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*Preserving American Jewish History*

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Box 101, Folder 2, General correspondence, memos & working papers, July-September 1985.

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

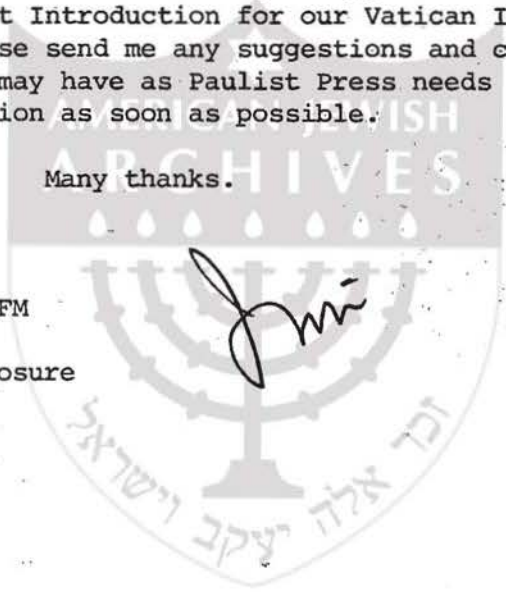
**date** July 9, 1985  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** James Rudin  
**subject**

I am enclosing a copy of Gene Fisher's draft Introduction for our Vatican II book. Please send me any suggestions and comments that you may have as Paulist Press needs the Introduction as soon as possible.

Many thanks.

AJR:FM

Enclosure



Introduction: "Nostra Aetate, For Our Times and For the Future"

By Eugene J. Fisher

On October 28, 1965, 2221 Catholic bishops, assembled from every corner of the earth, added their signatures to that of "Paul, Bishop of the Catholic Church," officially promulgating the shortest and most controversial of the documents of the Second Vatican Council. That document was Nostra Aetate ("In Our Time"), the Council's Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions.

The controversy had surrounded only 15 Latin sentences of text, the declaration's fourth section dealing with Jews and Judaism. As late as the week end before the vote, newspapers were speculating that the section on the Jews would be reduced to a single sentence, and that the whole of the declaration would be shelved. In the event, the bishops of the Council voted overwhelmingly in favor of the 15 sentences that had seen so much clarification and debate since the meeting between Pope John XXIII and the French Jewish scholar Jules Isaac had occasioned in the Pope's mind the thought that "the Council ought to be occupied with the Jewish question and antisemitism." By their approval, however, the Council Fathers, in the words of Fr. Thomas Stransky who was then on the staff of Cardinal Bea, "committed the Roman Catholic Church to an irrevocable act, a heshbon ha-nefesh -- a reconsideration of soul" (Origins, June 20, 1985).

This volume is about that commitment made by the Church twenty years ago, about what it meant in the context of the 1900 years of often tragic Christian-Jewish relations leading up to it, about what has happened since, and about what it means for us today. Even more than celebrating and analyzing what has been done, however, the essays in this volume aim to inform us on what

needs to be done to preserve and move forward what the Council only began -- and that, as the reader will soon perceive, is a great deal.

Pope John Paul II, in a meeting with leaders of the American Jewish Committee held in Rome on February 15, 1985, called on Catholics to accept Nostra Aetate "as an expression of the faith, as an inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as a word of the Divine Wisdom." Nostra Aetate, then, remains, despite the great progress made in the dialogue in the past two decades, as much of a present challenge to us as a record of one of the most glorious (because most humble) moments of Church history.

This point needs to be set clearly at the outset. Nostra Aetate, as Cardinal Johannes Willebrands, President of the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, reminded his hearers during a celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the document in 1980, can only be read properly within the context of subsequent statements of the Holy See, the Popes and Episcopal Conferences interpreting and implementing it. On many points, affirmations that were only implicit in the document itself have now been made explicit, and statements that might have been read ambiguously at the time have now been clarified. This process of step-by-step growth in understanding and clarification is the result of the dialogue between our two peoples.

It would be useful in reading this book, then, to have as a companion piece the two volumes of Helga Croner's Stepping Stones to Further Jewish-Christian Relations (Stimulus, 1977; Paulist Press, 1985), which provide much of the necessary documentation. Further documents not included in Croner, especially the key statements of Pope John Paul II are appended to this volume, along with the text of Nostra Aetate itself.

The papers collected here provide a commentary, and something more than a commentary on those Church documents, important as those are. Rather, they chronicle and analyze the relationship itself, its spiritual breakthroughs, past and present travails, and its hopes for the future. Entering them will provide not only the beginner with a solid primer in the state of the dialogue today, but the practitioner and scholar of either tradition with a set of fundamental challenges and new perspectives on long held (and often cherished) presumptions that Christians and Jews have had about one another.

Rabbi James Rudin's opening reflection frame the pairs of essays that are to come. Rudin sketches dramatically what a Catholic or a Jew might have said about "the other" if awakened at 3:00 a.m. on the eve of the Council, portraits of the other essentially negative on the one side and essentially defensive on the other. The background of the portraits, the tragic history of centuries of abuse culminating in the Holocaust, is filled in with broad and dark, but deftly fair strokes. Adding bright touches to the new images the dialogue enables us to draw of our relationship and one another, however, are several recent events; the relatively <sup>Nazi</sup> benign <sup>Constructive</sup> experience Catholics and Jews have had in America, the rebirth of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel, and the Second Vatican Council and its aftermath in a new mode of Christian-Jewish relating.

In the first pair of essays, two of the greatest pioneers of the dialogue, both of whom were actively present at the Council, Msgr. George Higgins and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, give retrospectives on the significance of what took place then and what has happened since. Here, as in Rudin's overview, the reader will discern the emergence of key themes of the dialogue, and the differing but creatively diverse perspectives that Catholics and Jews bring to

them. Even the toughest issues, the essays show, can be tackled in the dialogue, e.g.: anti-Judaism in the New Testament, the relationship between the ancient Christian "teaching of contempt" and modern antisemitism, biblical interpretation and liturgical sensitivity, convergence, and the "agenda issues," such as the State of Israel on the one hand and the "seamless garment" of life issues on the other.

The second pair of reflections takes up directly the question of the Jewish people's religious attachment to the Land of Israel as the significance of the modern Jewish State for the people Israel as people of God. Rabbi Robert M. Seltzer evokes the inner Jewish longings over the centuries and the history of Zionism that made of this impossible dream of liberation a living reality in our time, as well as the tensions within the Jewish community between normalization and uniqueness that give the internal debates on the meaning of Zionism their distinctive richness and creativity. Fr. Edward Flannery likewise records a range of views within the Catholic community in response to the existence of the State of Israel. The Christian cannot, he argues, understand Israel except in the context of a renewed theological appreciation of the Jewish people as God's chosen. Thus the internal Christian debate on Israel, always to be conducted with dialogical openness to Jewish self-reflection, has much more at stake than more diplomatic relations or political options. It touches a mystery the Church as Church needs to ponder prayerfully.

Rev. Lawrence Boadt, C.S.P., and Dr. Michael J. Cook, move to a matter externally central to the relationship between the Church and the Jewish people: how do we read and interpret the Bible we share (the Hebrew Scriptures) and the Christian Scripture we do not share (the New Testament). In what may be seen

as a bit of playful irony, the Catholic of the pair is primarily a scholar of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Jew a New Testament scholar. There is in the pairing, then, a rather unique opportunity for both Jewish and Christian readers to see ourselves as "the other" views us in dialogue.

Fr. Boadt's article surveys the changes that have occurred in the methodology used by Christians for the interpretation of the Scriptures, with consequent radical change in understanding, and in a final section frames concisely the state of the question on key perennial issues: the common worship of the same God, revelation, covenant, Christology and messianic hopes. This essay will be especially helpful for homilists and religious educators as well as students of the bible, whether professionals or beginners.

Rabbi Cook, in what can serve as an introduction to New Testament studies for Jews as well as an eye-opening look at the New Testament for Christians from a scholarly point of view, concentrates on the need to frame the biblical insights discussed by Boadt in such a way that they can be effectively conveyed to the Christian laity, developing a rationale for its need and a pedagogical method for the use of educators. Cook lists ten "anti-Jewish impressions demonstrably inherent in centuries of Christian Biblical exegesis," and argues that "each would become case in a significantly different light were Jewish perspectives only incorporated into Catholic pedagogical discussion of Judaism," a proposition with which Boadt's essay agrees completely.

The third pairing complements the scrutiny of biblical sources and interpretation by surveying what has been done since the Council in religious education and the renewal of Catholic liturgy. Judith H. Banki summarizes the studies of the treatment of Jews and Judaism in American and European Catholic teaching

materials that have been made and the areas that are still in need of significant work. As with two of the other Jewish papers, (Rudin, Greenberg), Banki does not hesitate to cast the light of rigorous scrutiny on Jewish understandings of Christianity, and to show areas where real improvement is needed. She notes, for example, that many Jews remain basically ignorant of the changes in Catholic thinking since the Council. It is the hope of the editors that this book, if read widely within the Jewish community, will help to fill that need.

Eugene J. Fisher discusses changes that have been made in Catholic liturgy since the Council, for example during the Holy Week services, and problems that remain (for example, the Holy Week services) still to be faced and resolved in satisfactory manner. Samples of guidelines for Christians celebrating the seder and for the memorial of Yom Ha Shoah, as well as more detailed guidelines for homilists on Sundays throughout the year are offered.

The fourth pairing joins two of the leading theologians of the dialogue in an effort to assess current trends in theological understanding of "the other's" religious claims by each tradition. Both essays, it is safe to say, not only assess but also will significantly move forward the dialogue on the deepest theological level. Here we have major statements from the "cutting edge" of the best thinking about the relationship between the Jewish people and the Church that our two communities have to offer. Both Rabbi Irving Greenberg and Rev. John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M., offer insights from within the integrity of their own respective traditions on how those traditions can affirm positively the central revelational and covenant claims of the other. Given the precise nuancing and delicate sensitivities of each to the double vision of self and other demanded by this task, it is best that no introductory summary be here attempted. Each author should be allowed to speak for himself unfettered from



editorial second-guessing.

Finally, there is the question of what the local religious community is to do with all the new insights and richness of perspectives opened up by the dialogue on the national and international levels. Rev. Msgr. Royale M. Vadakin and Rabbi Alfred Wolf narrate the remarkable story of a decade of dialogical encounter in one such area. Theirs is a story of hopes fulfilled beyond expectation, and of the dynamic creativity latent in the Catholic-Jewish encounter. Modest projects open new vistas which, in turn, create new possibilities and wider areas of involvement.

Again, this is a section that speaks for itself, illustrating some of the many fruits of local dialogue as it gives life to the official pronouncements, and also, it may be said, spurring the national and international bodies to new efforts just to "catch up" with what the communities themselves are already achieving. This section will give the reader a wide range of practical models to adapt to their own particular circumstances and needs.

We stand "in our time" at the brink of the third millenium of a relationship at once uniquely fruitful in what it has given the world and uniquely tragic, all too often, in its internal relations between the two communities. The first millenium (if one can soverimplify for the sake of the schema) was characterized by ambiguity of understanding on both sides. As late as the 9th - 10th centuries, one finds bishops complaining that Christians persisted in going to the rabbis for blessings, indicating in a small way that on the community level relations were perhaps as positive as negative. By the middle of the second millenium, however, with the Crusades, expulsions, the institution of the ghetto, and the Inquisition as a background, the ambiguity seemed to have

been resolved in favor of the negative. The Second Vatican Council, which the 1975 Vatican Guidelines declare found "its historical setting in circumstances deeply affected by the memory of the persecution and massacre of Jews which took place in Europe just before and during World War II," broke through the brooding darkness of centuries to provide the possibility of a third great age, this time one of dialogue and mutual respect.

This new stage, set against the millenia preceding it, is very much in its infancy, and very fragile. It needs nourishing and constant, central concern on the part of both of our communities if it is to grow robust and fulfill our hopes for it. But, to judge from the following essays, it is alive and well and, typically, bellowing for our attention. Nothing like this reconciliation of two ancient, mutually suspicious yet umbelically bound religious traditions has ever been attempted in all the generations that preceded this one. To this generation falls the task of framing the way our communities may relate for the next millenium. It is to the generations of the future that this volume is dedicated.

Eugene J. Fisher

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# The American Jewish Committee

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

July 12, 1985

The Honorable George Bush  
The Vice President  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Vice-President,

I hope this finds you and Mrs. Bush in good health.

Yesterday, I met with Ambassador Robert Oakley to discuss a proposal for a broad citizens conference on international terrorism. I think the time is ripe for developing a strong American constituency for such an undertaking.

I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of my letter to Bob Oakley.

From our past relationship, I hope you know that I am prepared to do everything possible to be of assistance to you and our Government in this critical area of foreign policy.

With warm personal good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

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# The American Jewish Committee

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

July 12, 1985

Ambassador Robert Oakley, Director  
Task Force on Counter-Terrorism  
Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ambassador Oakley,

My AJC colleagues and I very much appreciate having the opportunity to meet with you yesterday for our discussion of international terrorism and possible follow-up programs.

Given the widespread and heightened interest in this major problem in light of the TWA hostage crisis, I continue to feel that some form of serious national consultation that would involve broad leadership people and groups -- civic, political, and religious -- could be constructive for our national purposes.

My past involvement in White House Conferences on Energy Conservation and Foreign Aid and Trade, among others, persuade me that such models lend themselves to mobilizing a broad national constituency for support of a comprehensive policy and program on combatting terrorism.

It need not be a White House Conference -- although such a conception would lend the issue heightened attention and importance. It might take the form of a Presidential Committee or a National Citizens Conference on Terrorism.

In any case, as I indicated during our meeting, we stand ready to be of every possible assistance to the Vice-President and yourself in helping organize such a forum.

With warm personal good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department

MHT:RPR

July 15, '85

### Francine Kane Is Married

Francine Kane, a daughter of the late Paul and Doris Kane, was married yesterday to Matthew Haines, a son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Haines of New York. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum officiated at the Lotos Club. The bride, who is retaining her name, is the circulation and promotion manager for Town and Country and Connoisseur magazines. Mr. Haines received an M.B.A. degree last month from New York University.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

# National Affairs

## BACKGROUND

IRVING M. LEVINE

Director, National Affairs Department

### GRAND RAPIDS SCHOOL DISTRICT v. BALL

by Richard T. Foltin,  
Associate Legal Director

On July 1, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down, as in violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment, two programs maintained by the Grand Rapids School District under which publicly paid teachers conducted remedial and other secular classes in private and parochial schools. As to one of the programs, the Court's decision was rendered by a 7 to 2 vote; the other program was struck by a slimmer 5 to 4 majority.

Writing for the Court, Justice William Brennan said that the challenged programs had the "primary or principal effect" of advancing religion" for three reasons: the state-paid instructors might impermissibly come to indoctrinate students in religious beliefs; the symbolic union of church and state threatened to convey a message of state support for religion; and the programs in effect subsidized the religious functions of the parochial schools.

In another case, decided the same day, Aguilar v. Felton, the Court also struck as in violation of the Establishment Clause New York City's provision of federally-funded remedial programs in parochial schools, notwithstanding active official monitoring of that program to safeguard against religious activities, because the very monitoring process would inevitably result in excessive entanglement of church and state.

### Facts

The Grand Rapids School District adopted two programs that provided remedial and enrichment classes at public expense to students at 41 nonpublic schools, all but one of them religiously affiliated, in classrooms located in and leased from the nonpublic schools. The students attending both programs were the same students who otherwise attend the particular schools in which the classes were held.

The Shared Time program offered classes during the regular school day that were intended to supplement the "core curriculum" courses required by the State. The Shared Time teachers were full-time employees of the public schools, but a "significant portion" of them had previously taught in nonpublic schools.

The Community Education program offered classes at the conclusion of the regular school day in voluntary courses, some of which were offered at the public schools as part of the regular curriculum rather than on a Community Education basis. Community Education teachers were part-time public school



employees who, for the most part, were otherwise employed full time by the same nonpublic school in which their Community Education classes were held.

Suit was filed in Federal District Court against the School District and certain state officials, alleging that both programs violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The District Court agreed and entered a judgment for the plaintiffs, later affirmed by the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, enjoining further operation of the programs.

### The U.S. Supreme Court Decision

The U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the Court of Appeals. Applying that part of the classic Lemon v. Kurtzman test which prohibits government action which has the primary or principal effect of promoting religion, Justice William Brennan stated that:

Providing for the education of schoolchildren is surely a praiseworthy purpose. But our cases have consistently recognized that even such a praiseworthy, secular purpose cannot validate government aid to parochial schools when the aid has the effect of promoting a single religion or religion generally or when the aid unduly entangles the government in matters of religion. For just as religion throughout history has provided spiritual comfort, guidance, and inspiration to many, it can also serve powerfully to divide societies and to exclude those whose beliefs are not in accord with particular religions or sects that have from time to time achieved dominance.

The danger of such promotion of religion was held, by seven of the nine justices, to be impermissibly great in the case of the Community Education program, since it involved instructors who, during the regular school day, were employees of parochial schools and who were, during that regular school day, expected "to inculcate their students with the tenets and beliefs of their particular religious faiths." While, by contrast, the teachers in the Shared Time program were generally public school employees during the school day, the Court nevertheless found, by a five to four vote, that the latter program posed a similar danger: "When conducting a supposedly secular class in the pervasively sectarian environment of a religious school, a teacher may knowingly or unwillingly tailor the context of the course to fit the school's announced goals."

In addition, the Court found that both programs presented "a symbolic union of church and state [which is] inherent in the provision of secular, state-provided instruction in the religious school building [and which] threatens to convey a message of state support for religion to students and to the general public," and that the programs "in effect subsidize[d] the religious functions of the parochial schools by taking over a substantial portion of their responsibility for teaching secular subjects." The Court warned that to uphold the challenged programs would "let the genie out of the bottle" and permit "ever larger segments of the religious school curriculum to be turned over to the public school system, thus violating the cardinal principle that the State may not in effect become the prime supporter of the religious school system."

### Aguilar v. Felton

In Aguilar v. Felton, decided the same day, the Court also struck, by a 5 to 4 vote, New York City's federally-funded program under which personnel were sent into private and parochial schools to provide such services as remedial instruction, speech therapy and guidance counselling for disadvantaged students. Unlike the Grand Rapids programs, New York City engaged in active monitoring to ensure that participating teachers and counselors were not involved in religious activities.

The Court found, however, in a decision also written by Justice Brennan, that the monitoring inevitably "result[ed] in the excessive entanglement of church and state," because the religious school "which has as a primary purpose the advancement and preservation of a particular religion, must endure the ongoing presence of state personnel whose primary purpose is to monitor teachers and students in an attempt to guard against the infiltration of religious thought."

### Dissenting Opinions

In opinions relating to both the Grand Rapids and New York cases, Justices Burger and O'Connor agreed with the majority's holding that Grand Rapids' Community Education program violated the Establishment Clause, but would have held that neither the Grand Rapids Shared Time program nor the New York City remedial program constituted such a violation. In his opinion, Chief Justice Burger asserted that "the notion that denying these services to students in religious schools is a neutral act to protect us from an Established Church has no support in logic, experience or history. Rather than showing the neutrality the Court boasts of, it exhibits nothing less than hostility toward religion and the children who attend church-sponsored schools."

Justices White and Rehnquist dissented from the two decisions in their entirety, each protesting, in essence, that the Supreme Court's reading of the Establishment Clause represents an incorrect understanding of that provision.

### Analysis

The American Jewish Committee filed a brief amici in the Grand Rapids case, together with the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. In our brief we argued, as the Court ultimately held, that both the Shared Time and the Community Education programs constituted a violation of the Establishment Clause. We are very satisfied by the Supreme Court's decision in that case, which represents, not for the first time this term, a reaffirmation of the Court's commitment to the principle of separation of church and state.



AJC did not enter the New York case. There are factual distinctions between the New York and Grand Rapids cases, such as the extensive official monitoring which existed in the former case. Moreover, AJC's Statement of Views on Religion and Public Education provides that, within the context of the Federal program of which the New York program was a part, "which was expressly designed to aid disadvantaged children, certain types of assistance such as textbook loans and remedial educational services on parochial school premises are not opposed, subject to judicial review of the constitutionality of this legislation." That judicial review is now completed. In view of the Court's reaffirmation of principles important to AJC, we should not be dissatisfied that the result has been the striking of the New York program -- especially since the decision leaves open other routes by which the remedial aid may still be provided to disadvantaged students who attend nonpublic schools.

While the disagreement among the justices as to the Establishment Clause's exact application in the context of public aid to parochial school students led to a close 5 to 4 decision with respect to the Grand Rapids Shared Time program and the New York remedial program, it is noteworthy that a strong 7 to 2 majority continued to assert its commitment to the now-classic test enunciated in Lemon v. Kurtzman. Moreover, that same substantial majority was in agreement that the Community Education program did not pass the Lemon v. Kurtzman test. This is a promising sign that the present Supreme Court will remain a firm bulwark against at least the more egregious attempts to undermine the "wall of separation" between church and state.

D033/NAD-2  
July 23, 1985/gn  
85-630-35



# 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, July 23... A group of Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders engaged in Jewish-Christian relations, meeting together to discuss and evaluate the recently-published "Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church," called for further dialogue to clarify issues raised in the document.

Their joint statement was issued after an all-day consultation on the "Notes" -- the first such meeting of Catholics and Jews since the publication of the document. The consultation was convened by the American Jewish Committee when it became apparent that the "Notes," though aiming to remedy Catholic "ignorance of history and traditions of Judaism," had elicited some praise, but also some sharp criticisms from Jewish groups. The criticisms were directed to both substantive and procedural aspects of the "Notes," but particularly to the lack of consultation with the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultation (IJCIC) and other major Jewish agencies prior to the issuance of the document on June 24.

Meeting together "to evaluate the document in both its positive and negative aspects," the participants in the consultation agreed: "Strengthened by twenty years of progress in our relationships, we have learned that we can face genuine differences and still retain a spirit of trust and mutual respect."

Positive elements of the "Notes" which need to be implemented on the local level, they said, include "necessary interpretations of the negative references to Jews in the New Testament, Jesus' relationship with the Pharisees, the congruence of Jesus' teachings with the basic pharisaic beliefs and the recognition of the continuous spiritual fecundity of the Jewish people from the rabbinic period to modern times." The "Notes" emphasis on religious liberty and the continuing condemnation of anti-Semitism "also provides catechetical opportunities," they agreed.

The Catholic and Jewish participants also noted: "We are of the opinion that the 'Notes' are clarified by, and should be read in conjunction with, the comments made by Msgr. Jorge Mejia, Secretary of the Vatican Commission and a signatory of the 'Notes,' which were published simultaneously with them in L'Osservatore Romano on June 24. Had there been prior consultation with the Jewish community along the lines of these clarifications, much of the criticism

.....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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CSAE 1707

which concerns us now might have been avoided. To us, dialogue means just that: open communication before, during and after, a point which the 'Notes' themselves would seem to affirm."

With regard to teaching about the Nazi Holocaust and the State of Israel -- "subjects of urgent concern to the Jewish community" -- the signers committed themselves to "continued dialogue between our two communities." Catholics, as well as Jews, need to grapple with the significance of the Holocaust for Christians as well as Jews, they agreed, noting that Msgr. Mejia's commentary on the document makes this point. They also pointed to Pope John Paul II's statement on Good Friday of 1984, which called for "the desired security, the due tranquility that is the prerogative of every nation" for the Jewish people living in the State of Israel.

Affirming the need for "further, deepening dialogue between the Church and the Jewish people, the signers pledged to "work to ensure that the 'Notes' will not be the occasion of a retreat from the very real gains in mutual understanding achieved in the past twenty years."

(Full text of report and list of signers attached.)

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

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THE JACOB BLAUSTEIN INSTITUTE  
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Perspectives On  
Palestinian Women  
ARCHIVES

Information for participants in the World Conference to  
Review and Appraise the Achievements of  
the United Nations Decade for Women  
Nairobi, Kenya, July, 1985.

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

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

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

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

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

## FOREWORD

The 1975-85 United Nations Decade for Women will culminate with the world conference to be held in Nairobi, Kenya, July 15-26, 1985. The Nairobi Conference is the third international event sponsored by the world organization during the Women's Decade. The first took place in Mexico City in July 1975; the second in Copenhagen in July 1980. The purposes of the Copenhagen Conference, like those of the conference planned for Nairobi, were to assess the progress achieved, to identify the obstacles encountered in attaining the goals of the Decade and to plan how to implement these goals in the future.

These Nairobi purposes are specified in two main agenda items. The review of progress and appraisal of obstacles at national, regional, and international levels is to take place under agenda item 7. Under agenda item 3, the conference is to devise "forward-looking strategies" to achieve the goals of equality, development and peace at these national, regional and international levels up to the year 2000.

The U.S. and West European governments have insisted from the start of UN planning for the Nairobi Conference that its agenda should exclude political questions more properly considered in the Security Council (and other political organs) and that differences should be resolved by consensus rather than majority vote. The Soviet and Non-Aligned blocs were unyielding. These blocs have 11 and 99 members respectively (the latter including 21 Arab states, and a large number of other Muslim states). The differences remained for the conference itself to settle, where these states would have a controlling majority.

Since Israel's creation in 1948, and especially after its victories in the 1967 and 1973 wars, the UN has been the principal forum of the wide-ranging campaign of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its Arab and Soviet allies to delegitimize Israel. While failing to achieve Israel's expulsion from the UN, a goal it has not relinquished, the PLO has been able to secure repeated condemnations of Israel's alleged policies and practices. It has also succeeded in impugning Israel's identity as a Jewish state by obtaining in 1975 a General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism. These condemnations have been tacked onto an array of unrelated issues on agendas throughout the UN system, including those concerned with the status of women.

The intrusion into a UN specialized agency, conference or technical program of extraneous political questions is especially improper when these very questions are repeatedly addressed in the UN's political organs that exist for that very purpose. As the UN Secretary-General has urged, "the public forum afforded by the United Nations...not [be] wasted on the exchange of useless accusations that offer no hope of bridging differences." (Lecture, Harvard University, January 10, 1985; SG/SM/3648, p. 6).

Over the objections of the U.S. and other members of the Nairobi planning bodies, the subject of Palestinian women has been placed on the Nairobi agenda, under item 7. A Report of the Secretary-General (hereafter referred to as the SG Report), entitled "The Situation of Women and Children Living in the Occupied Arab Territories and Other Occupied Territories," is the documentation on which basis the subject will be considered.

