and observations have led me to conclude that El Salvador has a legitimate democratic government and a President who is committed to peace, social justice and respect for human rights. I also believe that what President Duarte and the people of El Salvador have accomplished could not have been done without the United States' economic and military assistance. This assistance must obviously continue if the democratic institutions are to be consolidated and the progress of the "democratic revolution" to continue.

Moreover, I see the election as a clear rejection by the vast majority of Salvadorans of the revolutionary Left and its program. The guerillas' loss of support is reflected in conversations with people and the revolutionaries' decreasing ability to recruit, even among the impoverished masses whose poverty is strikingly evident as one travels across the country.

The election results should also strengthen President Duarte's campaign to reduce and ultimately eliminate murders perpetrated by right-wing extremists and military personnel. My conversations with military officers and statistics provided by the U.S. embassy indicate that human rights violations by armed forces personnel and the extreme Right have decreased markedly.

During my weekend visit, I also met with several leaders of the Jewish community. They told me that they are maintaining Jewish communal life, despite the difficult conditions. Sabbath services are held each week and children, who comprise about one-third of the 100 Jews living in El Salvador, are receiving Jewish education and celebrating Bar Mitzvah. Preparations were under way for a communal Seder, a shipment of "matzot" having arrived last week from the United States.

MMR:acs
attachments
cc: ADL Regional Offices
International Affairs Committee

UNITED STATES
OBSERVER DELEGATION
TO
THE EL SALVADOR ELECTIONS

MARCH 1985

MEMBERS OF THE OFFICIAL OBSERVER DELEGATION

The Honorable James R. Jones
Representative (D-Oklahoma)
The United States House of Representatives
and Chairman of the Observer Delegation

The Honorable John Vincent Weber
Representative (R-Minnesota)
United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Robert K. Dornan
Representative (R-California)
United States House of Representatives

The Honorable James T. Kolbe
Representative (R-Arizona)
The United States House of Representatives

The Honorable Angier Biddle Duke
Former Ambassador to El Salvador and
United States Chief of Protocol and
Chairman, Executive Committee, PRODEMCA

Mr. Maurice Sonnenberg
Investment Consultant; Member, National
Committee on American Foreign Policy;
Member, Executive Committee, PRODEMCA

Rabbi Morton M. Rosenthal
Director, Latin American Affairs Department,
B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League

Dr. Howard Penniman
Resident Scholar,
American Enterprise Institute

Mr. Howard K. Smith
News Commentator

Mr. Max Singer
Consultant; President, The Potomac Organization;
Former President, The Hudson Institute

STATEMENT OF THE
OBSERVER DELEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE EL SALVADOR ELECTIONS

APRIL 1, 1985

Yesterday we witnessed El Salvador's third national election in less than a year. The unanimous conclusion of this bi-partisan observer delegation of elected officials and private citizens is that the election was fair, that the election machinery was conducted efficiently, and that it represents a most encouraging symbol for the future of democratic institutions in El Salvador.

In all, this small delegation visited nearly thirty towns in most parts of the country. We spoke with election officials, candidates, and most important, voters of all parties.

This election differed in several ways from those held last year. First, since this was not a vote for a nationwide candidate, voters were required to cast ballots in their home towns. Further, the penalty for not voting had been lifted. Other, mechanical changes were implemented as the country fine-tuned its voting procedures.

The delegation notes that the Salvadoran military took obvious pains to remain impartial in the contest. They were stationed well away from the polls, and refused to be drawn into political disputes.

Disagreements at the polls were, for the most part, inconsequential, and generally settled on the spot by representatives of the various parties. These disputes centered on mechanics and procedures of the elections, and we saw no evidence of intimidation or coercion that would raise a question of the fundamental fairness of the vote.

The mechanics of the election ran without serious incident. The Central Election Council deserves particular praise for its fine coordination of the process.

Guerrilla threats and attacks comprised the most serious challenge to voting. This delegation notes the inconsistency between the guerrillas' initial posture that the elections were meaningless, and their subsequent attempts to thwart the electoral process through violent intimidation. In spite of their attempts at intimidation, more municipalities were able to participate this year than last. Whereas 42 towns were unable to vote last time in the Presidential elections because of terrorist intimidation, only about half that number were denied the privilege of voting Sunday.

The contest itself, then, must be hailed as a free, open, and fair contest, and we expect all parties to respect the results.

El Salvador now has in place its Presidential, legislative, and municipal leadership for the next three years. This delegation recognizes the need for continued American support for El Salvador as she addresses her continuing economic and military problems through her democratic institutions.

STATEMENT OF THE U.S.
OBSERVER DELEGATION
PAGE TWO

The delegation was struck by the rather consistent answer we got to the frequently asked question, "Why are you voting?" The vast majority of voters' answers centered on the hope for peace, and the desire to live in tranquility.

In our meeting with President Duarte after the polls closed, he confirmed his commitment to peace by building confidence among his people, through judicial reform, agrarian reform, and economic development. In addition, he reaffirmed his commitment to make every effort to bring the guerrillas to the peace table, and to put an end to the random violence which has so torn this nation.

This delegation commends the great strides made in this nation. Nowhere are they more evident than in this election. We look forward to working with the people of El Salvador to build on this election, further nurturing her democratic institutions, and we call on all factions, regardless of ideology, to join in that process.

We would be remiss if we did not mention the outstanding job performed by outgoing Ambassador Tom Pickering. He clearly has performed his duties in El Salvador in the highest tradition of American diplomacy. We know that he will continue to make a positive contribution to U.S. foreign policy.

Our delegation unanimously agreed that this election could be described as routine even by the historical standards of elections in the United States. That speaks volumes of how successfully the recently planted democratic institutions in El Salvador have taken root.

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APR 2 1985

EL SALVADOR, From A1-

Duarte's Party Is Said to Win Overwhelmingly

By Michael Getler
and Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Foreign Service

SAN SALVADOR, April 1— President Jose Napoleon Duarte's Christian Democratic Party won an overwhelming victory in yesterday's elections, ousting conservative rivals from control of the Legislative Assembly and of a majority of the nation's town halls, according to unofficial but reliable totals compiled today.

The National Assembly and the town halls had been the main political power base for the Salvadoran right, but the returns from 80 percent of polling places showed a stunning reversal. The centrist Christian Democrats and a small allied party increased their number of seats from 26 to 34 in the 60-seat Assembly, while the conservative parties went from 34 to 26, the results indicated.

In addition, the Christian Democrats apparently won about 70 percent of the nation's 262 mayoralities, up from about a third previously. The tallies were compiled by the Christian Democrats on the basis of official results from individual polling places, and the campaign manager of one of the major conservative parties conceded that it had received a "drastically" reduced vote.

The election was widely viewed as a turning point in Salvadoran politics and in the government's U.S.-backed war against left-wing guerrillas. During his first nine months in office, Duarte repeatedly was

See EL SALVADOR, A23, Col. 2

thwarted by the conservatives' majority in the assembly.

Although voter turnout was low compared to last year's presidential elections, the manner in which the election was carried out was seen as reflecting a consolidation of the democratic process here.

Observations of the voting indicated that all parties cooperated in monitoring polling sites across the country, and that the armed forces remained neutral. This fourth election in three years was by far the most peaceful, with the Army out in force.

Heavy fighting was reported in only one place, the northern town of San Fernando, late yesterday. But government troops retreating from the area managed to hold onto ballot boxes, Salvadoran and U.S. officials said.

All told, there were 20 municipalities in guerrilla-dominated areas where people were obliged to vote in towns other than where they lived, less than half the number in that category a year ago, U.S. officials said.

One big question was what course the conservatives' extremist factions will now take: whether they will remain within the democratic process or resort again to the large-scale political violence of three or four years ago. Another question was whether Duarte's added political strength would enable him to achieve progress in the peace talks that he launched last October with the left-wing insurgents.

Duarte addressed both of these questions in an interview with a small group of U.S. reporters last night. He offered to grant government posts to conservative political parties if they endorse his goals, and other Christian Democratic leaders indicated that Duarte would move cautiously in such areas as strengthening his land reform, which the conservatives have opposed.

"I will offer my hand to help them. I will invite them to sit down, and talk to them," Duarte said of the conservatives. "There's now an understanding that we're not the enemies of private enterprise," he added.

The president said he thought that his opening of the dialogue with the guerrillas was the "decisive" factor in winning the election. "The people received the message. The people want peace," Duarte said.

The results indicated that the Christian Democrats' biggest gains were in provinces that are most contested by the government and the guerrillas. It was unclear, however, whether these gains resulted from the Army's improved performance or from voter approval of the start of the peace talks.

Duarte drew attention to the contrast between the country now and at the time of the 1982 legislative elections—when the guerrillas were much stronger, and when right-wing vigilante groups and extremist elements in the armed forces were murdering hundreds of persons each month.

SALVADORAN PANEL UPHOLDS ELECTION

Commission Rejects Request by Rightist Leaders That Vote Be Thrown Out

By JAMES LEMOYNE

Special to The New York Times

SAN SALVADOR, April 3 — El Salvador's electoral commission tonight unanimously rejected a demand by leaders of rightist parties to nullify the results of national elections here, ending a bitter 24-hour struggle between the conservatives and President José Napoleón Duarte.

The decision not to consider the assertion by the rightist leaders that the Government and the army had manipulated the vote, came just four hours after the Salvadoran Army's high command called an extraordinary press conference to declare that it had been neutral in the contest and that all political factions should "act honestly and consolidate democracy."

Francisco Merino, vice-president of the Central Elections Council, which is the arbiter of all election disputes, said tonight that the agency had decided not to consider annulling the election, but that it would investigate complaints of irregularities in specific municipalities. The official count of the ballots will begin on Monday, he added, at the end of the traditional Easter week vacation here.

The acceptance of the validity of the elections seems likely to confirm an apparent landslide victory for the Christian Democratic Party, capping a five-year struggle for power between Mr. Duarte and his rightist opponents.

Control of National Assembly

Mr. Duarte is expected to win control of the National Assembly, allowing him to initiate a series of political changes that have been obstructed by the present rightist majority in the legislature. Some assembly seats, however, may be challenged during the official count next week.

Unofficial returns indicate that Mr. Duarte's Christian Democrats won almost 54 percent of the vote against just over 37 percent for the rightist coalition

between the National Conciliation Party and the Nationalist Republican Alliance, led by Roberto d'Aubuisson.

The key moment in the political crisis over the election results came this afternoon when the Minister of Defense, Gen. Carlos Eugenio Vides Casanova, accompanied by the entire army high command and the senior regional military commanders, called on the rightist parties to present evidence to prove the contention that the army had acted in a partisan manner in the vote.

"The armed forces in every moment has maintained itself within the limits of the institution, complying with and guarding the Constitution and existing laws," the Defense Minister said, noting that 71 soldiers had died and 146 were wounded in the last five weeks in what he described as a special effort to secure voting areas.

The statement, which was given as the unanimous view of all senior commanders, was seen as immediately strengthening Mr. Duarte in his stand against his rightist opponents.

Mr. Duarte was further fortified when the executive committee of the National Conciliation Party declared that it did not recognize the decision of the party's president to demand that the vote be annulled.

The declaration appeared to leave Mr. d'Aubuisson's Nationalist Republican Alliance as the only party demanding that the vote be disallowed.

Mr. Duarte went on national television today to denounce the rightist effort to annul the elections as "grave and insolent."

The army's declaration marks a striking shift in the complicated relationship between the military and the Government here and a notable turn in Mr. Duarte's own fortunes at the hands of the armed forces.

Duarte Deposed in 1972

In 1972 the army arrested, beat and exiled Mr. Duarte when he won the presidential election. Now the Salva-

ran President has found the army by his side in what amounted to a constitutional crisis over the validity of a national election.

The crisis appears to have been prompted in part by Mr. d'Aubuisson, a cashiered army major and political intelligence officer known for his strong anti-Communism. Mr. d'Aubuisson once relied on conservative army officers for support. Today General Vides Casanova said the army would refuse any effort by the rightist leader to make political use of the armed forces.

The conservative coalition submitted two documents to the Central Elections Council yesterday, specifically criticizing the army for failing to protect election workers belonging to conservative parties and for firing a weapon in a polling area.

In their demand to nullify the vote, the rightist leaders also charged a series of additional misconduct, including buying of votes, illegal use of government vehicles, voting by unregistered persons and propaganda in polling places by public employees. The wrongdoing was reported to have occurred principally in the eastern provinces of Morazán and San Miguel.

U.S. View of Vote

A United States Embassy official said an official American delegation had seen no signs of significant irregularities in the elections three days ago.

The rightist parties held a two-to-one majority on the Central Elections Council, and appeared to have the legal power both to hold up the official tally of votes and to refuse to recognize the election itself.

At one point this morning, Antonio Morales Ehrlich, secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party, threatened to call mass demonstrations to defend the victory his party believes it has won.

Repeated efforts to reach officials of the rightist parties, including several trips to their offices, were unavailing.

VATICAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS AFFECTED BY ISLAMIC FANATICS

(An International Relations Department Background Analysis)

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee, is an authority on Vatican-Jewish relations. He was the only rabbi present at Vatican Council II, and has just returned from a mission to Israel, Italy, and the Vatican where he participated in an audience with Pope John Paul II.)

Expectations that Pope John Paul II will visit Israel or that formal diplomatic relations will be established between the Holy See and Israel are not in the cards. Not in the near future.

I have come to that sobering conclusion after a recent three-week mission to Israel, Italy, and the Vatican. I was part of a leadership mission of the American Jewish Committee that met with Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and other foreign ministry officials; Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti and Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini; U.S. Ambassador to Italy, Maxwell Rabb; and, finally, Pope John Paul II and a number of Vatican officials.

Extended conversations on the complex Middle East situation with these key actors in the Mediterranean world yielded some fresh insights:

First, contrary to public perceptions, the Vatican maintains de facto recognition of the State of Israel. When Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres met with the Pope in February he was given red carpet treatment, the full protocol accorded a head of state. That has been true of the diplomatic visits made to the Vatican earlier by such Israeli governmental leaders as Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the late Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, Abba Eban, among others.

On a day-to-day basis, the Israeli Embassy in Rome is in regular communication with the Vatican Secretariat of State, and other Curial officials. On a cultural level, hundreds of Catholic priests and nuns -- with Vatican approval -- study regularly in Israel.

Second, Pope John Paul II, I am persuaded, is personally friendly toward Israel and acknowledges her right to exist as a sovereign nation. In a little-noticed Apostolic Letter issued by this Pope last Easter, entitled, Redemptionis Anno, he wrote the following about Israel and Jerusalem.

"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 (my underlining), 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."

Those are the most forthcoming acknowledgments of the centrality of Israel and of Jerusalem in Jewish consciousness made by any Pope in recent memory.

Third, when our AJC delegation asked of Vatican Secretary of State authorities why the Holy See does not establish de jure diplomatic relations with Israel, we were given at first the usual explanations. "It is not the policy of the Holy See to enter into diplomatic relations with a nation when it is in a state of belligerency with its neighbors, or when its borders are not established by international agreements. That is why the Holy See does not maintain diplomatic relations with Jordan as well," we were told.

But as the conversation continued, it became clear that that was the given reason, not the real reason. After all, the Vatican has diplomatic ties with some 112 countries, many of which are involved in belligerency, civil wars and border disputes -- Ethiopia, Sudan, Angola, Nicaragua, among others. And those relations are sustained even though the Vatican does not approve of many of their ideological policies.

The real reason, it seems quite clear, is that the Vatican profoundly fears that should she move from de facto recognition to establishing full diplomatic de jure recognition of Israel that Arab-Muslim fanatics in the Middle East and in Africa will launch a wave of reprisals against millions of Arab Christians and African Christians in predominantly Islamic countries. Over and over again, Vatican authorities kept referring to the precarious plight of Catholics in Lebanon who suffer daily violence at the hands of fanatic Shiite and Sunni Muslims, and the virtual impotence of the Vatican in helping to protect them. (Christian groups have reciprocated violently as well.)

The Holy See officials also described in painful detail for us the horror stories of more than a half million Christians who were killed in the south of the Sudan by the northern Arab Muslims, and the half million Christians killed by the Muslim leader Idi Amin when he was president of Uganda.

So great is this preoccupation over the threat of Islamic fanaticism to the security of Christians that Pope John Paul II in a recent address to the diplomatic corps accredited to the Holy See berated those Muslim countries whose citizens have come to Europe in the millions and have been assured religious liberty while Muslim countries have denied those same human rights to Christians living in their midst.

Thus, it is far more the fear of Muslim reprisals than antipathy toward Israel that has thus far precluded de jure diplomatic ties between the Holy See and Israel. There are, of course, contested issues between the Holy See and Israel -- the status of Jerusalem, Palestinian self-determination, and holy sites. But those are negotiable issues whereas fear of Islamic reprisals are not subject to rational compromises.

Finally, these conversations have convinced me that Italian foreign policy plays a far greater influence in Vatican affairs than is generally recognized. In recent years, Italy has been trying urgently to emerge as one of "the big five" European powers on the international scene.

As the one truly Mediterranean nation in the European Community, Italy is now heavily engaged in commercial and trade relations with Arab countries. Italy is dependent for 85 percent of her oil supplies on Arab nations. The present Italian government is jockeying to win nearly \$1 billion worth of contracts from Egypt for building that country's first nuclear power station and the second stage of Cairo's metro system. And some 20,000 Italian workers are now serving in Libya. Libya's Central Bank owns 17% of Fiat, and Italy exports large amounts of arms to Arab countries, including Libya despite her role in exporting terrorism.

Italy has a troubled economy -- continuing high inflation (12-13%), high unemployment (10%), and a massive state budget deficit on the order of 17% of the country's gross domestic product. (The U.S. federal budget deficit amounts to about 4% of the GDP.)

That economic pressure has led the Italian government to become increasingly dependent on Arab nations for economic relief. Those obdurate survival needs have influenced a pro-Arab, pro-PLO tilt in Italian foreign policy far more than some ideological vision.

At the same time, Italy has been friendly toward Israel. Prime Minister Andreotti told us, "One point is firm for us -- Israel's right to security and sovereign existence. Our Parliament is unanimous on that. There was never any doubt on this issue." In December 1983, Israel and Italy signed a broad agreement covering economic, agricultural, scientific, technological and cultural relations.

Italy is thus engaged in a geopolitical trapeze act in the Middle East, being supportive of Israel while cultivating her economic and political ties with the Arab world whom she seeks to influence to adopt a moderate stance leading toward peaceful negotiations between Israel, the Palestinians, and other Arabs.

Beneath the theological rhetoric, that is essentially the same stance adopted by the Holy See. While the Holy See clearly has universal interests, its daily existence is profoundly affected by its relationship with the Italian government and Italian domestic politics. On February 18th, the Vatican and the Italian government signed a new concordat that stipulates that Roman Catholicism will no longer be the state religion and that Rome's status as "a sacred city" is ended.

The 14-article concordat also establishes a mixed church-state commission which has been given six months to draw up regulations governing the controversial question of taxation of religious institutions of Italy. The Vatican bank, known as the IOR (Istituto per le Opere di Religione) was deeply implicated in a far-reaching scandal that involved loans of about \$1.3 billion to shadow companies directly or indirectly owned by the IOR. Those loans are believed to have caused the bankruptcy of Banco Ambrosiano, Italy's largest private banking institution, and the mysterious death of its president, Roberto Calvi.

A separate Vatican-Italian commission has been set up to sort out the Vatican bank's role in the collapse of the Banco Ambrosiano more than two years ago. In the meantime, the Vatican has denied responsibility in the crash but reportedly has agreed to pay some \$250 million towards a general settlement with the more than 100 creditors of the Ambrosiano bank group.

Those weighty, intricate ties between the Holy See and the Italian government have inevitably sensitized Vatican policy makers to the domestic and foreign policy directions of the Italian government. Reinforcing that alignment is the fact that Italy serves from January to June 1985 as president of the European Economic Community. Italy's political stance toward Israel and the Middle East is in fact shared by most of the ten-member nations of the EEC who are also engaged in a trapeze act of seeking to reconcile Israel, the Palestinians and the surrounding Arab nations.

Thus by aligning itself with Italian foreign policy, the Holy See also identifies itself with the main lines of the European Community's foreign policies.

Given those realities, it is clear that Pope John Paul II, notwithstanding his personal sympathies toward Israel and the Jewish People, will not shortly be visiting the Jewish State, nor will de jure diplomatic relations be established in the near future between the Holy See and Israel. But I will go out on a limb and predict that once peace is established between Israel, the Palestinians and Jordan, the Holy See will change its course and will move quickly to make de jure what is now de facto.