The subject was placed on the agenda in response to a General Assembly recommendation that the conference pay particular attention to the problems of women in territories under "racist or colonial rule" or "foreign occupation," taking into account the Mexico City and Copenhagen guidelines. Since the subject of Palestinian women had been discussed in Copenhagen, the Nairobi preparatory body (the Commission on the Status of Women) decided, in carrying out the General Assembly's recommendation, to request the Secretary-General to update an earlier (1982) report it had prepared on this subject. Although the title of the SG Report speaks of "occupied Arab territories" and of "other occupied territories," the Report itself mentions none of the latter -- much less discusses in detail the problems of women in them -- for example, the occupied territories of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Chad. The Report deals exclusively with Palestinian women, obscuring or minimizing Israel's achievements in the West Bank and Gaza and, moreover, assuming that Israel is at fault for unsatisfactory conditions -- real or imagined.

At the request of the Jacob Blaustein Institute, Dr. Mala Tabory, a legal scholar and social scientist, undertook a study intended to provide participants in the Nairobi Conference with another perspective beside that contained in the SG Report. Concerned about the situation of women worldwide, the Institute felt that it was important for the conference attendees to have a document that contributes to a balanced and constructive view of the controverted subject of Palestinian women.

Dr. Tabory drew in her research for the full study (which is available on request) from both Arab and Israeli published sources as well as on the documents of several UN agencies. Most important, she visited factories, vocational schools and health centers in the West Bank and Gaza to interview Palestinian women about their situation.

A convenient digest of Dr. Tabory's findings follows. It is divided in keeping with the main headings in her text: demography and vital statistics; employment; working conditions; education, including vocational training; health; and environmental sanitation. Thanks are due to Kenneth Bandler, Allan Kagedan and Phyllis Sherman for preparing the digest.

As established in Dr. Tabory's study, and indeed admitted in the SG Report, the latter's account of the situation of Palestinian women and children is not truly a "report" -- much less an impartial one. It not only disregards Israel's information and viewpoint, it fails to apply elementary evaluative criteria, such as comparison of present with pre-1967 conditions. Nor does it take into account the bearing of Arab/Muslim religious traditions and social patterns on the situation of Palestinian women. Its method appears to be to assert as a general proposition that the Israeli occupation is per se harmful to all Palestinians, from which is extrapolated, without specific evidence, the conclusion that it must be damaging to Palestinian women and children.

This perception of the SG Report is borne out by the statement in its introduction that "As no comprehensive study related to the status of Palestinian women has been prepared within the United Nations system during the last year,...it [the SG Report] draws exclusively on recent reports and other material dealing with various aspects of living conditions of Palestinian people in the Arab occupied territories, prepared by United Nations bodies." That the Report is indeed based on prior UN documents, which themselves reflect an anti-Israel bias, is evident from its 82 bibliographical notes, only four of which cite Israeli sources. The rest are drawn from the reports of the General Assembly's Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, serviced by the UN Secretariat's Palestine Centre. The Committee -- whose member states are Senegal, Cuba and Afghanistan -- and the Centre, are known to reflect the views of the PLO.

Other statements in it confirm this impression of the SG Report: "Although none of these reports refer specifically to the question of Palestinian women, they describe the living conditions of the Palestinian population as a whole"; "The policy of the occupying power uniformly affects men, women, youth and children as members of society"; the military authorities' "oppressive practices...affect equally all members of the family." In short, the authors of the Report, unwilling or unable to prepare a particularized study of the situation of Palestinian women, simply repeat the generalized criticism of Israel's occupation common to many UN documents.

Among the other sources cited in the SG Report are the reports of the Mexico City and Copenhagen conferences. The Mexico City Conference was widely criticized as politicized, especially for including in its final Declaration a call to the international community to seek



the elimination of Zionism along with racism and apartheid. The linking of Zionism with these evils served as precedent for the General Assembly's adoption on 10 November 1975 of the mischievous and dangerous resolution falsely equating Zionism with racism. The Copenhagen Conference extended this falsehood, restricted to the Declaration adopted in Mexico City, into a Program of Action for improving the situation of women worldwide.

The UN Charter declares the determination of all the peoples of the United Nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." In sharing that faith, the Jacob Blaustein Institute expresses the hope that the Nairobi Conference will not be diverted into extraneous political bypaths but will rather direct its energies to the real issues of women, and thereby truly contribute to attaining the goal of equal rights for men and women the world over.

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## DEMOGRAPHY AND VITAL STATISTICS

The SG Report's discussion of the demography and vital statistics of West Bank and Gaza Palestinians gives readers an inaccurate picture of the effects of Israeli occupation. Among other inaccuracies, it fails to record the significant advances in health care made since 1967.

### Palestinian Population Overall

The SG Report admits that "it is difficult to know exactly how many Palestinians there are altogether" (par. 10). Estimates published by Arab countries and by the PLO, and even by UNRWA, have been found to be exaggerated, reflecting a political purpose to magnify the "refugee problem." In fact, with the exception of the West Bank and Gaza, no formal census of the Palestinian populations in Middle East countries has ever been conducted.

### Refugee Camp Population

The SG Report asserts that some 50 percent of the West Bank population and 85 percent of the Gaza population are refugees registered with UNRWA (par. 10). It claims that as of June 1984 there were 350,779 refugees registered in the West Bank (90,905 in camps) and 410,745 in the Gaza Strip (226,937 in camps). It bases these figures on 1983 UNRWA refugee registration lists and 1981 Israeli government statistics for the total population. However; UNRWA itself has stated that the registration figures "do not necessarily represent the actual population of Palestine refugees in their places of registration; the refugees move and do not always inform the Agency; they also die without their families informing the Agency."<sup>1</sup>

By 1983, according to Israeli census figures, there were 105,000 refugees living in the West Bank (65,000 in camps) and 205,000 in Gaza (175,000 in camps).<sup>2</sup> These figures show that only 14 percent of the West Bank population and only 42 percent of the Gaza population are refugees, in contrast to the SG Report's figures of 50 and 85 percent, respectively.

### Population Growth

Before 1967, despite high birthrates, the population of the West Bank and Gaza was relatively static. This was due to high infant and other mortality and to extensive emigration. Since then, improved

economic conditions and a decline in net out-migration have led to rapid population growth. Thus the Gaza Palestinian population increased from 364,000 in 1969 to 476,000 in 1982, and the West Bank Palestinian population grew from 164,000 in 1967 to 747,500 in 1982.

### Infant Mortality

During the period 1967-82, infant mortality in the West Bank and Gaza was reduced by more than 50 percent.<sup>3</sup> The reported infant mortality rate in 1982 in the West Bank was 25.6 per 1,000 live births, and in Gaza 41.3 per 1,000.<sup>4</sup> These figures compare favorably with available data on infant (0-1 year) mortality rates for 1981 in neighboring Arab countries. For example, infant deaths per 1,000 live births in Jordan were 68; in Egypt 80; in Syria 61; and in Saudi Arabia 112. The infant mortality rate in Israel was 13.9 per 1,000.<sup>5</sup>

Infant mortality in the West Bank and Gaza has declined in part because of the extensive development and utilization of health services, including the establishment of primary health care units, visits by public health staff to remote villages, availability of health insurance, increased public demand for health care, and UNRWA supervision of refugee camps.

### Child Mortality

During 1981-83 child (0-5 years) mortality rates averaged 7.0 per 1,000 in the West Bank and 10.3 in Gaza. In countries with very poor health conditions, according to the World Health Organization (WHO), the under-six mortality rate exceeds 100 per 1,000; in highly developed countries it is as low as 2.0 per 1,000.<sup>6</sup>

### Life Expectancy

Improvements in medical services and health conditions among the Palestinians have resulted in higher life expectancy. In 1967, life expectancy at birth was estimated at 48 years in the West Bank and Gaza. In the mid-1970s it was estimated at 55, and in the early 1980s at 62. Again, this most recent figure compares favorably with the figures for neighboring countries: 61 in Jordan, 56 in Egypt, 66 in Syria, and 55 in Saudi Arabia. In Israel life expectancy is 74 years.

### Emigration

The SG Report states that "the high male emigration rate" from the West Bank and Gaza "has created a ratio of 80 males to 100 females." This figure is inaccurate. In 1983, there were 996 males per 1,000 females in the West Bank and 991 males per 1,000 females in the Gaza area.

Of course, West Bank and Gaza residents do emigrate; migration for economic reasons is common throughout the world. In the Middle

East, workers have migrated from the more densely populated, labor-surplus countries to the Arab oil-producing countries along the Persian Gulf. Due to their educational level and technical training, workers from the West Bank and Gaza have been in demand by states with extensive resources but limited trained manpower. In 1982, there were 400,000 Palestinians in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. They constituted some 40 percent of Kuwait's total work force.

During 1982 and 1983, reported net out-migration from the West Bank and Gaza declined significantly from previous years, due to improved economic opportunities and socioeconomic conditions at home, and to newly imposed immigration restrictions in Arab countries, reflecting declining oil revenues.<sup>7</sup>

#### Female Heads of Household

The SG Report, citing UNRWA statistics for 1983, states that "on the West Bank there were 27,226 female heads of household out of a total of 72,272 and in the Gaza Strip 14,567 out of a total of 75,296." The Report fails to mention that "Roughly 25-33% of all households in the world are de facto headed by women, with the percentage much higher in certain countries and regions... The rising incidence of female-headed households in rural areas of developing countries results from impoverishment and migration."<sup>8</sup> According to the UNRWA figures, roughly 38 percent of all West Bank households and 19 percent of all Gaza households are headed by women, figures that compare favorably with others in the developing world.

#### Conclusion

During the period of the Israeli administration, the Palestinian population has undergone rapid growth, resulting from significant improvements in economic and health conditions that markedly reduced infant and child mortality rates and increased life expectancy. The SG Report ignores these achievements.

## EMPLOYMENT

Any assessment of the economic health of the administered territories must take into account the past. Before 1967, Jordan neglected the West Bank in favor of the East Bank. High unemployment depressed economic life in both the West Bank and Gaza. The Israeli occupation has witnessed rapid economic growth and unprecedented employment opportunities. Income from employment in Israel has increased West Bank purchasing power and contributed to local economic improvement. From an economic standpoint, the Israeli administration has had a favorable impact on the West Bank and Gaza.

### Labor Force Participation

To be sure, as the SG Report implies, the level of Palestinian women's labor force participation is low; but the participation level of women in Arab countries generally is even lower. This is a result of high fertility, low literacy, and traditional restriction of women to domestic roles. Indeed, the Palestinian women's labor force participation rate compares favorably with those of Arab women elsewhere. Thus, according to the SG Report, the participation rate for women in the West Bank is 18.7 percent, in Gaza 6 percent; the figure for Egypt is 5.7 percent, for the United Arab Emirates 5.8 percent and for Yemen 5.6 percent.<sup>1</sup>

### Traditional Position

After noting the alleged absence of employment opportunities for Palestinian women, the SG Report comments that these same women, presumably taking advantage of employment opportunities, are being uprooted "from their traditional position in society."

It is valid, of course, to explore how women's employment may affect a traditional culture, weighing this against how it can help women to gain dignity. The complex question of the needs of women as individuals as against the demands of family and community is hardly restricted to Palestinian women; it affects women in all modern and modernizing societies. This is not an issue of Israeli policy, which seeks neither to encourage nor dissuade Palestinian women from working, for the very reason that Israel wishes to avoid accusations that it is imposing its values on a traditional Arab culture. Arab girls generally work for only a short time before marriage. Their youth and early marriage inhibit the acquisition of job skills. Thus Arab (including Palestinian) women tend to be confined to unskilled

occupations. Once married, traditional mores inhibit them from working outside the home.<sup>2</sup>

### Conclusion

With regard to employment, Palestinian women in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, are better off than women generally in Arab countries. Israel has opened up new job opportunities for those women who choose, of their own accord, to seek employment.



## WORKING CONDITIONS

Unfortunately in many countries, women's working conditions are inferior to those of men. The SG Report provides a distorted picture of the working conditions of Palestinian women, inaccurately portraying them as "exploited," poorly paid workers who work illegally and receive no health or other benefits (par. 39). The Report mentions three categories of Palestinian working women: women employed legally in Israel; women employed legally in the West Bank and Gaza; and women working illegally in Israel. Each category merits separate consideration.

### Legal Employment in Israel

The SG Report fails to mention a key institution in the lives of Palestinian women employed legally in Israel: the union. Israel's Histadrut, encompassing 90 percent of the country's workers, actively encourages Palestinian men and women who work in Israel to join its ranks, though few have actually done so. The Histadrut welcomes Palestinians not only because it has always opposed discrimination but also because nonunionized workers threaten the wage levels of unionized workers. Palestinians who belong to the Histadrut enjoy the same benefits as Israeli members, including severance pay, work accident insurance, vacation pay, sick pay, child allowances, clothing allowances, a spouse allowance, religious holiday pay, access to health services and medical insurance.<sup>1</sup>

Most Palestinian men and women who work in Israel choose not to join the Histadrut because they do not wish to be seen cooperating with Israel.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, even these workers benefit from collective agreements reached by the Histadrut covering the enterprises where they work.

What effect does working in Israeli factories have on Palestinian women workers? According to Raymonda Tawil, a Palestinian writer, equality has increased the women's self-esteem. In many cases, they were the only wage earners in their family, and it was precisely this role as breadwinner that imposed a great responsibility upon them and at the same time gave them a feeling of dignity.<sup>3</sup>

### Legal Employment in the West Bank and Gaza

What of Palestinian women who work in the West Bank and Gaza? Free union activity exists in the territories, and as of 1985 there

are 31 unions in the West Bank and seven in Gaza.

If a small percentage of West Bank and Gaza workers, as compared with Israeli workers, are unionized, this is not surprising. Local economies have been and remain largely agricultural and therefore unreceptive to unionization. Nonetheless, the Israeli administration in the territories has taken actions to improve local working conditions including some intended to assist women in particular. It has regulated work hours, protected the right to not work at night, banned women's employment in dangerous occupations, and increased maternity leave from 21 to 45 days.

Perhaps the best evidence of the progress in employment made by Palestinian women working in the West Bank and Gaza is the number of women working in teaching and other white-collar jobs. In the West Bank, there are 363 female school directors, 6,475 teachers, and 655 health service workers.<sup>4</sup> These women are not only benefiting personally from the experience gained in these occupations, but they are assisting members of their community to live productive lives.

#### Illegal Employment in Israel

The third category of Palestinian working women are those who choose to work illegally in Israel. What motivates this choice? The families of these young women, wishing guidance and protection for them, fall prey to the Rais, an illegal labor recruiter who hires them out to hotels, restaurants and agricultural enterprises and deprives them of a high percentage of their wages. The Israeli government seeks to stem the tide of illegal workers and has no interest in perpetuating such circumvention of the law, including tax evasion and the prohibition against employing youths under 17. The Histadrut actively tries to persuade illegals to work legally and to join the union since illegals drive down all workers' wages.

The SG Report notes that Palestinian women generally fill jobs at the lower end of pay scales. This is true -- but so do women in many countries, as anyone familiar with the condition of women internationally knows. In Canada, for instance, women typically earn between 50-60 percent as much as men. The reasons for this are multiple. In short, it is a widespread problem in many regions that should be addressed by the Nairobi Conference.

#### Conclusion

Many aspects of the situation of Palestinian women "deplored" in the SG Report are the very problems discussed in the Nairobi Conference document on women in developing countries. Palestinian working women in the West Bank and Gaza share problems that face women in developing and even developed countries, but by any measure their working conditions have improved since 1967.



## EDUCATION

Education provides the foundation for future employment and for citizen participation in cultural and public life. In its discussion of education provided by UNRWA as well as by private Arab institutions, from the preschool to vocational training, the SG Report highlights alleged Israeli harassment of Palestinian students. Such incidents have to be viewed from the perspective of Israeli security requirements in the face of the sometimes violent student demonstrations. In any event, the SG Report barely discusses the broader question of education, much less gives an account of Israeli contributions to education in the West Bank and Gaza.

### Literacy

Literacy is the basis for all further education. In the West Bank and Gaza, the rate of illiteracy has declined since 1967, placing residents of these regions ahead of Arab countries. From 1970 to 1984, the percentage of illiterate women declined in the West Bank from 65 to 39 and in Gaza from 65 to 37. In Arab countries, the percentage of illiterate women is higher: Algeria (1982) 68, Egypt (1976) 77, Jordan (1979) 49, Saudi Arabia (1980) 87, Syria (1975) 76.<sup>1</sup>

Paralleling the rise in literacy is the increase in the number of students at all educational levels. The overall student population of the West Bank and Gaza grew 104 percent between 1967 and 1985 while the school-age population increased only 28 percent. The number of school girls aged 5-18 increased 125.3 percent, reflecting a jump in attendance at all three school levels: elementary and junior high (both compulsory) and high school (voluntary).<sup>2</sup>

Five universities have been established in the administered territories since 1967. Similarly from 1980 to 1985 the number of women students doubled (from 2,599 to 4,680) in teachers' seminaries and agricultural, technical and paramedical colleges.<sup>3</sup>

### Vocational Schools

Since 1968, Israeli government-supported vocational schools have trained 55,000 West Bank and Gaza young women and men. Today, there are 23 of these schools, 18 in the West Bank and five in Gaza. Nine of these offer courses where women learn more "traditional" skills such as sewing, knitting and weaving, useful at home as well as in the workplace, and newer skills such as driving instruction. Thus far,

about 10,000 women have enrolled in these courses, 7,000 from the West Bank and 3,000 from Gaza. These courses, which are publicized in the media, are free of charge and attending students receive a small stipend and work clothes.

The quality of the instruction students receive in the government-financed training centers is proved by the fact that graduates easily find employment in Arab countries, where they sometimes serve as instructors. The International Labor Office's (ILO) reports on this subject describe the vocational schools as a "positive feature" of Israel's involvement with Palestinians. Israel affirms that the schools have facilitated "the access of women to remunerated employment" and have helped to evolve new "ideas and traditions on this issue."<sup>4</sup>

### Conclusion

In addition to UNRWA and private efforts, Israel government-funded schools have contributed significantly to enlarging and improving educational opportunities for West Bank and Gaza inhabitants. In turn, the advances in education have opened up better employment opportunities.



## HEALTH

The SG Report deals extensively with health conditions in the West Bank and Gaza, citing UNRWA's activities almost exclusively and leaving the reader with the mistaken impression that since 1967 conditions have worsened. It makes only passing reference to "inadequate" Israeli improvements in health services. In fact, genuine progress in upgrading health conditions has been achieved since 1967, much of it the result of Israeli efforts. This has been achieved despite the long lead time needed to develop health service infrastructures and the reluctance of many inhabitants to give up their adherence to traditional practices, such as childbirth at home rather than in hospitals.

### Historical Context

Prior to 1967, the level of public health in the West Bank and Gaza was relatively low -- characteristic of a developing region. Malnutrition, infectious diseases and high infant mortality rates prevailed. A poor sewerage system, overcrowding in refugee camps, lack of running water in homes and a concomitantly low level of personal and family hygiene made conditions particularly bad in Gaza. Hospitals, especially in Gaza, were poorly equipped, overcrowded and, as in most developing areas, understaffed.

### Preventive and Curative Services: Israel's Health Care Policy

Israel has undertaken to establish a strong infrastructure to provide comprehensive health services to Gaza and the West Bank. Plans include sustained development of health resources and facilities. Special concern for the needs of women and children, demonstrated by a range of programs to control disease and establish basic sanitation and other primary care services, has guided health care planning.

Underlying Israeli health care policy is the basic principle that local needs are best served by local facilities. A well-equipped and well-staffed local health care system, leading to reduced dependence on regional medical centers is being established. Thus, numerous clinics have been scattered through urban and rural areas. In 1968, for example, there were 89 general medical clinics in the West Bank. Now 148 rural and urban clinics and health centers provide comprehensive primary care and preventive and curative services. Between 1975 and 1982, visits to clinics in the West Bank rose 125 percent, in Gaza by 80 percent.

The Israeli approach contrasts with Jordan's, where good medical facilities are concentrated in large cities like Amman, and services are poor for the nomadic Bedouins. Indeed, Jordan has a higher infant mortality rate as well as fewer hospital beds per 1,000 population than do Gaza and the West Bank.

#### Maternal and Child Health (MCH)

Israel has placed special emphasis on improving maternal and child care. Before 1967 MCH care was very limited. In Gaza where there were only nine centers in the refugee camps, Israel has established 24 new MCH centers, providing a center in every village. Similarly, there has been a fourfold increase in the number of MCH centers in the West Bank (from 23 in 1968 to 95 in 1983) and more than 50 percent increase in general community clinics (from 89 in 1968 to 148 in 1983).<sup>1</sup>

Nutritional aid to pregnant women now includes fetal and infant development. The Israel government provides vitamins A and D and folic iron free of charge to all infants in the area.

Before 1967, over 90 percent of deliveries in Gaza took place at home under the care of traditional birth attendants (dayas) who had no formal training or supervision. In 1970, Israel established a school for midwives in Nablus.

Over the years, partly because of Israeli-sponsored education programs, there has been increasing utilization of hospitals for maternity care. In Gaza the rate of hospital births rose from less than 10 percent in 1967 to 75 percent in 1983. In the West Bank, the rate increased from 13.5 percent in 1968 to 48 percent in 1983. But the practice of using traditional midwives for childbirth is still prevalent in these areas. In mid-1983, to further increase hospital deliveries, Israel lowered hospital charges for noninsured mothers by 50 percent.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to child health care, the SG Report admits that there is insufficient statistical information to permit "an objective evaluation of children's nutritional status." However, it criticizes Israel by implication in citing the allegedly low birth weight of West Bank and Gaza infants. In adducing the statistics that 6.8 percent of West Bank infants and over 5.2 percent of Gaza infants weighed under 2.5 kgm at birth, it does not mention that 10 percent is considered a goal for developing countries and that this has not been achieved even in some developed countries, including parts of the United States.<sup>3</sup>

The SG Report cites the Expanded Program of Immunization as an essential element of MCH, and mentions a 1983 World Health Organization (WHO) report that includes the West Bank and Gaza in "areas of control" for six childhood diseases that constitute public health problems in almost all developing countries. Though it refers to

UNRWA's immunization work, it fails to mention the Israel government's contribution to the program.

WHO noted in 1984 during its visit to schools in the West Bank and Gaza that "the general appearance of the children indicates satisfactory nutritional status... Hygiene seems good and the health status of the children seemed satisfactory."

Israel, in October 1984, with funds provided by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), established the Child Development Center in Ramallah to provide care for children with physical or mental development problems. Although not completed by the end of 1984, the Center had over 50 patients. Preparations are under way for centers in Hebron, Nablus and Gaza.

#### Health Facilities and Service Costs

The SG Report (par. 56) comments on an "insufficient number of hospital beds" and "the high cost of hospitalization." To be sure, in certain districts the absolute number of hospital beds has remained constant despite the population increase. The reason is that the population's health has improved. Specifically, the rates of tuberculosis and mental illness have declined. Hospitals formerly used for patients with these diseases have now been converted by Israel to meet current needs. The issue is not the absolute number of beds but rather whether necessary health services are being provided. The general hospital bed ratio (in both government and private hospitals) is 1.4 per 1,000 population in the West Bank and 1.8 - 1.9 per 1,000 in Gaza, surpassing Jordan's ratio of 0.86 per 1,000.<sup>4</sup>

Regarding rising health care costs -- a problem in most countries -- many health services, especially maternal and child health care, are provided free of charge. Partial health care insurance was introduced in the West Bank in 1973 and in Gaza in 1976. In 1978 a new voluntary health insurance plan was introduced to provide West Bank and Gaza inhabitants with comprehensive service in all health care facilities in Israel. Noninsured persons receive care through charitable organizations or private medical services.

As to the SG Report's charge of antiquated equipment, the example of the Shifa hospital in Gaza should be cited. WHO noted the extensive redevelopment of this hospital and stated that it "should constitute a high-technology referral center." Of special interest to women is its large new obstetrics department. Similarly, the Nasser Children's Hospital in Gaza was expanded and renovated in 1978 and the number of its beds increased. Ramallah Hospital, a neonatal care unit, was opened in 1980. Caritas Hospital in Bethlehem, a newly rebuilt voluntary public pediatric hospital, operates a modern, well-equipped special-care unit serving premature babies from the entire region.

### Mental Health

The SG Report infers that occupation has caused a "deterioration of mental well-being and an increase of mental diseases, particularly of neuroses" in the West Bank. The inference is that this results from the "occupation." There is no concrete data to support this claim. The incidence of mental illness in the West Bank and Gaza may be as high as it is in the Middle East generally, an area now undergoing the strains of modernization.<sup>5</sup>

### Training of Health Care Staff

Similarly, the SG Report's charge of insufficient health care professionals in the administered territories is unfounded. Israel has emphasized the training locally of nursing and paramedical staff. Examples of training centers for nurses that are undergoing constant improvement and development are the Shifa Hospital Nursing School in Gaza, opened in 1973 and expanded in 1975, which graduated 576 practical nurses by the end of 1983, and the Ramallah School for Registered Nurses opened in 1971.

Certainly, there could be more health care staff in the territories: the problem is that, because of their training, West Bank and Gaza health personnel are in high demand in Arab countries, particularly the Gulf states; and in pursuit of higher salaries, they emigrate. Even so, the total number of nurses practicing in the territories has more than doubled. In Gaza there were 97 doctors in 1967 and by 1982 there were 242. West Bank statistics show a similar rise.<sup>6</sup> Although the territories have an oversupply of doctors, there is a shortage of specialists there as in Israel.

### Conclusion

Since 1967, the Israeli authorities have provided the West Bank and Gaza with preventive health care systems, upgraded hospital care and advanced training for health workers. The result has been a major reduction in mortality rates and the establishment of a health services system that is superior to those in most developing countries.

## ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION

The SG Report states that "insufficient water supply, pollution of the drinking water, [and] low standards of ... sewage and waste disposal" remain some of "the essential problems of environmental health" in the West Bank and Gaza (par. 69). The Report implies that these conditions are a result of the Israeli occupation.

A major factor affecting the health of a population is the availability of adequate supplies of potable water and an environmentally sound sewage and waste disposal system. Deficiencies in these services are endemic to the developing countries. Before 1967, these services were severely lacking in the West Bank and Gaza. In recent years, in cooperation with Arab municipalities, the Israeli administration has improved environmental health services, which the SG Report fails to acknowledge.