MHT/sm

85-550-32

H043-Vatican Backgrounder
/sm 4/4/85

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

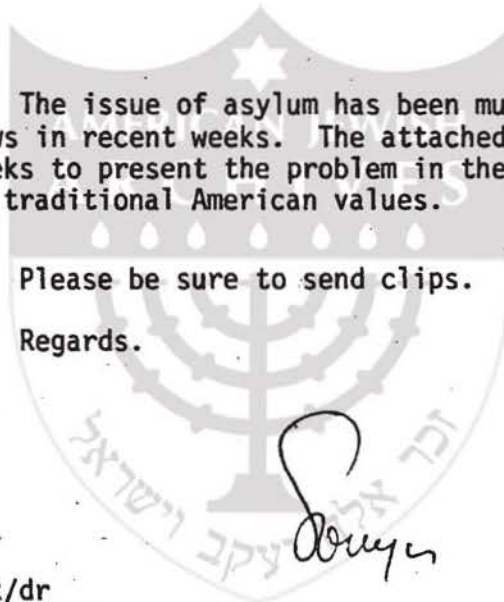
date April 4, 1985
to Area Directors
from Sonya F. Kaufer
subject

The issue of asylum has been much in the news in recent weeks. The attached op-ed seeks to present the problem in the context of traditional American values.

Please be sure to send clips.

Regards.

sfk/dr
85-965-12
att.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE **VIEWPOINT**

INFORMATION AND OPINION TO PONDER AND SHARE
PUBLICATIONS SERVICE
SONYA KAUFER, Director

"SEND THESE, THE TEMPEST TOSSED TO ME"

One of the glories of the United States throughout its history has been its reputation as a place of asylum for the oppressed of all nations. Yet today this country is routinely turning away men and women seeking asylum -- including many from Communist countries -- on the ground that they are pursuing economic advantage, not fleeing persecution. As a result, the U.S. is now accepting only 20 percent of those who request haven here.

New legislation that will allow for more fair and objective asylum decisions is necessary. Until Congress acts, the various religious and ethnic groups that serve as advocates for particular classes of refugees should coordinate their efforts and press on the State Department, Congress and the general public the need for a more generous asylum policy.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

CONFIDENTIAL

date April 5, 1985
to Marc H. Tanenbaum
from David Geller *DG*
subject Meeting with Thomas Simons

On Thursday, April 4, David Harris and I met with Tom Simons, director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs, State Department. Our discussion focused on the recent articles in The New York Times which reported that several Jews in Moscow had been invited to re-apply, and that several families had been given permission to leave. Simons believed that these actions by the Soviet Government constituted signals to the U.S. Government and the Jewish community. The Administration has not as yet decided on an appropriate response, partially because they are looking for some indication from the Jewish community as to their feelings on the matter. Simons is aware of the discussions "bubbling up" regarding Jackson-Vanik, etc. and thinks it is valuable for the Jewish community to discuss the options and hammer out some kind of consensus. That will help the Administration to decide what course to take. He told us that Lyn Singer, of the Union of Councils, has met with Michael Armacost (Under Secretary for Political Affairs) and begun to talk about figures -- 1,000 a month in return for some trade advantages. Simons felt that talk about figures at this time is not only premature but damaging.

Simons then shared with us his evaluation that while the Soviets want MFN, for economic and prestige purposes, it was no longer as important in terms of leverage as it had been some ten years ago. At that time the Soviets looked to MFN as the cure for their economic problems. Since then, they have come to realize that their problems are really systemic and will not be cured by MFN or doses of technology. Accordingly, they will be less interested in making large concessions for these economic benefits. (They are, however, interested in oil and gas equipment.) Therefore, it is important to send them the message that their human rights record will affect many areas which are currently under negotiation between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

There will be two Congressional delegations going to the Soviet Union within the next two weeks -- one from the House led by Tip O'Neil and a Senate delegation including Cohen, Biden, Levin, Rudman and Hoyer. They have been thoroughly briefed by the State Department, (they were also briefed by the NCSJ) and aside from names of prisoners and refuseniks, the basic message they are communicating is that the issue of human rights, and specifically Soviet Jews, will remain a component not only in trade but in a broad range of issues.

Simons felt certain that the issue of Soviet Jews would be raised at the Shultz-Gromyko meeting on May 14th, and was fairly certain that it would be raised at the projected summit which Simons believes will take place in August. Re the Shultz-Gromyko meeting the topics will be basically exploratory and climate-improving and will include the consulate in Kiev; landing rights for Aeroflot; adherence to U.S. safety regulations by Aeroflot; and cultural exchange.

Simons then told us about two cases that are of concern. One involves a Soviet Jew named Lazar who is now in Vienna. There has always been an aura of suspicion about him and other refuseniks and activists have shied away from him. They could not explain the fact that, notwithstanding his being a refusenik, he dressed elegantly and expensively, drove a car, seemed to have access denied to the others, etc. Now he is out and Simons heard that Diane Sawyer of CBS has gotten interested in him for some reason, and may be going to Vienna to do a story on him. A second troubling case is that of a Soviet Jew now in Vienna who was one of the first, if not the first, to be granted Israeli citizenship while living in the Soviet Union. (Several years ago a number of activists had petitioned the Israel Government asking to be declared Israeli citizens. After some time the Israel Government agreed to this and recently a significant number did, in fact, receive citizenship.) Now this emigrant in Vienna has decided that he does not want to go to Israel and would prefer the U.S. This raises two serious questions: if he is allowed to come to the U.S. will it not undermine the standing of all the others who have received Israeli citizenship, and if a man asks for citizenship from a foreign country and is granted it, can he then turn around and ask the U.S. Government for a visa as a refugee? It is significant that Simons who is a big supporter of "free choice," feels that in this instance the emigrant should not be allowed to come to the U.S. and should go to Israel instead.

Re Sakharov, Simons says that the Soviets are less concerned about him since by exiling his wife to Gorky, he has been effectively isolated. Their feeling of security was manifested recently in permitting two well-known physicists to visit him.

Responding to a question as to whether Gorbachev is bringing about a tightening up in the satellite countries, Simons said that as of now there is no sign of this. The various East European leaders are anxious about establishing a good relationship with Gorbachev because their economies are in trouble and they want to be sure that the Soviets will help. But, in general, there does not seem to be any change. For example, Hungary is continuing its economic policies and several other countries are hoping to develop trade relationships with the West.

DG/es

cc: Leo Nevas
Mervin Riseman



The American Jewish Committee

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

April 4, 1985

Dear Steering Committee Member,

Our Mission to Washington on April 17-18 promises to be an extraordinary learning as well as emotional experience and we sincerely hope that we can count on your sharing these events with us.

A highlight of our meetings will be our participation in the National Holocaust Commemoration in the Capitol Rotunda with White House, State Department, and Congressional leaders participating. In order to provide for reserved seats, it is essential that you let us know immediately that you will be attending.

The "foreign policy" learning part of our mission will begin Wednesday, April 17, 4 p.m., at a meeting with the Hon. Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs. That will be followed by a dinner meeting with key experts on Soviet Jewry who will help us understand the most recent developments and suggest plans for our future work in behalf of Soviet Jewry.

On Thursday, we are planning a meeting with the Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, which whom we will discuss the latest Middle East developments. At 3 p.m., we will meet with Ambassador Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, with whom we will discuss Ethiopian Jewry, the African famine, and the South African situation. At 4:15 p.m., we will meet with Howard Teicher, deputy director of the National Security Council.

We are also hoping to have a meeting with Vice President Bush with whom we want to discuss Ethiopia and Soviet Jewry, among other international concerns.

Please do let us know whether you will be able to join us for this stimulating program by calling 212-751-4000, Exts. 393 or 394.

Our best wishes for a Happy Passover!

Cordially,

Leo Nevas, Chairman
International Relations Commission

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director
International Relations Department

Enclosure

LN/MHT: RPR

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STEERING COMMITTEE
of the
COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MISSION TO WASHINGTON
April 17-18, 1985

SCHEDULE
(as of April 4th)

Wednesday, April 17

4:00 p.m. Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State for
European and Canadian Affairs

Dinner Guests: Martin Gilbert, Professor of History at
Oxford University and official biographer
of Winston Churchill

Yoram Dinstein, Rector of Tel Aviv Uni-
versity

Yehoshua Pratt, Minister, Embassy of Israel

Billy Keyserling, Director, Washington
Office of National Conference of Soviet Jewry

Discussion Topic: Soviet Jewry - Are We at a
Crossroads?

Thursday, April 18

Breakfast Steering Committee business meeting

10:30 a.m.
(tentative) His Excellency El Sayed Abdel Raouf El Reedy
Egyptian Ambassador to the United States

Noon National Holocaust Commemoration, Capitol Rotunda

3:00 p.m. Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for
African Affairs

4:15 p.m. Howard Teicher, Deputy Director, National Security
Council

Pending

Meeting with Vice President George Bush

April 8, 1985

Dr. David M. Gordis

Inga Lederer Gibal

AJC/Nairobi

Although the meeting which I wrote you about in my memo of March 21st was shortened by the fact that an emergency forced Susie to cut short her time with us, she was most enthusiastic, as was Mimi, about what we achieved in the time available. This is to report to you on where we are:

(1) A package is being prepared, the distribution of which I will work out with Harold along the lines that you suggested to Mimi some time ago. That package will consist of a covering memorandum from the co-chair people of the Nairobi Delegation, Susie and Mimi, a memo from Ken about his work vis-a-vis the governmental forum and the international picture and a memo from me about the non-governmental forum and its status at the present time. I hope to have this package ready for Harold toward the end of this week and our assumption is that you intended it to go to the widest possible AJC leadership group.

In addition, we spent a good deal of time planning for the April 30th all day consultation. Our delegation will, incidentally, receive a separate package including the information I am going to share with you below, as well as some additional pertinent reading material. They will also receive the package going to AJC leadership below.

While we are working on some details of the April 30th consultation, this is where we are as of this writing. We see the morning session as one where a number of prominent speakers with special knowledge and experience in the relevant areas would brief our delegation. Ken is working on several possibilities which include: Maureen Reagan or Nancy Reynolds and Ambassador Keyes, an important member of the U.S. Mission to the UN, a highly articulate, brilliant Black male version of James J. Kirkpatrick whom we both heard speak Thursday at an

.../continued

(2)

NJCRAC meeting. Mrs. Sol Nahon has accepted our invitation to speak and so we will be touching a number of important and reasonably diverse pools of knowledge and perspectives. In addition, the Rev. Joan Brown Campbell, Assistant General Secretary, National Council of Churches, who also represents the World Council of Churches in the United States and with whom Jim and I have worked over a number of years in a variety of forums has agreed to address us briefly.

We see this basically running to lunch with some time for questions and discussion. Into lunch and the early afternoon we would like to build a brief report from Nives Fox and Sergio Eudelstejer about their part of the world and how it relates to Nairobi. In addition, we hope you will join us at least for lunch since you really were the catalyst of a serious AJC effort around Nairobi, and that you would take about 10 minutes to address us in whatever way you find suitable. As well, somewhere in this time period, we hope to hear from Sidney Liskofsky particularly about the report commissioned by the Blaustein Institute and his general overview of the human rights questions related to Nairobi and to hear briefly from Jim and Marc as the department heads whose staff have been so heavily involved in this work.

Finally, we do want to leave several hours in the afternoon, hopefully beginning no later than 2:30 or 3:00 when only delegation members will participate in a closed session that would be designed to allow for reports from local communities, questions, observations, some reports by Susie, Mimi and myself on what we have been doing with other Jewish organizations and what our AJC strategy should be at Nairobi. We expect that this may also be the last major opportunity prior to a possible last minute briefing the day the group leaves for Nairobi for the group to get to know each other (a surprising number have not met).

Would you be kind enough to let me know if you want any more information about any of this and if we may expect you for at least part of the meetings on the 30th.

ILG:en

cc: Harold Applebaum
Kenneth Bandler
Rabbi A. James Rudin
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Sidney Liskofsky

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 9, 1985
to Professional Staff
from Dr. David M. Gordis *DMG*
subject

By now, you have all received word of measures we are instituting to overcome the temporary budget shortfall we anticipate between now and June 30th. Because belt-tightening is always anxiety-provoking, I want to put the situation in its proper perspective and allay any fears that may have been aroused over the past two weeks.

When I assumed the executive leadership of the American Jewish Committee last spring, it quickly became clear to me that it is the style of our agency to avoid talking about money. The truth is that we have done well in bringing our message to our supporters, and we continue to do well. It is my feeling, however, that as custodians of public funds that have been entrusted to us, it is important that both lay leadership and professional staff share in discussion of and responsibility for the fiscal operations and well-being of the agency. This applies to periods when ample budgetary resources are available and to periods of pressure when short-term measures must be undertaken. We must bear in mind that the AJC relies not only on a dedicated staff and a committed lay leadership, but also on the money we raise to pay our bills. This agency raises a great deal of money to fund many important programs. Periodically, our needs and our income fall out of sync -- and for a variety of reasons this is what has happened now. It does not portend dire consequences for the future. But it does highlight the fact that we need to raise more money each year merely to stand still in terms of our operating costs, and an ever greater amount of money if we hope to increase our effectiveness. This will require long-range planning as well as short-term measures. We have begun to get this point across, and we will continue to stress it in the weeks and months ahead.

I have no doubt that once this need is realistically confronted by our leadership and our professional staff, we will find ways to meet our goal. In the meantime, I hope you will bear with the adjustments we are all being asked to make for the short-term. You have my assurance that these will be shared as fairly as possible throughout the agency.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Professional Staff
FROM: Dr. David M. Gordis

2.

If you have questions about our present cutbacks or suggestions that can help lighten the burden, please do not hesitate to communicate them to me. As always, I shall be glad to hear from you.



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, April 9....The Cuban government, reversing a long-standing policy, has agreed to liberalize its religious liberty policy toward the small Cuban Jewish community, including permission for a rabbi to visit and conduct religious services on major Jewish holy days, the American Jewish Committee reported today.

The announcement of improved religious conditions for Cuban Jewry was made by Dr. Jose Felipe Carneado, director of the Religious Affairs Division of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party (Oficina de Asuntos Religiosos del Comité Central del PCC), during a meeting held on March 19 with three leaders of the Cuban Jewish community: Dr. Jose Miller, president of the Jewish Community of Havana; Moises Asis, secretary general, and Abraham Berezniak, a Jewish leader.

Details of the liberalized policy were made known by Mr. Asis in a communication sent to Jacobo Kovadloff, an Argentinian who is director of South American affairs for the American Jewish Committee.

Leo Nevas, chairman of the AJC's International Relations Commission, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC's international relations director, characterized the development as "an important breakthrough for the continuity and survival of the 800-member Cuban Jewish community."

According to the AJC report, the Cuban official has agreed "to help Cuban Jewry open a kosher restaurant in Old Havana, maintain and take care of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, and open a Sunday religious school for Jewish children and young people."

Significantly, Dr. Carneado agreed also to grant visas to rabbis who will be allowed to conduct religious services during the major Jewish holy days." According to Mr. Kovadloff, "in previous years, rabbis who had visited Havana had been denied the right to officiate in the synagogues."

The Cuban government promised also to allow a mohel, a ritual circumcizer for initiating Jewish children into the covenant of Judaism, to come to Cuba for carrying out this basic religious tradition.

....more

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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The AJC was informed that Dr. Carneado has invited the Cuban Jewish leaders to submit to him a written report on the current situation of the Cuban Jewish community and its major religious, educational, and cultural problems, promising that "the Cuban government is willing to help solve these problems."

Mr. Nevas and Rabbi Tanenbaum made public for the first time the fact that Mr. Kovadloff had visited Cuba three times during the past two years in order to express solidarity with Cuban Hebrews. (Cuba is the only Latin American country in which Jews are called "Hebrews" since the word "Jews" still retains a derogatory connotation in Spanish.)

During his visits, Mr. Kovadloff brought as gifts from the American Jewish Committee to the Cuban Jewish community many Spanish and English-language books, records and cassettes of Jewish religious and cultural content. Among recent contributions to the Havana Jewish Patronato, the library and communal institution, were Jewish prayer books in Spanish (Devocionario Judio, in Spanish and Hebrew), the Passover Hagadah, and the Sabbath Hagadah.

Mr. Nevas and Rabbi Tanenbaum reported that Mr. Kovadloff last traveled to Cuba in September 1983, where he participated in Yom Kippur and Sukkot (Feast of Tabernacles) services with Cuban Jews. They reported also that during the past twenty years, American Jewish Committee offices in Mexico, directed by Sergio Nudelstejer, and in Buenos Aires have regularly sent religious and educational materials to Cuban Jewry. Similar materials have been sent to Havana by the AMIA, the Jewish Federation of Argentina.

The AJC officials made known also that the Canadian Jewish Congress annually sends kosher Passover foods, matzos, and wine to Cuban Jewry. Jewish ritual slaughtering is also allowed for observant Cuban Jews at the Havana abattoir.

Mr. Kovadloff reported that many books on "Hebrews" and on religious-ethnic pluralism have been made available to the Jose Marti National Library in Havana. He said he found only two Spanish-language anti-Semitic publications in that library, published in Mexico and Moscow.

Mr. Nevas and Rabbi Tanenbaum disclosed that Mr. Kovadloff had met in recent years with high-ranking Cuban government officials to arrange for the emigration of Jews who had requested exit permits. Noting that Fidel Castro and Cuban officials had met in recent years with American Catholic bishops and Protestant leaders, Mr. Nevas and Rabbi Tanenbaum expressed concern over the fact that Cuban Jewish leaders had been denied a meeting with Dr. Carneado and other government officials for some ten years. Mr. Kovadloff played a crucial role in urging that this discrimination come to an end, and he encouraged the Cuban Jewish leaders to seek the present meeting, which proved to be positive and constructive.

The AJC was informed also by the Cuban Jewish spokesman that with the permission of the government they recently (March 25) held a public commemoration of the 850th anniversary of the birth of Maimonides, the 12th century Spanish Jewish scholar.

In their communication to the AJC, the Cuban Jewish leaders expressed the hope that these developments "will mark the beginning of a new era for the (Hebrew) community."

At the next meeting of the Steering Committee of the AJC's International Relations Commission, Mr. Nevas and Rabbi Tanenbaum said, "we will examine what concrete steps might be taken to help the Cuban Jewish community realize to its fullest these new possibilities for enriching their spiritual and cultural life as Jews."

They said also that discussion would take place to see what could be done to help improve relations between Cuba and the United States as well as between Cuba and Israel.

About 15,000 Jews lived in Cuba prior to the 1958 Cuban revolution. The Hebrew Community House, with about 200 members, is the largest of three synagogues in Cuba that remain open.

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.

A, EJP, REL, HP, Z

85-960-75
G094-Cubans/el



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 10, 1985

to Subcommittee on South Africa

from Allan Kagedan

subject Update on the Sullivan Principles

memorandum

The Sullivan Principles (attached), originated by Dr. Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia, have received considerable attention during the current debate over how the United States can encourage peaceful change in South Africa. Supporters of the Principles see them as a means of using American business to improve the lives of South African blacks. Opponents of the Principles fall into two camps: Some, who favor more stringent economic sanctions, charge that they help only a small number of blacks; others, who object to economic sanctions generally, feel that they impose an unfair economic and administrative burden on business. What follows is a brief update on the implementation of the Principles.

The six Sullivan Principles may be divided into two types: Principles I, II, and III call for removal of discriminatory practices from the workplace; Principles IV, V, and VI go further, requiring "affirmative actions," such as company-funded job training programs, the identifying and training of potential black managers, and public support of the end of apartheid laws and practices.

Arthur D. Little rates corporations subscribing to the Principles as falling into one of three categories. Companies that have passed the "basic requirements" and comply with Principles I, II, and III, fall into category 3, "needs to become more active." Firms judged to have implemented Principles IV, V, and VI, based on a complicated point system incorporating qualitative and quantitative data, fall into category 2, "making progress," or 1, "making good progress."

In 1984, thirty-two firms were rated in category 1 (including Citicorp, Coca-Cola, Exxon, General Motors, IBM, Mobil and Xerox); fifty-one companies fell into category 2 (including Bristol-Meyers, Dow Chemical, IT&T, Westinghouse); nineteen firms were classified in category 3 (including Hoover Co., International Harvester, and Motorola).

By virtue of their placement in the first three categories, all these corporations have nonsegregated facilities, engage in fair employment practices, and pay black and white workers equally. Between them, Sullivan signatories have spent millions of dollars in health, education and job training programs for blacks, and are the companies in which the black trade unions are well established. As of 1 April 1985, counting businesses that have endorsed the Principles but not yet implemented the first three, 150 corporations employing 82% of workers in US-owned companies (about 104,000 persons), and representing 79% of total US investment in South Africa, have subscribed to the Sullivan Principles.

AJC has already affirmed its general support for the Sullivan Principles (though not by name) in its 1984 NEC Statement on South Africa. The issue now is:

1. Should AJC support city, state and federal measures mandating legal enforcement of the Sullivan Principles?
2. Should we support divestment of stock in corporations that fail to adhere to the Principles or fail to reach a certain rating level?

It may be that the utility of economic sanctions as a means of advancing human rights is best judged on a case-by-case basis. Bearing in mind what we know about South Africa, we must determine whether this particular form of economic pressure is effective in improving the condition of South African blacks, consonant with Jewish security, fair to US business, and consistent with US strategic concerns.



AK:DG

SULLIVAN PRINCIPLES

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

- Principle 1 — **Nonsegregation of the Races in All Eating, Comfort, Locker Rooms, and Work Facilities**
- Principle 2 — **Equal and Fair Employment Practices for All Employees**
- Principle 3 — **Equal Pay for All Employees Doing Equal or Comparable Work for the Same Period of Time**
- Principle 4 — **Initiation and Development of Training Programs that Will Prepare Blacks, Coloureds, and Asians in Substantial Numbers for Supervisory, Administrative, Clerical and Technical Jobs**
- Principle 5 — **Increasing the Number of Blacks, Coloureds, and Asians in Management and Supervisory Positions**
- Principle 6 — **Improving the Quality of Employees' Lives Outside the Work Environment in Such Areas as Housing, Transportation, Schooling, Recreation, and Health Facilities.**

Amplification of Principle 6, November 1984:

INCREASED DIMENSIONS OF ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE WORKPLACE

- Use influence and support the unrestricted rights of Black businesses to locate in the Urban areas of the nation.
- Influence other companies in South Africa to follow the standards of equal rights principles.
- Support the freedom of mobility of Black workers to seek employment opportunities wherever they exist, and make possible provisions for adequate housing for families of employees within the proximity of workers employment.
- Support the ending of all apartheid laws.



The American Jewish Committee

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

April 10, 1985

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations Department

Dear Marc:

While we have noted with much interest the recent news articles which have reported that several Jewish refuseniks in Moscow were invited to re-apply, the current situation, as we know it, remains somber indeed. It is crucial that the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union remain one of the highest priorities on our agenda and as can be seen from a glance at the program of our upcoming Annual Meeting, we are devoting a major portion of the time allotted to international concerns to the issue of Soviet Jewry.

However, notwithstanding the importance of being informed about the current situation and discussing various options, it is urgent that we come together to discuss how best to use the resources of AJC and how best to mobilize our chapters to undertake activities that will be effective and creative. Accordingly, I am inviting you to a special breakfast meeting of our AJC Task Force on Soviet Jewry which will take place -

Friday, May 3rd
7:30 - 9:30 a.m.
Louis XVI West Suite
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

In addition to the regular members I have invited several others who have expressed an interest in working in this area and who, I believe, can make a valuable contribution.

Among the items we will be discussing is an AJC leadership mission to the Soviet Union in March or April of 1986 to coincide with our AJC 80th Anniversary. Of course, we will be considering a number of projects for the near future as well. I look forward to your participation.

Sincerely,

Mervin H. Riseman
Chairman

MHR/smm/lis
Enclosures

APR 19 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

April 11, 1985

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

Dear David:

As I told you when you first inquired, there were no echoes here of a statement on the Middle East at the conclusion of the Brussels Summit, end March.

To make absolutely sure, however, I checked with our friends in Brussels and learned that yes, Italian PM Bettino Craxi did mention the subject at the usual end press conference; and that some unofficial texts were written. Was read both over the telephone, and they sound very mild: hope for peace in Lebanon, peace in Iran/Iraq; support and encouragement by the ten for Arafat-Hussein agreement as a welcome constructive initiative, mild support for Pt. Moubarak's proposal; support for a meeting with the participation of all the parties concerned. Mention was made, too, of past action by the ten and this would include the Venice declaration; but no particular emphasis was given. A copy of the text and press conference quote have been promised, and I shall forward them as soon as I have them.

In explanation of "unofficial text": What happens at these summits is that experts in various areas (Middle East, agriculture, fishing...) prepare statements in advance. These are then submitted to the political experts and, finally, to the Ministers. In between, as you can well imagine, lots of things can happen. You probably recall that when France had the presidency, Mitterrand declared that since the ten could not come to an agreement over issues like Spain and Portugal, or wine, milk and meat, it would be presumptuous to issue statements and advice on problems outside the EEC. No Middle East statement came out of that six months period.

At this summit a lot of time was taken up with finalizing the entry of Spain and Portugal, and then compensating Greece's demands. So there was no time left for serious discussion of the Middle East

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situation. At the same time, the papers elaborated by the experts, though not official or final, often are leaked to the press and often get into print. I suspect this is what may have happened before the last summit. *

Re your query about the Barbie trial. I left a message with Rita yesterday, for you: nobody knows. The French process of judicial inquiry, preliminary to trials, is still not completed, so it is impossible to foresee a date. It will be up to the judge, too, whether a change of venue takes place. Be sure I will let you know as soon as I learn anything.

With very best regards,

Sincerely,

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Nives E. Fox

cc: Marc Tanenbaum

* Something stronger may come about in June - before passage presidency from Italy to Luxembourg - but this will depend upon developments between now and then.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 11, 1985
to Marc Tanenbaum
from David M. Gordis
subject

Martin Kellner of Los Angeles, whom I think you know, has asked to become a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Martin is a very intelligent and significant person in the AJC and I anticipate his becoming even more central in the leadership of the Committee. May I ask that you talk to Leo and invite Martin officially to join the Foreign Affairs Commission?





APR 19 1985

Tanenbaum

The American Jewish Committee

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

NIVES E. FOX, European Representative

April 11, 1985

MEMORANDUM

To: International Relations Department
From: Nives Fox
Subj: Unesco

Enclosed is the final resolution of the Fourth International Conference on Adult Education, held at Unesco March 19-29.

Of interest:

1. Israel is not mentioned by name
2. Palestinians are mentioned "among others" as peoples suffering from occupation (para before last)
3. The amendment from "increase" to "continue within the limit of available resources..." (last para)

Is this a harbinger of changes? Too soon to tell; but some encouraging signs, according to Israel's Ambassador to Unesco:

1. The French, English and Swiss argued forcefully to have the name of Israel removed; to include other suffering peoples; and to limit the financial help to Palestinians. The Germans got into a bit of a see-saw act: they joined the West at first, but upon Arab remonstrances watered down their objections with downright excuses and with expressions of sympathy for Palestinian rights, including self-determination.
2. Nigeria's representative spoke up asking that the word people be left out, as one leading to much discussion and too controversial. This is the first time a Third World country spoke out in a public dissension with Arab countries, at a Plenary session.

Too little and very late for calling it a real change; but to be noted with a wait and see.

cc: Mare Tanenbaum
Sidney Liskofsky
David Harris

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Recommends that the Member States and Unesco:

adopt the necessary measures to promote the development of adult education as an important means of ensuring the active participation of the population in applying the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention against Discrimination in Education adopted at the eleventh session of the General Conference, the Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education adopted at the nineteenth session of the General Conference of Unesco, and the recommendations of the Intergovernmental Conference on Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, with a view to Developing a Climate of Opinion favourable to the Strengthening of Security and Disarmament (1983);

Recommends that the Member States and Unesco:

encourage the involvement of various public organizations e.g. trade unions, youth organizations, scientific and technical bodies, associations of educational and cultural workers, etc., in the preparation and implementation of adult education development plans;

combine the efforts of governmental and non-governmental organizations and set up machinery for their effective co-operation in the field of adult education development;

promote the establishment or development, nationally, regionally and internationally, of facilities for the co-ordination of animation and community education activities;

Recommends that the Director-General:

pursue his efforts to ensure that educational establishments in occupied territories may play their part in extending and democratizing education, increasing educational opportunities and making them available to all peoples suffering from occupation, among others the Palestinians, in natural and satisfactory conditions without interference by the occupying powers in the form of measures such as the closing of educational establishments and collective sanctions against persons working in education;

continued
increase, within the limit of available resources, the services provided by Unesco to the Palestinians in the field of education in general and adult education in particular.

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

AMERICAN JEWISH
AFFAIRS

A Special Report
of the International
Relations Department

By **Kenneth Bandler**
and **George E. Gruen**



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Institute of Human Relations

165 East 56 Street,

York, N.Y. 10022

ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

By Kenneth Bandler and George E. Gruen *

Introduction

The debate in the United States over the South African government's apartheid policy has emerged with renewed vigor in recent months as the political situation affecting Blacks in South Africa continued to deteriorate. Members of Congress and representatives of religious, Black and non-sectarian organizations have demonstrated at South Africa's Embassy in Washington and at its consulates in several U.S. cities. Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, have participated in these protests against apartheid as well.

In Chicago last November, the AJC's National Executive Council adopted a statement reaffirming the agency's "abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination," and calling "for its speedy elimination." (See Appendix I for full text of statement.) Guided by the American traditions of democracy and pluralism and by Jewish values and teaching, the AJC's primary efforts since its founding in 1906 have been devoted to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur.

The revived anti-South African protest activities in this country have coincided with the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu and with an increase in opposition activities within South Africa itself. For many years, a number of South African Jews, notably Parliament Member Helen Suzman, have been in the forefront of the efforts to eliminate apartheid, to give Black South African citizens their full human rights, and to democratize the entire country.

The subject of Israeli-South African relations often arises in discussions about South Africa. This is largely the result of inaccurate and misleading information on the subject disseminated by Israel's adversaries from the Third World and Communist bloc. These states, hostile to Israel, have sought to delegitimize the Jewish State by falsely labelling it "racist." Alleging ties with South Africa serves their propagandistic purpose of "proving" that "Zionism is racism." As former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young noted in 1979, "It is unfair to link Israel to South Africa. If there is a link, you must compare Britain, Germany, Japan and the United States. All of them have links with South Africa. Israel becomes a too easy scapegoat for other problems we have."¹

**Kenneth Bandler is Research Analyst in the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division, International Relations Department; Dr. George E. Gruen is the Director of the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division. The authors wish to acknowledge the special research contribution of Michael Rothenberg, a graduate student at Columbia University's School of International Affairs, who examined the extensive literature on this subject and prepared the statistical data included in this report.*

Twenty-four countries have full diplomatic relations with South Africa. Some of these are among South Africa's main trading partners, and a number of them have military ties as well. A large number of countries that do not have formal diplomatic ties with South Africa, notably Black African and Arab states, also enjoy economic and commercial relationships with it. At least 46 African states trade with South Africa. The Black African state of Malawi, which does not even border on South Africa, has full diplomatic relations with the white minority government in Pretoria. Some of these ties have recently become more overt. For example, Swaziland and South Africa agreed last December to exchange trade representatives, and Mozambique and South Africa opened trade offices in their respective capitals after signing a non-aggression pact in March 1984. At the time, Mozambique noted that by entering into this security and economic relationship, it was in no way condoning the South African government's policy of apartheid.²

Israel does not condone apartheid, and the other countries relating to South Africa have often stated their opposition to its racist policies as well. Yet, of all these countries that constitute most of the UN membership, Israel alone is routinely and systematically singled out for condemnation in international forums. The standard used against Israel should be applied to all countries, or dropped.

In order to bring clarity to the debate on Israel-South Africa ties, the relationship must be placed in the proper perspective. This paper will do so by examining the economic and military relations South Africa has with all countries. Such an examination, based on open sources and published statistics, clearly shows that Israel's trade with South Africa is minimal. Indeed, it is considerably less than one percent of South Africa's global trade. In addition, Israel has repeatedly stated that military ties ceased after the UN Security Council imposed an embargo on arms sales to South Africa in 1977. The persistent efforts by opponents of South Africa to single out Israel, therefore, suggest that their aim is not limited to Israel-South Africa relations, but is part of the broader campaign to isolate and delegitimize the State of Israel.

Israel's Opposition to Apartheid

Israel's historically consistent and firm opposition to the apartheid policies of South Africa is rooted in the moral principles of Judaism and the history of the Jewish people. Israel has been a leading advocate of the African fight against the apartheid system in the United Nations. The Israeli delegation has consistently cast its vote against the interests of South Africa. In 1961 the delegation voted to prevent the South African Foreign Minister, Eric Louw, from presenting South Africa's case for apartheid at the General Assembly. In 1966, the delegation supported a U.N. resolution revoking South Africa's mandate over Namibia (South West Africa). In 1977, Israel supported a U.N. arms embargo to the apartheid regime. (See Appendix II for Israeli statements opposing racism and apartheid.)

The founding father of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote more than 80 years ago that after liberating the Jews, he would strive to help end the oppression of Blacks in Africa. Carrying out Herzl's promise to assist the Blacks of Africa, Israel began a large and varied development assistance program

in 1957. By 1966, Israel had established diplomatic relations with all sub-Saharan countries, except for Mauritania and Somalia, two members of the Arab League. Diplomatic relations with South Africa were maintained at a low level. During the period 1957-1973, 31 African countries received economic assistance from Israel, and 20 of these signed cooperation agreements.³ More than 6,700 African students came to Israel for training in agriculture, medicine and other developmental fields.⁴ Several thousand Israelis served in Africa.⁵

Although African-Israeli relations cooled in the early 1970s, especially under pressure of Arab oil exporting countries, which led all African countries except Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland to break diplomatic ties with Israel, economic and commercial ties have continued. Zaire restored full diplomatic ties with Israel in 1982, and Liberia followed suit in 1983. Despite the absence of full diplomatic ties with the other countries, Israel has maintained economic and commercial ties with some 22 Black African countries. Israel has 'interests sections' in friendly embassies in the capitals of a number of these countries. While these African countries routinely join in the condemnation of Israel-South African ties, they not only trade with Pretoria, but also have quietly carried on relations with Israel.

Israeli-South African diplomatic relations, meanwhile, were not elevated to the level of embassy until 1976. Israel's continued involvement with Black African nations, nevertheless, continues to outweigh its relations with South Africa.

South Africa's Economic Relations

Statistical information compiled annually by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) demonstrate that the volume of Israel-South African trade is negligible when compared to the levels of trade South Africa conducts with the industrialized nations in the West, the communist nations in the East, Black African states and the oil-rich Arab nations. (See Tables I and II.) Since the IMF relies on individual governments to supply this information, the figures may not reflect the total volume of trade. For political and security reasons, neither South Africa nor individual Arab oil exporting countries provide information on their trade. Black Africa is listed as one bloc. In such cases, we have derived information from other open sources.

South Africa's biggest trading partners, according to IMF figures, are the Western industrialized states. Among these states, the United States figures the most prominently. South African exports to the U.S. grew from \$589 million in 1975 to \$2.1 billion in 1980, but declined to \$1.5 billion in 1983. South Africa imported \$1.3 billion worth of American goods in 1975, \$2.5 billion in 1980, and \$2.2 billion in 1983.

Western Europe and Japan are not far behind the U.S. in their volume of trade with South Africa. South Africa imported \$1.4 billion worth of goods from England in 1975, \$2.2 billion in 1980, and \$1.6 billion in 1983. South African exports to England have totalled \$1.2 billion in 1975, \$1.7 billion in 1980, and \$1.2 billion in 1983. West Germany and France have also been leading trading partners with South Africa. South African exports to Japan increased from \$664

million in 1975, to \$1.5 billion in 1980, and nearly \$1.4 billion in 1983. Japanese exports rose from \$840 million in 1975, to \$1.6 billion in 1980 and \$1.7 billion in 1983.

Officially reported Soviet bloc trade with South Africa shows South Africa exporting \$10 million worth of goods to the communist countries in 1975, \$22 million in 1980, and \$24 million in 1983. Soviet bloc exports to South Africa grew from \$10 million in 1975, to \$38 million in 1980, and \$60 million in 1982. They fell back to \$22 million in 1983.

At least 46 African states trade with South Africa.⁶ As a bloc, these countries have traditionally been South Africa's fifth or sixth largest trading partner. Trade with Black Africa represented 4% of South Africa's exports and 3% of its imports in 1981 alone. South Africa's exports across its northern borders increased by more than 60% between 1979 and 1980. Moreover, several hundred thousand Blacks from five neighboring states are employed in South African industry. South African exports to Black Africa grew from \$573 million in 1975 to \$1.4 billion in 1980, but declined to \$769 million in 1983. South Africa imported \$344 million worth of goods from Black Africa in 1975, \$371 million in 1980, and \$288 million in 1983.

Other forms of economic relations between Black African states and South Africa have not waned in recent years, but grown. One recent example of this trend is the non-aggression pact between Mozambique and South Africa, created, admittedly, because of South Africa's overwhelming economic and military power. The pact encourages an increase in South African tourism to Mozambique, an increase in the number of Mozambicans employed by South Africa, and an increase in South African aid to Mozambique and use of the port at Maputo. This pact and the overall extensive ties Black Africa has with South Africa give credence to what American civil rights leader Bayard Rustin once described as "the double standard and hypocrisy that excuses or ignores Black Africa's trade with South Africa, while blaming Israel for far less volume of trade with South Africa."⁷

While the IMF figures do not provide a country-by-country breakdown of South Africa's trade with oil exporting countries, recent reports have shown that Arab oil countries figure prominently in South Africa's foreign trade picture. According to data compiled by Shipping Research Bureau, an anti-apartheid research organization based in Amsterdam, and Lloyd's Voyage Records, at least 76% of South Africa's imported oil comes from Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Oman. These shipments have a market value of around \$1.1 billion annually. The exact trade figures had, until recently, been suppressed in accordance with South African laws and by the deliberate forging of log books by the suppliers.⁸

Oil is a vital strategic commodity supporting the South African economy and armed forces. The Arab argument that they have no control over where the oil companies ship the oil has been proven false by the historical record. In 1973, Arab oil exporting countries successfully pressured Exxon to cut deliveries to U.S. armed forces and Aramco to supply oil to the Arab war effort. Moreover, the Arab states have over the years tried to use oil as a weapon to influence the political policies of other countries in the Arab-Israel conflict, as

witnessed by the oil embargoes in 1967 and 1973. If the Arab oil producing countries were firm in their opposition to apartheid, they would be expected to impose an oil embargo on South Africa.

Israel's trade with South Africa pales when compared to the trading records of other countries. Israel-South Africa trade has little bearing on South Africa's economic health. South African exports to Israel rose from \$22 million in 1975, to \$95 million in 1980, and \$142 million in 1983. South Africa imported \$26 million worth of Israeli goods in 1975, \$61 million in 1980, and \$69 million in 1983. With few exceptions, Israel has had an annual trade imbalance with South Africa. In fact, recent statistics reveal that Israel accounts for only 0.4% of South Africa's imports and 0.7% of its exports. Those governments and individuals that exclusively focus on Israel-South Africa trade, without truthfully acknowledging the amounts of western, Soviet bloc, Black African and Arab trade with the apartheid regime not only distort the facts, but are attempting to manipulate opponents of apartheid for unrelated political purposes.

Foreign Military Relations

Israel supported the 1977 UN Security Council decision to impose an arms embargo on South Africa, and Israeli officials have repeatedly reaffirmed that position. (See Appendix II for statement.) Israel, nevertheless, has been routinely castigated in international forums for its alleged military ties to South Africa. Even if some ties exist, a recent study by the Congressional Research Service has noted that any continued Israeli arms deliveries to South Africa are much smaller than those of France and Italy.⁹ Naomi Chazan, an Israeli scholar specializing in African affairs who is critical of Israel-South Africa relations, has noted that the degree of Israel-South Africa military ties in no way equals that of major arms exporting nations in the West nor does it compete with Eastern European and Arab arms sales to South Africa.¹⁰ Israel's arms transfers to South Africa before 1977, such as the sale of Reshef class missile boats equipped with Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles, were aimed at helping South Africa protect shipping lanes that are vital to western interests. Such sales were of no use to the apartheid regime in carrying out repressive measures against its Black population. Because of the arms embargo, South Africa has developed a sizable domestic arms industry. South Africa, in fact, has become a net arms exporter, self-sufficient in the production of small arms and other equipment needed for counter-insurgency operations.¹¹

France, according to published reports, is South Africa's main arms supplier. In 1980 France sold 360 air-to-surface missiles to South Africa. The South Africans had a French license to produce 100 Landmobile surface-to-air missiles between 1980 and 1983.¹² Between 1963 and 1974 more than \$1 billion worth of armaments were shipped to South Africa, mostly from France.¹³ A French-built nuclear power station 17 miles north of Capetown was completed in late 1984.

The United States has also sold military-related items to South Africa. The American Friends Service Committee issued a report based on non-classified, State Department documents that claimed that during the first term of the Reagan Administration, the U.S. issued 29 export licenses worth \$28.3 million to South

Africa for goods and high technology equipment, all of which can be used for military purposes.¹⁴ The report claims that these sales were in clear violation of the U.N. embargo on the sale of military equipment to South Africa.