### Availability of Potable Water

Advances have been made in developing safe, chlorinated drinking water systems to serve Palestinian urban areas and larger villages. Since 1967, more than 60 West Bank villages have been connected to central water supplies. Potable and safe water, therefore, reaches homes in some 90 of the largest villages in the region. This service is being extended to smaller villages throughout the area.

Israeli water standards have been applied to the West Bank and Gaza. A safe water supply in these areas was achieved in 1978, with bacteriological monitoring and preventive chlorination. Water standards are regularly monitored by district sanitarians in Gaza and the West Bank.<sup>1</sup>

### Sewage and Waste Disposal

Before 1967, sewage collection and disposal systems did not meet the requirements of the local population. The lack of adequate and safe water supplies for agriculture and home use led some local residents to use sewage water for irrigation. This practice could indeed adversely affect the health of the local populations. Since 1970, however, this dangerous practice has been prohibited.<sup>2</sup>

Large-scale development of sewage collection systems and treatment plants for urban areas is under way, requiring significant financial input and implementation time. The sewerage system in Gaza

has been enlarged and new sewage collection systems and treatment plants built to service municipalities and refugee camps throughout the region. Additional sewerage systems are being planned. Routine testing of sewage for vibrio cholera and other enteric bacteria began in 1981.<sup>3</sup> Sewage collection systems in most West Bank urban areas have been extended and reequipped, and sewage treatment plants built in Jenin, Tulkarem, Ramallah, and Hebron. Master planning has been completed for other localities.

Solid waste collection and disposal facilities in the West Bank and Gaza have been expanded and modernized in recent years. During the past 12 years, municipalities with modern equipment have been collecting garbage in most urban areas.<sup>4</sup> In Gaza, additional dumping lots have been opened in areas where contamination of ground water will be avoided, and several localities are processing solid waste into compost for agricultural use.<sup>5</sup>

#### Malaria Control

Strong evidence of improved environmental health conditions after 1967 is the eradication of malaria. WHO declared the West Bank malaria-free in 1970, and malaria control was achieved in Gaza in 1971.

#### Conclusion

Environmental health conditions in the West Bank and Gaza have been improved significantly under the Israeli administration. Sustained large-scale development of water supplies and of sewage and refuse disposal systems will continue to contribute to the improvement of conditions in these territories.

\* \* \*

Obviously, Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza do not enjoy untroubled lives. As this digest has pointed out, these women, like other women in developing as well as developed countries, face many problems. Some may even be exacerbated by living under "occupation" -- even a relatively benign occupation. On the other hand, the SG Report is designed to find fault not fact. It condemns but does not analyze and propose remedial measures. Bringing balance to the discussion of the situation of Palestinian women in the West Bank and Gaza, it is hoped, will enable participants at the Nairobi Conference to see that issue in a proper light. The Conference will thus be able better to fulfill its authentic purpose of advancing the equality of women in the years ahead.



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June 1985

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

SITUATION REPORT

IRAN

JULY 1985

זכר אלהו וישראל

After 4½ years, the war with Iraq has become institutionalized in Iran: the public has learned to co-exist with all the attendant hardships. However, recent escalation of the conflict, resulting in missile and bomb attacks on the capital and the main cities, has jolted the civilian population. Blackouts, shortages of basic commodities, and night raids, together with occasional guerrilla attacks (in January and February 1985), have renewed waves of anxiety and insecurity.

In March, Iranian airspace was declared a war zone by the Iraqis, resulting in the suspension of all international flights. To date, flights have not been restored to a regular schedule, and only Swissair makes short stopovers at the southern port of Bandar Abbas by using the Gulf route. Iranair tries to maintain regular flights to Europe through Russian airspace.

Observers maintain that the regime needs the war as a justification for problems in other spheres, and they share an outlook for continuing war and growing domestic unrest.

In face of a deteriorating economy, the Government has imposed additional restrictions on the private sector and foreign trade to limit the continuing drain on foreign exchange. Unemployment is growing, and there is little future prospect for work. Inflation officially stands at 12.8%; however, reliable sources maintain that this figure is distorted - and when subsidies, rents and free-market purchases are taken into consideration, the actual figure is nearer to 100%.

Travel restrictions for Iranians have eased markedly, and the number of Iranians traveling in and out of the country has grown significantly during the past year. While the Regime is readily issuing passports, there remains a blacklist of citizens who are not permitted to travel.

Limitation of foreign exchange to travelers has become even more restrictive. In early July regulations changed to allow passengers on Iranair - who had heretofore been permitted to leave with \$500 at official rates - to leave now with only \$300 per passport - no matter how many individuals are included in one passport. Those who choose other airlines - who were heretofore entitled to leave with \$200 - may now perhaps be entitled to no foreign exchange whatsoever.

The process of Islamization continues, affecting all aspects of life. The Regime - particularly its fundamentalist wing - resorts to terror in imposing strict adherence to Islamic moral codes and dress. Those most affected are the Westernized middle class, whose mores and conduct continually provoke the Islamic zealots.

Persecution of dissidents and members of the Bahai faith continues. However, these groups have succeeded in attracting the Western media to more sustained reporting on human rights violations.

## THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Though the present regime has officially recognized and tolerated the Jews as an "official religious minority," it has placed them in a decidedly inferior status. With the Islamization of the country, Jews - like members of other official religious minorities - are becoming more and more isolated from the mainstream of Iranian life, and are vulnerable to the whims of officials and/or members of the general public who wish to take a stand against them. The Government's strong anti-Zionist policy does not directly affect its relations with the community per se; however, it remains a source of constant apprehension and anxiety for every community member.

### Travel

Despite the liberalization of conditions on travel abroad for the general population, Jews continue to be at a disadvantage. The first official mention of a ban on Jews to travel was made by the Jewish MP Nikrooz in his parliamentary speech in April, and was reported in both the local press and opposition newspapers abroad. (The full text is enclosed.) The community was hopeful that Nikrooz' efforts would bring about a solution to the problem; however, to date there has been no significant development, and any Jew leaving the country officially must continue to go first through an extensive interview at the Office of the Prime Minister, followed by a demand for pledges and guarantees that he will return and that members of his family will not leave the country in his absence. Passports of family members must be deposited with the authorities to ensure that the family remains in the country. Some exceptions have been made in cases of the elderly and the sick.

### Pesach

As in previous years, on the instructions of the Prime Minister and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all Jewish government employees and servicemen were granted eight days' leave to observe Pesach.

### Anjoman Kalimian

The long struggle between the moderates and the hard-line Intellectuals for control of the Anjoman may have finally come to an end with the legal registration of a newly elected Anjoman Kalimian Board comprised of Intellectual sympathizers. (See attached translation of a Ministry of Justice notice of the results of the election.) Though the moderates have always had, and still have, more popular support in the community, they were unable to halt the Intellectuals from gaining power because very few moderates were willing to commit themselves or become involved in communal affairs, and risk intimidation and harassment from opposition factions within the community.

In the last three years, the Intellectuals pressed for new elections, intervened with the authorities, and constantly challenged the legality of the Anjoman as it has been recently constituted, on grounds that some of the elected Board members had left Iran, leaving an Anjoman Kalimian whose resulting decreased size did not conform to official regulations.



Last October the Intellectuals convinced the Government to set a date for Anjoman elections with less than a week's notice - taking both the Jewish leadership and the community by surprise. As a result, only a very small percentage of those eligible to vote participated - out of a Tehran Jewish population of approximately 15,000, only 640 went to the polls - and six candidates from the Intellectuals were elected with a negligible number of votes.

Both the procedures and the results were unacceptable to many of the leadership, and some of them protested to the authorities and the Ministry of Interior. The outgoing Chairman expressed his concern about the consequences of having an Anjoman Kalimian led by and closely identified with the Intellectuals for fear that this may place the Jewish community in a vulnerable position vis-a-vis the general public. He also expressed his concern about the possible disintegration of the Anjoman Kalimian if it does not command the support and respect of a large segment of the community.

It is too early to judge what the effects of this new Anjoman will be on the community and its structure. Since their inception after the Revolution, the Intellectuals supported the Regime's strong anti-Zionist, anti-'Imperialist' stance. However, general disillusionment in the outcome of the Revolution may have moderated their views.

The outgoing Chairman withheld the transfer of papers, documents and deeds to the new Board for fear they may mishandle communal assets and property. He took legal action in this regard, but did not succeed. He has now turned over the material to the Chief Rabbi, who at last notice had also not effected the transfer.

#### Education

In January the Ministry of Education, through its Supervisory Council, issued a summary of rules, regulations and procedures governing the schools of religious minorities. (Translation of full text is enclosed.)

A review of these guidelines clearly shows the extent of governmental control and restrictions imposed on the curriculum of all religious minority schools. Obversely, these same detailed regulations may serve to protect the minority schools from less tolerant officials and directors. (See enclosed cover page and translation of article on Jewish education which appeared this year in Roshd Moalem, a quarterly magazine for teachers and principals published and distributed nationwide by the Research and Project Department of the Ministry of Education.)

The enrollment of 4,362 Jewish children registered in Jewish schools dropped by approximately 10% during the school year due to diminution of the community.

As a result of the limitations imposed by the Government, the hours of religious studies in Jewish schools were reduced and courses had to be taught in Farsi. To maintain the level of Jewish content, supplementary classes for teaching Hebrew, Torah, Siddur, etc. were organized in the Synagogues. According to the most recent reports, Jewish schools are permitted to include the following number of hours of instruction of Jewish subjects: 10 hours/week for primary school students; 8 for orientation-level (junior high school) students; and 6 for high school students. The number of hours for supplementary Jewish studies varies from school to school.

Welfare

Through the Anjoman, winter and Passover relief was extended to families in need in Tehran and the provinces. For Pesach 5½ tons of rice, 1 ton of meat and chicken, 1 ton of matza, and 300 kilos of oil were distributed, and direct cash grants were made.



TRANSLATION

Dr. Nikrooz's Speech in Parliament  
April 8, 1985

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(Reprinted in Tamuz-Keyhan and other Farsi newspapers both locally and abroad)

One of the distinctive characteristics of the Islamic Revolution was its non-alignment with the Superpowers and the ability to stand up to their impositions. What is obvious in today's world is that a policy of non-alignment, and wanting to be independent, is not an easy accomplishment. It is a pleasure to note that with revolutionary patience and intelligence, the Iranian nation was able to resolve these problems one after the other; and, G-d willing, with Iran's final victory and the end of the war, the nation will shoulder-to-shoulder rebuild the country and take effective strides in the advancement of revolutionary goals.

The Jews of Iran are determined to continue living in this country with honor and serve their nation. We have always considered Iran as our country and we condemn any wrong thoughts and deviating ideas that wish to associate the Jews of Iran with events abroad and the various "isms". As the records of several centuries of Jewish life in Iran have proved, Jews love the culture of this country.

At the present, the services that the Jews of Iran render to the Islamic Republic and their fellow Iranians in proportion to their numbers are valuable. Maybe it is not necessary to elaborate on the number of Iranian Jews in the medical profession and the medical services, which is quite considerable. This is a proof of the attachment of the Iranian Jews to their country and the people.

Despite the evil of Imperialist and Zionist propaganda, and their agents who try to insinuate to the world that religious minorities in Iran are under pressure, I — in my position as the representative of the Iranian Jews in the Islamic Republic Parliament—officially declare that fortunately the Islamic Republic has shown the minorities the necessary respect, among them the Jews. At present we have no major problems, and any issues that have come up we have been able to overcome with complete understanding and good will. The only problem that presently exists is the legal exit and re-entry of our Jewish brothers and sisters from the country. In our contacts with the authorities they expressed their good will and have given us their promise to resolve this issue in the soonest possible time. While thanking those in charge, I hope that in the near future we will see the solution to this problem.

Considering the increase of the Iraqis' criminal attacks on our cities and the injuring and killing of civilians, which is contrary to all human and international codes, I deem it necessary to declare the Jewish community's disgust and condemnation of these aggressive acts.

In conclusion, I invite all fellow Jews to pray for the Imam's health and the victory and success of the Nation during Pesach services at the Synagogues.

Dr. Manuchehr Nikrooz



May 1985

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE  
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN  
GENERAL REGISTRATION OFFICE

Notice of Appointment of the Tehran Anjoman Kalimian Board Members  
Registration 6

1) According to conclusive minutes of the Anjoman Kalimian Meeting held on November 1, 1984, the following were elected as Board of Directors for the Tehran Anjoman Kalimian for a period of 3 years:

Dr. Manuchehr Eliassi  
Sion Yaghoub Barkhordar  
Youssef Khakshoor  
Rahmatollah Rahmian  
Feizollah Saketkhoo  
Davoud Ismailzadeh-Hakimi  
Houshan Honouni  
Shokrollah Seneh  
Sion Lalezari  
Shmouel Aghel  
Dr. Mussa Kermani.

2) According to the Minutes of the Board of Directors' Meeting held on January 10, 1985:

Dr. Manuchehr Eliassi was elected Chairman  
Moussa Kermani } .....Vice-Chairmen  
Sion Lalezari }  
Sion Uriel.....Treasurer  
Shmouel Aghel } .....Inspectors  
Yagoub Barkhordar }  
Ismailzadeh Hakimi.....Supplies Officer  
Rehmatollah Rahmian.....Secretary

(Signed)  
General Department of  
Company and Industrial Ownership

TRANSLATION

May 1985

CIRCULAR TO ALL SYNAGOGUES

Please have the following letter and attached notice read to the congregation on the eve and morning of Shabbat:

"Shabbat Shalom

Fellow Jews, Brothers and Sisters:

It is with great pleasure that we inform you that the newly elected Board of Directors for the Tehran Anjoman Kalimian has been legally registered.

We hope with the help of G-d and with your cooperation, we will be able to perform the duties assigned to us and serve our community in the best possible way.

Attached is the official and legal notice of registration.

Dr. Manuchehr Eliassi  
Chairman, Anjoman Kalimian"

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH

No. 38334/2

October 25, 1984

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN  
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
OFFICE OF THE MINISTER

To: Brother Hossein Khoshnvisan

By this decree, you are appointed as my representative with full authority to the Supervisory Commission for schools for religious minorities.

I hope, with the help of G-d, you will put all your efforts into this task, and by benefitting from the guidance of Imam Khomeini, you will succeed in advancing the sacred goals of the Islamic Revolution.

(Signed)

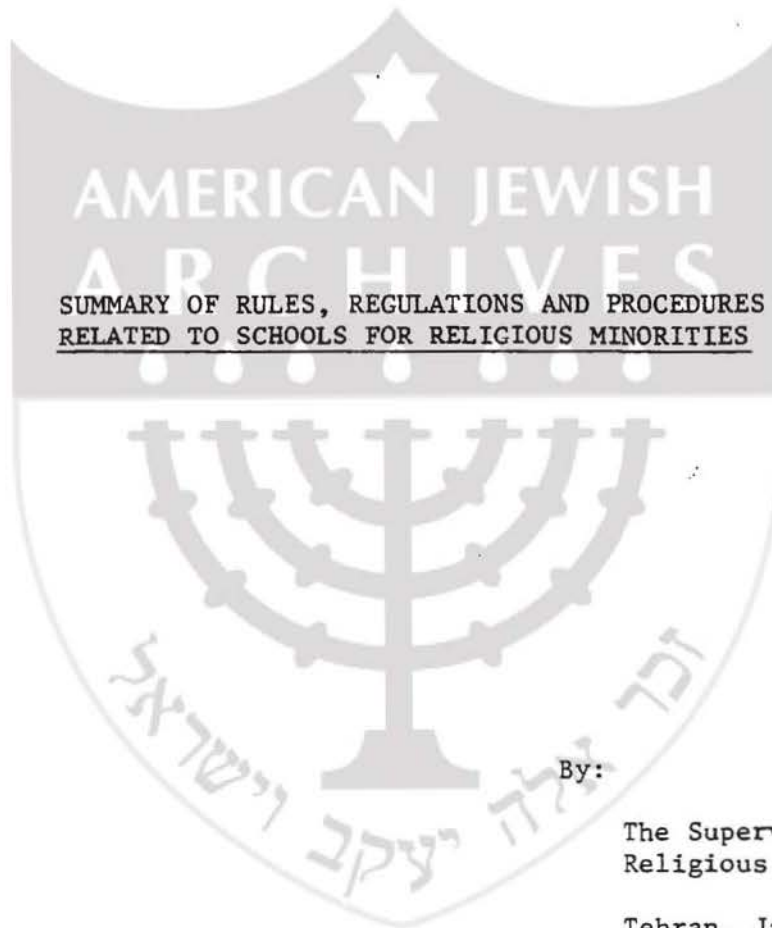
Seyed Kazem Akrami  
Minister of Education

cc: Ministry of Interior  
Ministry of Islamic Guidance  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Ministry of the Revolutionary Guards  
Head Office, Ministry of Education Tehran Province  
Legal Office of the Majlis (Parliament)  
Central Offices for Administration

IN THE NAME OF G-D

TRANSLATION

ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN  
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION



The Supervisory Commission for  
Religious Minorities' Schools

Tehran, January 1985



In the Name of G-d, the Merciful, the Compassionate

To: Head Office - Ministry of Education, Tehran Province

To coordinate education, training and administration of recognized religious minorities - Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians - the following guidelines have been compiled to facilitate decision-making...:

A) SUPERVISORY COMMISSION FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES' SCHOOLS

On the instructions of the Prime Minister, a Commission was set up in Tehran to coordinate and resolve problems related to schools of religious minorities. This Commission was formed from representatives of:

- 1) Ministry of Islamic Guidance
- 2) Ministry of Revolutionary Guards
- 3) Ministry of Interior
- 4) Ministry of Education
- 5) Tehran Province Department of Education
- 6) Ministry of Education Area Offices - where schools are located
- 7) Non-permanent member.

The Commission has been meeting weekly on a regular basis to fulfill the requirements and resolve problems in the quickest possible time.

Therefore, all Area Offices of the Ministry of Education should channel any problems that may arise to the Commission as quickly as possible, to enable the Commission to review the issue at the first possible meeting and respond in writing...

B) WEEKLY SCHEDULES OF RELIGIOUS MINORITY SCHOOLS

Weekly schedules and hours of work for schools of religious minorities will follow those of national schools, which are announced each scholastic year...

- 1) Khas Schools (Special Minority Schools) are schools where all, or the majority, of students are followers of that minority.
- 2) Students of religious minorities attending national schools are not obligated to attend Koran or (Islamic) religious studies classes.

C) TEXTBOOKS FOR RELIGIOUS STUDIES OF MINORITIES

Due to the importance of this matter, we are enclosing a copy of the directives and decisions reached at the High Council's 260th Meeting of (1983)...Furthermore, for your information, listed below are steps taken thereafter.

- 1) Based on the decisions of the High Council...the Program and Research Department for Education prepared and published textbooks for religious

minorities (Common Section). These books were and will be distributed nationwide to all Educational Areas: /The text goes on to list all such books, and specifies for which grades they should be used./

2) Books approved by the Program and Research Department (Special Section)

According to Article 4 of the directives of the High Council for Education, the Jewish and Zoroastrian minorities submitted their proposed textbooks to the Program and Research Department. After approval, these textbooks were published by each respective minority and distributed among students as follows:

a) Religious studies textbooks for the Jewish minority (Special Section) entitled Jewish Religious Studies and Culture - second grade primary to third year secondary levels - were published after approval by the Ministry and distributed to students attending Jewish minority schools. These courses are to be taught at special classes. (Procedures for forming these classes and grading will follow in this report.)

b) (Same as Item a for Zoroastrians)

c) Religious studies textbooks for the Assyrian minority are in process. After approval they will be published and distributed.

N.B. As long as these books have not been approved, Assyrian students will use only the textbooks of the Ministry of Education for Common religious studies.

d) Since to date the Armenians have not prepared or submitted textbooks to the Program and Research Department of the Ministry of Education, students of this minority can use only those textbooks published by the Ministry for Common Religious Studies for Minorities.

D) RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

According to Article 1 of the Directives, religious minorities are authorized to teach their religious literature and language. For this purpose, please note the following:

1) At Special Minority Schools, the teaching of two hours/week of religious literature and language as a supplement to literature courses is permissible.

N.B. Contents of the material to be taught must be submitted for approval to the Program and Research Department. Thereafter, texts can be printed and courses prepared. As long as this material is not submitted and approved, classes for these courses will not convene.

2) All reading material for these courses prepared by religious leaders of a particular minority must first be approved by the Research and Program Department of the Ministry.

3) No grades or credits will be given for courses of religious literature and language.

4) Tutors for these courses must be recommended by the respective minorities to the Ministry through the appropriate departments for screening. Only after approval by the Ministry can they teach at these schools.

5) If the minorities deem it necessary to teach religious studies and literature more than two hours/week, they can do so on the basis of the proceedings in Article Z.

E) OWNERSHIP OF SCHOOL

Ownership of religious minorities' schools endowed for this purpose will continue to belong to the religious bodies of the respective minorities. However, during school hours such schools are completely at the disposal of the Ministry of Education. After school hours, premises of these schools can be utilized according to Article Z of the regulations.

F) CODE OF CONDUCT OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES' SCHOOLS

The code of conduct and disciplinary regulations at minorities' schools must follow those of national schools throughout the country. Female students must dress in the same way as girls attending national schools (i.e., observe Islamic dress code).

G) EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Minorities can use their school premises after school hours, provided they adhere to the following conditions:

- 1) Plans for all after-school programs and activities planned by minorities must be submitted in writing 15 days prior to the actual date of the event to the director of the school.
- 2) Directors of religious minorities' schools must notify the Area Director of the Ministry of Education of the above request, so that the request can be processed through proper channels to the Supervisory Commission and a reply be given as soon as possible.
- 3) Applicants must submit their requests for such programs and/or activities in detail and have same approved by their respective religious leadership to avoid delays in processing.
- 4) All proposed activities and programs should not contradict the moral codes of an Islamic society.
- 5) All political activities (demonstrations, meetings, etc.) on school premises must be approved by both the Supervisory Commission and the Ministry of Interior in Tehran, or the Governors in the provinces.
- 6) At all minority schools where there is a church or a synagogue on the premises, separate entrances must be provided so that there is no interference by movement of children in religious prayers and ceremonies; nor will religious services interfere in school programs.
- 7) At minority schools, students must go to classes immediately after early morning exercises.
- 8) Holidays for minority schools should total 11 according to the directives of the High Council. These days will be announced yearly by the Supervisory Commission to the Ministry of Education Area Offices, who will in turn notify the schools officially.

H) PTA ASSOCIATIONS

Parents-Teachers Associations for religious minority schools must be formed according to the regulations that govern all such associations in the country with the objective of advancing educational goals.

I) DIRECTORS FOR MINORITY SCHOOLS

Directors for minority schools are appointed on the recommendation of the Ministry of Education's Area Directors and on the approval of the Supervisory Commission. The Supervisory Commission reserves the right to change these directors when necessary.

N.B. If directors are introduced by the religious leadership of a particular minority, the Ministry of Education can select the most suitable candidate according to regulations and qualifications. Responsibilities of directors at these schools shall be the same as those of national schools.

J) TEACHERS FOR EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Teachers for extra-curricular activities are appointed by Area Directors of the Ministry of Education, as in national schools. In selecting these teachers for minority schools, the Prime Minister's instructions are as follows:

Candidates must be:

- 1) Faithful followers of the Imam and genuine believers in the Jurisprudence.
- 2) Knowledgeable and aware of the social and political affairs of the revolutionary society of Iran.
- 3) Acquainted with the culture of the minorities and respectful of them.
- 4) Exercisers of Islamic patience in contacts and association with non-Moslems.

Such teachers do not have the right to spread or promote Islamic beliefs in these schools.

Teachers for extra-curricular activities at these schools must participate in orientation sessions organized by the Supervisory Commission to acquaint them with the culture of the minorities.

The Supervisory Commission must outline the responsibilities of these teachers, and through the Area Offices of the Ministry of Education advise them of same.

K) METHODS OF DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTBOOKS FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITY SCHOOLS (Common Secth)

According to Circular 3974/JT dated (September 1984), the Textbooks Printing & Distribution Department of the Ministry of Education requested all minority schools to submit a breakdown of their enrollment - which they have undoubtedly submitted. However, for information, listed below are the methods of distribution of textbooks for forthcoming years. /Deleted/

L) EXAMINATIONS FOR COURSES OF RELIGIOUS MINORITY STUDIES

As for all other students, examinations for the first, second and third semesters of students of religious minorities will follow the regulations stipulated by the High Council. However, as there are special minority schools, as well as students of respective minorities who attend national schools - and because of the Common and Special religious textbooks used by these students for the religious course - it is necessary to note the following:

- 1) At religious minority schools, examination results and grades for the first semester must be submitted to the school director.
- 2) Grades for religious studies courses for minority students attending national schools will be processed through the Area Departments of the Ministry of Education.
- 3) In the provinces wherever there is a sizeable number of minority students attending a national school, respective religious authorities of the minorities can organize classes after school to teach religious content. Prior approval of the Supervisory Commission is needed for such classes.

4) Second and third semester examination questionnaires will be prepared by the Area Offices of the Ministry based on textbooks in use...

Examinations schedules of religious studies courses for minority students will be designated by the Ministry as for all other subjects. Should there be any problems in this regard, please contact the secretary of the Supervisory Commission in Tehran...

(Signed)

Hossein Khoshnovisan  
Representative of the  
Minister of Education at the  
Supervisory Commission for  
Schools of Religious Minorities

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH

DIRECTIVES OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION HIGH COUNCIL

...

In executing the directives drawn up at the 217th meeting of the High Council of the Ministry of Education which states that no student is exempt from religious studies - and considering that students receive credit for these courses - lay-outs and contents of textbooks for these subjects were drawn up by the Research and Program Department of the Ministry of Education and approved by the High Council. They are as follows:

- 1) According to Article 15 of the State Constitution which specifies that textbooks must be in the Farsi language, all material used for religious studies by the minorities must follow this law and be published in the Farsi language.
- 2) Religious studies textbooks for minorities must include what is common among all G-dly religions - i.e.: belief in G-d, Afterlife, and Universal Prophets.

If these basic principles are not correctly taught and established, then ethics and worship will not be effective. Therefore, textbooks must be in two sections:

Section 1 should cover belief in G-d, Afterlife and Universal Prophets; and Section 2 should include material on particular prophets; ethics, specific beliefs, and religious content for each respective minority.