Although much has been written on the subject of alleged Israel-South African cooperation in the nuclear field, it amounts to pure speculation and conjecture. No conclusive evidence to substantiate these assertions has been published. The UN Secretary General cautioned in a 1980 report that "Until specific examples of actual nuclear exchanges or transactions can be cited as clear evidence of such cooperation, this whole question remains in a state of uncertainty."¹⁵ Why does the speculation on alleged Israeli-South African military ties continue endlessly, while known military arrangements between South Africa and West European states are ignored? The motivation is purely political -- to harm Israel's image through constant repetition of alleged Israeli misdeeds. Such repetition, however, does not by itself substantiate the allegations.

Conclusions

South Africa's economic viability depends greatly on its extensive foreign trade. The strength of South Africa's armed forces is dependent upon foreign military suppliers as well as oil. In both the economic and security fields Israel's interaction with South Africa is negligible when compared to South Africa's relations with other countries. If Israel were to break all ties with Pretoria, the impact on South Africa's economy and military would be hardly measurable.

The routine condemnation of Israel-South African ties by many states and individuals, who have chosen to manipulate the anti-apartheid cause for the sole purpose of delegitimizing the State of Israel, harms honest efforts to combat apartheid. Those who raise this false issue effectively reduce the anti-apartheid constituency in the United States and around the world. South African Blacks, the victims of apartheid, deserve better.

Notes

1. Reuters, September 18, 1979.
2. New York Times, March 17, 1984.
3. Brenda Branaman, "Israel: Relations with Africa", Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, September 5, 1984.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Michael Curtis, "Israel and South Africa", Middle East Review Special Report, October 1983, p. 3.
7. Letter from Bayard Rustin to Arthur Hertzberg, September 1976.
8. Shipping Research Bureau Report, 1984.
9. Branaman, p. 24.
10. Naomi Chazan, "The Fallacies of Pragmatism: Israeli Foreign Policy towards South Africa," African Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 327 (April 1983), p. 186.
11. Ibid., p. 187.
12. Ibid.
13. Curtis, p. 4.
14. Washington Post, January 11, 1984.
15. Report of the Secretary-General, "Implementation of the Declaration of Denuclearization of Africa", September 9, 1980, A/35/402, para. 37.

I029:ls-tp/gn
4/18/85

TABLE I

South African Exports

(In Millions of U.S. Dollars)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984*
<u>United States</u>	589.7	526.8	910.7	1,558.4	1,679.2	2,125.6	1,453.0	1,220.0	1,551.0	391.0
<u>United Kingdom</u>	1,255.0	1,146.6	1,512.3	1,400.5	1,146.5	1,779.2	1,313.5	1,300.0	1,219.0	189.0
<u>West Germany</u>	601.8	543.8	594.5	767.4	1,084.5	1,028.7	962.4	785.0	703.0	190.0
<u>France</u>	155.6	170.6	245.5	317.9	417.5	523.5	638.3	415.0	353.0	110.0
<u>Japan</u>	664.8	592.0	737.0	875.9	1,129.3	1,551.4	1,574.5	1,533.0	1,390.0	348.0
<u>Soviet Bloc</u>	10.2	9.3	12.1	7.9	25.5	22.7	22.4	15.0	24.0	1.0
<u>Africa**</u>	573.1	521.1	599.0	614.7	878.6	1,412.4	1,294.5	834.0	769.0	152.0
<u>Oil Exporting Countries**</u>	27.8	68.7	24.0	9.6	18.1	34.2	58.2	68.0	37.0	4.0
<u>Israel</u>	22.8	35.9	34.1	66.8	116.5	95.1	70.8	140.0	142.0	30.0
<u>Israel***</u>	40.5	45.2	54.3	80.4	153.1	117.1	103.2	166.8		

* First Quarter of 1984

** All IMF estimates are based on data reported to the specific country. If the data cannot be derived by that country, it is often estimated by that country's trading partners. In these particular sets of data, specific African, oil exporting and Middle East countries have not been identified. One could speculate that South Africa, Black African states and Arab states did not disclose these figures for political reasons.

*** These figures, submitted by Israel to the IMF, differ from the South African figures, because of different accounting methods. Such discrepancies are also found in the statistics for South African trade with the other countries. Nevertheless, Israel's trade with South Africa is still minimal.

Sources: Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. Yearbook, 1982.
Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. October 1984.

TABLE II

South African Imports

(In Millions of U.S. Dollars)

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984*
<u>United States</u>	1,340.8	1,459.7	1,124.5	1,137.0	1,477.9	2,526.7	2,952.3	2,484.0	2,207.0	660.0
<u>United Kingdom</u>	1,493.9	1,185.4	971.4	1,200.2	1,490.6	2,242.0	2,500.6	2,029.0	1,697.0	445.0
<u>West Germany</u>	1,409.2	1,217.5	1,073.1	1,466.2	1,554.9	2,384.4	2,707.0	2,503.0	2,003.0	596.0
<u>France</u>	335.4	294.7	275.5	546.8	559.2	702.8	1,046.8	708.0	544.0	159.0
<u>Japan</u>	840.3	690.5	719.6	947.2	952.1	1,669.3	2,266.8	1,711.0	1,765.0	514.0
<u>Soviet Bloc</u>	10.6	13.4	10.0	8.8	21.6	38.5	51.2	60.0	22.0	6.0
<u>Africa**</u>	344.3	356.3	330.5	281.8	303.6	371.4	375.3	305.0	288.0	80.0
<u>Oil Exporting Countries**</u>	.4	.3	-	-	1.1	1.8	1.5	-	-	-
<u>Israel</u>	26.5	19.5	17.6	27.7	34.4	61.7	76.5	66.0	69.0	17.0
<u>Israel***</u>	39.2	32.5	23.9	37.5	48.4	79.2	98.4	78.4		

* First Quarter of 1984

** All IMF estimates are based on data reported to the specific country. If the data cannot be derived by that country, it is often estimated by that country's trading partners. In these particular sets of data, specific African, oil exporting and Middle East countries have not been identified. One could speculate that South Africa, Black African states and Arab states did not disclose these figures for political reasons.

*** See note *** to Table I above.

Sources: Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. Yearbook, 1982.
Directions of Trade Statistics International Monetary Fund. Washington, D.C. October 1984.

Appendix I

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

The American Jewish Committee, this country's pioneer human relations organization, has been devoted since its founding to combatting violations of human rights wherever they occur. In this tradition, we reaffirm our abhorrence of apartheid, South Africa's system of legally entrenched racial discrimination, and we call for its speedy elimination.

We applaud the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a courageous and eloquent leader of the anti-apartheid struggle. The award symbolizes universal recognition of the justice of this cause.

Unhappily, in South Africa, voices of protest against apartheid are often silenced harshly. Lack of due process and detention without trial are prominent features of life, with attendant abuse of political power.

Recently enacted constitutional reforms, belatedly offering partial representation to Indians and "coloreds," have left the system of racial segregation intact; unfortunately, they fail to enfranchise South Africa's overwhelming black majority. The policy of "resettling" blacks in poverty-stricken "homelands" has disrupted the lives of hundreds of thousands -- perhaps millions. The influx control laws and the Group Areas Act aggravate the suffering of the black population.

The role that those outside the country can play in combatting apartheid is limited. But they can help to enhance the prospects for peaceful change, which would benefit South Africans of all races and religions.

Thus, we endorse programs by private groups and government agencies, in the United States and abroad, for educating black and other non-white South Africans to assume a prominent role in the economic and public life of their country. Education can be a powerful force for social change, a key element in dismantling apartheid.

Furthermore, all American companies operating in South Africa should be urged to apply fair employment practices toward blacks. These include desegregating the workplace, permitting workers to join trade unions providing equal pay for comparable work, initiating job training programs, creating opportunities for career advancement, and improving health, housing, and school facilities. Additionally, all European firms doing business in South Africa should be urged to adhere to the fair employment principles enunciated in the 1977 EEC Code of Conduct. Such practices by Western firms can contribute significantly to the long-term goal of building a society based on equality and justice.

Finally, we urge the United States Government, and all other Western governments, to work vigorously through appropriate bilateral and multilateral channels, for the democratization of South African society.

Adopted by the National Executive Council
Chicago, Illinois, November 2, 1984

I029-South Africa Appendix I

4/15/85:tp

84-550-81



Appendix II

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS BY THE STATE OF ISRAEL
OPPOSING RACISM, APARTHEID AND ARMS SALES TO SOUTH AFRICA

"...Obviously, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which, irrespective of historical and sociological reasons, tends to cause humiliation to others because of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Hebrew heritage if we would not be critical of such a policy...we abhor any form of racial discrimination and humiliation, and I believe that the South African government and enlightened public opinion in South Africa respect the candor with which we express our opinion..."

---- Ambassador I.D. Unna, then Israel's Ambassador to South Africa, September 3, 1978.

"Israel will comply with Security Council Resolution 418 (1977)¹ and, accordingly, Israel will not provide South Africa with arms or transfer of weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment."

---- Note verbale from Israel to the UN Security Council, September 4, 1979. Israel's position of opposition to the provision of arms to South Africa has been repeatedly reaffirmed at the United Nations.

"...it is no wonder that almost 80 years ago, Theodor Herzl, the founding father of modern Zionism, compared the oppression of Blacks in Africa to that which the Jews themselves had suffered, and he vowed that when he had witnessed the redemption of his own people, Israel, he would work for freedom in Africa..."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 8, 1979.

"As a multiracial people of all colors and backgrounds, we cannot be anything but critical of a policy which causes humiliation to others on account of their race or color. In fact, we would be unfaithful to our Jewish heritage if we were to leave the slightest doubt in anybody's mind that we abhor any form of racism, racial discrimination or humiliation."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly on Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, November 12, 1980.

¹ The Security Council voted unanimously on November 4, 1977 to impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

"...The State of Israel rose as a response to injustice and sufferings. It remains committed to social and racial equality. [The Israelis are] a people coming from the four corners of the earth. Many of them are of different origins and hues. All passionately reject racism. As recently as last December an international congress against racism was held in Tel Aviv. Representatives of teacher unions from different countries joined to study how to educate the young generation to tolerance and mutual understanding between peoples and races, how to alert it to the dangers of racism. In this spirit a call to the teachers of the world has been issued."

---- Ambassador of Israel before the UN Commission on Human Rights, Geneva, February 16, 1981.

"We have never missed an opportunity to publicly denounce apartheid and to associate ourselves with United Nations condemnations of apartheid. I express once again our total opposition to apartheid and to racism in any form."

---- Prime Minister Menachem Begin, interview with Afrique a la Une, June 1982.

"...nothing unites the people of Africa and the people of Israel more than a hatred of racism. Our people have suffered more than anyone else from racism, have fought and still fight, more than anyone else against this most horrible disease that still persists among mankind.

"Israel and its Government have consistently condemned publicly the policy of Apartheid, and I take this opportunity to express once more our abhorrence of Apartheid and of any form of racism wherever it may occur."

---- From remarks by President Chaim Herzog during the visit to Israel of Liberian President Dr. Samuel K. Doe, August 23, 1983.

"Israel is not a simple observer which merely sympathizes with the victims of racism and oppression. Our views have been shaped by bitter historical and emotional experience spanning centuries. Moreover, to no less an extent, our abhorrence of racism is rooted in the social norms which comprise an integral part of Judaism's teachings."

"Israel's position concerning apartheid and other manifestations of racial discrimination is clear: we oppose bigotry completely and unreservedly wherever and whenever it emerges. We have made this position known to the Government of South Africa on numerous occasions. By this direct approach, rather than through acrimonious rhetoric, we believe that the cause of eliminating racial discrimination is better served."

---- Ambassador Yehuda Blum, before the UN General Assembly, November 17, 1983.

"...Israel categorically condemns racism in all its forms, including Apartheid. We are a people who have suffered more from racism, murderous racism, than any other. This is why the founder of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, wrote that after liberating the Jews from the evil of racism he would strive to liberate the oppressed blacks. And this is why the state that was founded in his vision, Israel, has repeatedly expressed its revulsion of and opposition to Apartheid, both in world forums and directly to the Government of South Africa...direct communication is the most effective means to bring about a change in South African racial policies."

---- Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's UN Representative, before the General Assembly, November 21, 1984.

(Prepared by the Israel and Middle East Affairs Division of the International Relations Department).

85-580-4
I079-Statement on Apartheid
/gn/ar/tp-4/15/85



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 15, 1985
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Jacobo Kovadloff
subject



I just sent a special mailing to various groups and leaders of interreligious affairs in South America. Please find enclosed the translation into English of the above mentioned circular.

JK/mc
cc: David Gordis
James Rudin
Allan Mittleman
David Harris

encl.



(Transl. from the Spanish)

DATE: April 9, 1985

TO: Judeo-Christian interreligious affairs groups and
religious leaders in South America

FROM: Jacobo Kovadloff, Director, South American Affairs and
Spanish Media

SUBJECT: 20th Anniversary of Vatican Nostra Aetate Statement

A number of press releases (see our bulletins Noticias e Informaciones del Comité Judío Americano -- "A.J.C. News & Information" bulletins) addressed to you during the last few months, have focused on forthcoming events contemplated by the A.J.C. to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Second Vatican Council's historic Nostra Aetate statement, both in the U.S. as well as abroad.

In this connection, our Interreligious Affairs Department, headed by Rabbi James Rudin, as well as the International Affairs Department, headed by Dr. Marc Tanenbaum, are currently participating in the planning of several national and international events, which will no doubt be of interest to you.

Some time ago, we sent you copies of Vol. 21, No. 3, of the Journal of Ecumenical Studies, published by Temple University, contents of which are essential in gaining further insight into the diverse facets of Judeo-Christian relations.

Towards this end, we also enclose a set of material prepared by Rabbi Alan Mittleman, of the A.J.C., titled Resource Kit:

Vatican Council II and Catholic-Jewish Relations, 1965-1985, which will be useful for participants and organizers of specific events related to the commemoration.

In addition, please find enclosed several press clippings commenting on the recent audience of the A.J.C. Delegation, headed by President Howard I. Friedman, with Pope John Paul II.

May we suggest that you share this material with colleagues and others actively engaged in this area? You are free to translate whatever is deemed of local interest, in which case kindly acknowledge the ^{original} ~~editorial~~ source. Needless to say, we are eager to hear of your own plans in connection with the forthcoming anniversary.

Last but not least, please be advised that we are currently looking into the possibility of promoting a Pan American encounter, which would permit an exchange of experiences in this common endeavor, and afford the many related groups in Latin America an opportunity to become acquainted with each other.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely,

Encs.
c.c.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date Abril 9, 1985
to A los grupos de acción interreligiosa judeo-cristianos y líderes religiosos en Sudamérica
from Jacobo Kovadloff, Director de Asuntos Sudamericanos y Medios en Español
subject 20^o Aniversario de la Declaración Vaticana Nostra-Aetate

Diversos comunicados de prensa (nuestros boletines "Noticias e Informaciones del Comité Judío Americano") que les remitiéramos en los últimos meses, dieron cuenta de la movilización encarada por el A.J.C. para conmemorar el 20^o aniversario de la histórica Declaración "Nostra-Aetate" del Concilio Vaticano II, tanto en este país como en el exterior.

A tal efecto nuestro Departamento de Relaciones Interreligiosas que dirige el rabino James Rudin, como así también el Departamento de Relaciones Internacionales dirigido por el Dr. Marc Tanenbaum, han comenzado ya a participar en eventos nacionales e internacionales, cuya proyección descontamos merecerá vuestro interés.

Les hemos remitido oportunamente copias del ejemplar Volume - 21 Number 3 del Journal of Ecumenical Studies publicado por Temple University y cuyo contenido resulta de indudable valor para el conocimiento y análisis de la variada agenda en las relaciones judeo-cristianas.

También y con igual propósito les adjunto a la presente un ejemplar de la carpeta con diversos materiales preparada por el rabino Alan Mittleman del A.J.C. caratulada Resource Kit: Vatican Council II and Catholic-Jewish Relations, 1965-1985 para asistir a los participantes y organizadores de programas específicos de esta conmemoración.

Adjuntamos también diversos comentarios periodísticos sobre la entrevista mantenida recientemente por una Delegación del A.J.C. encabezada por su presidente Howard I. Friedman, con el Pontífice Juan Pablo II.

Nos permitimos sugerirles que compartan estos materiales con colegas y activistas en este campo. Quedan de hecho autorizados a traducir lo que eventualmente consideren de vuestro interés local, en cuyo caso les agradeceremos dejar constancia de su origen editorial. Obviamente apreciaremos conocer vuestras propias realizaciones sobre este aniversario.

Por último les adelantamos de nuestro interés - y estamos estudiando el tema - de promover un encuentro Pan-Americano dedicado a intercambiar experiencias sobre esta acción común y promover el conocimiento recíproco de los numerosos grupos afines del continente.

Al aguardo de vuestras noticias, quedo como siempre, a vuestra entera disposición.

85-590-057
Adjs.
JK/smm
G089



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, April 16 ... The following statement has been issued by Howard I. Friedman, President of the American Jewish Committee:

"We deeply appreciate that an appropriate commemoration of the Holocaust is now being considered by the White House as part of the plans for President Reagan's visit to Germany. The President has often spoken eloquently and movingly of his deep feelings about this tragic event and of the importance for the world never to forget. This commemoration therefore will be most fitting.

"We earnestly hope that as part of the review of the President's program, the visit to the military cemetery at Bitburg will be reconsidered as well. There must certainly be some more appropriate way to pay tribute to those who have fallen and to express the commitment to peace and reconciliation."

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.

A EJP R Z

4/16/85:tp

85-960-80

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 S. D.F.

CSAE 1707

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, April 16 ... The following statement has been issued by Howard I. Friedman, President of the American Jewish Committee:

"We are pleased at the announcement that President Reagan plans to visit a concentration camp during his visit to Germany, which is most fitting in view of his past comments about the Holocaust. Meanwhile we continue to urge him to reconsider the visit to the military cemetery at Bitburg, and to consider a more appropriate way to honor the fallen and to express his commitment to peace and reconciliation."

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.

AJRZ

4/16/85:tp

85-960-81

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

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



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

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, April 18....The following statement was issued today by Howard I. Friedman, President of the American Jewish Committee:

"We had hoped that the President's welcome announcement that he would visit a concentration camp and the equally welcome indication that a more appropriate memorial than the Bitburg cemetery might ultimately be selected would put this matter behind us. But the President's statement today -- that those in Bitburg cemetery are just as surely the victims as those who were in the concentration camps -- constrains us to express our deep disappointment. Soldiers die in all wars. That is always a human tragedy. But there is no parallel in human history for the genocide attempts against the Jewish people. Surely those victims of the Holocaust cannot be viewed in moral terms to represent the same kind of tragedy as befell soldiers acting on behalf of Nazi Germany. There simply is no parallel between genocide and the tragedy of lives lost in war. Surely the President of the United States, as the leader of this country, should understand this elementary distinction."

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.

AJRZ

4/18/1985

85-960-83

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 16, 1985
to Leo Nevas
from David A. Harris
subject Steering Committee Meeting,
April 18, 1985

Among the topics you may want to raise at the breakfast session are:

- 1) Center for Pluralism in Israel
- 2) Report of the Working Committee on South Africa (Bob Goodkind, who is chairman, will be present).
- 3) 1985 Annual Meeting (see the Annual Meeting Program Update in your kit and note those sessions that are asterisked).
- 4) Regional task forces, including the Task Force on South America.
- 5) Proposed overseas missions (e.g. Strasbourg and Brussels, U.S.S.R. in 1986, etc.).
- 6) Report on Conference on Religious Liberty, State Dept., April 15-16 (attended by Marc Tanenbaum, Ruth Septe, Carolyn Tumarkin and Gerald Jeremias).

DAH:CH

cc: Marc H. Tanenbaum





The American Jewish Committee

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

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 16, 1985

Honorable Vernon Walters
c/o Office of the Secretary of State
2201 C Street, NW - Room 6313
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Ambassador Walters:

On behalf of the officers of The American Jewish Committee, it is my great pleasure to congratulate you on your appointment as the United States Ambassador to the United Nations. All of us are confident that, under your leadership, the United States will continue to play a pivotal role in the UN as an advocate of human rights and democratic principles.

I am taking advantage of the visit to the State Department of a group of AJC's national leaders to extend this special invitation to you to address our 79th Annual Meeting on Sunday, May 5, 1985 at 10:00 AM, at The Waldorf-Astoria in New York.