- 3) As there is common belief in all G-dly religions - namely, belief in one G-d, Afterlife and Universal Prophets - textbooks for religious studies prepared by the Ministry of Education have met the approval of the respective religious leaders of the minorities; these books will be used - with minor corrections by each respective minority when necessary - as the first part of all religious studies for minorities.
- 4) Since textbooks for the second part are particular to each religion, such textbooks must be written and published by the respective minorities themselves. Contents of the textbooks for specific studies are at the discretion of religious authorities of each respective minority, and the Ministry will not interfere provided they do not contradict with the policies of education in the Islamic Republic.
- 5) In Section II - specific studies - wherever it is necessary to specify a term in the original language for the purpose of avowing or testimony, it is permitted to do so provided a Farsi translation is also included.

Drafts of textbooks for religious studies for the Jews, Zoroastrians and Christians were approved at the 260th session of the High Council of the Ministry of Education and should become effective.

Seyed Ali Akbar Parvaresh  
/Past/ Minister of Education

TRANSLATION

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
TEHRAN H.Q.

In the name of Allah .

To: Ministry of Education Departments for Areas 6, 7 and 12

In reply to your letter...(February 24, 1985) to the Supervisory Council for Jewish Schools, attached please find photocopy of text for "Morning Prayers" recited by Jewish students at schools designated for this Minority.

This text was approved at the meeting of (April 6, 1985) of the Council.  
Please mention the aforementioned schools.

(Signed)

Hossein Khoshnovisan  
Director-General for Education  
Tehran Province

April 6, 1985

(N.B. Every morning the Shemah Israel, etc., followed by prayers for Khomeini and the Government, must be recited by all students attending Jewish schools.)



اسرائیل تدوین و تنظیم کرده اند بلکه صهیونیستها برای همه یهودیان جهان هم نقشه های دورودرازی کشیده اند. بررسی مجموع این کوششها برای دانستن ماهیت ضدبشری صهیونیسم لازم است و رشد معلم در نظر دارد با استفاده از تحقیقی که «عارف توفیق عطاری» نویسنده عرب در این زمینه کرده است نکات جالبی را تقدیم خوانندگان کند.

در این شماره قسمت اول این تحقیق را خواهید خواند که در آن نقشه های صهیونیستها برای یهودیان خارج از اسرائیل توضیح داده شده و روشن کرده است که چگونه عمال اسرائیل، سعی دارند از یهودیان کشورهای جهان، صهیونیستهای نژاد پرست باب دندان استعمار و استکبار تربیت کنند.

واکنش این شما و این هم یکی از توطئه های صهیونیستی:

### اهداف

در نظر صهیونیستها هر فرد یهودی که در دیاسپورا (محل زندگی یهودیان در خارج از فلسطین اشغالی) زندگی می کند یا قوه یک شهروند اسرائیلی بشمار می رود و یا بعبارتی دیگر یک اسرائیلی در حال شکل گیری است که مرحله ماقبل اسرائیلی شدن را می گذراند. در اینجا سؤالی مطرح می شود و آن این است که صهیونیسم این فرد را به چه شکلی می خواهد در بیاورد؟ پاسخ به این سؤال در واقع



## تعلیم و تربیت صهیونیستی برای یهودیان غیر صهیونیست

در زمینه های فرهنگی و تربیتی، صهیونیستها از سویی به انواع طرق سعی کوشند که اساس موجودیت فرهنگی و اجتماعی کشورهای دور و بر خود و بلکه کل جهان زیر سلطه را تخریب کنند- آنچه که در زمان شاه در ایران می گذشت و امروز در مصر و امثال اومی گذرد نمونه این تخریب فرهنگی است- و از سوی دیگر نه فقط برنامه های خاصی برای داخل کشور

اگر خطر اسرائیل محدود می شد به خطر نظامی یک کشور تجاوزگر، چندان اهمیتی نداشت و حائز آن ارزش نبود که این همه مبارزه و معارضه با آن سازمان داده شود. اما اسرائیل جزئی از موجودیت جهانی صهیونیسم است که در همه ابعاد نظامی، سیاسی و اقتصادی فرهنگی و در سطحی بین المللی آثار رنکاسی را در جهان امروز به وجود است.



Translation

Article from first issue of Roshd Moalem, Scholastic Year 1984/1985.

(This is a monthly magazine published under the patronage of the Ministry of Education and circulated nationwide among teachers and educational institutions.)

ZIONIST EDUCATION FOR NON-ZIONIST JEWS

If the danger of Israel was limited only to a military danger, then it would not have been worth all this struggle, fighting and opposition to contain it. However, Israel is only a part of a worldwide Zionist conspiracy that seriously threatens all spheres - military, political, economic, and cultural - on an international level.

Zionists have strived to control and destroy the social and cultural foundations of neighbouring countries and the whole world. What took place under the Shah in Iran and what is taking place in countries like Egypt are examples of such destruction. The Zionists have not only drawn up special plans for Israel, but also have organized long-term international plans for world Jewry.

To appreciate the inhumanity of the Zionists, a careful consideration of their plans is necessary. Roshd Moalem intends to do this by presenting to its readers the study made by the Arab writer, Aref Towfiq Atari.

This extract reviews Zionist stratagem for Jews outside Israel. The study clarifies how agents of Israel attempt to train Jews to become racists to colonize and oppress.

And now we expose one of the Zionist conspiracies:

OBJECTIVES

Zionists believe that each Jew in the Diaspora is a potential citizen of Israel. In other words, he is considered an Israeli in the process of formation, passing through the preliminary stages of becoming a citizen. In what manner does Zionism want to shape this individual? The answer lies in the object that Jewish education pursues outside Israel.

The ultimate goal of Zionists is the immigration of all Jews to Palestine. Immigration guarantees the existence and permanence of Israel by ensuring the balance of the population in occupied Palestine to remain at a ratio of 85% Jewish to 15% Arab. Moreover, immigrants fulfill the needed manpower for populating the old and newly occupied territories.

Zionism considers the flow of immigration as a gauge of its success or failure. Success is directly proportional to the number of Jews immigrating to Israel. Without the realization of immigration, all efforts of the Zionists are futile and their objectives become unattainable.

However, despite these objectives, immigration has encountered problems and obstacles. The most significant obstacle has been that Jews in the Diaspora have not suffered tyranny and oppression. On the contrary, they attained high economic and political positions, particularly in the West.

Zionist leaders do not hide their dissatisfaction with these developments and have repeatedly alerted the Jews to this danger. They confront this perceived threat through various means, one of which is education. Their aims are:

- a) to retain Jewish identity, and
- b) to ensure that Israel remains a focal point in the life of every Jew.

The realization of these objectives should serve as a prelude to immigration to Israel.

Mordecai Bar-On, Director of Youth and Volunteers at the Jewish Agency states:

"The problem for Zionism is not that one million Jewish youths dispersed throughout the world should come to Israel in the next year or five years; the problem is for these youths to remain Jewish in the true sense of the word after twenty or thirty years, and consider themselves as Jews with an affinity to Israel to which they will eventually immigrate."

Through education, Zionism endeavours to sow the seed of non-assimilation and bind communal and individual destiny of Jews to the destiny of Israel. Zionism also tries to show contempt for Diaspora life and incite Jewish youngsters at an early age to be dissatisfied with life outside Palestine even though they may be living under the best possible conditions. They persuade them that life in the Diaspora is impossible and to prove their claims, they put forth persecutions and massacres that Jews have encountered throughout history. To support this issue, they cite incidents under Nazi rule which they exaggerate and thus develop in the conscience of the Jews the complex of the Holocaust.(1)

The Jewish educational system encourages Jews to immigrate to Palestine not only by means of emphasizing the negative aspects of life in the Diaspora, but also by means of motivating and stimulating them emotionally towards establishing their homeland in Palestine and populating occupied territories and strengthening the Zionist State.

Therefore, a Jew finds himself at a crossroad. Either he immigrates to Palestine or continues living in an induced state of anxiety involving fear of mass annihilation, tyranny, and oppression, as well as bearing the guilt of not adhering to his national and religious obligation in supporting a Jewish State.

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(1) Papers and documents have proved that Zionist movements have exercised rough action to instigate Jews to go to Israel. For example, Kastner, who was one of the leaders of the Zionistic State at its establishment, participated in the mass killing of Jews in Hungary. Records also prove that Zionist agents were responsible for the five bombs that exploded in the Jewish quarters in Iraq to force the Jews to emigrate to Palestine.

The responsibilities of Jewish education in the Diaspora are to manifest visions of a State and Zionism in the conscience of Jewish youth and make them understand that the mightiest revolution in history is in process in Israel. Therefore, Jewish youth should attach their life to the life of the nation and the State of Israel.

#### EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Heading Jewish educational institutions in the Diaspora are the Jewish schools. Zionists have endeavored to establish a network of Jewish schools throughout the world. For example, in the U.S. one can find three types of schools:

1. Sunday schools
2. Evening classes
3. Full day schools

According to 1966 statistics, in the U.S. 555,000 Jewish children were attending Jewish schools: afternoon classes - 44%; Sunday schools - 42%; Full day schools - 14%.

In 1972, the number of Jewish students receiving Jewish education was 80% of the total Jewish school population. There is also a Jewish university, the Yeshiva University, in the United States. Outside the U.S. for example, in Buenos Aires alone, there are 48 day schools and night schools at primary and intermediary levels. Efforts are also in progress to open a Hebrew university on the model of the Yeshiva University.

In South Africa, Jewish schools have 6,000 students registered, and this represents approximately 30% of all South African students.

In Iran, before the Revolution, 10,753 Jewish students were studying at Jewish schools throughout the country. These schools were supervised by various organizations such as the Anjoman Ganje Marafat and Doostan Israel. These organizations enjoyed the protection of the American government, the Shah's government, and Israel. These schools had 250 teachers, most of whom were Iranian Jews. There were also some teachers sent in by Jewish organizations from abroad, and some of these teachers were trained at Teachers' Seminars in Israel.

The program of Jewish schools in the Diaspora includes summer camps for teaching language and Jewish studies. At the present time, current events related to Israel are to be introduced to the curriculum as a basic subject of the curriculum.

These schools throughout their curriculum try to manifest Zionistic concepts in the children and nurture the students' affiliation with Israel and participation in the war for Israel's existence.

Furthermore, they also expand the political, economic, social and educational affiliation among Jews and preserve their culture to avoid assimilation. That is why Israel sends teachers to supplement the Diaspora teachers who are trained in Israel. Also in some countries like Mexico and Brazil, classes are conducted by Israeli teachers.

The obstacles in the proper functioning of these schools are: indifference of parents; shortage of skilled and efficient teachers; and the pressure of homework, particularly if the students attend a non-Jewish school. Additional problems facing Jewish schools are competition with extracurricular activities such as music, dance, etc., and general lack of support. Further, to the problems mentioned above, some parents abhor these schools because in their view they symbolize a return to ghetto life.

Parallel to the activities of the schools, the synagogues play a significant role in the promotion of Jewish education. Through religious sermons they solidify the union of the Jews to Palestine and they encourage them to emigrate. Synagogues also publish books and articles, arrange educational camps, establish centers for adult education, set programs for home studies, and organize scouting camps.

#### YOUTH CLUBS

Zionist leaders have perceived that their religion, particularly in present times, is not an effective element to attract Jewish youth. They have also perceived that Jewish schools on their own are not sufficient means to realize Zionism's goals. Therefore, since a long time ago, they have taken steps to initiate Jewish youth organizations to fulfill the role of educating Jewish youth.

One of the main activities of these organizations is organizing youth camps at various seasons - particularly in the summer. The purpose of these camps is to strengthen the Jewish identity of its participants and apprise them of their Jewish heritage. Another objective of these camps is to affiliate the participants to Israel. Programs are organized in a manner to fulfill the desired objectives. These programs normally consist of performing plays, showing films and arranging lectures and seminars on historical and current events related to Jews and Jewish culture. The camps are modelled on Jewish settlements in occupied Arab lands, and throughout the duration of the camp, publications are distributed among the participants on Israel and its progress. The organizers require the participants to view service to Israel as the highest hope of every Jewish individual. To encourage participation in these camps, Jewish youth organizations give out prizes and scholarships. In some countries, among them the United States, there is a large network of community centers for Jews. Within the framework of these centers, extended social and cultural activities take place. They organize courses to teach Hebrew, show films and plays and have group singing with Israeli singers participating. According to statistics published by Jewish organizations, in 1971 the number of this type of community centers had reached 3,000.

#### THE MEDIA

It is normal that a number of Jews are not associated with schools, gatherings or youth organizations. Similarly some Jews do not frequent synagogues. Furthermore, a non-Jewish cultural environment conflicts with the interests and activities of Jewish educational institutions. Under such conditions the role of the media as an educational tool becomes indisputable. The Zionist movement, to benefit from mass communication, set up radio stations in some countries to supplement their total control over the general media. For example, in Brazil there are two active Jewish radio stations: one broadcasts in Hebrew and the other in Brazilian (Portuguese).

There also is a Jewish radio station in Uruguay. In Occupied Palestine there is a special broadcasting station "Voice of Zion" that broadcasts for Jews across the world. This station broadcasts in different languages and their programs are mostly directed to countries that discourage Jewish educational activities.

Zionist political circles pay a lot of attention to the press and the role of Jewish journalism which combats assimilation and strengthens ties between the Jews and Israel.

\* \* \* \* \*

With the hope of annihilating Israel as soon as possible, Moslem countries will rid themselves from this dangerous cancer, and the oppressed people of the world will eliminate a deceitful and treacherous enemy. Perhaps the non-Zionist Jews of the world will also be liberated from the conspiracies of this germ of deceit, corruption and destruction. Allah willing.



# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE

**ajc**

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

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

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Aug. 1... The American Jewish Committee today expressed "profound sadness" at the death of Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, calling him "a leading architect of the interreligious and ecumenical movement that has strengthened mutual respect and understanding between Christians and Jews."

In a statement, the human relations agency recalled that Dr. Blake had spoken at its 60th anniversary meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1966.

The statement, signed by Howard I. Friedman, President; Dr. David M. Gordis, Executive Vice President; Rabbi A. James Rudin, Interreligious Affairs Director, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, International Relations Director, follows:

"We note the death of Dr. Eugene Carson Blake with profound sadness. He was an ardent and eloquent champion of human rights, and was one of the leaders of the historic 1963 March on Washington. Dr. Blake was a leading architect of the interreligious and ecumenical movement that has strengthened mutual respect and understanding between Christians and Jews. As the Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church, the President of the National Council of Churches, and the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Blake worked closely with the American Jewish Committee. We still remember with deep appreciation his address at our 60th anniversary meeting in Washington, D.C. We shall miss Dr. Blake's wise counsel and strong leadership. We extend our heartfelt sympathies to his family in the hour of their loss."

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.

85-960-152

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel  
South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

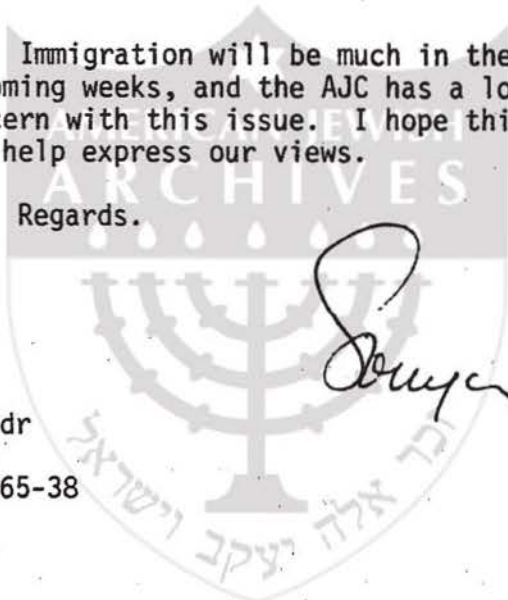
**date** Aug. 1, 1985  
**to** Area Directors  
**from** Sonya F. Kaufer  
**subject** NEEDED: A SOUND IMMIGRATION POLICY

Immigration will be much in the news in upcoming weeks, and the AJC has a long-standing concern with this issue. I hope this op-ed can help express our views.

Regards.



sfk/dr  
att.  
85-965-38



# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE **VIEWPOINT**

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

## NEEDED: A SOUND IMMIGRATION POLICY

After several false starts, Congress is once again turning its attention to immigration, and both the Senate and the House are considering new bills to revamp American immigration law.

There is urgent need to develop a coherent policy on this subject soon. The last three Congresses have tried and failed to pass such legislation; and while the lawmakers have argued, the general public has become more and more confused.

The issue has been debated long enough. This nation's role as a haven for the oppressed has been our pride for centuries; and newcomers to our shores have enriched us immeasurably, culturally, socially and economically. Our doors must remain open to refugees and others seeking freedom and opportunities in our land, but people must enter our country through legal channels.

If the flow of undocumented aliens is not stemmed, demands will grow for a cutback in all immigration. So the challenge for Congress is to come up with a new and balanced immigration law that will bar illegal border-hopping without pulling in our welcome mat. It's not an easy task but it has to be met -- and soon -- if we are to uphold our proud tradition.





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Date August 9, 1985

FROM: Inge Lederer Gibel

TO: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
For your information.



165 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** August 9, 1985  
**to** AJC Nairobi Delegation  
**from** Inge Lederer Gibel  
**subject**

Several weeks have gone by since I returned to the office and most of you must now also be back from Nairobi. This seems like a good time to thank you for the lovely necklace and to send you some items that may be of interest.

(1) Just as I returned to the office a mailing was being prepared for our Board of Governors. The enclosed memorandum, which was prepared at the request of David Gordis for distribution to the Board, should be of interest to you, if you have not already received it.

(2) Our post-Nairobi press release is also enclosed for your information.

(3) Your area directors should have received copies of both these pieces and I hope you are working with her/him on local publicity which, in turn, I hope you will share with us, the results of which, in turn, we will share with you. Wonderful results so far from Idelle Rabin, Ruth Septe, and Susie Elson.

(4) Finally, I asked Carole Phillips to write a letter to Jim Rudin and myself explaining her response to some of the problems and allegations regarding her service that we had to deal with in Nairobi. I am enclosing a copy without further comment, because I found it rather overwhelming but nevertheless somewhat convincing.

In case I do not write again, let me take this opportunity to wish all of you l'shana tovah; may it be a year of health, peace and growth for you and your loved ones.

ILG:en  
Enc.

#85-700-58

## NAIROBI: THE LAST OF THE DECADE OF WOMEN MEETINGS

by

Suzanne Elson, Mimi Alperin\* & Inge Lederer Gibel

### Background

In the Spring of 1984 a small committee, headed by Suzanne Elson, was appointed to look into the last of the U.N. Decade of Women meetings to be held in Nairobi in July of 1985. Because of the harsh anti-Israel rhetoric which permeated the two preceding government conferences and non-governmental forums (Mexico City, 1975; Copenhagen, 1980) concern in the Jewish community and in Israel about a repeat performance was high.

The AJC did not send a delegation or representative to Mexico or Denmark and no firm decision to participate in Nairobi was made until December 1984. At the suggestion of David Gordis, AJC Executive Vice President, a small meeting was held at Mimi Alperin's home with Suzanne Elson, some of the original committee on Nairobi, and several staff members. A decision was then taken to invite AJC women leaders from around the country to participate in such a delegation. Susie asked Mimi to co-chair this delegation with her, and Inge Lederer Gibel was asked to serve as senior staff consultant.

### Preparation and Expectation

Only a small number of Jewish women participated in the events of the past and they came as individuals and/or from a number of Jewish women's organizations. The Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Congress and NCRJC had all begun, in the past three years, to organize task forces, committees and meetings planning for Nairobi. Although Committee became involved at a later date than the others, we were energized by several factors. The first was the fact that the Forum for non-governmental delegations and individuals was being planned by a group with which our Interreligious Affairs Department in general, and Inge in particular, had much experience -- leaders of the American and world Christian communities. Early on, Inge began a very fruitful contact with Dame Nita Barrow, the Convenor of the Forum, which resulted in Dame Nita's better understanding of and sympathy to the Jewish perspective as well as her willingness to participate in the well-publicized press conference at AJC headquarters just prior to the Forum, in which she promised a Forum free of the excesses of the past.

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\*Mimi is unreachable on vacation and has not seen this report, although we believe it captures the essence of our joint experience.

The second factor was outstanding lay leadership present in the delegation, the largest American Jewish presence in Nairobi, women representing AJC's Board of Governors, chapter presidents and activists, Commission chairpeople and professional women of major stature.

The third factor we believe responsible for the excellence of AJC's preparation for Nairobi was a realistic attitude, free of hysteria, about the minimum and maximum that we could hope to achieve there. The minimum, as expressed by David Gordis, was "damage control," holding back further erosion in non-Jewish attitudes toward Zionism, Israel and the Jewish people. The maximum realistic goal was to establish a positive AJC presence, both as a leadership group in the Jewish community and on the ground in Nairobi, promoting our views on a wide range of women's issues. Toward this end, Inge and Ken Bandler, who provided additional staff support from the International Affairs Department, attended planning meetings with NJCRAC and ADL and participated in a one-day conference at AJC Congress.

Materials shared in half a dozen mailings to the Nairobi delegation covered all aspects of our Jewish, Israel-related and feminist concerns. A special one-day briefing at AJC headquarters on April 30, chaired by Suzie and Mimi and attended by almost all members of the delegation, included addresses by Alan Keyes, U.S. representative to the UN Economic and Social Council, Sol Nahon, an NGO representative to the UN from the International Alliance of Women and the Rev. Joan Campbell, assistant general secretary of the Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism of the National Council of Churches, as well as remarks by Sidney Liskofsky about the special report on Palestinian women in the territories, sponsored by the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, and made available to the delegation and other Jewish organizations, prior to departure. This document, incidentally, was also shared with the official American and Israeli delegations, who praised it highly.

The April 30 meeting also allowed time for a presentation by Inge, whose work in the Interreligious Affairs Department has focused on the women's ecumenical movement and Israel/Middle East issues, and an opportunity for the delegation to learn something about each member. Suzie, Mimi and Inge all expressed the strong conviction that based on the best information available, there would be strong support from the African and Kenyan governments and women -- representing at least half of the total group of 12,000 at the Forum -- that the Palestinian issue would not dominate the proceedings as it had in the past and that it was important for Jewish women going to Nairobi to convey their concerns as feminists and women, not only as Jews. As well, in meetings with other Jewish organizations, and American and Israeli government officials, we made clear our position that the "bottom line" was any comparison of Israel with the apartheid regime of South Africa or Zionism with racism. This incidentally, after some initial disagreement from some sources within the Jewish community, became the basis for the tactics and strategy followed in Nairobi by the collective Jewish presence.

### On The Ground In Nairobi

The AJC delegation met daily in Nairobi and met as well with the Jewish caucus. Mimi represented AJC on the steering committee set up by the Caucus on its second day of meeting. The caucus, incidentally, met in the Jewish community center of Nairobi, in back of the synagogue, and convenient to the University of Nairobi where most Forum meetings took place. Since the synagogue was in poor repair and the hospitality of the JCC was most helpful, AJC was among several Jewish members of the caucus that donated money at the end of the Forum toward some improvements.

The expectations which we had taken to Nairobi and encouraged in other parts of the community were not disappointed. Although among the one thousand or more workshops that took place in the almost two weeks of the Forum there were ten percent or so that were clearly confrontational or capable of becoming so (both on Middle East and on apartheid questions, and in the sense both of anti-Israel and anti-American attitudes, some expressed vitriolically), we believe that the Forum was overall a huge success, covering every conceivable problem of women in the world today (with perhaps the glaring exception of women oppressed under totalitarian regimes of the left). We were pleased that most African women did not allow their problems to be ignored while pro-PLO forces (some of the worst being Christians from Western Europe) wasted all their time denouncing Israel. The Kenyan press was clearly interested in playing down the former and focusing on problems of the continent. It should also be said that Jewish veterans of Copenhagen, who had predicted a disaster and for years prepared the community for the worst possible scenario were part of the problem. They were often antagonistic to our strategy of publicly expressing confidence in Dame Nita's leadership and the role of African self-interest, and confused about the vast difference between the non-governmental Forum and the governmental Conference but admitted at the end of the Forum that the AJC predictions had indeed been on target, the good far outweighing the bad.

The AJC delegation was large enough so that many different agency and personal/professional interests could be pursued. In addition, AJC scored two success stories with both Jewish and non-Jewish delegates. The first, a Shabbat service, written and led by Jane Wishner, in cooperation with Chuckie Holstein, with readings by AJC and other Jewish leaders, was held at the Karibu Center for about 85 people, including American, African and European delegates.

Secondly, a workshop on Women of Faith -- at a Forum where average workshop participation numbered about fifty or sixty people -- drew over 100 women from all over the world and had to be moved at the last moment to a much larger room (through the good on-the-spot efforts of Idelle Rabin). The Women of Faith project, based on the highly effective Task Force on Women of Faith in the 80's of which Mimi and Inge have been leaders, was chaired by Mimi and had as its subject "How Religion Impacts on Women; How Women Can Impact on Religion." Sister Theresa Kane, the Rev. Elizabeth Scott and Inge made presentations, followed by dialogue with the audience.

An unusual aspect of the Women of Faith Workshop was the presence of four PLO-related women who challenged Inge's remarks about Jewish peoplehood and the Covenant, the people and the land. Inge's response, that she respected every people's right to self-determination and therefore expected Palestinians to understand and respect that Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people received loud applause from almost all present, after which Mimi firmly ruled that there would be no further extraneous political discussion. The Palestinian delegation left shortly thereafter. A Jewish woman leader from Europe got up and gave tearful testimony that AJC's contribution at the Forum, through the Shabbat service and the Women of Faith workshop, was an enormous high point, and African and Western Christian women agreed.

Again, in closing, we must stress the very helpful role of Dame Nita Barrow. The Daily Nation, one of Kenya's English language dailies, described, on July 20, Dame Nita's role in a demonstration held on the campus as the Forum was drawing to a close. "A demonstration against apartheid, Israel and U.S. intervention in Nicaragua...was interrupted by Dame Nita Barrow, who ordered that placards that would divide the women should be discarded. Those which called for 'No to Zionism' should be withdrawn, she said."

"I am with you so long as we are calling for peace. When one speaks against another, we are divided. I am not going to be part of anything that will hurt another woman here," she said."