The American Jewish Committee is the oldest human relations organization in this country. Since its founding in 1906, AJC has been in the forefront of efforts to ensure the health of our democratic society and the dignity of all groups within it. Through the exceptional programs of The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, we have been a leader in this field. As you may know, the Committee also publishes Commentary magazine.

Our Annual Meeting will be in session May 1-5; the Sunday morning session will focus on current international concerns. We would greatly welcome hearing your views on the role of the United States in the UN and the international arena on this occasion. Ambassador Benjamin Netanyahu will also speak at the session. Your audience would consist of several hundred civic and communal leaders from across the U.S. and from abroad.

If your schedule prevents you from joining us on May 5, we would be delighted to discuss with you alternative sessions during our meeting.

We extend our good wishes and look forward eagerly to an early reply.

Sincerely,

Howard I. Friedman

HIF/br

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date April 16, 1985
to Leo Nevas
from David A. Harris
subject Steering Committee Meeting,
April 18, 1985

Among the topics you may want to raise at the breakfast session are:

- 1) Center for Pluralism in Israel
- 2) Report of the Working Committee on South Africa (Bob Goodkind, who is chairman, will be present).
- 3) 1985 Annual Meeting (see the Annual Meeting Program Update in your kit and note those sessions that are asterisked).
- 4) Regional task forces, including the Task Force on South America.
- 5) Proposed overseas missions (e.g. Strasbourg and Brussels, U.S.S.R. in 1986, etc.).
- 6) Report on Conference on Religious Liberty, State Dept., April 15-16 (attended by Marc Tanenbaum, Ruth Septe, Carolyn Tumarkin and Gerald Jeremias).

DAH:CH

cc: Marc H. Tanenbaum



DRAFT - NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICA

1. In its November 1984 Statement on South Africa, the American Jewish Committee reaffirmed its abhorrence of apartheid and called for the elimination of this evil system.
2. Since November, the situation in South Africa has deteriorated. Violence bred by apartheid has led to more killing and further violation of civil liberties. On March 21, 1985, twenty-five years after the massacre of blacks in Sharpsville - police gunfire at Uitenhage felled 19 blacks. Two days later, the South African Government banned meetings by twenty-nine nonparliamentary groups, composed largely of blacks, opposed to apartheid - underscoring the exclusion of blacks from any participation in public life. In the past thirteen months some 240 blacks have been killed during anti-apartheid protests.
3. Americans have condemned the escalation of violence in South Africa. Political leaders, writers and members of the general public have also continued to express their outrage at the South African categorization of blacks as inferior to whites in fact and in law. One of these, Elie Wiesel, an eloquent witness to the Nazi murder of six-million Jews, wrote: "Racism itself is dreadful, but when it pretends to be legal, and therefore just, it becomes altogether repugnant. Without comparing apartheid to Nazism and to its final solution...one cannot but assign the two systems, in their supposed legality, to the same camp." Jewish tradition reveres law as an instrument of justice. Twisting the law to make it an agent of racial discrimination is odious and offensive.

1. South Africa's scheme of legalized racism is hostile to justice and devoid of elementary humanity. Measures such as the influx control laws and the Group Areas Act must be dropped; brutal practices such as forced resettlement must be abandoned; and South-Africa's black majority must be enfranchised into the political system if freedom is ever to cast its light on South Africa.
2. What can we, outside the country, do to encourage peaceful democratization of South Africa's society? The answer is not simple. As outsiders, we recognize that our role is limited - that basic changes must come from within South Africa itself. But in the face of a brazen violation of fundamental human rights, inaction - passivity - is inconceivable. So we must act. We must not take steps that would aggravate the likelihood of a paroxym of violence and bloodshed - a calamity that would claim both black and white as its victims. Rather we must seek to strengthen those forces in South Africa dedicated to nonviolent change. It is against this background that we advocate the following measures:
 3. To send a clear and unequivocal message to the South African Government of our abhorrence of apartheid, we support a ban on US bank loans to entities owned and controlled by the South African Government, except to those firms engaged in projects to provide housing, education and the like, on a nondiscriminatory basis. This ban would be waived if there is real progress in South Africa in eliminating apartheid.
 4. To encourage the full participation of blacks in their country's economic life, we endorse legislation that would require US corporations doing business in South Africa to adhere to a fair employment code requiring non-segregation in the workplace; equal pay, and providing black employees with training, with the possibility of working in

managerial roles, and with improved living conditions outside the work environment.

1. To expose grievous violations of fundamental human rights, we endorse resolutions in the Congress to condemn South Africa's "homelands" policy, and to call for an investigation by the Secretary of State of the recent violence in that country.
2. There are also activities which members of our organization can undertake--some of these have already been undertaken--to register our repugnance of apartheid and to press for peaceful change. These activities include:
 3. Encouraging US corporations to comply with a code of fair employment practices outlined above;
 4. Engaging in peaceful protest, study seminars and dialogues on apartheid and South Africa;
 5. Encouraging US Government officials and officials of European governments to exert diplomatic pressure on the South African Government to end apartheid;
 6. Speaking out in international fora against apartheid on behalf of unjustly jailed, detained or "banned" political leaders;
 7. Supporting educational programs to train black South Africans to participate fully in the economic life of their country.

COALITION TO FREE SOVIET JEWS*

Representing concerned organizations in New York City, Long Island, Westchester, Rockland and Bergen Counties.

Rabbinical Council of America,
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Center for Russian Jewry,
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Free Sons of Israel, Hashachar, American Zionist Federation, New York Board of Rabbis, United Synagogue of America, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, New York Legislators Coalition for Soviet Jewry, B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, Queens Council for Soviet Jewry, Brooklyn Coalition for Soviet Jewry, Herut Zionists of America, Rabbinical Assembly, Betar, Council of Jewish Organizations in Civil Service, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, N.Y. Legal Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, Survivors of Nazi Camps and Resistance Fighters, International League for the Repatriation of Russian Jews, Association of Orthodox Jewish Teachers, Poale Agudath Israel, Zionists Organization of America, Jewish Community Council of Canarsie, B'nai B'rith Metropolitan Conference, Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, Rockland County Committee for Soviet Jewry, Association of Reform Rabbis of New York, Labor Zionists Alliance, Women's League for Israel, Staten Island Committee for Soviet Jewry, Americans For Progressive Israel, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Jewish War Veterans, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, United Jewish Community of Bergen County, Manhattan Coalition for Soviet Jewry, American Jewish Congress, Oceanfront Council for Soviet Jewry, Jewish Association of College Youth/Hillel, American ORT Federation, Queens Jewish Community Council, Emunah Women, Alumni Association Teachers Institute of Seminary College of Jewish Studies, Religious Zionists of America, B'nai Akiva, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, National Council of Young Israel, Economists for Ida Nudel, Jewish Community House of Bensonhurst, Women's American ORT, Board of Jewish Education, Jewish Teachers Association, AMIT Women, United Synagogue Youth, American Federation of Jewish Fighters, Camp Inmates and Nazi Victims, National Federation of Temple Youth, B'nai Zion, National Conference on Synagogue Youth, Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists, Noar Mizrahi, Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry, Jersey Action for Soviet Jewry, Washington Heights-inwood Council for Soviet Jewry, Jewish Labor Committee, Young Israel Collegiates and Young Adults, New York Federation of Reform Synagogues, Workmen's Circle, Pioneer Women, Jewish American Political Affairs Committee, Hadassah, National Council of Jewish Women, B'nai B'rith Women, Masada/ZOA

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April 18, 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Dear Friend,

We hope that you are making plans to join us for Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry on May 5, 1985. With the new Soviet leadership, this year's march is particularly important. It provides us with an important opportunity to demonstrate our determination to stand alongside Soviet Jews in their quest for freedom.

Please bring the enclosed registration card to the special registration area indicated on your card. Beginning promptly at noon, the leadership contingent will lead the march down Fifth Avenue to 48th Street, where you will turn left and proceed to First Avenue. You will be entering Dag Hammarskjold Plaza through checkpoints set up at First Avenue and 48th Street.

If you cannot participate in the march, you can register for the rally at a separate registration area which will be set up on the southwest corner of First Avenue and 48th Street. The rally will last from approximately 1:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.

By participating on May 5, you will be sending a personal signal of vital importance to more than 2,500,000 Soviet Jews. We look forward to seeing you there.

Sincerely,

Zeesy Schnur
Zeesy Schnur
Executive Director

Herb Kronish
Herbert Kronish
Chairman

*Formerly The Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry

Division of International Organizations

SUBMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE
RESURGENCE OF FASCISM AND RACISM IN EUROPE

The American Jewish Committee is grateful for the opportunity provided by the Commission of Inquiry to address an issue of special concern to us: how racism and racial discrimination in Europe affect Jews, in particular Soviet Jews.

Racism and racial discrimination are contrary to democratic values and international law, and inimical to social peace and stability. European history, unfortunately, has confirmed the danger discrimination poses to Jews. In the Middle Ages, in England, France and other European lands, Jews were victims of absurd blood libels -- preposterous accusations that Jews used the blood of Christians for ritual purposes. (Remarkably, this outrageous lie was repeated by the Saudi Arabian participant in a United Nations seminar on combatting religious intolerance held in Geneva in December, 1984.) The fifteenth century saw the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. In the eighteenth century, Russia's borders expanded to include a large Jewish population which was subjected to discrimination. With the dawning of new notions of race in the nineteenth century, publicists began to allege that Jews were racially different from, and inferior to, other peoples, laying the groundwork for Nazi genocide.

It is appropriate for the European Parliament to mark the fortieth anniversary of Nazi defeat by assessing current manifestations of racism and racial discrimination in European countries both inside and outside the European community. The Parliamentary Commission studying this issue is charged with investigating instances of the possible resurgence of racist attitudes among Europeans, the emergence of racist groups and ideologies, and how these racist tendencies, present in one country, can spread to others.

* * * *

We will focus on the racism and racial discrimination suffered by the Jews of the Soviet Union, most of whom dwell in its European regions. Though the USSR is not the only European country in which Jews are victims of racism and racial discrimination, only in that country is such discrimination state-sanctioned. We also are concerned with anti-Jewish racism in other European countries.

International legal agreements, to which most European states, West and East, are parties, as well as the national law of European states, include race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin among the prohibited grounds of discrimination. These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the European Convention on Human Rights,¹ the 1968 British Race Relations Act², which

applies to ethnic groups, including Jews, and French and Belgian law³ which also consider ethnic origin to fall within their parameters. Similarly, Soviet law defines Jews as belonging to an ethnic group ('narodnost').⁴ Furthermore, in some cases, such as that of Jews, religion forms a part of the ethnicity of a group, and hostility toward such groups is manifested through the imposition of religious disabilities.

Of special concern to Jews today is racism in the form of racist ideas, and incitement against Jews based on such ideas. This incitement is condemned and proscribed by international and national law. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination condemns "all propaganda...which attempts to promote racial hatred..." The Convention further declares that "incitement to racial discrimination" shall be "an offense punishable by law," and the public authorities shall not "promote or incite racial discrimination."⁵ The provisions against incitement present in national European legislation, notably in French law, prohibit of ethnic group defamation and the propagation of ideas and theories that justify discrimination.⁶

The Soviet Union, in its 1977 Constitution, makes punishable by law "any advocacy of racial or ethnic exclusiveness, hostility or contempt."⁷

Soviet authorities claim frequently that the USSR is upholding this provision. For instance, in its eighth report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, dated 18 May 1984, paragraph 29, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent region of the USSR, affirms that "any propaganda or agitation aimed at inciting racial or national hostility or discord...shall be punished..."

Because of their enormous influence on public attitudes, there has been particular concern that the mass media may be manipulated to serve as dangerous instruments of racist incitement. UNESCO has urged those who "control or serve" the media to "promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship" by refraining from presenting a "stereotyped, partial, unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals and of various human groups."⁸

* * * *

The Soviet Union engages in racial discrimination in several respects against its 1.81 million Jews, including racial incitement, discrimination in education, and discrimination in religious expression. Since the early 1970's, the Soviet Union, through officially controlled publications and broadcasts, has propagated the racist notions that Jews, referred to directly as "Jews" or indirectly as "Zionists," promote war, engage in genocide, manipulate the world economy and the world media, and seek to corrupt and enslave humanity. Two examples of such racial incitement will serve to indicate its dangerous nature. An absurd, false notion, repeated countless times in the Soviet media, is that "the majority of large monopolies which produce armaments are controlled by Jews and bankers." The publicists, furthermore, claim that a Jewish Zionist conspiracy is threatening to destroy the world's culture.⁹

The Soviet Union's anti-Jewish propaganda campaign clearly incites

racial hatred. It is conducted on a broad scale in radio and television, in the press, and in ostensibly respectable academic journals. The Soviet government controls all its mass media, and there is no opportunity for response or rebuttal of these racist ideas. This propaganda, in effect, inculcates and reinforces discriminatory attitudes among the Soviet population, and threatens the security of Soviet Jews.

Soviet Jews suffer not only incitement to racial hatred but discrimination in employment and in education. Since the 1950's, there has been discrimination against Jews in the Soviet government bureaucracy, including the diplomatic service. After 1970, discrimination began to extend to Soviet higher educational institutions. In the decade 1969-1979, the number of Jewish students in Soviet higher educational institutions plunged by 50%, a decline explained by neither demography nor emigration; according to unofficial surveys of University admission, and interviews with Soviet Jewish emigres, discrimination caused the decrease.¹⁰

While in the Soviet Union religious believers in general are disadvantaged as compared with atheists, the regime imposes particularly stringent measures against Jewish believers. Education in the USSR is publicly funded, and instruction is given in many languages. Only the Jewish group is unable to secure instruction in the language of its religion and culture -- Hebrew. Jews are barred from studying Hebrew privately and Soviet officials regularly harass and arrest teachers of Hebrew.

In 1984 and the first two months of 1985 alone, Soviet police have arrested private Hebrew teachers on specious charges such as "trampling on flowers," "weapons possession," "anti-Soviet defamation," "resisting arrest," and "drug possession." The teachers have been sentenced to terms ranging from 18 months to 4 years in prison. Typically, two teachers recently convicted have been subjected to severe pain or suffering, both physical and mental. In prison, Yakov Mesh of Odessa sustained a damaged liver and Yosef Berenstein of Kiev lost the use of an eye; another teacher, Mark Nepomniashchy, was placed in a psychiatric institution.¹¹

In addition to denying Jews the right to learn Hebrew, the Soviet authorities obstruct Jewish holiday observance. For instance, in March 1984, police raided the homes of seven Jews who celebrated the Jewish festival of Purim. The police confiscated prayer books and religious objects. Similarly, the Soviet authorities reject the pleas of Moscow Jews for Jewish burial facilities. Deprived of burial sites, Jews are forced to cremate the dead, a violation of Jewish religious law and practice.¹²

Because of anti-Jewish propaganda and discrimination against Jews in employment and education and denial of the Jews' right to participate in their religion and culture, many Soviet Jews have applied to emigrate. The Soviet Union, in violation of international law, bars emigration in general. But the disabilities to which the Jews are subjected makes the denial of this right more serious for them. Currently, over 350,000 Soviet Jews have requested and received notarized invitations from relatives in Israel in compliance with Soviet emigration regulations. In 1984, the Soviet Union permitted only 896 Jews to leave. Ten thousand Jewish applicants have received official refusal, and these "refuseniks" are the targets of acts such as job dismissal, punitive military conscription, denial

of admission to, or expulsion from, higher educational institutions, and, in some cases, harassing searches, arrests and beatings.¹³ Several "refuseniks" have been charged with "parasitism" or refusal to work even though they have been denied employment by state-run agencies because of their applications to emigrate.

* * * *

Jews in Western Europe generally are free from the discrimination suffered by their Soviet Jewish co-religionists. Nevertheless, political extremist groups engage in attacks against Jews and Jewish institutions and in anti-Semitic incitement, resembling Soviet racist propaganda.

In April 1985, a bomb was detonated outside an Israeli-owned bank and a French Government immigration office in Paris. A month earlier, a bomb planted in a Paris theatre where films on Jewish themes were being shown wounded twenty people. Other anti-Jewish attacks in France in recent years include the November 1983 attack on a Jewish-owned restaurant in the Parisian district of Bois du Bologne, leaving thirty persons injured; the planting of a bomb, defused before detonation, in a crowded Jewish meeting hall in Marseilles, where children were about to stage a play for the Jewish festival of Purim; and the August 1982 attack on the Jo Goldenberg Restaurant in Paris' Jewish quarter, that left six dead and twenty-one injured.

Attacks against Jews occurred in other European countries as well. In Belgium, in September 1982, a machine-gun assault on Brussels' Jews attending the Jewish New Year service at the main synagogue left four persons wounded. And terrorist attackers of Rome's main synagogue in October 1982 killed one child and injured thirty-four people.

Verbal assault has accompanied physical attacks on Jews. For instance, in February 1983, certain extremist Greek newspapers and journals published a series of articles containing absurd allegations of "Zionist" control of Greece's record industry. Through this "control," Jews falsely were said to corrupt Greek youth, and to pave the road to "Zionist world supremacy." On February 4, 1983, the newspaper Christianiki published an article entitled "Zionist Capital Controls Three Large Record Companies." The article, repeating standard anti-Jewish canards, asserted that "Zionist capital distorts genuine Greek music and imposes instead foreign music which has led our youth to corruption, narcotics, discos and all these stupidities..., it corrupts conscience and morals, creates depravity, weakens nations, and thus fulfills its expansionist aims."

In France, anti-Jewish themes are put forward with equally damaging effect. A full-page text that appeared in Le Monde in June 1983, and signed by Roger Garaudy, Father Lelong and Pastor Mathiot expounded the dangerous and false themes that Israel is racist because it is a Jewish state; that the Jewish religion itself is racist; and that this Jewish racism inspires racist attitudes in others. The Soviet anti-Jewish writers discussed above also spuriously condemned Judaism, the religion of the Jewish people. Attacks on Jews for their attachment to Israel are not only instances of racial incitement against an entire group;

they are an example of clear hypocrisy. What makes an Italian-American's sentiment for Italy a matter of ethnic pride, and a Jewish-Frenchman's attachment to Israel racism?

Furthermore, Western extremist publicists have, like Soviet propagandists, begun to use anti-Zionism as a convenient cover for anti-Jewish attitudes. One of these groups is Britain's National Front, whose publications allege "Zionist control" of Britain, and assert that eliminating this "control" would "free the British people from money-lenders and thus bring down the cost of living."¹⁴ In Sweden, another extremist publication, Bible Researcher (January 1979) characterized Zionism as "the basest form of racism...satanism...a disease worse than the leprous plague."

In the Federal Republic of Germany also, "Zionism" has become the target of anti-Semitic groups. The neo-Nazi newspaper Der Angriff (no. 8, 78) proclaims the "enemy's name is Zionism," and further that "the influence of Zionism reaches into the highest quarters of almost every government of the world."

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

* * * *

Soviet racial incitement and discrimination directed against Jews, and anti-Jewish propaganda in the rest of Europe, should concern all Europeans. The rise of Nazism in the 1930's demonstrates that racist hatred and incitement paves the way to physical violence, even genocide.

European national and regional bodies should assume a leading role in combatting such racist incitement and racial discrimination. Officials of European national and regional bodies, international organizations and all people devoted to protecting fundamental freedoms should protest against racial discrimination and combat it through programs of public education and legislation. As Edmund Burke has observed: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."



NOTES

- 1 International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Part 1, Art. 1. European Convention on Human Rights, Art. 14.
- 2 Mandla v. Dowell Lee (1982) 3 WLR 932. Discussion in Patterns of Prejudice, April 1983, pp. 49-51.
- 3 France, "Amendment to the Law dated 29 July 1881 on the Freedom of the Press," Art. 4, Journal official, vol. 104, No. 154, 2 July 1972, pp.6803-4804.
- 4 Avtandil Rukhadze, Jews in the USSR (Moscow: Novosti, 1984), p. 27.
- 5 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 2 (2). International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Art. 4, (a) (c).
- 6 France, "Amendment," 2 July 1972, Art. 5.
- 7 The Constitution of the USSR (1977) Art. 36.
- 8 Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, UNESCO, 27 November 1978, Art. 5 (3).
- 9 David Dragunsky, What Letters Tell, Moscow: Novosti, 1984, pp. 3, 6-7. "Moscow Home Service in Russian," October 12, 1984, 19.00 hours. Pionerskaia Pravda, 10 October 1980.
- 10 "Discrimination-Soviet Style," Soviet Nationality Survey, March 1985.
- 11 "Crime and Punishment," New York Times, February 14, 1985.
- 12 Jews in the USSR, May 10, July 12, 1984.
- 13 New York Times, January 4, 1984 and February 14, 1985. Human Rights in the Soviet Union, New York: The International League for Human Rights, 1985, pp. 55-61.
- 14 Patterns of Prejudice, vol. 13, nos. 2-3, March-June 1979, 27.



THE KIDNAPPING OF LEBANESE JEWISH LEADERS

(An International Relations Department Background Analysis)

by George E. Gruen, Ph.D.
Director, Middle East Affairs

Four leaders of the Lebanese Jewish community were kidnapped in a series of abductions carried out by armed men in Beirut at the end of March. The kidnappings have been confirmed by the Beirut police, but no group has publicly claimed responsibility nor have family members been contacted with ransom demands.

According to information obtained by the American Jewish Committee from its Paris office and from other reliable sources in the U.S., Europe and the Middle East, the following is known about the kidnap victims and the circumstances of their abduction:

1. Dr. Elie Hallak, 59, a prominent physician, was kidnapped from his home in West Beirut on Friday night, May 29, by armed men in uniform.
2. Haim Cohen, an elderly member of the community, whose functions include distribution of Kosher meat.
3. Elie Srour, 68, whose community functions include preparing the dead for burial. Neither Cohen nor Srour is wealthy. They were both kidnapped during the Sabbath in the vicinity of the main synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil old Jewish quarter.
4. Isaac Sasson, the president of the community, was kidnapped by armed men on Sunday, March 31. He had been out of the country on a business trip to the United Arab Emirates and was dragged away by three armed men when he arrived at the airport in Muslim West Beirut. Mr. Sasson, 68, is director of the pharmaceutical department of Khalil Fattal & Fils, a major Lebanese trading company. Friends sought to warn him not to return to his home in West Beirut but to go directly to the relatively safer Christian section of the city, but his abducters, who obviously knew of his travel plans, intercepted him either immediately as he got off the plane or in the vicinity of the airport. Mr. Sasson suffers from diabetes.

Dr. Hallak and Mr. Sasson are well connected in Lebanese society. Dr. Hallak's patients include prominent members of the various ethnic and religious communities. He has scrupulously stayed out of politics, and, in fact, the son of one of the Palestine Liberation Organization's leaders was treated by him. Mr. Sasson also has contacts among Muslim as well as Christian business circles. The two led a Jewish delegation that met with President Amin Gemayel on August 23 last year to discuss the deteriorating situation of the dwindling Jewish community, which is now estimated at less than 100.

The Lebanese authorities and friends of Messrs. Sasson and Hallak have inquired about their whereabouts with the various armed militias, including the Amal, the mainstream Shi'ite militia organization, but no trace of them was discovered. This has led to speculation that the four Jewish men were abducted by persons connected with the Shi'ite fundamentalist group, Hezbollah (the Party of God). This group is closely aligned with the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and has been implicated in attacks upon American and other Western installations in Lebanon.

Nabih Berri, the leader of the Amal, has condemned the kidnapping of the Jewish leaders in Beirut. Mr. Berri, who until recently served as Cabinet Minister for South Lebanon Affairs, declared on April 4 that the kidnappings "falsify the image of Beirut, which is built on coexistence." He concluded that "whoever kidnaps a Jew just because he is Jewish only helps Zionism and has nothing to do with patriotism or the struggle...."

This well organized wave of kidnappings has filled the Jewish community with fear and has raised deep concern among Jewish communities around the world. It is to be noted that even during the height of the Lebanese civil war, which broke out in 1975 and has continued intermittently ever since, the Jewish community as such was not targeted. Most of the Jewish community has left because of the uncertain economic situation and the physical danger of living in a war zone. There are no special restrictions upon the community, which has been free to practice its religion and was protected by the authorities -- to the extent that there was any functioning central authority.

In June 1967 some 6,000 Jews still lived in Lebanon, but because of the psychological, political and economic pressures generated by the Six Day war in the neighboring countries, the Lebanese Jewish community shrank to half by the end of the year. Additional emigration occurred during subsequent periods of turmoil. By 1981 the community had declined to about 200 and it is believed that the community today is only a fraction of that number, with some estimates as low as several dozen. In many cases most family members have established residence abroad and only the breadwinner remains in Lebanon to continue his business or profession.

The first prominent Lebanese Jewish leader to be kidnapped was Albert Elia, the secretary-general of the community, who was dragged into a car as he was walking to his office in the synagogue on September 6, 1971. Subsequent investigations disclosed that the kidnappers had been working for Syrian intelligence. Mr. Elia died after having been tortured in the al-Mazeh prison outside of Damascus.

But there were no cases of Lebanese Jews being kidnapped by Lebanese elements until last year. On July 1 Raoul Sobhi Mizrahi, 54, an electrical engineer who ran an electrical supply company, was kidnapped by three armed gunmen from his apartment in West Beirut. There were no ransom demands. He was beaten to death and his body was discovered on July 3. A group calling itself the "National Resistance Army--The Nation's Liberation Faction" said it had killed Mizrahi "because he was an Israeli agent." His family firmly denied this, but noted that the Amal Shi'ite militia had warned Mizrahi that his life was in danger if he maintained commercial ties with Israel.

On August 15, Salim Jammous, who had been serving as secretary-general of the Jewish community, was kidnapped by three armed men who abducted him from his car near the main Beirut synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil quarter. No group claimed responsibility and it is believed that he is still being kept captive. The Jewish community has recently received information that Mr. Jammous in fact is being held together with the four Jewish leaders kidnapped at the end of March and that they are all being kept at a center of the Hezbollah in the Baalbek area.

The American Jewish Committee has been in contact with the United States Government and other diplomatic and human rights channels in efforts to locate and obtain the release of the kidnapped Lebanese Jewish leaders.

Revised April 24, 1985
85-580-12R

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Cuba Liberalizing Its Religious Liberty Policy Toward Cuban Jews

New York, (JTA) — The Cuban government, reversing a long-standing policy, has agreed to liberalize its religious liberty policy toward the small Cuban Jewish community, including permission for a rabbi to visit and conduct religious services on major Jewish holy days, the American Jewish Committee reported today.

The announcement of improved religious conditions for Cuban Jewry was made by Dr. Jose Felipe Carneado, director of the Religious Affairs Division of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party (*Oficina de Asuntos Religiosos del Comité Central del PCC*), during a meeting held on March 19 with three leaders of the Cuban Jewish community: Dr. Jose Miller, president of the Jewish Community of Havana; Moises Asis, secretary general, and Abraham Berezniak, a Jewish leader.

Details of the liberalized policy were made known by Asis in a communication sent to Jacobo Kovadloff, an Argentinian who is

director of South American affairs for the American Jewish Committee.

Leo Nevas, chairman of the AJC's International Relations Commission, and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, AJC's international relations director, characterized the development as "an important breakthrough for the continuity and survival of the 800-member Cuban Jewish community."

Wide-Ranging Agreement Cited

According to the AJC report, the Cuban official has agreed "to help Cuban Jewry open a kosher restaurant in Old Havana, maintain and take care of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, and open a Sunday religious school for Jewish children and young people."

Significantly, Carneado agreed also to grant visas to rabbis who will be allowed to conduct religious services during the major Jewish holy days. According to Kovadloff, "in previous years, rabbis who had visited Havana had been denied the right to officiate

in the synagogues."

The Cuban government promised also to allow a *mohel*, a ritual circumcizer for initiating Jewish children into the covenant of Judaism, to come to Cuba for carrying out this basic religious tradition.

The AJC was informed that Carneado has invited the Cuban Jewish leaders to submit to him a written report on the current situation of the Cuban Jewish community and its major religious, educational, and cultural problems, promising that "the Cuban government is willing to help solve these problems."

Nevas and Tanenbaum made public for the first time the fact that Kovadloff had visited Cuba three times during the past two years in order to express solidarity with Cuban Hebrew. (Cuba is the only Latin American country in which Jews are called "Hebrews" since the word "Jews" still retains a derogatory connotation in Spanish.)

During his visits, Kovadloff brought as gifts from the American Jewish Committee to the Cuban Jewish community many Spanish and English-language books, records and cassettes of Jewish religious and cultural content. Among recent contribu-

tions to the Havana Jewish Patronato, the library and communal institution, were Jewish prayer books in Spanish (*Devocionario Judío*, in Spanish and Hebrew), the Passover Hagadah, and the Sabbath Hagadah.

Nevas and Tanenbaum reported that Kovadloff last traveled to Cuba in September 1983, where he participated in Yom Kippur and Succot services with Cuban Jews. They reported also that during the past 20 years, American Jewish Committee offices in Mexico, directed by Sergio Nudelstejer, and in Buenos Aires have regularly sent religious and educational materials to Cuban Jewry. Similar materials have been sent to Havana by the AMIA, the Jewish Federation of Argentina.

The AJC officials made known also that the Canadian Jewish Congress annually sends kosher Passover foods, matzos, and wine to Cuban Jewry. Jewish ritual slaughtering is also allowed for observant Cuban Jews at the Havana abattoir.

Kovadloff reported that many books on "Hebrews" and on religious-ethnic pluralism have been made available to the Jose Marti National Library in

Havana. He said he found only two Spanish-language anti-Semitic publications in that library, published in Mexico and Moscow.

Nevas and Tanenbaum disclosed that Kovadloff had met in recent years with high-ranking Cuban government officials to arrange for the emigration of Jews who had requested exit permits. Noting that President Fidel Castro and Cuban officials had met in recent years with American Catholic bishops and Protestant leaders, Nevas and Tanenbaum expressed concern over the fact that Cuban Jewish leaders had been denied a meeting with Carneado and other government officials for some 10 years.

Kovadloff played a crucial role in urging that this discrimination come to an end, and he encouraged the Cuban Jewish leaders to seek the present meeting, which proved to be positive and constructive.

The AJC was informed also by the Cuban Jewish spokesman that with the permission of the government they recently (March 25) held a public commemoration of the 850th anniversary of the birth of Maimonides, the 12th century Spanish Jewish scholar.

Possible New Era

In their communication to the AJC, the Cuban Jewish leaders expressed the hope that these developments "will mark the beginning of a new era for

the (Hebrew) community

At the next meeting of the Steering Committee of the AJC's International Relations Commission, Nevas and Tanenbaum said, "we will examine what concrete steps might be taken to help the Cuban Jewish community realize to its fullest these new possibilities for enriching their spiritual and cultural life as Jews."

They said also that discussion would take place on what could be done to help improve relations between Cuba and the United States as well as between Cuba and Israel.

About 15,000 Jews lived in Cuba prior to the 1959 Cuban revolution. The Hebrew Community House, with about 20 members, is the largest of three synagogues in Cuba that remain open.



AIPAC

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

26th Annual Policy Conference April 21-23, 1985 Washington, D.C.

Dear Friend:

As we write this letter, Egyptian President Mubarak has just left Washington where he discussed his proposal for a peace initiative in the Middle East, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and Jordan's King Hussein are still pushing their request for additional sophisticated arms, and Congress is considering Israel's request for additional military and economic assistance.

What are the implications of these proposals for Israel and for the U.S.-Israel relationship? We invite you to join us at the 26th Annual Policy Conference, April 21-23 in Washington, D.C. Come hear the facts and an up-to-the-minute analysis of U.S. policy in the Middle East from many of our country's leading statesmen.

The Policy Conference will open on Sunday, April 21 at 2:00 p.m., with a keynote address by Secretary of State George P. Shultz. This will be the first major address on the Middle East by a senior official in the second Reagan Administration.

Following the Secretary's speech, we will hear a congressional perspective from Representative Dante Fascell (D-FL), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Representative Jack F. Kemp (R-NY), Ranking member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations.

And on Monday evening, April 22, Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Howell Heflin (D-AL), who will have just returned from a trip to Israel, will address the banquet.

As in the past we are encouraging the participation of college students—the future leaders of the pro-Israel community. There will be special programs for these activists to learn more about legislative and electoral politics, as well as effective propaganda response. Last year over 330 students from 100 campuses in 36 states attended the Policy Conference; this year even more are expected.

To make it easier for students to attend the conference, there is a special student rate of \$140.00. Many students will, however, need additional financial assistance. We urge you to help pro-Israel student activists participate in this important event by filling out the student assistance box at the bottom of your registration form.

We look forward to seeing you on April 21.

Robert H. Asher
President

Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

ADVANCED REGISTRATION

Please be sure to register early. Due to limited space, registrations will be accepted in the order in which they are received. If we are unable to accept your registration we will notify you.

Requests for specific seating assignments during the banquet will be accepted only if received prior to April 1. There will be a \$50 LATE REGISTRATION FEE for registrations postmarked after April 1.

Complete form, detach and mail with registration payment to:

AIPAC POLICY CONFERENCE REGISTRATION
444 North Capitol Street, N.W.—Suite 412
Washington, DC 20001

Make all registration checks payable to AIPAC Policy Conference

EARLY REGISTRATION—BEFORE APRIL 1

- | | |
|---|----------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> All events, per person | \$215.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Students—all events | \$140.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Meetings Only—No Meals, per person | \$135.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Extra Banquet Tickets, per person | \$ 70.00 |

LATE REGISTRATION—AFTER APRIL 1

- | | |
|--|----------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Late Registration FEE | \$ 50.00 |
|--|----------|

TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED

(All AIPAC Meals at the Policy Conference are Kosher)

NOTE: Refunds will be made only if cancellation is received by April 1.

NAME _____

SPOUSE'S FIRST NAME _____

STUDENT (name of school) _____

HOME (or school) ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

TELEPHONE (_____) _____

(_____) _____

My Representative is _____ My Congressional District is _____

Students Only: Yes, I need home hospitality.

Date arriving _____

Date departing _____

FULL PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY REGISTRATION

YES, I WOULD LIKE TO SPONSOR A STUDENT. ENCLOSED IS MY CONTRIBUTION
OF \$ _____

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AIPAC has arranged for TOTALLY UNRESTRICTED DISCOUNT AIRFARES for registrants at the conference. To learn how to save 25 percent or more on your travel to this meeting simply call toll-free (800) 368-3239. If you are calling from Hawaii, Alaska or Virginia please call collect (703) 471-0460.

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American Israel Public Affairs Committee

26TH ANNUAL POLICY CONFERENCE

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

Sunday, April 21, 1985

- 12 noon Registration
2:00 p.m. Welcome: Robert H. Asher, President, AIPAC
2:30 p.m. U.S.-Israel Relations in the Second Reagan Administration:
HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ, Secretary of State
3:30 p.m. A Congressional Response:
REPRESENTATIVE DANTE FASCELL (D-FL), Chairman,
House Foreign Relations Committee
REPRESENTATIVE JACK F. KEMP (R-NY), Ranking Member,
House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations
5:00 p.m. Political Action from the College Campus—Part I
6:30 p.m. AIPAC: The Next Generation
Reception for Young Professionals
8:00 p.m. State of AIPAC
Thomas A. Dine, Executive Director, AIPAC
9:30 p.m. Reception for AIPAC Policy Conference Attendees
8:00 a.m. Continental Breakfast
A Tribute to the Freshman Senators
9:30 a.m. Representative of the Government of Israel
10:30 a.m. The Issues and the Issue Makers
Arming Israel's Enemies
Aiding America's Allies
Soviet Sponsored Peace Talks—A Threat to Israeli and American Security
12:30 p.m. Luncheon
Representative of the Department of Defense
2:30 p.m. Political Action Workshops
Countering anti-Israel Propaganda
Activating the pro-Israel Community
Looking Ahead to Campaign '86
5:00 p.m. Political Action from the College Campus-Part II
8:00 p.m. Banquet
Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN)
Senator Howell Heflin (D-AL)

Tuesday, April 23, 1985

- 8:30 a.m. Breakfast
9:30 a.m. Regional Caucuses
10:45 a.m. Israel's Second Defense: American Jews in the Political Process
Arthur D. Chotin, Deputy Executive Director, AIPAC
11:30 a.m. Adoption of AIPAC's 1985 Policy Statement
12 noon Luncheon
Remarks by a member of the House of Representatives
2:30 p.m. Appointments with Representatives and Senators
(Arranged by AIPAC)
4:30- Joint Senate and House Reception on Capitol Hill
6:30 p.m.

HOTEL RESERVATION FORM
AIPAC POLICY CONFERENCE, APRIL 21-23, 1985

Complete Form, Detach and Mail to:

AIPAC Policy Conference
HYATT REGENCY CRYSTAL CITY
2799 Jefferson Davis Highway
Arlington, VA 22202

USE THIS FORM ONLY

Please reserve the following accommodation:

Single \$ 88.00
Double/Twin \$100.00

Regency Club—Single: \$135.00 Double: \$155
(Regency Club accommodations include special guest room amenities and special food and beverage services.)

SUITES

1 Bed Room Suite \$200.00 \$250.00
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Date of arrival _____

I will arrive via _____

Time of Arrival _____

Date of Departure _____

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Telephone No. _____

Sharing room with _____

Reservations must be received by March 20, 1985.

Reservations requested beyond the cut-off date are subject to availability. Rooms may still be available after the cutoff but not necessarily at the convention rate. (Rooms are currently available.)

Your reservation will be held until 6 pm unless one night's deposit is received or guaranteed by card below. Failure to cancel 24 hours prior to reservation will result in 1 night's charges billed to your credit card.

Hold until 6 p.m. only

Guaranteed by one of the following: Deposit of \$ _____

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The American Jewish Committee

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DATE: April 24, 1985
TO: Steering Committee of the Commission on
International Relations
FROM: Leo Nevas, Chairman
RE: 79TH ANNUAL MEETING, May 1-5, 1985

A number of sessions at this year's Annual Meeting will be of particular interest to members of the Steering Committee. I very much hope you will be able to attend as many of these as possible.

Wednesday, May 1

10:00 a.m. - Noon Steering Committee of the Commission on
International Relations: Business Meeting
Location: Louis XVI West Suite
Fourth Floor

4:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m. Plenary Session: AJC's Policy on South Africa
Location: Hilton Room
Lobby Level

6:00 p.m. - 7:45 p.m. Committee on AJC Center for Pluralism in Israel
(by invitation)
Location: Vanderbilt Suite
Fourth Floor

Thursday, May 2

7:30 a.m. - 9:00 a.m. Working Group on Western Europe
(by invitation)
Location: Herbert Hoover Room
Fourth Floor

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President ■ THEODORE ELLENOFF, Chair, Board of Governors ■ EDWARD E. ELSON, Treasurer ■ SHIRLEY M. SZABAD, Secretary ■ ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council ■ EMILY W. SUNSTEIN, Associate Treasurer ■ ROBERT S. JACOBS, Chair, Board of Trustees ■ RITA E. HAUSER, Chair, Executive Committee ■ Honorary Presidents: MORRIS B. ABRAM, ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, RICHARD MAASS, ELMER L. WINTER, MAYNARD I. WISHNER ■ Honorary Vice-Presidents: NATHAN APPLEMAN, MARTIN GANG, RUTH R. GODDARD, ANDREW GOODMAN, RAYMOND F. KRAVIS, JAMES MARSHALL, WILLIAM ROSENWALD ■ MAX M. FISHER, Honorary Chair, National Executive Council ■ Executive Vice-Presidents Emeriti: JOHN SLAWSON, BERTRAM H. GOLD ■ Vice-Presidents: NORMAN E. ALEXANDER, Westchester; RICHARD J. FOX, Philadelphia; HOWARD A. GILBERT, Chicago; ALAN C. GREENBERG, New York; ROBERT H. HAINES, New York; CHARLOTTE G. HOLSTEIN, Syracuse; ROBERT L. PELZ, Westchester; IDELLE RABIN, Dallas; GORDON S. ROSENBLUM, Denver; DAVID F. SQUIRE, Boston; RICHARD L. WEISS, Los Angeles ■ DAVID M. GORDIS, Executive Vice-President ■

Thursday, May 2 (continued)

9:00 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.

Plenary Session: "West European Jewry Today"

Speakers: Dr. Ady Steg, President
Alliance Israelite Universelle

Samuel Toledano, President
Federation of Jewish Communities
in Spain

Tullia Zevi, President
Union of Italian Jewish Communities

Location: Empire Room
Lobby Level

12:30 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.

Plenary Luncheon: "East-West Relations 40 Years
after World War II"

Speaker: Alois Mertes, State Minister,
Foreign Office, Federal Republic
of Germany

Location: Empire Room
Lobby Level

Friday, May 3

7:30 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.

National Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Location: Louis XVI West Suite
Fourth Floor

10:45 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.

Program Forum: "Toward New Strategies: The U.S.S.R.
and Soviet Jewry"

Speakers: William Hyland, Editor,
Foreign Affairs

Robie M. Palmer, Deputy
Assistant Secretary of State
for European Affairs

Location: Hilton Room
Lobby Level

Friday, May 3 (continued)

2:30 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.