The AJC delegation, like all others, braved the terrible dilemma created by a shortage of hotel rooms, with the Kenyan government threatening to evict Forum delegations at class A and B hotels to make way for Government delegations. With a lot of hard negotiating by Suzie and Inge we did manage to stay in our hotel, by quadrupling up for a number of days. Nevertheless, as was pointed out by many, this was, in the long run, a small inconvenience for what turned out to be a major AJC activity out of which we believe can come important work for the future, and about which you will be hearing more as time goes by.

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SE/MA/ILG  
D016 (IAD-2)  
July 25, 1985

AJC NAIROBI DELEGATION

Co-Leaders:

Ms. Mimi Alperin

Ms. Suzanne G. Elson

Participants:

Ms. Susan S. Askanase

Ms. Linda K. May

Ms. Meta S. Berger

Ms. Idelle Rabin

Ms. Ann Chud

Ms. Valerie Richter

Dr. Ruth B. Cowan

Ms. Bernice R. Sandler

Ms. Ruth Cowan

Ms. Lynn Hecht Schafran

Edwina Croll Davis

Ms. Ruth Septe

Ms. Wilma Friedman

Ms. Carolyn Tumarkin

Ms. Charlotte G. Holstein

Ms. Elaine Wishner

Ms. Laura O. Kornfeld

Ms. Jane Wishner

Staff:

Inge Lederer Gibel

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



# FORUM 85

Nairobi, Friday, July 19, 1985

## If women ruled the world

Radical but not revolutionary, that is probably the label best suited to women all over the world. During these delightful days at Forum '85, women have dreams of a bright future. They have also analyzed what it would be like if women really got into power.

Never would there have been a revolution with less bloodshed. Men would have nothing to fear. No bloodshed, no revenge. Only if men considered the sharing of jobs in the household as "revenge" would there be an outcry. Men in many countries have already realized that this change in power would even be of benefit to men. For example, many men are now protesting against prostitution because prostitution is also degrading for men. And many realize that by sharing the work and responsibility for childcare they share in an immense human experience.

There are apparently two main attitudes towards women ruling the world. One, perhaps major, trend is that women would be able to co-operate regardless of their general political view. Here the word "general" means the basis of present society which these groups of women consider to be manmade and which has to be replaced by a general feminist philosophy.

The other main group define themselves as socialists, conservatives, communists or whatever, and consider this general political attitude to be the most important.

The great argument against any prospects of change in politics "if women ruled the world" certainly is the fact that women prime ministers have not fundamentally changed politics.

They have been as much male politicians as men are. This is not as illogic as many claim. Many women who have experiences to be just one woman in a board or steering committee dominated by men have experienced how difficult and discouraging it is to work for their view. But whenever you get a broader milieu equality is within reach.

People will not be able to agree whether the world would be better ruled by women. Women don't even aspire to rule the world. They want to share in ruling it with men.

The long tradition of women working for peace and not taking part in war should be a good enough reason to believe that this sharing of responsibility would also mean a more peaceful world.

—B.W.

## FORUM 85 will go on

Today Forum '85 will come to an end. Nine days of friendship, fantastic vitality, ideas and discussions will be over. Today will see Forum participants saying sorrowful farewells to each other.

But even after the Forum participants have left Nairobi, FORUM 85 newspaper will continue. Our attention will switch to the United Nations conference and we will aim to communicate to delegates the Forum's message to the UN.

We think it is important to do this so that the Conference understands how very important it is to bring about reforms for women.

We thank all Forum 85 participants for their overwhelming interest in FORUM 85 newspaper and for the enormous number of letters we have received. They have made our newspaper very lively. We are only sorry that we had to cut so many letters for reasons of space. However we have tried our best to bring to you the spirit of the letters.

Thank you for your contributions. Forum '85 has certainly been the event of the century.

—B.W.

## A blot on humankind

The disgraceful system of Apartheid is condemned without exception by every nation of the world except the one practising it. To confine human beings into pens like animals under a policy of "separate development" on the basis of race is an affront to humanity, especially when the people so treated comprise the majority in their own land.

South Africa's infamous racism disturbs the conscience of the world, it is a violation of the United Nations Human Rights Charter and of every principle of civilised society.

Apartheid has been strongly castigated by the world's people — the Non-Governmental Organisations gathered at Forum 85. At the official Conference also almost every delegate has protested against it. Why then are we unable to erase this curse of humankind?

For distinguished speakers to make statements from platforms is not enough, their countries must give practical demonstration of disapproval. Can the world's women bring pressure and succeed in eradicating Apartheid where the men have failed?

M.H.

## Denunciation should stop

Nadia Hijab is correct — there is "good" politics, and women's issues are universal issues, therefore, by definition, political.

It is, however, not "good" politics to urge that a major theme of the Forum should be the continuous denunciation of Israel. First of all, if we are truly here to be a force for peace, compassionate dialogue would be more constructive than denunciation.

Secondly, as has been demonstrated in many workshops and other meetings, by members of Jewish and Israeli delegations to the Forum, the progressive Zionist voices calling for compromise and mutual understanding of each people's legitimate rights in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, denunciation is not helpful to strengthening the voices of peace.

Finally, neither Israelis nor Palestinians are the centre of the universe just now, whichever group we belong to or sympathise with.

The continuous focus on denouncing one nation and one conflict is at best moral myopia and at worst hypocritical and destructive.

Inge Lederer Gibel  
USA.



# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE

**aje**

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Aug. 2 .... Even though anti-Israel posturing, "knee jerk" anti-Americanism, and Soviet manipulation were all present at the recently concluded United Nations Decade of Women meetings in Nairobi, Kenya, "there were many positive results", according to Inge Lederer Gibel, the American Jewish Committee's Interreligious Program Associate.

Ms. Gibel was the senior staff consultant for the twenty-one member AJC delegation, the largest American Jewish group that was present in Nairobi. Suzanne Elson of Atlanta, the AJC's Women's Issues Chairperson, and Mimi Alperin of New York City, the AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission Chairperson, were the co-leaders of the delegation.

"Nairobi was very different in both spirit and substance from the earlier U.N. meetings in Mexico City (1975) and Copenhagen (1980). Those were dominated by extremist rhetoric that was destructive of the U.N. Decade's goals," Ms. Elson and Ms. Alperin asserted. "Forum '85, the non-governmental meeting in Nairobi, was a huge plus for the women of the world despite the efforts of a small minority of the participants to blame all the problems of the world on the United States and Israel. The overwhelming majority of the 12,000 women present, representing over 150 countries, and all the religions of the world, simply refused to be diverted from the three goals of the Decade: equality, development, and peace," the AJC leaders declared.

Ms. Elson and Ms. Alperin added: "We believe the positive momentum of the Forum carried over to the governmental meeting, and helped produce a final document that was free of any explicit anti-Zionist or anti-Israel language."

Ms. Gibel paid special tribute to the "magnificent efforts" of Dame Nita Barrow of Barbados, the Forum's Convenor: "Dame Nita made a difference in preventing another 'Copenhagen'. She was aided in this effort by many Third World women, especially those from Africa."

Rabbi A. James Rudin, the AJC's National Interreligious Affairs Director, said: "The Committee's many programs that build positive interreligious and inter-group relationships paid dividends on the ground in Nairobi. Ms. Gibel's work with the Christian community, particularly her leadership role in the Women's Interreligious Dialogue on the Middle East and the Task Force on Women of Faith in the 80s, sensitized and alerted many Christian leaders to issues of

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

CSAE 1707

Jewish concern. It was encouraging to see women from all over the world concentrating their energies and talents on the real issues, and not being deflected by a cheap scapegoating of the U.S. and Israel."

While in Nairobi, the AJC delegation conducted a Women of Faith workshop that attracted a large audience. The workshop was chaired by Ms. Alperin, and featured Sister Theresa Kane of Washington, D.C., the past president of the Sisters of Mercy; the Rev. Elizabeth Scott of New York City, the Director of the National Council of Churches' Office of Justice for Women, and Ms. Gibel. The AJC also conducted a Sabbath service that was led by Jane Wishner of San Francisco and assisted by AJC Vice President Charlotte Holstein of Syracuse, N.Y.

"One of the saddest sights of Nairobi were the dissident Iranian women who had recently escaped from the Ayatollah Khomeini's harsh regime, a regime that is oppressing their sisters. Sad also were the Iraqi and Iranian women, always accompanied by their male protectors, who bitterly criticized one another throughout the conference," the AJC leaders declared. "But overall we achieved a great success at Nairobi, and these gains bode well for the women's movement both here and overseas."

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

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August 2, 1985/smm





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August 07, 1985

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

Dear Rabbi A. James Rudin & Ms. Gibel:

I am sorry you found MICATO in Kenya to be less than perfect in their abilities to aid you and your ladies as promptly as usual. The simple explanation is that on an almost daily basis Mr. Pinto, the Manager, to whom I guided you in event of any problems was spending a minimum of three and usually five hours a day at the United States Embassy. He worked directly with Ambassador Gerald Thomas to personally see that not one of my clients was put out of safe, comfortable and proper accommodations.

I am very proud of the fact that we are the only agency I know of who had a 100 percent protection factor. This was done at a great cost to all of us, both personally and monetarily.

Your request for clarification of our charges is simple. These costs clearly covered the exorbitant additional costs of the government and the 30% tax they included but also the multiple trips to Vienna and Kenya to secure the proper U.N. information; the constantly changing dates; and the finances involved in obtaining the unattainable.

The last minute games by the Government were abhorrent, and as you may be aware on July 13, the police entered hotel rooms throughout Nairobi and evicted NGOs. They were transferred to the university or accommodations at Lake Naivasha 2½ hours from Nairobi.

We take great pride in the quality of our services; but the manner in which the U.N. women handled the accommodation booking and work created havoc with all fourteen thousand



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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

RABBI A. JAMES RUDIN & MS. GIBEL:

AUGUST 7, 1985

Page # 2

participants and with us who were holding legitimate and proper contracts. The two months prior to your departure was a nightmare for us.

I might tell you that this office, in order to accommodate NGOs staying only 10-days had to pay the Mt Kenya Safari Club for an additional 3-nights for all rooms. I don't think anyone can say there was profit to this type of horror.... far the opposite. Rabbi and I discussed in detail my fear of your eviction and my alternate plans if you were forced into the university. The need of armed guards, jitneys and full protection would have been imperative. I thank G-d this never came about. Those evicted participants and their subsequent problems proved my worse fears.

As for Thelma Dailey, the less said the better. Simply if she was, as she said, my alleged representative she would have tried easing the way of the people involved, and doing all possible to make us look good particularly stressing the accommodation you all had vs. those given to Bella Abzug, Betty Frieden etc.

This so-called representative certainly didn't represent us. She was making every effort to break down our veracity. She was our introduction to the U.N. because she had booked some trips with us and thought we were eminently special in our abilities to perform (as per her speech in front of the U.N. people at 777 UN Plaza on November 11, 1984). Her later venom was incomprehensible as she received \$4000.00 worth of airline, hotel and other vouchers from us for this introduction.

My feeling for AJC is too deep, being former President of my synagogue and on the Board of the emergency committee at UJA as well as the Simon Weisenthal Association. I know the work your people do, and have too much respect for you to be less



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RABBI A. JAMES RUDIN & MS. GIBEL:

AUGUST 7, 1985

Page # 3

than totally honest and aboveboard.

Thank you for being the lady you are and for your understanding of the problems inherent in the situation.

Cordially,

Carole Phillips  
For  
CERTIFIED TRAVEL CONSULTANTS, INC.



# ISRAELI PRESS HIGHLIGHTS

A REVIEW OF WEEKEND NEWSPAPERS  
by the Israel Office of The American Jewish Committee

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

## FEAR OF MORMON PROSELYTIZING IN JERUSALEM

(Press Summary - August 18, 1985)

Brigham Young University, which is owned and operated by the Mormon Church, is currently constructing a Middle East Study Center as an extension of its campus on Jerusalem's Mount Scopus. Since mid-May, opposition to its construction has become a major issue within Israel's ultra-Orthodox community, who fear the Center will become a base for missionary activity. Interestingly enough, the Mormon Church obtained approval to begin construction, as well as support for the project, from the Foreign Ministry and the Education Ministry at a time when they were headed by Herut's Yitzhak Shamir and the National Religious Party's Zevulun Hammer, respectively. Final approval was also given by the Ministry of Interior, headed in the Begin government by the NRP's Yosef Burg.

The belated opposition has been spearheaded by the Yad L'Achim (Hand to Brothers) organization, a body which was established to monitor and combat Christian proselytizing in Israel, which Orthodox Jews consider especially threatening. Until recently, Yad L'Achim had little success in winning general press coverage or support for its anti-missionary campaigns. In this case, however, it scored its first success by enlisting the advocacy of the chairman of the Knesset Interior Affairs Committee, MK Dov Shilansky of Likud, who has stated that Mormon guarantees not to engage in missionary activity contradict "a principle part of their belief," namely, "their mission." He has also called the Municipality of Jerusalem "criminally negligent" for allowing the Mormons to build a Jerusalem campus in the first place. While acknowledging the "sympathetic attitude that the Mormons show towards Israel," Shilansky asserted that "if they really loved Israel it would be better that they not open fresh and painful wounds in the Jewish people here." (Erev Shabbat, June 14)

A massive prayer rally in opposition to the Mormon center was held at the Western Wall three days before Tisha Be'Av, with approximately 30,000 people including both of Israel's Chief Rabbis in attendance. Commenting on the demonstration in its Tisha Be'Av edition (July 21), the National Religious Party's Hatzofe (The Observer) wrote in its editorial:

...Rabbis, yeshiva heads, and masses of Jews from all walks of life participated in the protest prayer meeting at the Western Wall to express their protest against the stabbing of the mission's talons into our country by subterfuge. The government, the Jerusalem Municipality, and the leaders of world Jewry must bring about the cessation of the construction

of the Mormon center. It is inconceivable that Israeli and Jewish bodies should lend a hand to abetting the danger of the mission in Israel.

Although opposition to the Mormon center is being highlighted in the competing press of the fragmented Orthodox community, there has not been much of an echo to this agitation in the general secular press. Ma'ariv, Davar, and The Jerusalem Post have carried background features that have been either balanced or supportive of the Mormon project.

Binyamin Galai of Ma'ariv wrote on June 7:

...Why all the hysteria, the frantic fear which overtakes us at the sight of a few Mormons? On what basis do we demand of them, of all people, a written guarantee -- a writ of discrimination, in fact -- not to turn the campus into a sort of showroom for the Gospel? We permit every sect or faith -- Catholics, Protestants, Armenians, Greek Orthodox -- to establish theological seminaries here. But only these friends of Israel are to be subject of suspicion? Is the People of the Torah...afraid of a school -- not a church -- which seeks to bring Christian hearts closer to us? Have we so little faith in the light of Judaism, the fire of the Torah?

Ya'acov Rabi wrote in a similar vein in Al Hamishmar of July 19: "Any fear of any mission whatsoever, in the sovereign State of Israel, at the end of the 20th century, is a matter of profound shame...."

The Jerusalem Post has been the most outspoken in its support for the Mormon project. In its July 21 editorial entitled "Fear of Bogeys," it asserted that

...Just as Kach (the political party of Rabbi Meir Kahane) has stirred up irrational anxieties about the internal Arab threat at a time when Israel has never been stronger, so the religious establishment, going from strength to strength, would stir up fears about missionary activity.

Summing up a report on a visit to the Mormon centers in Salt Lake City and Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah the Post's Yosef Goell wrote on June 7:

There is no doubt that Mormonism is an aggressively proselytizing movement. But all evidence points to the fact that their internal discipline has been more than sufficient to impose effective constraints on the well over 1,000 Mormon students who have passed through Jerusalem in recent years. There is thus every reason to accept in good faith the current Mormon commitment against engaging the missionary activity....

The Mormon Church proclaims itself a supporter of Israel. There is no reason to reject that hand of friendship. Indeed, accepting it would be a good exercise in schooling ourselves in the openness that should characterize a self-confident people again established in its homeland....

The growing opposition in Israel has moved the Mormon Church to send high-level delegates to Israel, including Elder Howard Hunter, a leading member of the church's governing body. On August 8, Hatzofe reported that Brigham Young University President Jeffrey Holland had signed a document at the Jerusalem Municipality in which he undertook that the Mormon center being built on Mount Scopus would refrain from all missionary activity. Mr. Holland also announced that he would send a similar document of undertaking to MK Dov Shilansky, chairman of the Knesset Interior Affairs Committee and a leading opponent of the project.

Nevertheless, Yad L'Achim spokesman Moshe Dan has announced that protest actions would continue with the aim of halting further construction of the Mormon center. He pointed out that the document signed with the Jerusalem Municipality indicated that the center would be used for "religious purposes" as well as for education. According to Mr. Dan, "When you talk about Mormons, religious purposes can only mean missionary activity."

In an editorial in The Jerusalem Post on August 16, Yosef Goell argues that the fear of Mormon proselytizing in Israel is unfounded. The fact of the matter, according to Goell, is that the Mormon Church "has not converted, nor attempted to convert, one Jew during its 18-year presence in Israel."

\* \* \*

(Edited by Harry Milkman)



From the desk of **JOHN PAWLIKOWSKI**

Marc,

For your information...

P.S. On another matter, I am to respond to your presentation at Notre Dame in late October. I shall be in Israel from October 7-17 and have several NOSTRA AETATE celebrations right after my return. So if you could get your paper to me before I leave for Israel I would greatly appreciate it. Thanks.

*Sonits afun*

Office of the M.A. Director

21 August 1985

TO: Rollins Lambert, United States Catholic Conference,  
and Sjeff Donders, Africa Faith & Justice Network

FROM: John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M., Servite Representative,  
AFJN

RE: South Africa

I would like to raise two points. The first is my strong belief that the Catholic religious leadership, including the USCC, needs to publicly take issue with Rev. Fawell's remarks yesterday. They cannot go unchallenged. And because he took a highly visible media route, something similar is called for as soon as possible. I would also recommend that attempts be made to draw support from leaders in the Protestant, Orthodox and Jewish communities.

I also believe that there needs to be a heavy lobbying effort with the Senate to insure passage of the current sanctions bill. AFJN might, for example, urge all its members to have its constituent groups make an intervention in behalf of the bill with every senator in whose state the group ministers.



Office of the M.A. Director

21 August 1985

Senator Richard Lugar  
Chairperson  
Foreign Relations Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Lugar:

I write to urge your continued support for sanctions legislation against South Africa. The recent address by the RSA State President gave no real indication of a willingness to dismantle the homelands scheme and grant Blacks their full citizenship rights. We must continue to pressure South Africa on these fundamental points if there is to be any hope at all of non-violent change in that land. And, at the moment, I know of no other way of demonstrating the seriousness of our concern to Pretoria than the sanctions legislation. Constructive engagement has made no real dent in these two fundamental elements of Apartheid.

Keep up the effort in the Senate for the sanctions bill. As one who maintains close contact with Catholic church leaders in the RSA where my Order has missions, I know that U.S. governmental pressure is welcomed by those struggling for justice despite what Rev. Fawell might say.

Sincerely yours,

*John T. Pawlikowski*  
(Rev.) John T. Pawlikowski, O.S.M., Ph.D.  
Professor of Social Ethics  
Servite Representative, Africa Faith &  
Justice Network, Washington, DC

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August 26, 1985

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

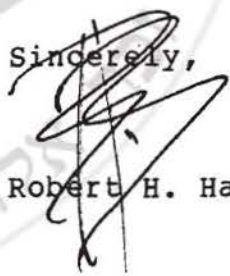
Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum  
The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Marc:

Please forgive me for the long delay, but since the middle of July I have been to Paris twice, London once and then on a brief vacation which was terminated abruptly when Mildred fell and broke her hip.

I want to tell you again how grateful we all are for your help at the wedding, and I have enclosed some evidence of our appreciation.

Sincerely,

  
Robert H. Haines

Enclosure



# The American Jewish Committee

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

September 5, 1985

The Honorable George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
U.S. State Department  
2201 C Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Shultz,

I have been meaning to write this personal letter to you for some time. During a recent trip through the Midwest, I read a number of articles describing a series of pressures and criticisms against you from "right-wing" elements, and that triggered my decision to write.

I have had the privilege of being present at a number of meetings with you attended by Jewish or interfaith leadership. I was also present when you addressed the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the Holocaust Memorial observance in the Capitol Rotunda.

I have seldom been so moved by the compassion, caring, and simple decency of any governmental leader as I have by your words.

In my capacity as Director of International Relations of the American Jewish Committee, I have been both professionally and personally concerned about East-West and North-South relations, world refugees, hunger, and development policies of our government.

In virtually every instance, I find myself identifying with your articulation of our policies. Your measured, reasoned, and balanced approach to the difficult and complex issues of international relations have stamped you in my judgment as one of the truly great Secretaries of State in the history of our nation.

I simply wanted you to know of my feelings about your role and stature in my eyes, and of my willingness to be of every possible support in standing against the extremisms in our land which distort the significance of your contribution to a strengthened America as the bastion of democracy and human rights on the international scene.

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President	ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council	DAVID M. GORDIS, Executive Vice-President
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The Honorable George P. Shultz  
September 5, 1985

If there is any way in which the American Jewish Committee or I personally can be of assistance to you in the implementation of our nation's foreign policy, I hope you will feel free to count on us as trusted allies and supporters.

Sincerely yours,



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department

AMERICAN JEWISH  
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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Monday, September 9, 1985

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Norman S. Rabb  
Bruce M. Ramer  
Julian F. Reichman  
Robert S. Rifkind  
Edward A. Ring  
Ruth L. Robinson  
Mena Rosenthal  
Herbert Schwartz  
Ruth Septee  
Mary Shapero  
Robert I. Shapiro  
Morton Siegler  
Dr. John Slawson  
Stanley W. Snider  
Steven L. Swig  
Elise D. Waterman  
Margaret Weinstock  
Maynard I. Wishner  
Maurice Zilber  
Marshall L. Zissman

Guests

Jane Abrams  
Stephen Forman  
Dorothy Gordon  
Jerome Harris  
Lynn Harris  
David Jaffe  
Robert Kargman  
Milford Loeb II  
Joseph Mann  
Stephen Miron  
Carol Siegler  
Cedric Suzman  
Carolyn Tumarkin  
Marvin Weintraub  
Merritt Yoelin

Staff

Harold Applebaum  
Shula Bahat  
Eugene DuBow  
Arthur Feuer  
George Gruen  
Milton Himmelfarb  
Irving Levine  
Yehuda Rosenman  
Gary Rubin  
A. James Rudin  
Philip Shamis  
David Singer  
Marc Tanenbaum  
William Trosten  
Marsha Turken

NOTE: David Hirschhorn's name was inadvertently omitted from the minutes of the June 24, 1985 Board of Governors meeting.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING  
Monday, September 9, 1985

Theodore Ellenoff, Presiding

SUMMARY

UPDATE ON FINANCIAL SITUATION

Howard Friedman outlined the agency's new four-point fundraising program aimed at raising \$12,900,000 during the current fiscal year, ending June 30, 1986. The four goals include extending our plate dinner schedule, encouraging chapter members to become contributors, solicitation by chapter leaders of larger gifts from members and targetting major donors to be solicited by national officers.

During the ensuing discussion, it was noted that, although a major portion of our funds come from the non-Jewish community and the Governors should continue to identify such prospects, AJC's long-term fiscal growth can only be assured by a more concentrated effort at raising funds within the Jewish community.

UPDATE ON THE FARM CRISIS: PROPOSED STRATEGIES

Rabbi James Rudin and Marcia Lazar described their recent visits to the Midwest to investigate the growing incidence of anti-Semitism in the farmbelt. During meetings with community leaders, they learned that extremist right-wing groups are making increasingly effective use of the media and the political arena to spread their message of hatred against Jews.

To combat this phenomenon, AJC's strategy includes the wide dissemination of a detailed backgrounder on the subject; a national press conference, featuring Jewish and Christian leaders and Midwestern officials, which will focus on the extremist groups responsible for spreading this hatred; a "fly-in" in Chicago to update AJC chapter leaders on the subject; and a briefing for Jewish community professionals from the areas affected.

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS IN THE AFTERMATH OF BITBURG

Milton Himmelfarb analyzed the results of AJC's recent poll on anti-Semitism in the U.S. in the aftermath of President Reagan's visit to Bitburg, and the findings confirmed AJC's belief that anti-Semitism is generally not tolerated in American society today.



### IMPLICATIONS OF NAIROBI

Suzanne Elson and Mimi Alperin reported that 21 AJC women attended the Decade of Women Forum in Nairobi, and that the overall results of that gathering were quite positive, due in part to an apparent split in the Arab ranks and the evenhanded approach of the forum convener and the Kenyan government. Suggested strategies for AJC to pursue might include strengthening our activities at the United Nations, increasing our diplomatic contacts with African nations, and initiating Black/Jewish women's dialogues.

### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Dr. David Gordis stated that plans for reorganizing the agency's program departments, fundraising and marketing techniques will shortly be submitted to the Board for discussion. As part of this restructuring, he has established a staff Research Committee to review all proposed research projects in order to insure quality control and obtain a wide range of perspectives on any study to be undertaken.

Dr. David Singer described a number of AJC research projects currently being considered or underway, including studies of Jews in the executive suite, the relationship between Evangelicals and Jews, and factors in American society which encourage anti-Semitism.

### UPDATE ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Leo Nevas reported that the International Relations Department had submitted a proposal to the administration for a White House conference on terrorism, and he noted the IRC's increased activity concerning Soviet Jewry, in light of the President's upcoming meetings with Russian leaders. He also stated that a small group of AJC officers will be visiting South Africa to investigate the current political situation and its effect on the local Jewish community.

The Governors approved a resolution on U.S. arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia. (See Appendix A.)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING  
Monday, September 9, 1985

Theodore Ellenoff, Presiding

Mr. ELLENOFF opened the meeting by lamenting the recent passing of Mervin Riseman, whose wise counsel, personal grace and warm, gentle spirit will be greatly missed. He noted Mr. Riseman's long involvement with AJC, which included serving as New York Chapter president, national secretary, vice president and Board of Governors member, and his deep commitment to the cause of human rights and to the security of Jews around the world.

Mr. ELLENOFF commented on the presence of many of the chapter presidents who had attended the past weekend's successful Hilda Katz Blaustein Chapter Presidents' Institute, where they had an opportunity to help formulate the direction in which the agency will be going and to learn more about AJC's institutional needs.