Workshop: The South African Issue in the
Communities

Location: Hilton Room
Lobby Level

Saturday, May 4

10:00 a.m. - Noon

Shabbat Service

Speakers: Simha Berhani, Ethiopian
Jew living in Israel
Ambassador Eugene Douglas,
United States Coordinator
for Refugee Affairs
Ralph Goldman, Executive
Vice President Emeritus,
American Jewish Joint
Distribution Committee

Location: Hilton Room
Lobby Level

Sunday, May 5

8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Plenary Breakfast: "We Are One or Are We?"
Issues in American Jewish-
Israeli Relations

Speaker: Avraham Burg, Advisor on
Diaspora Affairs to the
Prime Minister of Israel

Panelists: Participants in the Matthew &
Edna Brown Young Israeli
Leadership Program

Location: Empire Room
Lobby Level

10:00 a.m. - Noon

Plenary Session: "Israel's Position in the
International Arena"

Speaker: Hon. Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli
Ambassador to the United Nations

Location: Hilton Room
Lobby Level

REMARKS OF HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, PRESIDENT
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
MAY 2, 1985

MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN, MR. JUSTICE GOLDBERG,
MR. AMBASSADOR EBAN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THE TWO MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AWARDS PRESENTED
HERE THIS EVENING -- THE AMERICAN LIBERTIES MEDALLION TO JUSTICE BRENNAN,
AND THE MASS MEDIA AWARD FOR THE REMARKABLE HERITAGE SERIES, IN SO MANY
WAYS THE HANDIWORK OF ABBA EBAN, DRAMATIZE THE DUAL ROOTS WHICH NOURISH
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. THE AMERICAN LIBERTIES MEDALLION IS A
METAPHOR FOR THE VALUES THIS COUNTRY STANDS FOR -- VALUES WHICH HAVE MADE
IT POSSIBLE FOR JEWISH LIFE TO FLOURISH IN AMERICA. JUSTICE BRENNAN IS
A FITTING EMBODIMENT OF THOSE VALUES. THE MEDIA AWARD RECOGNIZES, AS DID
THE HERITAGE SERIES ITSELF, THE SINGULAR ROLE OF JEWS AND THE JEWISH
VALUE SYSTEM IN THE 4,000 YEARS OF RECORDED HISTORY IN WHICH JEWS HAVE
BEEN A PART OF CIVILIZATION. THOSE 4,000 YEARS, AND THEIR ACCUMULATED
WISDOM AND INSIGHT, LIE AT THE CORE OF OUR OWN INSTITUTIONAL SENSE OF
SELF-DEFINITION. WE ARE INDEED PROUD TO HAVE JUSTICE BRENNAN AND
AMBASSADOR EBAN AS OUR GUESTS THIS EVENING.

FOR MOST OF US IN THIS ROOM, WHOSE MEMORIES SPAN MORE THAN
THE LAST 40 YEARS, 1945 WAS TRULY A WATERSHED YEAR, MARKING IN MANY
SIGNIFICANT WAYS THE END OF ONE ERA AND THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER.
NINETEEN FORTY-FIVE SAW THE DEFEAT OF A TYRANNY PREVIOUSLY UNMATCHED IN
THE HISTORICAL RECORD, AND A CATASTROPHE FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

UNEQUALED IN JEWISH HISTORY. IT MARKED THE BEGINNING OF WHAT IT WAS HOPED WOULD BE A NEW BEGINNING IN THE WORLD, WITH UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE FLOURISHING OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT.

IN THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF THIS 40TH YEAR SINCE 1945, SCARCELY A WEEK HAS GONE BY WITHOUT SOME 40TH ANNIVERSARY/OBSERVANCE OF EVENTS THAT SEARED THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF AN ENTIRE GENERATION. IN APRIL WE MARKED THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND THEIR REVELATIONS OF THE DEPTHS TO WHICH THE HUMAN SOUL CAN SINK. IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS WE WILL OBSERVE THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II IN EUROPE. IN AUGUST WE WILL NOTE THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST. DURING THE SUMMER, WE WILL OBSERVE THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NUCLEAR AGE, AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR DESTRUCTION OF THE PLANET. LATER THIS YEAR, WE WILL MARK THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH ALL OF THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS IT REPRESENTED FOR PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER. ON APRIL 12 OF THIS YEAR WE ALSO OBSERVED THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT -- IN WHOSE LEADERSHIP THE JEWISH COMMUNITY BELIEVED SO STRONGLY. INDEED, FOR MOST OF US AT THE TIME, IT WAS UNTHINKABLE TO IMAGINE THE UNITED STATES AS HAVING ANY PRESIDENT OTHER THAN FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT.

BUT THOSE ARE NOT THE ONLY ANNIVERSARIES WE MARK THIS YEAR. WE SHALL OBSERVE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EPOCHAL VATICAN COUNCIL II AND ITS HISTORIC DECLARATION ON THE JEWS, NOSTRA AETATE. WE SHALL MARK THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 AND THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1965, EACH OF WHICH HELPED MOVE THE NATION TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF RACE AND ETHNIC BIAS IN OUR LEGAL STRUCTURE. TEN YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE END OF THE ANGUISHING WAR IN VIETNAM, WITH ALL OF ITS COMPLEX CONSEQUENCES TO AMERICA AND TO THE WORLD. AND FINALLY, IT IS ALMOST EIGHT

YEARS AGO SINCE ANWAR SADAT PROVED, WITH HIS HISTORIC TRIP TO JERUSALEM, THAT ONE MAN CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE, AND TOOK THE FIRST MAJOR STEP TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

ANNIVERSARIES ARE APPROPRIATE TIMES FOR TAKING STOCK. I SHOULD LIKE THIS EVENING TO EXAMINE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE VARIOUS ANNIVERSARIES IN TERMS OF OUR CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES.

THE CLOSE OF WORLD WAR II SURELY ENDED AN UNSPEAKABLE TYRANY. BUT ALAS, WE HAVE NOT YET FULFILLED THE VISION GENERATED BY THE END OF THAT AWFUL WAR, A VISION OF A WORLD SAFE FROM SUCH CATAclySMIC CONFLAGRATIONS. THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, CENTRAL TO THE AIMS OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT THE NAZI JUGGERNAUT, HAS NOT BEEN UNIFORMLY ADVANCED OVER THE PAST FOUR DECADES. THE EUPHORIA OF A WARTIME ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION GAVE WAY TO THE SOMBER REALIZATION THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS AN EXPANSIONIST STATE, WHERE FREEDOM CANNOT FLOURISH. THE HOPE THAT THE DEFEAT OF HITLER HAD ENDED STATE-SPONSORED ANTI-SEMITISM YIELDED, WITHIN A FEW YEARS, TO THE REALIZATION THAT ANTI-SEMITISM WAS NOT DEAD -- AND THAT IT WOULD, IN OUR TIME, BE PRIMARILY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. NOR DID THE END OF THE WAR MARK THE END OF GENOCIDAL STATE POLICIES, AS WITNESSED BY WHAT HAS BEEN OCCURRING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, AFGHANISTAN AND NUMEROUS PARTS OF AFRICA.

THE SOVIET DETERMINATION TO KEEP RUSSIAN JEWS HOSTAGE TO ITS FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY GOALS, AND THE CONTINUED REFUSAL OF ARAB STATES AND MOST OF THE SOVIET BLOC TO RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE AS A NATION-STATE, HIGHLIGHT THE ONGOING THREAT TO THE SURVIVAL OF JEWISH LIFE IN THE MODERN WORLD. FORTUNATELY, THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES IN THE FREE WORLD STAND AS A BULWARK OF RESISTANCE TO THESE TRENDS IN THE SOVIET EMPIRE. IT IS VITAL THAT THE ALLIANCES BETWEEN THE UNITED

STATES AND OTHER FREE COUNTRIES REMAIN FIRM AND STRONG, ONLY A POSTURE OF SHARED COMMITMENT AMONG FREE SOCIETIES, COUPLED WITH STRENGTH OF RESOLVE AND CAPACITY, CAN PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR REACHING A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE SOVIET UNION. FROM THAT FOUNDATION, HOPEFULLY, WILL COME EFFECTIVE AND MEANINGFUL ARMS CONTROL MECHANISMS TO PROVIDE DESPERATELY NEEDED ASSURANCE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF CIVILIZATION.

AS WE OBSERVE THIS 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF THE VIETNAM WAR, IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT THE NATIONAL RESOLVE AND WILL SO FRACTURED AND DILUTED 10 YEARS AGO HAS GROWN STRONG ONCE MORE. THOUGH MANY DIVISIONS OVER THAT WAR REMAIN, MOST AMERICANS NOW TEND TO AGREE THAT A STRONG, STEADFAST AMERICAN RESOLVE IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

OUT OF THE WHIRLWIND OF THE HOLOCAUST HAS ARISEN ONE OF THE MIRACULOUS ACHIEVEMENTS IN JEWISH HISTORY AND IN THE STRUGGLE OF HUMAN BEINGS TO ESTABLISH FREE SOCIETIES -- THE ESTABLISHMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF ISRAEL. NOTHING STANDS HIGHER IN THE PANTHEON OF PRIDE FOR ALL AMERICANS THAN THE STEADFAST COMMITMENT OF OUR OWN COUNTRY TO THE MAINTENANCE AND PROTECTION OF ISRAEL'S FREEDOM. WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY MURPHY NOW MAKING HIS ROUNDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SECRETARY SHULTZ EXPECTED TO VISIT THAT AREA SHORTLY, WE NEED TO REMIND OURSELVES OF CERTAIN ELEMENTARY REALITIES WITH RESPECT TO THE PEACE PROCESS. PRESIDENT SADAT, BY HIS TRIP TO JERUSALEM, POINTED THE WAY -- A WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH ISRAEL AND TO ACCEPT THE LEGITIMACY AND REALITY OF ITS SOVEREIGN EXISTENCE. RECENT MOVES ON THE PART OF KING HUSSEIN AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK, INCLUDING THE FORTHCOMING MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND PRIME MINISTER PERES, ARE INDEED ENCOURAGING AND SHOULD BE PURSUED, BUT ONLY WITH A HARDHEADED INSISTENCE THAT THERE CAN BE NO

SUBSTITUTES FOR DIRECT, FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS PREMISED UPON RECOGNITION OF THE LEGITIMACY OF ISRAEL.

AS WE CAST OUR MIND BACK TO EVENTS OF 40 YEARS AGO, IT IS APPROPRIATE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE HORROR OF THE HOLOCAUST AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT HUMAN BEINGS ARE CAPABLE OF DOING TO ONE ANOTHER HAS SEARED THE JEWISH SOUL FOR ALL TIME. BUT THE ESSENCE OF JEWISH LIFE IS NOT CAPTURED MERELY BY THE NECESSARY RECALLING OF THE HOLOCAUST. THE ESSENCE OF JEWISH LIFE IS AFFIRMATIVE AND DRAWN FROM THE WELLSPRINGS OF POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO AND FROM THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY. OUR CHILDREN MUST KNOW NOT ONLY THE FEARS OF JEWISH LIFE BUT, MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. THE NECESSARY REMEMBRANCE OF THE HOLOCAUST MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO DIVERT US FROM THESE LIFE-AFFIRMING QUALITIES. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE COMMISSIONED A STUDY OF THE RIGHTEOUS GENTILES -- A STUDY DESIGNED TO PROBE WHAT MAKES PEOPLE ACT HEROICALLY IN THE MIDST OF DEPRAVITY.

OUR REMEMBRANCE OF THE HOLOCAUST AND OF THE WAR IN EUROPE SHOULD NOT OBSCURE OUR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE MIRACLE THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN WEST GERMANY SINCE THE WAR. THE EMERGENCE OF A ROBUSTLY FREE SOCIETY OUT OF THE ASHES OF THE HITLER PERIOD IS ONE OF THE TRULY INSPIRING EVENTS OF MODERN TIMES FOR ALL WHO ARE DEVOTED TO WESTERN VALUES. WEST GERMANY'S DEMONSTRATED DEDICATION TO ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE WEST, IN SPITE OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES TO PULL AWAY FROM THAT ALLIANCE, TESTIFIES TO THE CURRENCY OF THE IDEA OF REDEMPTION IN OUR TIME. NOTHING IN THE RECENT UNFORTUNATE CONTROVERSY OVER PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ITINERARY IN GERMANY SHOULD OBSCURE THAT FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH. WE ARE PROUD OF OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE IN PROMOTING UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE NEW GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES. MINISTER ALOIS MERTES, WHO GRACES OUR DAIS THIS EVENING,

IS ONE OF THE ARCHITECTS OF THAT UNDERSTANDING, AND WE WELCOME HIM TONIGHT.

IN THE AMERICAN SETTING, WE SEE MAJOR LIFE-AFFIRMING QUALITIES IN THE ROBUST AND NOURISHING PLURALISM THAT CHARACTERIZES AMERICAN SOCIETY. AS WE COMMEMORATE THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF VATICAN COUNCIL II, IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THE ENORMOUS CHANGE IN THE MINDSET BROUGHT ABOUT BY THAT EPOCHAL DECLARATION. REVERSING TWO MILLENNIA OF DOCTRINAL DENIAL OF THE LEGITIMACY AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE JEWISH RELIGION, AND OF SEEING JEWS ESSENTIALLY AS PROSPECTS FOR CONVERSION, VATICAN COUNCIL II PROCLAIMED THAT THE JEWISH RELIGION IS THE AUTHENTIC RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND NOT A DISPLACED AND OBSOLETE RELIGIOUS CONVICTION. IN RECOGNIZING THE AUTHENTICITY OF MULTIPLE RELIGIOUS EXPRESSIONS, THAT DECLARATION IS PERVADED BY THE ESSENTIAL SPIRIT OF PLURALISM. MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE WORLD'S CATHOLIC POPULATION THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THOSE PRINCIPLES. POPE JOHN PAUL II IS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO THAT END, AND WHEN WE MET WITH HIM, IN FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR, HE UNEQUIVOCALLY EMBRACED THOSE PRINCIPLES ONCE MORE.

THAT SPIRIT, INDISPENSABLE FOR FREE MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE, IS THE SAME SPIRIT THAT PERVADED THE HISTORIC CIVIL-RIGHTS/^{LEGISLATION} OF THE MID-1960S IN OUR OWN COUNTRY, CULMINATING IN THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 AND IN THE IMMIGRATION ACT OF THE SAME YEAR. MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE HERE, TOO, TO MAKE THE VALUES INHERENT IN THOSE LAWS -- THE IMPERMISSIBILITY OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION AND BIAS, AND THE VALUE AND AUTHENTICITY OF DIVERSITY -- PART OF THE MINDSET OF ALL AMERICANS.

I SPOKE OF THE DEATH OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT IN 1945 AS ONE OF THOSE WATERSHED EVENTS OF THAT FATEFUL YEAR. AMERICAN JEWS HAD, TO A REMARKABLE DEGREE, IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES POLITICALLY WITH THE PARTY OF ROOSEVELT. THE EMERGING REALITY TODAY -- AND I COUNT IT A HEALTHY TREND --

IS THE FACT THAT JEWS IN AMERICA INCLUDE IN THEIR NUMBERS SIGNIFICANT ADHERENTS OF BOTH MAJOR PARTIES. THE FACT SPEAKS TO THE GROWING RECOGNITION THAT THE JEWISH INTEREST -- IN PLURALISM, IN HEALTHY INTERGROUP RELATIONS, IN THE VALUES OF SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, IN THE PROTECTION OF FREE SOCIETIES, ESPECIALLY ISRAEL -- ARE BEST PURSUED THROUGH BOTH OF THE MAJOR PARTIES.

CALLS FOR THE "CHRISTIANIZATION" OF AMERICA, AND FOR BLURRING THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, STRIKE AT THE CORE OF WHAT AMERICAN PLURALISM IS ALL ABOUT. MANY WHO SOUND SUCH CALLS DO SO OUT OF PERFECTLY HONEST CONCERNS FOR WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE A DETERIORATION OF TRADITIONAL VALUES IN THIS COUNTRY. BECAUSE WE SHARE A CONCERN FOR HEALTHY VALUES, WE ARE INSTITUTING, UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE SKIRBALL INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN VALUES, A MAJOR EFFORT TO HELP DEVELOP A CONSENSUS ABOUT CORE VALUES AROUND WHICH AMERICANS OF ALL PERSUASIONS CAN RALLY. IT IS HEARTENING TO US THAT JERRY FALLWELL, ONE OF THE EXPONENTS OF A PARTICULAR APPROACH TO CHURCH/ STATE PROBLEMS AND TO THE CRISIS OF VALUES IN AMERICAN LIFE, HAS RECENTLY PUBLICLY AND FORMALLY RECOGNIZED THE ERROR OF CALLING FOR A "CHRISTIAN AMERICA." INDEED, HE HAS APOLOGIZED FOR HAVING BEEN ONE OF THE SPOKESPERSONS FOR SUCH A CONCEPTION. WE WELCOME THAT STRAIGHTFORWARD AND CANDID APOLOGY.

AS OUR MINDS DWELL ON THE MANY IMPORTANT ANNIVERSARIES WE MARK THIS YEAR, WE TAKE PARTICULAR PRIDE IN THE FACT THAT, OVER THE DECADES BETWEEN THE EVENTS AND THE PRESENT DAY, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN THE INDISPENSABLE INGREDIENT FOR SUCH PROGRESS AS HAS OCCURRED, AND FOR THE PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE YEARS TO COME. IT IS COMMONPLACE TO MEASURE AMERICA NOT BY ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS BUT BY ITS DISTANCE FROM THE PERFECTION OF ITS VISION. BUT THAT STANDARD OF MEASUREMENT IS STULTIFYING, FOR PERFECTION IS IMPOSSIBLE OF ATTAINMENT.

BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE PERFECT IS THE ENEMY OF THE GOOD, IT IS IMPORTANT TO EMPHASIZE THE TREMENDOUS ACCOMPLISHMENT

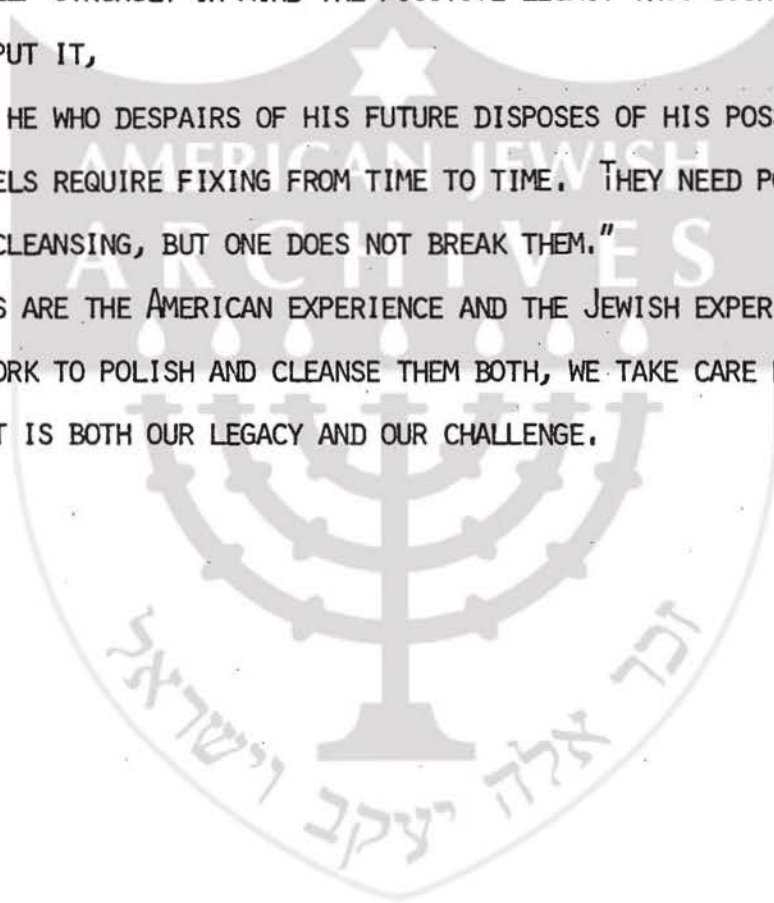
REPRESENTED BY THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, FOR FREEDOM-SEEKING PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. TOO OFTEN WE HEAR ONLY OF THE INIQUITY OF AMERICA. BUT, IN THE TOTAL SCHEME OF REALITY, THAT SO CALLED "INIQUITY" IS SUBMERGED BY THE GLORY OF THIS NATION'S ACHIEVEMENTS. INDEED, THE SEARCH FOR INIQUITY IS ITSELF A SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY. AS AHAD HA-AM TAUGHT US: "NOTHING IS MORE DANGEROUS FOR A NATION OR FOR AN INDIVIDUAL THAN TO PLEAD GUILTY TO IMAGINARY SINS. WHERE THE SIN IS REAL, BY HONEST ENDEAVOR THE SINNER CAN PURIFY HIMSELF. BUT WHEN A MAN HAS BEEN PERSUADED TO SUSPECT HIMSELF UNJUSTLY, WHAT CAN HE DO? OUR GREATEST NEED IS EMANCIPATION FROM SELF-CONTEMPT, FROM THIS IDEA THAT WE ARE REALLY WORSE THAN ALL THE WORLD. OTHERWISE, WE MAY IN THE COURSE OF TIME BECOME IN REALITY WHAT WE NOW IMAGINE OURSELVES TO BE."