UPDATE ON FINANCIAL SITUATION

Mr. ELLENOFF then introduced Howard Friedman to report on the agency's present financial situation.

Mr. FRIEDMAN opened his remarks by stating that AJC's current budget calls for \$12,900,000 to be raised through the annual campaign. He then outlined the four-point program that has been devised to raise these funds.

The first goal of the program is to reinforce and extend our plate dinner schedule around the country, and this is currently on target, with most dinners in place for the coming year and the promise of some additional functions in a number of communities. Secondly, the chapters will be charged with the responsibility of encouraging their local members to become contributors to AJC. The third aim is for the chapters to identify the 15% of their local members who have the capacity to increase their gifts to \$1,000 per year and for chapter leaders to personally solicit these increased gifts. And fourthly, for the chapters to identify individuals in their communities (both Jewish and non-Jewish) who represent the potential for significant giving (\$20,000 and over) so that the national officers may solicit them personally.

Mr. FRIEDMAN believes that the last three points of this program are "doable" goals, while noting however, that they are not meant to replace the reliable plate dinner system now in use, but rather to complement it by raising an additional \$1-2 million dollars each year. Mr. FRIEDMAN closed by noting that the agency has also targeted \$25,000 for a trial direct-mail campaign which is currently being put into effect.

Mr. ELLENOFF opened the discussion to the floor, and Mary SHAPERO asked whether a special 80th anniversary endowment drive was being planned.

Arthur FEUER replied that the agency will be pursuing an ongoing endowment drive, but that it would not be targeted to any specific year or event.

In response to a query by Elise WATERMAN on whether the agency has plans to pursue foundation grants for some of its work, Mr. FRIEDMAN stated that specific programs are now being targeted for just this purpose.

Leo NEVAS inquired as to what group the initial direct-mail appeal was being sent, and Mr. FEUER replied that the mailing is going to a list of people who have responded in the past to such appeals from other Jewish organizations.

At the suggestion of Robert GRIES, Mr. FRIEDMAN agreed that the agency should encourage Board members to make a provision for AJC in their wills. A number of Governors also suggested that additional funds might be raised in honor or memory of Board members, and Mr. Friedman agreed that this possibility should be further explored.

Edward ELSON noted that AJC's sources of revenue have remained basically the same over the years, with a major portion of our funding coming from the non-Jewish community, and he urged the Governors to assist in identifying further prospects in the general community.

Maynard WISHNER stated that, while we do have a legitimate call on the non-Jewish community for funds, he believes our disproportionate dependency on these sources leaves the agency in an unhealthy state. He called for a major effort to increase AJC's financial support within the Jewish community.

Mr. FRIEDMAN agreed with Mr. Wishner, noting that one of the specific aims of our new fundraising program was to increase the amount of our financial support among American Jews through our direct mail campaign, our efforts to increase contributions among AJC members and our major gifts campaign.

Mr. ELLENOFF closed the discussion by stating that a new promotional piece, which is now being prepared for use in our fundraising efforts, will capture the spirit and accomplishments of AJC in a skillful and professional manner.

UPDATE ON THE FARM CRISIS AND  
ANTI-SEMITISM: PROPOSED STRATEGIES

Mr. ELLENOFF referred to the recent segment on the 20/20 television show which dealt in a rather sensational and frightening manner with anti-Semitism in

the farmbelt. He called on Rabbi James Rudin and Marcia Lazar to offer their assessment of the situation.

Rabbi RUDIN noted that, although the 20/20 segment was presented in a sensational manner, the basic content was accurate, and that reports have been coming into AJC for months on this growing phenomenon in the Midwest. He recently spent five days in Iowa, where he met with local Christian leaders, public officials, businessmen, reporters and Jewish community leaders to assess the problem. He found among the local farmers a general feeling of hostility and mistrust toward all officials above the local level and a tendency for them to blame their situation on "outsiders," who are most often considered to be Jews. This tendency has been taken advantage of by groups such as the Populist Party, who are stirring up this hatred and becoming increasingly involved in local politics. Among the more frightening groups advocating anti-Semitism is the Christian Identity movement, whose theology labels Jews as the "children of Satan," and the local Jewish leadership is extremely concerned with the situa-

tion. He noted that, in Iowa alone, approximately 1/3 of the farmers are likely to lose their farms in the coming years, and their fears make them an easy prey to such propaganda.

After his return from Iowa, Rabbi Rudin met with the members of AJC's other national program departments, and the following strategy was devised to respond to this growing problem:

- A detailed backgrounder was prepared and distributed to AJC leaders and American opinion makers.
- A press conference has been scheduled for September 20 in New York City, when Jewish and Christian leaders and local Midwestern officials will focus the attention of the national press corps on the groups responsible for spreading extremist views.
- A fly-in will take place at O'Hare Airport on September 23, which will bring together AJC leaders from all over the country for an update on the situation.
- In October, a briefing for Jewish community professionals on the farm crisis will be scheduled.

Rabbi RUDIN closed by stating that the Jewish community's strongest allies in this battle are the mainstream Christian leaders, who we are working with closely to continue the fight against extremism.

Marcia LAZAR, Chicago Chapter president, then reported on her recent visit to Wichita, Kansas with Midwest Regional Director Jonathan Levine. As a result of her visit, she shares Rabbi Rudin's apprehension about the growth of anti-Jewish extremism in the farmbelt. She met in Wichita with Jewish community leaders, Christian clergy, the media and local public officials, all of whom were very concerned about the problem. She noted particularly that many local clergymen were receiving inquiries about the theology of the Christian Identity Group, which seems to be targetting the Christian community with their propaganda. She also sensed that the local Jewish community was quite frightened about the situation. In her meeting with the Attorney General of Kansas, he expressed his frustrations about his unsuccessful attempts to legally prevent these extremist groups from broadcasting their message over the airways, and he urged the local Jewish community to become more involved in fighting this problem.

Mr. ELLENOFF commented that he views this outbreak of anti-Semitism as more serious than those of the past because of the level of political organization, the fanatical religious ideology and the sophisticated media campaigns used by the extremist groups involved. He then asked the Governors for their comments and suggestions on AJC's strategy for combatting this phenomenon.

Margaret WEINSTOCK asked if these extremist groups are becoming a factor in local elections in the Midwest, and Rabbi Rudin replied that the Populist Party is the only radical right group currently on the ballot in these areas.

Miles JAFFE commented that continuing to work closely with Christian groups throughout the country will provide AJC with the most effective method of combatting this type of extremism.

Sholom COMAY stated that the National Affairs Commission's Task Force on Extremism will be studying this phenomenon over the next few months. The NAC believes that AJC's approach must be different from that of the other Jewish defense organizations and that we must address this as a long-term problem and utilize our unique relationships with the non-Jewish community to fight such extremism.

Bruce RAMER, chair of the NAC Task Force on Extremism, noted that upcoming meetings will deal with a multitude of issues relating to the crisis in the farmbelt, including free speech, hate legislation and revisionist historians. He invited any interested Governors to attend these meetings.

Alfred MOSES stressed the importance of the Jewish community confronting the issue of anti-Semitism in the farmbelt directly, rather than relying on the general community to fight this battle for us.

Richard MAASS stated that, in addition to fighting against anti-Semitism, the Jewish community must work to convince American farmers that they are being misled and manipulated by these extremist groups.

Marc TANENBAUM noted his belief that these groups are receiving implicit support from the vision of a "Christian America" being propagated by the administration, and he suggested that we work with Senators and other political leaders from the Midwest who might want to publicly distance themselves from this view.

John LEVY suggested that AJC might use this issue in its direct mail fundraising campaign, as it is a subject which people are likely to respond to.

David GORDIS concluded the discussion by noting that the total resources of AJC are involved in our efforts to combat this problem and study its long-term connotations.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS IN THE AFTERMATH OF BITBURG

Mr. ELLENOFF next introduced Milton Himmelfarb to analyze the findings of a just-completed AJC survey on anti-Semitism in the U.S. in the aftermath of the controversy over President Reagan's visit to the Bitburg Cemetery in West Germany.

Mr. HIMMELFARB began by stating that AJC, in cooperation with the Roper Organization, surveyed over 2,000 Americans in July and that the results were generally upbeat. The findings showed that the Bitburg visit had been opposed by two-thirds of the people polled, and among the large majority that remembered the affair, 14% felt good about Reagan's decision to go to Bitburg, while 28% felt badly about it. It was found that those who supported the Bitburg visit did so out of a desire for a gesture of conciliation between the U.S. and West Germany, and not from anti-Jewish motives, and that these people were generally among the more well-educated and liberal of those polled.

On the subject of the Holocaust, little support was voiced among those questioned for being reminded of this event. On the issue of pursuing Nazi war criminals, there was a five to four ratio against continuing such activities due to a feeling that we should "put this behind us." When asked to select the groups in America who make too much fuss in pursuit of their interests, Jews placed sixth out of a list of nine, coming after such groups as Blacks, women and Hispanics. (A full report on the findings of this poll will be sent to the Governors shortly.)

In conclusion, Mr. HIMMELFARB suggested that these findings tend to support our vision that anti-Semitism is generally not tolerated in American society, and that the phenomenon now occurring in the farmbelt is an exceptional one, albeit one which must be combatted vigorously. He added that Charles Silberman's recent book, A CERTAIN PEOPLE: AMERICAN JEWS AND THEIR LIVES TODAY, which deals with the position of Jews in American society, is replete with references to AJC's research on various dimensions of this topic and bases its conclusions on our findings.

#### IMPLICATIONS OF NAIROBI

Mr. ELLENOFF then called on Suzanne Elson and Mimi Alperin, co-leaders of AJC's delegation to the Decade of Women Conference in Nairobi, to report on their experiences and the programmatic implications for AJC.

Ms. ELSON stated that 21 AJC women from across the country (the largest Jewish delegation) traveled to the forum in Nairobi, which was attended by 12-15,000 women from 150 countries. The main goal of our delegation was to play a damage control role and, although the usual anti-Israel posturing and knee-jerk anti-Americanism was apparent, the overall results were quite positive. The program of the Non-Governmental Forum concentrated on five main issues -- equality, development, peace, employment and health. Unlike the previous meetings, the Jewish women in attendance at Nairobi were well-organized and experienced, and a Jewish Caucus met daily to exchange views and discuss problems. Their task was made simpler by a split in the Arab ranks and by the even-handed approach of the forum convener, Dame Nita Barrow, and the Kenyan Government.

AJC's activities included a Women of Faith Workshop, a Sabbath service for Jewish and non-Jewish women (conducted by Jane Wishner) and participation in many panels and workshops on subjects such as elder women (Charlotte Holstein) and women in business (Idelle Rabin). Ms. ELSON noted that the AJC delegation received wide publicity in Nairobi as well as in the U.S. and that members of the delegation will be relating their experiences to other AJCers, the general community and the media in the coming months. She then asked Ms. Alperin to comment on possible strategies for AJC resulting from the Nairobi visit.

Ms. ALPERIN offered a number of suggestions for AJC programs which would further agency goals in the areas of equality for women and intergroup relations. These included strengthening our activities at the United Nations; increasing our contact with the diplomatic community, including the African nations; fostering relationships with other NGO organizations on both a local and national level; beginning Black/Jewish women's dialogues; and strengthening our ties with Jewish

women's organizations throughout the world. She concluded by praising AJC for its ongoing programs with both the interreligious and international communities, which greatly facilitated the endeavors of the delegation.

Maynard WISHNER questioned whether the document on the status of Palestinian women in Israel, prepared by the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, had proven helpful in Nairobi, and Ms. ELSON replied that it had been used extensively by our delegation and disseminated widely to the other groups in attendance.

Ruth SEPTÉE, a member of the AJC delegation, praised the AJC monograph on Israel and South Africa, prepared by Dr. George Gruen of the International Relations Department, which was used effectively to counteract derogatory statements by anti-Israel delegates. She also noted that the head of the Egyptian group had played a key, constructive role in adhering to the basic concerns of the forum, thereby limiting the ability of the anti-Israel elements from taking over the agenda, and she urged AJC to look into the diminishing power of the Arab bloc which was apparent in Nairobi.

Leo NEVAS commented that the success of the AJC Nairobi delegation would give added impetus to the International Relations Commission's goal of setting up a series of meetings with delegates to the United Nations.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE  
VICE-PRESIDENT

There being no further discussion on this matter, Mr. ELLENOFF asked David Gordis to review AJC developments that occurred during the summer months.

Dr. GORDIS stated that AJCers had conducted a series of successful meetings with AIPAC, ADL, the American Jewish Congress and the NJCRAC Advisory Council during the past few months, with the purpose of improving working relationships between the agencies. We also hosted a group of Large City Budgeting Committee delegates at AJC national headquarters, and our relationship with this body has taken on a new tone and spirit, with more receptivity on their part to the special needs of AJC. Dr. GORDIS also reported on his attendance at a conference sponsored by the Ecumenical Center for Christian Repentance, which brought together Christian and Jewish leaders from all over the world in Jerusalem, where the Christians asked forgiveness from the Jewish people for their past misdeeds and pledged their future support for the State of Israel.

Over the last several months, Dr. GORDIS noted, there have been ongoing discussions between the staff and officers about the restructuring of the agency, including reorganizing our program departments, our fundraising efforts and our method of marketing the agency to all of our constituencies, and these ideas will be discussed with the Governors over the next several months. Such changes will allow us to sharpen our ability to formulate agency programs on American social policy issues and in dealing with "gut" issues of concern to the Jewish community, including Israel, anti-Semitism and religious pluralism.

One significant aspect of our program is the agency's research activities. In order to insure quality control, avoid fragmentation and improve the dissemination of our research, he has established a staff Research Committee. This interdepartmental group meets regularly to review all research projects under-

taken by the agency and is chaired by Dr. David Singer, Associate Director of the Information and Research Services Department. Dr. GORDIS then asked Dr. Singer to further describe the workings of the Research Committee and some of AJC's more recent research projects.

Dr. SINGER noted that the Research Committee reviews all research proposals submitted by the individual program departments to insure that staff members from many different areas can offer their perspectives on the projects and to mesh together the interests of a number of departments who might be interested in the same area. The committee is presently preparing an inventory of all research projects currently underway at AJC, which will be updated twice yearly and will aid them in developing a research agenda for the agency as a whole. We also hope to establish an academic advisory panel in the future to advise the Committee on technical matters when needed.

Among the projects currently underway or being considered by the Research Committee are a series of studies on the position of Jews in American society today, with initial research being done on Jews in the executive suite and the relationship between Evangelicals and Jews; a further look at the "authoritarian personality," which will study the factors in American society which encourage anti-Semitism; an examination of what American rabbinical students learn about Christianity and Jewish/Christian relations; a compendium of the data gathered by AJC in its five studies of Jewish college freshmen over the last fifteen years; and a study of Jews and organizational life, which will examine affiliation patterns and the cultures of the various American Jewish organizations.

In response to a query from Robert GOODKIND on the role of lay leaders in connection with the agency's research program, Dr. GORDIS noted that the formation of a lay advisory board to work with the committee would be among the suggested organizational changes to be considered by the Board of Governors. He added that this centralization of the agency's research functions would enable us to restore AJC's position in the forefront of Jewish strategic planning and would also prove to be the most cost-effective way of proceeding with this aspect of AJC's program.

#### UPDATE ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Mr. ELLENOFF next asked International Relations Commission chair Leo Nevas to brief the Governors on a few of the important issues being considered by the commission.

Mr. NEVAS reported that a proposal had been submitted to the administration for a White House conference on terrorism with AJC as one of the key sponsors, and that a task force has been appointed to pursue this recommendation. He noted the increased activity concerning Soviet Jewry now going on in Washington in light of the administration's upcoming meetings with Soviet leaders, and stated that the commission's Task Force on Soviet Jewry, now headed by Richard Maass, will be attempting to generate some new approaches to this issue.

Mr. NEVAS mentioned that AJC will be co-sponsoring a conference in Brazil in November with the Catholic Conference of Brazil for the purpose of exploring relationships between Jews and Christians in Latin America. He also noted the



likelihood that a small group of AJC officers will be visiting South Africa in October at the request of the local Jewish community to investigate the current turbulent social and political situation and its effects on South African Jewry.

Mr. NEVAS then presented to the Governors a proposed statement on U.S. arms sales to Jordan and Saudi Arabia which had been drafted by the International Relations Commission, and the Governors approved the proposal with a few minor changes. (A copy of the final resolution is attached as Appendix A.)

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.



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B017

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE STATEMENT  
ON PROPOSED U.S. ARMS SALES TO JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA

The Board of Governors of the American Jewish Committee today reaffirmed its present opposition to the sale of sophisticated, potentially offensive weapons to Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

In a letter of appreciation to the more than two-thirds of the members of the Senate who had called upon President Reagan to withhold new arms shipments to Jordan "under present conditions in which Jordan continues to oppose the Camp David peace process," Howard I. Friedman, President of the AJC, and Leo Nevas, Chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, noted that "while every possible avenue for resuming the peace process must be seriously examined, including some of the recent proposals by King Hussein and Prime Minister Shimon Peres, it would not advance that process to sell sophisticated, lethal war material to Jordan unless and until it engages in direct peace negotiations with Israel."

As for the proposed additional arms sales to Saudi Arabia, we believe these will have a destabilizing effect, will escalate the arms race and will impose further economic hardships upon Israel in its efforts to defend itself. Moreover, Saudi Arabia has refused to give public support to direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel.

We acknowledge that the United States has an interest in protecting its friends in the region. We therefore continue to favor economic aid for Jordan and other measures that will strengthen the Hashemite Kingdom and encourage it to negotiate peace directly with Israel.

Adopted September 9, 1985  
New York, NY



850910

# The American Jewish Committee

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

September 10, 1985

The Rev. Kevin Lynch  
Paulist Press  
997 Macarthur Blvd.  
Mahwah, NJ 07430

201-815-7300

Dear Kevin,

I was glad to have the opportunity to speak with you recently. In particular, I appreciate your possible interest in publishing a volume of my essays.

I have collected a set of essays, articles, and papers that I have written over my thirty years of service in Christian-Jewish relations, social justice and humanitarian causes.

A good number of them are original papers that were not published before, while some have been scattered over publications. This is the first time that I have sought to bring them together.

As you can see, I have organized them in three separate sections:

A) Catholic-Jewish Relations -- A New Era? -- this section centers on Vatican Council II and contains information growing out of my having been the only Rabbi present at the Council as the "official guest observer" of the late Cardinals Bea and Shehan of Baltimore (the first chairman of the U.S. Bishops' Commission on Ecumenism and Interreligious Affairs.) A good number of these papers are substantive in that they deal with the enduring historical, theological, and sociological issues in contemporary Catholic-Jewish relations.

B) Jewish-Christian Relations -- this second section treats of relations with Lutherans and other Protestant and Evangelical bodies. It includes up-to-date material on the Moral Majority and Right-Wing Evangelicals and the issues they raise for democratic pluralism.

This section also contains strong material on such social justice concerns as world refugees, hunger, poverty, and related humanitarian issues. It contains my address at Martin Luther King Jr.'s Church.

HOWARD I. FRIEDMAN, President	ALFRED H. MOSES, Chair, National Executive Council	DAVID M. GORDIS, Executive Vice-President
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The Rev. Kevin Lynch  
Page Two

In addition, there is a body of papers on Religious Values in an Age of Violence, Church-State relations, the sources of America's moral and spiritual heritage, et cetera.

C) Judaism and Christianity -- this final section concentrates on an "Introduction to Judaism" and the deep interrelationship between Judaism and Christianity.

I know this can become an exercise in overkill, but I thought that I might as well put "the whole bale of hay" before you and your editors.

A good editor, I am convinced, could produce a strong volume of interest to Jews and Christians. Not inconceivably, this material might lend itself to two volumes.

In any case, I am eager to publish these materials while I am still active in the field, and can see to it that the volume is distributed widely and publicized through our extensive channels of communication.

I would deeply appreciate your reactions to this collection, and would be eager to meet with you to discuss the possibilities of its publication through Paulist Press.

With warm good wishes, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

MHT:RPR

The Brookings Institution and  
The Churches' Center for Theology and Public Policy

*B. A.* PUBLIC POLICY CONFERENCE FOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS

September 10-13, 1985

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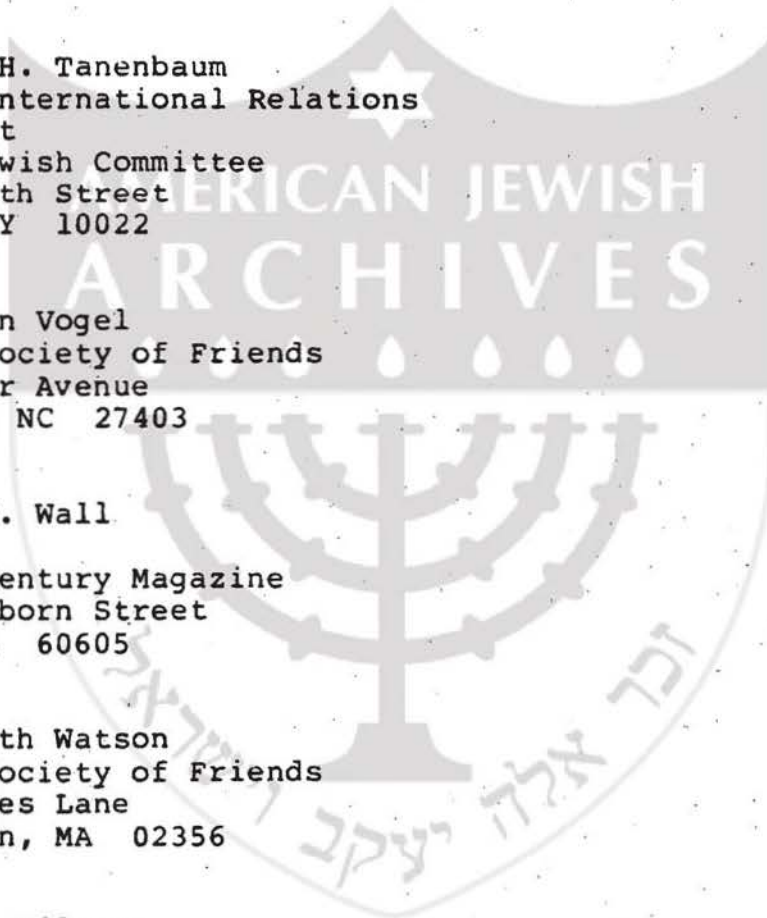
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# The American Jewish Committee

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 13, 1985

Ambassador Richard W. Murphy  
Assistant Secretary of State  
for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs  
Department of State - Rm. 6244  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Ambassador Murphy:

This letter is a follow-up to your recent telephone conversation with Dr. George E. Gruen, AJC's Director of Israel and Middle East Affairs. It is my pleasure to invite you to address The American Jewish Committee's National Executive Council Meeting at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Miami, Florida. The NEC meeting brings together several hundred civic, communal and religious leaders from throughout the United States and abroad for consultations and policy-making sessions.

As you know, The American Jewish Committee is the oldest human relations organization in this country. From its inception in 1906, it has been in the forefront of efforts to ensure the health of our democratic society and the dignity of all groups within it, a leader in the field of international human rights, and concerned with the creative survival of Jews in the U.S., Israel and the rest of the world.

We would like you to address our plenary session entitled "Toward Peace in the Middle East" on either Friday, November 8, 1985 at 2 PM or Sunday, November 10 at 10 AM. This session will be a candid, off-the-record exchange during which we would ask you to share your insights on the direction of United States policy in the Middle East and your assessment of the current prospects for peace. As Dr. Gruen mentioned, we would also be pleased to arrange a press conference before or after the meeting, if you so desire.

I do hope that yours will be a favorable response to our invitation. I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Howard I. Friedman

HIF/prb

BCC: Dr. George Gruen, David Harris, Marc Tanenbaum

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# International League for Human Rights

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## Executive Director

Felice D. Gaer

## Program Director

Nina H. Shea

September 20, 1985

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is a copy of a recent report written by the Chilean Commission for Human Rights in Santiago. It analyzes human rights abuses during Chile's state of siege. The International League for Human Rights has translated this report as the sixth in a series entitled News From the Chilean Commission for Human Rights.

This is a publication of the League's Affiliate Network Project, through which we bring important information prepared by our affiliated civil liberties groups worldwide to the attention of public officials and private specialists abroad. The League has 41 affiliates in 30 countries, each defending human rights domestically.

Our Chilean affiliate is a very active group, but it suffers continuing harassment from the authorities. In August, the League sponsored a mission to Chile that investigated arrests and other intimidation of human rights defenders active in the Commission and associated groups. The team succeeded in obtaining the release of Dr. Pedro Castillo, a member of the Commission's Council, who had been detained a few weeks prior to the League mission. The team members were showered with testimony of other repression directed against human rights defenders from all parts of Chile.

We will keep you posted on their findings and related actions. An article by team member Father Robert Drinan is also enclosed.

If you have suggestions about this continuing series of publications, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Felice D. Gaer  
Executive Director

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1985

## 12 Years of Night in Chile

By Robert F. Drinan

WASHINGTON — What will opposition forces in Chile do today, the 12th anniversary of the coup that brought Gen. Augusto Pinochet to power? I found no clear answers to that question during a visit last month. But I saw water cannons waiting to quell demonstrators. I saw, too, deep frustration among the 11.8 million people, who are humiliated by the torture, murders, harassment and the exiling of citizens who are heirs to one of the richest democratic traditions in Latin America.

I do know the United States has an important role in Chile's future. The arrival shortly of a new ambassador offers the Administration an opportunity to change its policy, in which pieties about a democratic transition are coupled with acts that bolster General Pinochet. We must now press unmistakably for civilian rule.

President Reagan owes Chilean

*Robert F. Drinan, S.J., a former Representative who is professor of law at Georgetown University, visited Chile on a mission for the International League for Human Rights.*

### Reagan can help bring dawn

citizens no less. The disintegration of freedom in the last dozen years has been appalling. In 1973, more than 50 percent of all workers belonged to labor unions; today, only 8 percent. In 1973, the external debt was \$4 billion; today, \$22 billion. The media are censored. Torture touches hundreds each year but intimidates millions. Political parties are suspended.

Aside from the United States, about the only source of hope in Chile is the Roman Catholic Church. At a dinner in the home of Raúl Silva Henríquez, the 78-year-old retired Archbishop of Santiago, this venerable figure reviewed his efforts to deter terror from 1973 to 1983 and concluded by saying that the Government's oppression of the church is as bad as persecution of the church in the Roman

Empire in the early centuries of Christianity. Chile is harassing the church because, almost alone among social institutions, it represents the tortured, the exiled, the unemployed and the poor.

Nearly everyone in Chile wonders when the dark night will end. Now 68 years old, General Pinochet will not go voluntarily because he has no place to go. If he remains in Chile, he could be tried for countless crimes just as generals and admirals of Argentina have been tried. If he wants to go abroad, there is no place to go except possibly Paraguay.

I have hundreds of memories of the people I talked with. But the one I shall never be able to forget is a man I met in a line outside a jail in Valparaíso while waiting to visit 42 political prisoners.

He told me he was waiting to visit his two sons, both imprisoned on unspecified charges of subversion. After two years, no trial date had been set. Torture had been used, but he obviously did not want to talk about it. As I moved out of the line into the prison, he ended our conversation by stating, "What happens to my sons depends on decisions to be made by the President of your country." □

**NEWS  
FROM  
THE CHILEAN COMMISSION  
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

**Human Rights During the State of Siege:  
The Real Situation**

**November 6, 1984 - June 16, 1985**



**A PUBLICATION OF**

**THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE  
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

**432 Park Avenue South,  
New York, NY 10016 USA**

**August 1985**

NEWS FROM  
THE CHILEAN COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE STATE OF SIEGE:

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NOVEMBER 6, 1984 - JUNE 16, 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



A PUBLICATION OF  
THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS  
432 PARK AVENUE SOUTH  
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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

Human rights abuse in Chile is, sadly, all too familiar a topic. The precise number, kind, and extent of such violations are extensively documented by groups in Chile working under highly pressured conditions - groups like the Chilean Commission on Human Rights.

A continuing disregard--even contempt--for internationally agreed upon standards of conduct by the Government of Chile and its agents by now seems almost routine. It takes a dramatic event like the imposition of a state of siege in November 1984 and the harsh events that have accompanied it (replete with the symbolism of mass detentions in sports stadiums) to stir us and once again draw the attention of the world to human rights problems in Chile.

Throughout the eight month state of siege, across the board abrogations of civil liberties in Chile continued to occur. President Augusto Pinochet governed under three simultaneous states of emergency that afforded him extraordinary powers not subject to any judicial process, and that can be--and were--applied arbitrarily.

Among the rights abuses that occurred during these months were:

- killings ("deaths in alleged clashes", stray bullets and shots by police forces at demonstrators, and even new cases of death under torture);
- torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment;
- mass detentions and arrests in increasing numbers;

-- threats and intimidation of dissidents and human rights defenders;

-- abuse of both the right to leave and more commonly, the right to return to one's country (there has been no solution to the problem of Chilean exiles nor any legal criteria for this action established);

-- violations of freedom of movement within Chile (hundreds of internally exiled persons have no judicial or administrative recourse);

-- restriction of freedom of expression (closing opposition journals and newspapers, prior censorship of the press, intimidation of foreign journalists, etc.);

-- abrogation of other basic rights such as peaceful assembly, association, and participation in public affairs.

During the past year, the hopes and desires of Chileans for a return to democracy and respect for international human rights guarantees have grown. Yet at the same time, the determination of the Chilean authorities to maintain the present system, under its 1980 Constitution, has rigidified. In fact the state of siege, decreed by the President on November 6, 1984, brought a massive scale of human rights violations characterized by a new degree of thoroughness and by continued arbitrariness.

Sadly, such abuses are continuing even though the state of siege was formally ended on June 16, 1985. This is due, in part, to the President's continued application of emergency powers under Transitional Article 24 of the Constitution.

In the pages that follow, the Chilean Commission for Human Rights reports on events during the state of siege. The Commission presents statistics on abuses as well as a legal analysis of ways these acts violated international norms. The report was completed on June 20, 1985, four days after the lifting of the state of siege.

The International League for Human Rights has translated this report into English to ensure it receives wide attention in North America and Western Europe. This is the sixth report in the occasional series, News From the Chilean Commission for Human Rights, published by the League under its Affiliate Network Project since 1982. The Commission is an affiliate of the International League for Human Rights.

Founded in 1978, the Chilean Commission for Human Rights is comprised of distinguished persons from the arts, sciences, law, and public life. It is the most important non-religious human rights monitoring organization in Chile, and has been a League affiliate since 1979.

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Founded in 1942, the International League for Human Rights is one of the oldest general-purpose nongovernmental human rights organizations. It works with a network of 40 affiliates worldwide and has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the International Labor Organization. It cooperates with other regional organizations such as the Organization of American States. As a matter of principle, the League accepts no funds from any government or intergovernmental body. The President of the League is Jerome J. Shestack; its Executive Director is Felice Gaer and its Program Director is Nina Shea.



## INTRODUCTION

Since the 1973 military coup d'etat and consequent rule of General Pinochet, no civil or political right has been recognized in terms defined by international law. The same can be said, to a large extent, for economic, social and cultural rights.

Under the recent state of siege, decreed by General Pinochet on November 6, 1984, the deterioration of fundamental human rights has accelerated. The justification for the establishment of a state of siege, including the invocation and application of the 1980 Chilean Political Constitution, was the need to combat terrorism. The purpose of the state of siege was defined by General Pinochet as follows:

It is precisely in order to safeguard democracy and freedom that today, more than ever, it is necessary to be inflexible with respect to the Institutional order that guides us.

Thus, in his own words, General Pinochet has adopted "drastic methods to preserve this order" and to "re-establish security" in the face of political insurrection instigated by "outside agents." Such "drastic methods" consisted of simultaneously applying, during the seven month period from November 6, 1984 through June 16, 1985, three states of exception; the state of emergency, the state of siege (both established in Chile's Political Constitution, articles No. 2 and 3) and the state of danger of altering the internal peace (contained in Transitory Article 24 of the Constitution).

The application of the state of siege was made possible by the support of the Government junta, the ministers of state, and

police forces including the Carabineros and investigative police. While all the junta and ministers of state affirmed the need for a return to order and endorsed the General's fight against terrorism, the Carabineros expressed the most belligerent attitude. Asserting their belief in the existence of urban guerillas who "want to play war," members of the Carabineros delighted in "responding in like manner."

This report will establish that those affected by the application of Pinochet's state of siege were neither outside terrorists nor urban guerillas but ordinary citizens. The Chilean Commission has no evidence that any terrorist group has suffered attacks under the state of siege. Ordinary citizens continue to be kidnapped, tortured, assaulted, assassinated, raped, exiled, arbitrarily arrested and detained without due process or trial principally for political reasons.

The Justice Tribunals, thus far, have not prosecuted those responsible for violations of human rights, and have justified such failure to prosecute by maintaining that the law impedes them from protecting those affected by the violatons.

#### THE RIGHT TO LIFE

The Chilean Commission for Human Rights has identified 94 cases that violate guarantees of the right to life during the period between November 6, 1984 and April 30, 1985. Out of a total of 25 deaths over this six month period, eight victims died due to alleged clashes between police or security forces and extremists (although this assertion has never been confirmed by any judicial investigation, and in fact, what testimony was

presented, specifically denies this claim); one victim died by torture; three by terrorist acts or political homicide (e.g., assassination of kidnap victims by terrorist groups or bombings of civilian offices); four by unnecessary violence on the part of public functionaries; four by abuses of power; and five in other ways.

If we add to this list another 69 assassination attempts, the total recorded violations of the right to life in Chile during the half year period becomes 94. (See table below)

Violations Against the Right to Life

<u>Assaults</u>	<u>Nov.</u>	<u>Dec.</u>	<u>Jan.</u>	<u>Feb.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Apr.</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Deaths</u>	2	4	7	2	7	3	25
Political Execution							
Alleged Clashes		2	3		3		8
Torture				1			1
Political Homicide					3		3
Unnecessary Violence	1		1			2	4
Abuse of Power		1	2			1	4
Other	1	1	1	1	1		5
<u>Assassination Attempts</u>	46	4	2	3	1	13	69
<u>Total Assaults</u>	48	8	9	5	8	16	94

THE RIGHT TO SECURITY OF THE PERSON

Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "no one shall be subjected to torture, or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment." No constitutional or legal precept permits, even under states of exception, infractions of this universal norm. In Chile however, denunciations of torture, as well as cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment were common during the six months between November 1984 and April 1985.

The Chilean Commission for Human Rights has registered a total of 351 serious violations against the right to security of the person, including 115 cases of torture and 236 cases of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. One individual out of the 115 torture victims died; another victim of inhuman treatment also died. The fact that during this period there were no public demonstrations nor clashes between police and citizens, suggests that there were no circumstantial pretexts for these violent acts. Instead, they occurred routinely, and are apparently established practices.

THE RIGHT TO FREEDOM AND SECURITY

Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "everyone has the right to ... liberty and security of person." However, in accordance with article 2 of Chile's Political Constitution, now in effect:

By virtue of the declaration of the state of siege, the President of the Republic may transfer persons from one place to another within the national territory, arrest people in their own homes or in places that are not jails nor those used for detention or imprisonment for common criminals.

Moreover, in compliance with Constitutional Transitory Article 24, the President of the Republic has the power to:

Arrest persons for up to five days in their own homes or in places other than jails. Upon occurrence of terrorist acts of grave consequence he may extend this period for 15 additional days.

At the same time, the President has the power to:

Order mandatory permanence of certain persons in an urban locality of the national territory for a period not exceeding three months.

The application of the Constitutional provisions by the Chilean

Government has exceeded the norm and has resulted in an pattern of violations of the right to liberty and security of the person.

Between November 6, 1984 and April 30, 1985 the Chilean Commission documented 40,302 violations against these rights. During the months of January and October of 1984 the total increase of detentions for political reasons was 7,492. The period under the state of siege saw a dramatic rise in the number of detainees, a total of 33,801 cases. A similar increase in exiles occurred during this period; between January and October 1984 exile cases numbered 170, rising sharply in six months under the state of siege to a total of 625 cases.

Violations against the right to liberty and security of the person have been broken down by the Chilean Commission into seven categories: individual detention, mass detention, collective detention, the installation and use of detention camps, exiles, kidnappings, and bombings of public places.

#### Individual Detentions

	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Jan-Oct 84</u>	<u>Nov-Apr 85</u>
Individual Detentions	323	678	648	306	641	1,192	636

As demonstrated in the table above, the total number of individual detentions under the state of siege -- 636 -- has not altered or increased dramatically compared with previous years. Rather, it appears to have continued the pattern of doubling one year, decreasing by half the next, and doubling again the following year. A recent and important development, however, has been an increase in the detention of women; between November 1984 and May 1985, 376 women were arrested. Out of a total of 75

individually detained women, 16 were beaten, 19 were tortured and 12 were exiled. That is to say, 47 of the 75 women who suffered violations of freedom in circumstances of individual arrests, were also victims of violent treatment or administrative punishment.

#### Mass detentions

In the case of mass detentions, due to the suspension of the right to assemble and the restrictions on the right of association, the total number of mass detentions declined under the state of siege from 5943 in 1984 to 1744.

#### Collective Detentions

Under the state of siege the Government began targeting certain sectors of the population and began seeking out citizens for arrest in their own homes. Seventy five military operations were ordered in urban zones affecting thousands of homes. These operations consisted of completely surrounding a neighborhood with military forces then ordering, through loudspeakers, all women, and men older than 60 and younger than 15 to remain inside, under a type of house arrest, until the end of the operation (3-8 hours). Meanwhile, the rest of the men were detained and taken to special places, either by walking or in busses. There they proceeded to free those men who had no political, social or police records and decided the fate of those who did have records. In the latter's case 30,898 people were deprived of their freedom, which explains the sharp increase in detentions for political reasons.

In the same way 18 other operations were carried out against

social, political, cultural and labor organizations. Everyone found within the headquarters of such groups were detained, totalling 157.

The table below documents the total number of detentions during the six month state of siege. As is evident, total detentions for political reasons over a six month period was double that of the entire 12 month period of 1983.

Violations of Freedom for Political Reasons

	<u>1979</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>Jan-Oct 84</u>	<u>Nov-Apr 85</u>
Total Detentions	1325	1129	911	1789	15077	7492	33801

Detention Camps

Under the state of siege the Government opened two detention camps, Pisagua and Conchi, both in the north of Chile. A total of 427 persons were confined in Pisagua and 11 in Conchi. Of the 427 in Pisagua, approximately 110 were there for political reasons. However, more than 300 other persons were confined in Pisagua in violation of both constitutional and statutory law since their detentions were unrelated to the provisions under the state of siege. There was no judicial order for such confinements. The Government argued that the police held past records of these alleged common criminals.

Internal Banishment ("Relegaciones")

The total number of victims of banishment under the state of siege was 621, an increase of almost 500 victims as compared with the previous year. Along with the quantitative growth of banishment, there has been a qualitative change in the application of this violation.

Originally, internal banishment was enforced to punish those individuals who had allegedly violated the political recess and dealt with shanty town dwellers (pobladores), and students. Generally, in these cases, those exiled internally had been detained for participating in public demonstrations or in mass organizations. Once arrested, they were confined at a distant location (1,000 or more kilometers from their place of residence), and citizens who resided in that area were dissuaded from establishing relations with the banished individuals.

Later, the Government added even harsher measures to banishment, such as suspending or expelling the victims who are professors and students from universities and colleges, preventing those who are academicians from returning to their previously held positions and censoring their mail.

Even more recently, internal banishment became a "preventative" measure -- an initiative of the former Minister of the Interior, Sergio Onorfe Jarpa -- and decrees with "lists of possible exiles" were drawn up and circulated through pro-government newspapers.

During the state of siege other innovations were made, most notably the practice of transferring those banished. For example, it became common to transfer victims of banishment from one site to another when a victim reached some positive level of adaptation to his original place of confinement. Also it became common to banish those who had been arrested or tortured in secret prisons so that necessary medical attention became even more difficult to obtain, thereby aggravating the abuses already suffered.



Finally, it is important to note that eleven women were banished to the same location; an act which raises the possibility of the permanent establishment of a special camp for women prisoners.

#### Violent Acts

Article 5 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and Article 30 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights state that under no circumstances does the State have the right to engage in any activity or to perform any acts aimed at the destruction of the civil and political rights ensured under international law. This would clearly prohibit states from engaging in terrorist acts against its citizens.

During the state of siege in Chile however, diverse acts were carried out by the Government which qualify as terrorist acts, in spite of the fact that the state of siege was decreed with the express purpose of preventing terrorist acts.

#### Kidnappings

Since 1978 temporary or permanent disappearances for political reasons were unknown. Beginning in March 1984, and reinforced by the state of siege, kidnappings and disappearances have been occurring in Chile.

During 1984, 37 cases of disappearances were recorded which, according to confirmed testimony, were originally cases of arrest. The Minister of the Interior, the Heads of the Carabineros, CNI, and Investigative Police reported to the Courts that such incidents had never occurred. Afterwards, however, it was discovered that these same official agencies had freed those

held secretly in detention or had presented their cases to the tribunals for trial under diverse charges (20 cases).

During the months of January, February, March and April 1985, 23 people suffered the same treatment. (See table below)

Kidnappings

(March 1984 - April 1985)

<u>Official Agency</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>
Carabineros	29	6
Investigative		
Police	-	4
CNI	7	-
Unknown	1	12
Total	37	23

There are two dominant trends suggested by the Chilean Commission with respect to kidnapping and disappearances. First, the majority of kidnappings can be attributed to Carabineros; the evidence clearly established this in 35 cases. Second, under the state of siege it has become increasingly difficult to identify the perpetrators of these crimes. Since the state of siege was decreed, in 12 cases of kidnapping the identity of the kidnapers remains unresolved; 3 cases ended in brutal assassinations; and in another case a female victim was raped.

No police branch has been able to resolve any of these cases; nor has the judicial system -- which depends on the police in order to function properly -- been able to hold accountable those responsible for the crimes.

Attacks on Individuals and Social Organizations

Plainclothesmen attacked, in some instances in the presence

of uniformed Carabineros, the headquarters of social organizations and engaged in beating or otherwise maltreating and torturing whomever they found within the offices. They also partially, and sometimes completely, destroyed the offices, including machinery and other equipment, and stole the most valuable items.

In some cases the Government has confirmed its participation in these acts, as in the case of the political headquarters of the Movimiento Democrático Popular (Popular Democratic Movement) and that of the Bloque Socialista (Socialist Block). In the majority of cases, however, Government authorship was denied.

For example, it is still unknown who attacked PRODEN, CODEPU, Confederación de Trabajadores de la Construcción (Confederation of Construction Workers) and the Confederación de los Metalúrgicos (Confederation of Metalworkers), MUDECHI and others. Neither the police agencies nor other Government office have investigated these cases.

There have also been attacks against individuals including three organizers of the Chilean Commission of Human Rights, a priest, and directors of other organizations.

The most serious assaults, however, have been directed against women. For example:

-- Doris Cifuentes Cassali, 30 years old, member of the Committee for the Rights of the Pueblo, CODEPU, was assaulted and raped in Valparaíso by unidentified plainclothesmen.

-- Rosa Pineda Salinas, 42 years old, married to the Secretary of the Christian Democratic Party in the city of Arica,

was assaulted, tortured and, as a consequence, suffered a miscarriage of the child she was carrying.

-- Paz Macaza Arextabla, 27 years old, member of the Group of Relatives of Detained Disappeared, was assaulted and raped in Concepcion as she was leaving a public lecture on "violence."

The Government has neither identified nor prosecuted any of the perpetrators of these crimes.

#### Bombs in Public Places

During a single day and at approximately the same hour, bombs have exploded in two municipal offices killing four persons and wounding 15 others. The perpetrators are still unidentified.

#### THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN ONE'S OWN COUNTRY AND THE RIGHT TO ASYLUM

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 13 states that "everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state." And, "everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." Article 14 sets forth the right to seek asylum from persecution.

Article 41, (2) of the Political Constitution of Chile, however, gives the President of the Republic the power to expel citizens under a state of siege. Under constitutional transitory provision 24, the President also has the power to deny entrance to the national territory of individuals considered a risk to national security.

On February 25, 1985 the Government submitted a new list of individuals prohibited from entering the country containing 4,576

names. Also during the state of siege, 27 people were expelled from the national territory and 110 were denied entry.

The most important fact however - based on information gathered by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees Office in Buenos Aires and exiled Chilean groups now located in Argentina - is that nearly 2,500 Chileans, principally young pobladores and students, have fled Chile and requested and obtained status as refugees in Argentina. They were designated the status of refugees by the UN High Commissioner who has investigated their cases one by one.

#### RIGHTS TO FREEDOM TO ORGANIZE AND PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY

Under article 41 No. 2 of the Political Constitution, during a state of siege the President of Chile can suspend or restrict the exercise of the rights to organize and to assembly.

The suspension of these rights was complete and at times violence has been used to close peaceful associations. Terrorists and other violent groups however, were not effected, as evidenced by the present-day situation.

For example, a number of local, social, cultural and labor groups' offices were shut down, without judicial orders and extralegally, in a total of 18 police operations. A total of 157 persons were detained and more than 30 labor leaders were banished. Later the unions' offices were destroyed and anyone found therein was physically assaulted.

#### FREEDOM OF OPINION, EXPRESSION AND INFORMATION

Under article 41 (2) of the Political Constitution the President of Chile can suspend or restrict freedom of information and freedom of opinion during a state of siege. The state of

emergency permits only the "restriction" of these freedoms, and Transitory Provision 24 effects these freedoms only with respect to "the founding, editing and circulation of new publications."

The same day he instituted the state of siege, the President of Chile ordered the closing of six magazines -- Analisis, Cauce, Apsi, Fortin Mapocho, La Bicicleta, and Pluma y Pincel -- and effected Decree No. 127 which imposed a complete ban on information. At this time the only information, interviews, commentary, reports, etc. tolerated and accepted were "official communications of the government".

Government censorship affected Church institutions and individuals, as well. For example, the Episcopal Committee, Cardinal Silva Henriquez, Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago Juan Francisco Fresno, and other vicars and priests had communications and public letters censored. The "restrictions" on freedom of opinion and expression affected all human rights organizations too, whose denunciations and declarations against the State and individual officials were silenced.

The Government also prohibited labor from speaking out. Certain aspects of cultural and artistic life, such as critical journalism and plays which dealt too overtly with developments in Chile, were banned.

The headquarters of the Association of Journalists was broken into without a judicial warrant and its bulletin was confiscated, while publications of the National Press Association (or publishers' association) were censored without explanation.

All public statements of members of the Government junta, ministers of state, regional governors, and the President and

ministers of state, regional governors, and the President and Justices of the Supreme Court were censored.

This suppression of the right to free expression and information was carried out under a system of double discrimination. First, one type of communication was arbitrarily shut down completely while another was merely censored. Second, it became apparent that some media were granted access to certain information while others were denied this same information and censored.

#### DUE PROCESS, FAIR TRIAL AND THE RIGHT TO HABEAS CORPUS

Provision no. 3 of article 41 of the Political Constitution states that "the recourse referred to in Art. 21 (defense) will not be effective during states of emergency or siege." Because of this provision, there was no judicial protection for victims of all serious violations of human rights, including the application of special powers under the state of siege that even transgress the limits fixed by the Constitution.

The most notable case with respect to this violation was the resolution of the Supreme Court concerning the writ of habeas corpus on behalf of the residents of the shanty town of Campamento Silva Henriquez. The writ of habeas corpus was intended to highlight the fact that police operations in that area were unconstitutional. The Supreme Court recognized the unconstitutionality and illegality of the procedure but established that the transgression was justified.

### SUMMARY

Over the six month period between November 6, 1984 and April 30, 1985 the human rights statistics were as follows:

- 1 death and 3 homicide attempts a week;
- 2 persons a day were victims of torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment;
- 25 people lost their freedom weekly through individual arrests, while another 204 were deprived of their freedom in mass and collective arrests, in an average of 4 operations a week;
- 25 people a week were banished by administrative order;
- 3 people every 2 weeks were victims of kidnapping between the months of January and February 1985;
- Each day 14 persons fled Chile for refuge in Argentina-- averaging 100 a week.



# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE

**aje**

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

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

NEW YORK, Sept. 20 -- The American Jewish Committee today expressed its sadness and solidarity with the Mexican people following yesterday's earthquake.

Messages went out today to President Miguel de la Madrid and to Bernardo Weitzner, President of the Comité Central Israelita de México, signed by Howard I. Friedman, AJC President; Leo Nevas, chairman of its International Relations Commission, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, director of the International Relations Department.

Their message to President de la Madrid read:

"AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE IS DEEPLY SADDENED BY TRAGIC LOSS OF LIVES OF MEXICAN CITIZENS RESULTING FROM EARTHQUAKE. WE EXPRESS TO YOU AND MEXICAN PEOPLE OUR SOLIDARITY AT THIS DIFFICULT HOUR. IF THERE IS ANY WAY WE CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE TO YOU, PLEASE CALL ON US. OUR HEART FELT PRAYERS FOR THE SPEEDY RECOVERY OF GREAT MEXICAN PEOPLE FROM THIS TRAGIC EVENT."

Their message to Mr. Weitzner read:

"AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE DEEPLY SADDENED BY TRAGIC LOSS OF LIVES OF MEXICAN CITIZENS RESULTING FROM EARTHQUAKE. WE EXPRESS TO YOU, MEXICAN PEOPLE AND IN PARTICULAR TO MEXICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY OUR FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY AT THIS DIFFICULT HOUR. IF THERE IS ANY WAY WE CAN BE OF ASSISTANCE TO OUR MEXICAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS, PLEASE CALL ON US. OUR HEART FELT PRAYERS FOR THE SPEEDY RECOVERY OF MEXICAN PEOPLE AND JEWISH COMMUNITY FROM THIS TRAGIC EVENT. MAY THE NEW YEAR BRING MEXICAN JEWRY PEACE AND TRANQUILITY."

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

\* \* \*

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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. Ejército Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1985

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

I was touched by your thoughtful and generous letter and appreciate your taking time to write. As we think about how to shape and carry out our foreign policy, all of us in the Administration try to do our best to maintain and convey to the world the values which have served our country so well in the past. It is gratifying to know that you think we are succeeding. Many thanks for your kind words of support.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum,  
Director,  
International Relations Department,  
The American Jewish Committee,  
165 East 56 Street,  
New York, New York.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** Sept. 23, 1985

**to** Area Directors; AJC Officers; Steering Committee, International Relations Commission

**from** Marc Tanenbaum

**subject** Delegates to Brazilian Conference on Vatican II, Nov. 3-5

As you can see from the enclosed press release, AJC's International Relations Department is co-sponsoring a major Pan-American conference with the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops on Vatican Council II -- Twenty Years Later.

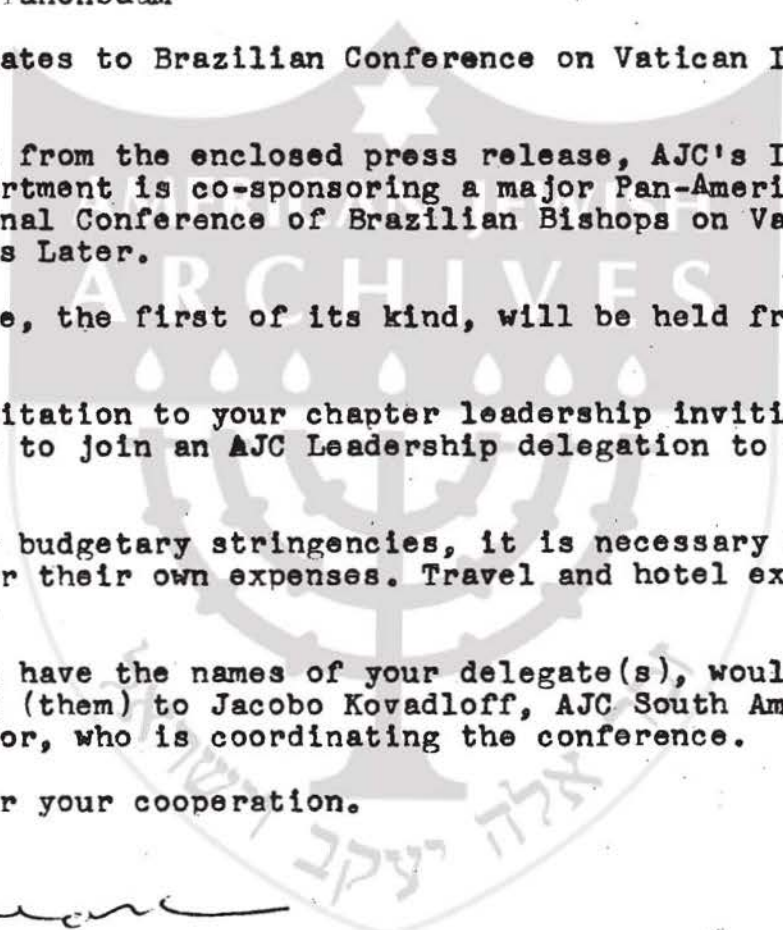
This conference, the first of its kind, will be held from Nov. 3-5 in Sao Paulo.