THE TRANSCENDENT REALITY OF OUR TIME IS THAT IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT PROVIDES THE WILL AND THE MEANS FOR THE DEFENSE OF FREE INSTITUTIONS IN THE WORLD. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT RECEIVES REFUGEES FROM AROUND THE WORLD WHO VOTE WITH THEIR FEET BY COMING TO THIS COUNTRY. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT PROVIDES THE STEADFAST SUPPORT, ALMOST UNIQUE AMONG NATIONS, FOR THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE SUFFERING -- AS WITNESSED BY THE OUTPOURING FROM THIS COUNTRY OF AID FOR THE VICTIMS OF FAMINE IN AFRICA. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT HAS ASSISTED ISRAEL IN A QUIET BUT EFFECTIVE FASHION IN ITS INSPIRING MISSION OF RESCUE TO ETHIOPIAN JEWRY. IT IS THE UNITED STATES THAT SPEAKS FOR THE VALUES OF FREEDOM IN THE VARIOUS FORUMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS THE UNITED STATES WHICH OPENLY IDENTIFIES ITSELF WITH THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWRY. THAT IS A RECORD WHICH SPEAKS VOLUMES, A RECORD UNMATCHED BY THAT OF ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

IT IS IN THE LIGHT OF THAT RECORD THAT AMERICAN JEWS PROUDLY AND FORTHRIGHTLY EMBRACE THIS COUNTRY. WE DO SO AS A PEOPLE WITH A LONG AND DIVERSE HISTORY, BUT WITH A SINGULAR EXPERIENCE IN THIS MOST FAVORED OF ALL COUNTRIES. AS WE RECOMMIT OURSELVES TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF AMERICAN LIFE, WE KEEP STRONGLY IN MIND THE POSITIVE LEGACY THIS COUNTRY REPRESENTS. AS BIALIK PUT IT,

"ONLY HE WHO DESPAIRS OF HIS FUTURE DISPOSES OF HIS POSSESSIONS ... VESSELS REQUIRE FIXING FROM TIME TO TIME. THEY NEED POLISHING AND CLEANSING, BUT ONE DOES NOT BREAK THEM."

OUR VESSELS ARE THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE, AND WHILE WE WORK TO POLISH AND CLEANSE THEM BOTH, WE TAKE CARE NEVER TO BREAK THEM. THAT IS BOTH OUR LEGACY AND OUR CHALLENGE.





National Conference on Soviet Jewry

DATE: April 26, 1985
TO: NCSJ Strategy Session Participants
FROM: Myrna Shinbaum, Associate Director

Enclosed are some additional materials relevant to our deliberations. Please bring it with the material previously sent. We will meet at 4:00 P.M. in the New York Lounge (third floor) of the Vista International Hotel, 3 World Trade Center.

Reports from the working groups will be given Monday morning at 9:00 A.M., followed by general discussion. Professor Zbigniew K. Brzezinski will join us. At the session following lunch a panel will summarize the strategy options.

We trust all your arrangements have been made and we look forward to seeing you on Sunday, May 5, and Monday, May 6.

A coalition of forty major national organizations and over two hundred local community councils and federations

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Division of International Organizations

SUBMISSION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE
RESURGENCE OF FASCISM AND RACISM IN EUROPE

The American Jewish Committee is grateful for the opportunity provided by the Commission of Inquiry to address an issue of special concern to us: how racism and racial discrimination in Europe affect Jews, in particular Soviet Jews.

Racism and racial discrimination are contrary to democratic values and international law, and inimical to social peace and stability. European history, unfortunately, has confirmed the danger discrimination poses to Jews. In the Middle Ages, in England, France and other European lands, Jews were victims of absurd blood libels -- preposterous accusations that Jews used the blood of Christians for ritual purposes. (Remarkably, this outrageous lie was repeated by the Saudi Arabian participant in a United Nations seminar on combatting religious intolerance held in Geneva in December, 1984.) The fifteenth century saw the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. In the eighteenth century, Russia's borders expanded to include a large Jewish population which was subjected to discrimination. With the dawning of new notions of race in the nineteenth century, publicists began to allege that Jews were racially different from, and inferior to, other peoples, laying the groundwork for Nazi genocide.

It is appropriate for the European Parliament to mark the fortieth anniversary of Nazi defeat by assessing current manifestations of racism and racial discrimination in European countries both inside and outside the European community. The Parliamentary Commission studying this issue is charged with investigating instances of the possible resurgence of racist attitudes among Europeans, the emergence of racist groups and ideologies, and how these racist tendencies, present in one country, can spread to others.

* * * *

We will focus on the racism and racial discrimination suffered by the Jews of the Soviet Union, most of whom dwell in its European regions. Though the USSR is not the only European country in which Jews are victims of racism and racial discrimination, only in that country is such discrimination state-sanctioned. We also are concerned with anti-Jewish racism in other European countries.

International legal agreements, to which most European states, West and East, are parties, as well as the national law of European states, include race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin among the prohibited grounds of discrimination. These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the European Convention on Human Rights,¹ the 1968 British Race Relations Act², which

applies to ethnic groups, including Jews, and French and Belgian law³ which also consider ethnic origin to fall within their parameters. Similarly, Soviet law defines Jews as belonging to an ethnic group ('narodnost').⁴ Furthermore, in some cases, such as that of Jews, religion forms a part of the ethnicity of a group, and hostility toward such groups is manifested through the imposition of religious disabilities.

Of special concern to Jews today is racism in the form of racist ideas, and incitement against Jews based on such ideas. This incitement is condemned and proscribed by international and national law. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination condemns "all propaganda...which attempts to promote racial hatred..." The Convention further declares that "incitement to racial discrimination" shall be "an offense punishable by law," and the public authorities shall not "promote or incite racial discrimination."⁵ The provisions against incitement present in national European legislation, notably in French law, prohibit of ethnic group defamation and the propagation of ideas and theories that justify discrimination.⁶

The Soviet Union, in its 1977 Constitution, makes punishable by law "any advocacy of racial or ethnic exclusiveness, hostility or contempt."⁷

Soviet authorities claim frequently that the USSR is upholding this provision. For instance, in its eighth report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, dated 18 May 1984, paragraph 29, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent region of the USSR, affirms that "any propaganda or agitation aimed at inciting racial or national hostility or discord...shall be punished..."

Because of their enormous influence on public attitudes, there has been particular concern that the mass media may be manipulated to serve as dangerous instruments of racist incitement. UNESCO has urged those who "control or serve" the media to "promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship" by refraining from presenting a "stereotyped, partial, unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals and of various human groups."⁸

* * * *

The Soviet Union engages in racial discrimination in several respects against its 1.81 million Jews, including racial incitement, discrimination in education, and discrimination in religious expression. Since the early 1970's, the Soviet Union, through officially controlled publications and broadcasts, has propagated the racist notions that Jews, referred to directly as "Jews" or indirectly as "Zionists," promote war, engage in genocide, manipulate the world economy and the world media, and seek to corrupt and enslave humanity. Two examples of such racial incitement will serve to indicate its dangerous nature. An absurd, false notion, repeated countless times in the Soviet media, is that "the majority of large monopolies which produce armaments are controlled by Jews and bankers." The publicists, furthermore, claim that a Jewish Zionist conspiracy is threatening to destroy the world's culture.⁹

The Soviet Union's anti-Jewish propaganda campaign clearly incites

racial hatred. It is conducted on a broad scale in radio and television, in the press, and in ostensibly respectable academic journals. The Soviet government controls all its mass media, and there is no opportunity for response or rebuttal of these racist ideas. This propaganda, in effect, inculcates and reinforces discriminatory attitudes among the Soviet population, and threatens the security of Soviet Jews.

Soviet Jews suffer not only incitement to racial hatred but discrimination in employment and in education. Since the 1950's, there has been discrimination against Jews in the Soviet government bureaucracy, including the diplomatic service. After 1970, discrimination began to extend to Soviet higher educational institutions. In the decade 1969-1979, the number of Jewish students in Soviet higher educational institutions plunged by 50%, a decline explained by neither demography nor emigration; according to unofficial surveys of University admission, and interviews with Soviet Jewish emigres, discrimination caused the decrease.¹⁰

While in the Soviet Union religious believers in general are disadvantaged as compared with atheists, the regime imposes particularly stringent measures against Jewish believers. Education in the USSR is publicly funded, and instruction is given in many languages. Only the Jewish group is unable to secure instruction in the language of its religion and culture -- Hebrew. Jews are barred from studying Hebrew privately and Soviet officials regularly harass and arrest teachers of Hebrew.

In 1984 and the first two months of 1985 alone, Soviet police have arrested private Hebrew teachers on specious charges such as "trampling on flowers," "weapons possession," "anti-Soviet defamation," "resisting arrest," and "drug possession." The teachers have been sentenced to terms ranging from 18 months to 4 years in prison. Typically, two teachers recently convicted have been subjected to severe pain or suffering, both physical and mental. In prison, Yakov Mesh of Odessa sustained a damaged liver and Yosef Berenstein of Kiev lost the use of an eye; another teacher, Mark Nepomniashchy, was placed in a psychiatric institution.¹¹

In addition to denying Jews the right to learn Hebrew, the Soviet authorities obstruct Jewish holiday observance. For instance, in March 1984, police raided the homes of seven Jews who celebrated the Jewish festival of Purim. The police confiscated prayer books and religious objects. Similarly, the Soviet authorities reject the pleas of Moscow Jews for Jewish burial facilities. Deprived of burial sites, Jews are forced to cremate the dead, a violation of Jewish religious law and practice.¹²

Because of anti-Jewish propaganda and discrimination against Jews in employment and education and denial of the Jews' right to participate in their religion and culture, many Soviet Jews have applied to emigrate. The Soviet Union, in violation of international law, bars emigration in general. But the disabilities to which the Jews are subjected makes the denial of this right more serious for them. Currently, over 350,000 Soviet Jews have requested and received notarized invitations from relatives in Israel in compliance with Soviet emigration regulations. In 1984, the Soviet Union permitted only 896 Jews to leave. Ten thousand Jewish applicants have received official refusal, and these "refuseniks" are the targets of acts such as job dismissal, punitive military conscription, denial

of admission to, or expulsion from, higher educational institutions, and, in some cases, harassing searches, arrests and beatings.¹³ Several "refuseniks" have been charged with "parasitism" or refusal to work even though they have been denied employment by state-run agencies because of their applications to emigrate.

* * * *

Jews in Western Europe generally are free from the discrimination suffered by their Soviet Jewish co-religionists. Nevertheless, political extremist groups engage in attacks against Jews and Jewish institutions and in anti-Semitic incitement, resembling Soviet racist propaganda.

In April 1985, a bomb was detonated outside an Israeli-owned bank and a French Government immigration office in Paris. A month earlier, a bomb planted in a Paris theatre where films on Jewish themes were being shown wounded twenty people. Other anti-Jewish attacks in France in recent years include the November 1983 attack on a Jewish-owned restaurant in the Parisian district of Bois du Bologne, leaving thirty persons injured; the planting of a bomb, defused before detonation, in a crowded Jewish meeting hall in Marseilles, where children were about to stage a play for the Jewish festival of Purim; and the August 1982 attack on the Jo Goldenberg Restaurant in Paris' Jewish quarter, that left six dead and twenty-one injured.

Attacks against Jews occurred in other European countries as well. In Belgium, in September 1982, a machine-gun assault on Brussels' Jews attending the Jewish New Year service at the main synagogue left four persons wounded. And terrorist attackers of Rome's main synagogue in October 1982 killed one child and injured thirty-four people.

Verbal assault has accompanied physical attacks on Jews. For instance, in February 1983, certain extremist Greek newspapers and journals published a series of articles containing absurd allegations of "Zionist" control of Greece's record industry. Through this "control," Jews falsely were said to corrupt Greek youth, and to pave the road to "Zionist world supremacy." On February 4, 1983, the newspaper Christianiki published an article entitled "Zionist Capital Controls Three Large Record Companies." The article, repeating standard anti-Jewish canards, asserted that "Zionist capital distorts genuine Greek music and imposes instead foreign music which has led our youth to corruption, narcotics, discos and all these stupidities..., it corrupts conscience and morals, creates depravity, weakens nations, and thus fulfills its expansionist aims."

In France, anti-Jewish themes are put forward with equally damaging effect. A full-page text that appeared in Le Monde in June 1983, and signed by Roger Garaudy, Father Lelong and Pastor Mathiot expounded the dangerous and false themes that Israel is racist because it is a Jewish state; that the Jewish religion itself is racist; and that this Jewish racism inspires racist attitudes in others. The Soviet anti-Jewish writers discussed above also spuriously condemned Judaism, the religion of the Jewish people. Attacks on Jews for their attachment to Israel are not only instances of racial incitement against an entire group;

they are an example of clear hypocrisy. What makes an Italian-American's sentiment for Italy a matter of ethnic pride, and a Jewish-Frenchman's attachment to Israel racism?

Furthermore, Western extremist publicists have, like Soviet propagandists, begun to use anti-Zionism as a convenient cover for anti-Jewish attitudes. One of these groups is Britain's National Front, whose publications allege "Zionist control" of Britain, and assert that eliminating this "control" would "free the British people from money-lenders and thus bring down the cost of living."¹⁴ In Sweden, another extremist publication, Bible Researcher (January 1979) characterized Zionism as "the basest form of racism...satanism...a disease worse than the leprous plague."

In the Federal Republic of Germany also, "Zionism" has become the target of anti-Semitic groups. The neo-Nazi newspaper Der Angriff (no. 8, 78) proclaims the "enemy's name is Zionism," and further that "the influence of Zionism reaches into the highest quarters of almost every government of the world."

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Soviet racial incitement and discrimination directed against Jews, and anti-Jewish propaganda in the rest of Europe, should concern all Europeans. The rise of Nazism in the 1930's demonstrates that racist hatred and incitement paves the way to physical violence, even genocide.

European national and regional bodies should assume a leading role in combatting such racist incitement and racial discrimination. Officials of European national and regional bodies, international organizations and all people devoted to protecting fundamental freedoms should protest against racial discrimination and combat it through programs of public education and legislation. As Edmund Burke has observed: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."



NOTES

- 1 International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, Part 1, Art. 1. European Convention on Human Rights, Art. 14.
- 2 Mandla v. Dowell Lee (1982) 3 WLR 932. Discussion in Patterns of Prejudice, April 1983, pp. 49-51.
- 3 France, "Amendment to the Law dated 29 July 1881 on the Freedom of the Press," Art. 4, Journal official, vol. 104, No. 154, 2 July 1972, pp.6803-4804.
- 4 Avtandil Rukhadze, Jews in the USSR (Moscow: Novosti, 1984), p. 27.
- 5 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 2 (2). International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Art. 4, (a) (c).
- 6 France, "Amendment," 2 July 1972, Art. 5.
- 7 The Constitution of the USSR (1977) Art. 36.
- 8 Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, UNESCO, 27 November 1978, Art. 5 (3).
- 9 David Dragunsky, What Letters Tell, Moscow: Novosti, 1984, pp. 3, 6-7. "Moscow Home Service in Russian," October 12, 1984, 19.00 hours. Pionerskaia Pravda, 10 October 1980.
- 10 "Discrimination-Soviet Style," Soviet Nationality Survey, March 1985.
- 11 "Crime and Punishment," New York Times, February 14, 1985.
- 12 Jews in the USSR, May 10, July 12, 1984.
- 13 New York Times, January 4, 1984 and February 14, 1985. Human Rights in the Soviet Union, New York: The International League for Human Rights, 1985, pp. 55-61.
- 14 Patterns of Prejudice, vol. 13, nos. 2-3, March-June 1979, 27.

US-Soviet Relations

April 1985

Background: Since the Russian Revolution of 1917, the US-Soviet relationship has evolved through several phases, including a period of minimal contact, a wartime alliance, "containment," and an intense cold war rivalry. In recent years, the high hopes of the 1970s for détente have given way to reassessment of this fundamentally adversarial relationship.

The adversarial nature of US-Soviet relations stems from several factors, including the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Soviet regime, which gives its leaders a very different perspective from that of the West, and the absence of political freedoms in the USSR, which permits the Soviet leadership to conduct foreign policy without the domestic constraints known to democratic states. There are, however, strong incentives for US-Soviet cooperation, foremost among them the need to avoid nuclear war. The US, therefore, has sought to engage the Soviet Government in constructive dialogue at all levels on the issues affecting our two nations. Recent high-level contacts include President Reagan's September 28, 1984 meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, Secretary Shultz's meeting with Gromyko in Geneva in January 1985, and the meeting of Vice President Bush and Secretary Shultz with the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, in March 1985.

Soviet challenges: Because of the American military deterrent, the USSR has avoided direct aggression against the US and its allies. Nonetheless, the US has been concerned by certain Soviet actions in recent years, including:

- A military buildup of enormous proportions;
- The occupation of Afghanistan by 115,000 Soviet troops;
- Harsh suppression of human rights within the Soviet Union;
- Violation of certain treaties and agreements and stretching the letter of others; and
- Support for, and encouragement of, the harsh repression of the independent trade union movement in Poland.

US response: US policy toward the Soviet Union is based on three principles: realism; strength, and dialogue. Our dealings with the USSR are grounded in a realistic appraisal of Soviet strengths and objectives: we must not overstate the Soviet challenge, but neither can we overlook the existing dangers. In order to counter Soviet objectives, the US must have the necessary strength--military, economic, and social--to do so. The US strongly prefers to resolve differences through negotiations, however, and we have conducted a broad dialogue designed to develop peaceful solutions to our problems and to encourage the USSR to fulfill its international obligations.

International environment: The US is committed to maintain the military balance against the USSR through our own and allied defense programs and, where possible, through mutual and verifiable arms

reductions. To counter the use of threats and of force in Soviet foreign policy, we have made clear that we will resist encroachment on our vital interests and those of our allies and friends. In Europe, the allies are united on the need to counter Soviet missile deployments: the deployments of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles are proceeding on schedule. We also are continuing to upgrade NATO's conventional forces. To deter threats to vital interests outside Europe, we are developing the ability, with allied support, to move forces rapidly to key areas of potential instability such as Southwest Asia. In the Western Hemisphere, the US and its friends are firmly resolved to resist destabilization of democratic countries in Central America. The US also is working to restrict Soviet expansion by responding positively to the economic problems of developing nations and by working to strengthen democratic institutions worldwide.

Negotiations with the USSR: Strength based on realism deters Soviet aggression, but direct negotiations with the USSR also can help to ensure peace. The Soviets in 1983 suspended talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) and strategic arms (START). New arms control negotiations began on March 12, 1985 on the basis of the January 1985 Shultz-Gromyko agreement. These negotiations are divided into three groups: strategic nuclear weapons, intermediate-range weapons, and defense/space weapons. The US objective is radical reductions and ultimately the elimination of nuclear weapons. In non-nuclear areas, the US has advanced several far-reaching proposals, including a complete ban on all chemical weapons, a variety of non-nuclear confidence-building measures, and substantial cuts in conventional force levels in Europe.

Hopes for the future: The US desires a more stable and satisfactory relationship with the Soviet Union. Prime US goals include:

- Verifiable reductions in nuclear arms;
- Cessation of Soviet interference in the affairs of sovereign states;
- Respect for the human rights of Soviet citizens; and
- Improvement in people-to-people, economic, and other bilateral relations based on reciprocity and mutual interest.

The US does not threaten the Soviet Union. Keenly aware that the overall relationship will continue to be adversarial, we also believe that cooperation is possible in a number of areas. We are hopeful that the advent of a new Soviet leadership will provide an opportunity for renewed dialogue and improvement in the bilateral relationship. It is in this spirit that President Reagan has invited General Secretary Gorbachev to meet with him. We hope that the Soviet Government will join with us in a vigorous effort to achieve concrete results. At the same time, we must remember that long-term Soviet objectives are directly opposed to ours and that we must pursue our own set of objectives with determination and from a position of realism and strength.