This is an invitation to your chapter leadership inviting one or more delegates to join an AJC Leadership delegation to the conference.

In view of our budgetary stringencies, it is necessary that our delegates cover their own expenses. Travel and hotel expenses will be tax-exempt.

As soon as you have the names of your delegate(s), would you please send it (them) to Jacobo Kovadloff, AJC South American Affairs director, who is coordinating the conference.

Many thanks for your cooperation.



# 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, Sept. 26...A Pan-American conference evaluating the impact of Vatican Council II on Catholic-Jewish relations in Latin America and the United States will be held from November 3 through 5 in Sao Paulo, Brazil. The conference is sponsored by the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, the Confederation of Jewish Communities of Brazil, and the American Jewish Committee, in cooperation with the Latin American Jewish Congress.

This is believed to be the first Pan-American conference of its kind, marking the 20th anniversary observance of the adoption of Nostra Aetate, the Vatican Declaration on Non-Christian Religions. That declaration, adopted by Vatican Council II on October 28, 1965, marked an historic turning point in Catholic-Jewish relations in its repudiation of anti-Semitism and its call for "mutual respect and fraternal dialogue" between the Catholic church and the Jewish people.

Leaders of the Catholic churches and the Jewish communities in Latin America and the United States will take part in the conference. Co-chairmen of the conference are Don Sinesio Bohn, director for relations with the Jews of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops; Rabbi Henry Sobel of Sao Paulo, for the Confederation of Brazilian Jewish communities; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC international relations director; and Gregorio Falgon of Buenos Aires, representing the Latin American Jewish Congress. Jacobo Kovadloff of Buenos Aires and New York, AJC South American Affairs director, is coordinator of the conference program with Rabbi Sobel.

The conference will feature addresses and statements on the present state of Catholic-Jewish relations by His Eminence Dom Ivo Lorscheiter, President of the Brazilian Conference of Catholic Bishops; His Eminence Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns, Archbishop of Sao Paulo; His Eminence Jose Falcao, Archbishop of Brasilia, representing CELAM, the Latin American Conference of Bishops; Archbishop Quarracino of Buenos Aires, president of CELAM. The Vatican will be represented by Monsignor Jorge Mejia, formerly of Buenos Aires, secretary of the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jewish People. His Eminence Cardinal Jean Paul Lustiger of Paris will also make a principal address.

....more

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

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel  
South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

Dr. Eugene Fisher of Washington, D.C., secretary of the Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish Relations of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, will speak on "The Present State of Catholic-Jewish Relations in the United States."

Rabbi Tanenbaum, a pioneering leader in Christian-Jewish relations for the past 25 years and the only rabbi present as a guest observer at Vatican Council II, will deliver a major address on "Vatican Council II - a Jewish Observer's Reflections." Benno Melnitzki of Sao Paulo, president of the Confederation of Brazilian Jewish Communities, will also chair.

Catholic and Jewish leaders from other Latin American countries and the United States will also take part.

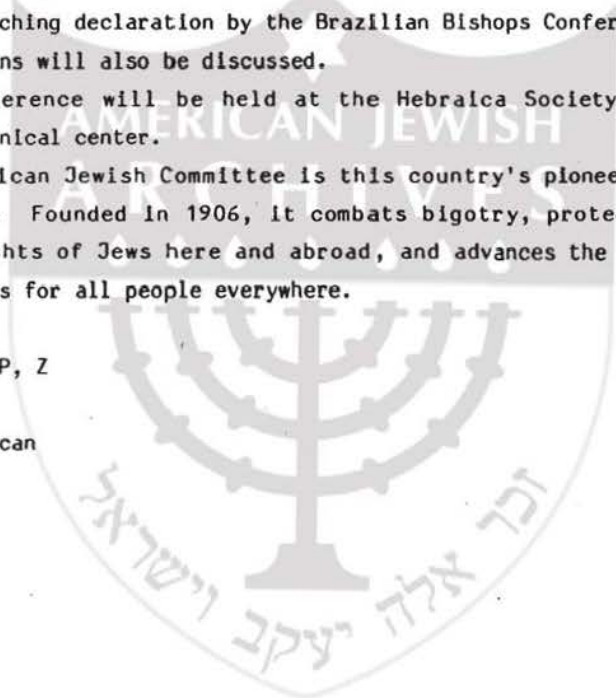
Among the issues that the panel discussions will deal with are human rights, freedom of expression, social justice, religion and society, the meaning of the Holocaust for Christians and Jews, the State of Israel, and Five Centuries of Jewish Settlement in the Americas.

A far-reaching declaration by the Brazilian Bishops Conference on Catholic-Jewish relations will also be discussed.

The Conference will be held at the Hebraica Society center and at a Catholic ecumenical center.

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

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*Rabbi Max Losenbaum*

# 1985 National Executive Council Meeting

Hyatt Regency Miami • November 7-10

September 23, 1985

Dear AJC Leader:

As the date of the National Executive Council Meeting approaches, I'm pleased to tell you that the agenda for the weekend is shaping up to be one of our most exciting programs to date, reflecting the unique AJC blend of stimulating discussion and decision-making sessions on issues currently affecting the Jewish community. Highlighted below are some of the outstanding events planned for the weekend.

The opening plenary session on Thursday, November 7th will focus on the issue of pluralism, with presentations by AJC's Executive Vice President, Dr. David M. Gordis, on pluralism within the Jewish community, and Professor Harvey Cox of the Harvard Divinity School on the need for American society to rededicate itself to religious pluralism. Later that evening, there will be a boat excursion to the lovely Vizcaya Museum and Gardens, where AJC will be presenting citations to a number of Dade County municipalities which have adopted ordinances prohibiting social club discrimination.

Friday, November 8th will begin with two concurrent program forums -- a session on intermarriage, featuring AJC's most recent findings on the conversion of spouses, their motives and the consequences of their decision, and an exploration of the topic of pay equity, which will provide the basis for formulating AJC's policy on this important issue. Among the concurrent "Action Where You Are" workshops on Friday, will be a session on anti-Semitism and extremism in the U.S., focusing specifically on the dangerous social and political implications of extremism now arising in the nation's farm belt.

On Friday afternoon, a number of key experts, including Wolf Blitzer, author of BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND JERUSALEM: A REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK, will be examining new developments in the Middle East peace process, U.S.-Israel relations and the danger of fundamentalism in the Middle East. This will be followed by a meeting of chapter presidents and AJC officers, where the agenda will include the final report of the CSC Task Force on Chapter Communications.

Saturday, November 9th will feature a luncheon plenary with Charles Silberman, author of the widely-acclaimed new book, A CERTAIN PEOPLE: AMERICAN JEWS AND THEIR LIVES TODAY. Later that afternoon, there will be an Appeal for Human Relations cocktail reception honoring David Fleeman, a distinguished AJC'er and leader of Miami's Jewish community, to be followed by the NEC Dinner, a gala community event, where we will be honoring Ambassador Allan Keyes and Dame Nita Barrow in recognition of their success in depoliticizing the recent Decade of Women Conference in Nairobi.



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

The final day of the NEC meeting, Sunday, November 10th, will feature two plenary sessions -- the first focusing on the acculturation of immigrants, featuring Mayor Fredrico Pena of Denver and representatives of several immigrant communities in Miami, and the second a discussion on the current social and political situation in Central America with ambassadors from those nations, which will concentrate on how the U.S. government and AJC can formulate effective policy in this increasingly turbulent area.

Throughout the NEC weekend, there will be a number of meetings of national commissions and committees dealing with critical programmatic and institutional issues, including South Africa and Soviet Jewry, which are indicated on the enclosed Schedule of Weekend Events. Among the other major figures who have been invited to participate in the meeting are Ambassador Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and Maureen Reagan, leader of the U.S. delegation to the Decade of Women Conference.

The NEC weekend promises to be an extremely important event, and our registration shows that attendance at this year's meeting will be most impressive. I know you will want to participate, and if you have not already registered, please fill out the enclosed form and return it promptly.

Let me take this opportunity to wish you and your family a happy and healthy New Year. I look forward to seeing you in Miami in November.

Sincerely,



Alfred H. Moses, Chair  
National Executive Council

AHM/br  
Enclosure

# 1985 National Executive Council Meeting

## Schedule of Weekend Events

### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7

- 10:30 AM COMMISSION MEETINGS
- Jewish Communal Affairs
  - International Relations
  - Interreligious Affairs
  - National Affairs
- 12:30 PM BUFFET LUNCHEON
- 1:30 PM BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING  
(for Board members only)
- 4:30 PM OPENING PLENARY SESSION
- "Jewish Pluralism-Preconditions & Prognosis"  
Dr. David M. Gordis
- "Religious Pluralism - Renewing the Commitment"  
Professor Harvey Cox, Harvard Divinity School
- 6:00 PM DINNER
- 7:00 PM Boat ride to Vizcaya Museum
- MIAMI CHAPTER RECEPTION

### FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8

- 7:30 AM CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST
- 8:15 AM CONCURRENT SESSIONS
- "Intermarriage & Conversion-Identities in Transition"  
Professor Egon Mayer
  - "Pay Equity - The 80's Social Justice Issue?"  
Ray Marshall, Former Secretary of Labor
- 10:15 AM PLENARY SESSION
- "Catholic-Jewish Relations-Perspectives & Prospectives"  
Father John Pawlikowski  
Reverend William M. Lewers, U.S. Catholic Conference
- 12:15 PM CONCURRENT LUNCHEONS
- "ACTION WHERE YOU ARE" Workshops
- A. "Counteracting Anti-Semitism & Extremism"
  - B. "Projecting AJC's International Agenda"
  - C. "Reaching out to Intermarrieds"
  - D. "New Directions in Interreligious Dialogues"



2:00 PM PLENARY SESSION  
NEC Business Meeting  
"Toward Peace in the Middle East"  
Wolf Blitzer, The Jerusalem Post

4:00 PM MEETING OF CHAPTER LEADERS AND NATIONAL OFFICERS  
DINNER HOSPITALITY AT THE HOMES OF MIAMI CHAPTER MEMBERS

**SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9**

8:00 AM BOARD OF TRUSTEES BREAKFAST  
(for Trustees only)

10:00 AM SHABBAT SERVICES - Devoted to Jewish Pluralism -  
Focus on the Jews of Central America

ONEG SHABBAT

"How Judaism Differs" - Video Tape featuring  
Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg  
Dr. David M. Gordis

12:30 PM PLENARY LUNCHEON  
"Jews As Americans-A Dream Fulfilled?"  
Charles Silberman, Author

2:30 PM CONCURRENT COMMITTEE MEETINGS

- Energy Committee
- National Membership Cabinet
- Soviet Jewry Task Force
- Women's Issues Committee

5:00 PM APPEAL FOR HUMAN RELATIONS COCKTAIL RECEPTION  
Honoring David Fleeman

7:00 PM PRE-DINNER RECEPTION

7:30 PM NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DINNER

A Tribute to:  
Ambassador Allan Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State  
(Designate)  
Dame Nita Barrow, Convener, The Nairobi Forum  
In recognition of their accomplishments in Nairobi

PRESIDENT'S OPEN RECEPTION  
Coffee, Dessert & Cordials

**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 10**

8:00 AM PLENARY BREAKFAST  
"Acculturation of Immigrants - The New Challenge"  
Mayor Fredrico Pena of Denver

10:30 AM PLENARY SESSION  
"Central America - What Role for the U.S. & AJC"  
Dr. Fernando Berrocal, Ambassador of Costa Rica to UN

1:00 PM ADJOURNMENT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
**National Executive Council Meeting**



Hyatt Regency Miami • November 7-10, 1985

**REGISTRATION FOR WEEKEND EVENTS**



**GENERAL REGISTRATION INFORMATION**

- \* Please make your reservations as soon as possible. We lose our special-convention-rate block of hotel rooms weeks before the Meeting, and we can guarantee the availability of rooms at these special rates only if your reservation is received in New York by October 9th.
- \* Registration fees and meal charges must be paid before hotel room or session reservations can be processed. The Full 4-Day Registration Fee of \$75 per person and the Daily Registration Fee of \$20 per person (for local members) covers non-food costs of the Meeting.
- \* Refund of registration fees is by written request only. Requests for refund postmarked after October 25th will be subject to a \$25 per person late-cancellation charge. Meal payments can be refunded only if we receive your cancellation at least 48 hours before the session.
- \* PLEASE NOTE THE HOME HOSPITALITY & SATURDAY DINNER SEATING DEADLINES.
- \* THIS PACKET CONTAINS THREE FORMS. PLEASE GIVE YOUR ATTENTION TO ALL OF THEM SO YOU DON'T OVERLOOK ANY EVENT YOU WISH TO SIGN UP FOR.
- \* Registrants' badges, tickets, kits and other meeting materials may be picked up from the AJC Registration Desk at the Hyatt Regency when you arrive. Tickets will not be mailed out in advance.
- \* Please note that all hotel reservations are guaranteed. This means that "no shows" will be billed for one night by the hotel.

**MEAL SESSION RESERVATIONS**

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_ NAME OF SPOUSE/GUEST: \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_ TELEPHONE: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_

**WEEKEND PACKAGE** No. of Persons    Per Person    Total  
 INCLUDES SEVEN MEALS MARKED  \_\_\_\_\_ \$ 140 \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**OR CHOOSE THE MEAL SESSIONS YOU WILL ATTEND**

<input type="checkbox"/> Thursday Buffet Luncheon	_____	22	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Thursday Dinner	_____	29	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Friday Continental Breakfast	_____	9	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Friday Buffet Luncheons:			
Workshop A	_____	22	_____
Workshop B	_____	22	_____
Workshop C	_____	22	_____
Workshop D	_____	22	_____
Saturday Board of Trustees Breakfast (Trustees only)	_____	12	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Saturday Plenary Luncheon	_____	22	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> N E C D I N N E R *	_____	40	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Sunday Buffet Breakfast	_____	19	_____
Sunday Luncheons:			
Officers (by invitation)	_____	22	_____
Nominating Committee (NC members only)	_____	22	_____
<b>FULL (4-day) REGISTRATION FEE</b>	_____	75	\$ _____

**DAILY REGISTRATION FEE** (\$20 per person) for local members only.  
 Check days you will attend & add the total to your remittance:  
 THURSDAY     FRIDAY     SATURDAY     SUNDAY    \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**VIZCAYA MUSEUM RECEPTION:** If you signed up, add \$10 per person . . . . \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**ENCLOSED IS TOTAL REMITTANCE OF \$ \_\_\_\_\_**

**Friday Evening HOME HOSPITALITY**  
 Hosted by the Miami Chapter for out-of-towners.  
 Reservations accepted until October 31.  
 CHECK NUMBER OF PLACES:    1     2

\* Seats for the SATURDAY DINNER are pre-assigned. In order for your name to be on the seating list, your dinner reservation must be received by **MONDAY, NOV. 4th.**

\* SEATING REQUESTS cannot be accepted after **MONDAY, NOV. 4th.** If you have a seating request, please let us know now, in the space below:

**HYATT REGENCY HOTEL RESERVATIONS**

AJC has obtained special convention rates for this NEC Meeting. Reservations for hotel rooms can be processed only if accompanied by the Weekend Registration Fee of \$75 per person. Also, please note that these special rates apply only to reservations received by AJC by October 9. After October 9, we cannot guarantee accommodations and reservations will be processed at the hotel's regular daily rates. For your information, the Monday following the meeting is Veterans' Day, a holiday.

Please check desired accommodations. Rates shown are exclusive of 10% local sales tax.  
 Single \$65     Double \$73     Suite \$135 and up

Arrival Date \_\_\_\_\_ Departure Date \_\_\_\_\_

**PLEASE NOTE:** All hotel reservations are guaranteed. This means that "no shows" will be billed for one night by the hotel

"ACTION WHERE YOU ARE" LUNCHEON WORKSHOPS

Friday, November 8, 1985, 12:15 PM

REGISTRATION FORM

Please use this form to let us know your preference if you plan to participate in Friday's "ACTION WHERE YOU ARE" workshops. We need to know in advance how many AJC members will attend each workshop so that we can make appropriate room assignments.

	<u>Name of Participant</u>	<u>Name of Participant</u>
*NO PREFERENCE	_____	_____
A. COUNTERING ANTI-SEMITISM AND EXTREMISM	_____	_____
B. PROJECTING AJC'S INTERNATIONAL AGENDA	_____	_____
C. REACHING OUT TO INTERMARRIEDS	_____	_____
D. NEW DIRECTIONS IN INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUES	_____	_____

\*If you have no strong preference, please allow us to make an assignment for you so that we can assure adequate attendance at all of the workshops.

Note: Since the workshops are luncheon sessions, it is necessary to indicate your attendance on the enclosed Meal Session Reservation Form, too.

NAME(S) \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please Print)

VIZCAYA MUSEUM & GARDENS

Reservation Form

The Miami Chapter of the AJC invites you to an evening reception, Thursday, November 7th.

We will leave the Hyatt directly after dinner for a visit to Vizcaya, a unique restoration (see brochure enclosed), just a short ride from the hotel.

An excursion boat will leave from the Hyatt's own dock promptly at 7:15 PM. Space on the boat is limited, so the round-trip boat ride is open only to Full Weekend Registrants.

A bus will also be available, and will depart from the Hyatt at 7:30 PM.

The \$10 per person charge for the reception includes the round-trip transportation.

-----  
 I/We will attend the Vizcaya Reception.

Please arrange the following transportation:

• BY BOAT - Round Trip \_\_\_\_\_

One-Way to Vizcaya \_\_\_\_\_

CHECK ONE

One-Way Return to Hotel \_\_\_\_\_

• BY BUS - Round-Trip \_\_\_\_\_

One-Way to Vizcaya \_\_\_\_\_

CHECK ONE

One-Way Return to Hotel \_\_\_\_\_

I/We will make our own transportation arrangements.

NAME(S) \_\_\_\_\_

(please print)

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## REPORT ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN MEXICO

By Sergio Nudelstejer  
Director, AJC Mexican/Central American Office  
September 23, 1985

The earthquake that shook Mexico City on Thursday, September 19th at 7:20 a.m. was the worst suffered in the history of the country. It affected many different districts of the city, some heavily populated, including sections of extreme poverty where poorly-constructed dwellings were especially vulnerable to damage. As of September 23rd, it has been officially estimated that 750 buildings were either totally or partially destroyed, among them a number of hotels catering to tourists. To date, the Mexican Government has identified more than 5,000 dead; however, the number is likely to rise given those who lie buried under the debris or are otherwise unaccounted for.

The Jewish community, through its representative body the Comité Central Israelita de México (Central Jewish Committee of Mexico), extended assistance to all the victims of the tragedy, and especially to the large number of people left homeless. It organized four shelters in different sections of the city which were stocked with cots, blankets, medicine, including first aid services, and food. Many Jewish youth began working from the very first day with the Mexican Red Cross and the Volunteer Corps. Several Jewish construction engineers have been offering their expertise, as well as needed heavy equipment, to assist where necessary. Jewish doctors and medical students have also cooperated extensively in the relief effort. In sum, the local Jewish presence and concern for the fate of the country at this critical moment has been strongly felt.

Concerning the impact of the tragedy on the Jewish community itself, the building of the Ashkenazi Kehila, located at Acapulco Street, 70, suffered serious damage, although the adjoining Great Synagogue remains in fairly good condition. Among the organizations maintaining offices in the Kehila building are: Central Jewish Committee of Mexico, Mexican Council of Jewish Women, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Agency, Jewish National Fund, Zionist Federation, Hebrew-Yiddish Seminar for Teachers, Ashkenazi Kehila, the Rabbinate, and a kosher restaurant. The building is now closed and will remain so until the extent of the damage can be evaluated and repairs completed. No other Jewish communal institution in Mexico City or elsewhere is reported to have incurred any damage.

To date, it has been confirmed that six members of the Jewish community died: two couples who perished when the building in which they lived collapsed and two others who died of heart attacks brought on by the fear and panic of the moment. All six victims were buried in the Jewish Cemetery on September 22nd.

In addition, many Jewish families live in such residential areas as Roma, Hipodromo, Condesa and Colonia del Valle where a number of buildings were destroyed. The whereabouts of several of these individuals is unknown and it is possible that some are still trapped under the debris.

Certain sections of downtown Mexico City, where heavy industry, small factories and shops are concentrated, suffered extensive damage. Many Jewish-owned businesses were affected, causing considerable property loss.

In addition to emergency assistance from the United States and other major countries, Israel was also very quick to respond to the general plight. Medicine and appropriate equipment for disaster response, accompanied by several specially-trained personnel, were sent in two planes and put to immediate use.

The Mexican Jewish community has fully identified itself with its fellow citizens in these days of anguish, grief and loss, and will do its share to assist in the reconstruction of that which the earthquake so ferociously and indiscriminately destroyed.

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/sm 10/4/55





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LYNNE IANNIELLO  
Director, Communications

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, Sept. 26....Dr. Oscar Arias Sanchez, candidate for the presidency of Costa Rica, has pledged that if elected in February he would keep his nation's embassy in Jerusalem. His opponent, Rafael A. Calderon Fournier, has made the same promise.

Dr. Arias, candidate of the ruling Partido Liberacion Nacional and an adviser to President Luis Alberto Monge, spoke before a meeting of ADL's Latin American Affairs Committee, attended by representatives of other national Jewish organizations.

Dr. Calderon, candidate of the Partido Unidad Social Cristiana, made his pledge at a meeting of Jewish groups in Washington in July.

Costa Rica moved its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 1982, shortly after Mr. Monge became president.

#

AJ, IP, LAJ, LAP-FOR, LAP-US, SP, USS, BHFOR, BHLA-85

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**date** September 26, 1985  
**to** David Harris  
**from** Arthur Berner  
**subject** AJC trip to Mexico taken by Arthur Berner and Dr. Robert Zurawin

We arrived in Mexico City on Kol Nidre evening, September 24, 1985, to assess the earthquake's damage to the Jewish community and to demonstrate American Jewish concerns for the tragedy. We took a taxi to the Maria Isabella Hotel in the Zona Rosa (pink zone), this area having been the site of the greatest earthquake damage.

Later that evening we met with Sergio Nudelstejer, who informed us that as far as the Jewish community was concerned:

1. No serious damage occurred in the predominately Jewish residential neighborhoods;
2. approximately 500 Jewish businesses, predominantly in textile and piece goods and which were located in the Pink Zone, were severely damaged or destroyed.

Sergio told us that the Jewish community has information that six Jewish people had died in the disaster. He also stated that the only Jewish institution to be damaged was the Ashkenazi Kehila (at #70 Acapulco Street.) This is the site of a number of Jewish offices, including the Jewish Agency, and adjacent to one of the large Orthodox synagogues.

Sergio told us that he had had a conversation with the Minister of Health and Government, and that Mexico was in no current need of medicine. He said that perhaps at a later date they might need medicine but at this point they were well stocked. He also informed us that the Jewish community in Mexico had voluntarily opened shelters for people whose homes were destroyed because of the earthquake. He said, however, that despite offering bed and clothing, few people came to use the facilities.

On Yom Kippur, prior to services, Bob Zurawin and I contacted a number of Jewish residents. We had been requested to give them messages from their families. We found out that, confirming Sergio's report, there was no damage to either property or persons of the people we contacted.

During Yom Kippur, we had conversations with the president of the Central Committee, Bernardo Weitzner, who told us that: (1) they did not need medicine; (2) at this point the Jewish community had not yet considered whether it would prove necessary to extend aid to those people who lost businesses; (3) they weren't sure of the cost of repairing the Ashkenazi Kehila; and (4) that they

might want to use money contributed by the American Jewish community to rebuild a governmental facility (e.g. hospital) as a public gesture from the Jewish community.

Bob and I also met with the President and Secretary of the Centro Deportivo Israelita (the Jewish Sports Center, which is equivalent to a mega-community center.) They also confirmed our conversations with Messrs. Nudelstejer and Weitzner to the effect that there was very little damage to Jewish property except for the businesses which were destroyed in the central district, and that six Jews had been confirmed dead. Mr. Kipnis, Secretary of the C.D.I, told us that he was not yet sure what the Mexican Jewish Community would do with donated funds.

Bob and I spent Yom Kippur at three services: the Orthodox, the Conservative (Beth El) and the Sephardic. We talked with a number of people who confirmed all the discussions noted above.

A099-Mexican Trip  
10/4/55-gn



Please let us know if you can join us.



*For Your  
Information*

BERTRAM H. GOLD.

# INSTITUTE ON AMERICAN JEWISH-ISRAELI RELATIONS

**date** September 26, 1985  
**to** Advisory Board Members of the Institute  
**from** Bert Gold  
**subject** Meeting of October 10th

I'm glad that you are able to join us at the Advisory Board meeting on October 10th. I thought you'd be interested in knowing that at the meeting

.. Danny Halpern, Economic Minister, Israeli Embassy, Washington, and Elmer Winter, both of whom attended the meeting of the Economic Task Force of Project Independence in Jerusalem earlier this month, will bring us up to date on efforts to assist Israel in its current economic crisis. Implications for Institute programming will be considered.

.. Dr. David Harman, Professor of Education, Hebrew University, will present some of the issues that were discussed at the Institute's consultation on Ashkenazi/Sephardi Relations convened last June -- including implications for American Jews.

.. Selma Hirsh will suggest a proposal for studies of the attitudes of younger generations of American Jews and Israelis toward each other.

.. Stu Eizenstat will report on discussions held in August by our Israeli Advisory Board on the New Definition of Zionism, and we will explore the next steps in this process.

I look forward to seeing you on the 10th.

# SUTTON PLACE SYNAGOGUE

Jewish Center For The United Nations  
225 East 51st Street  
New York, New York 10022  
(212) 593-3300

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Dov Keren  
Cantor

Harriet A. Janover  
Executive Director

September 27, 1985

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

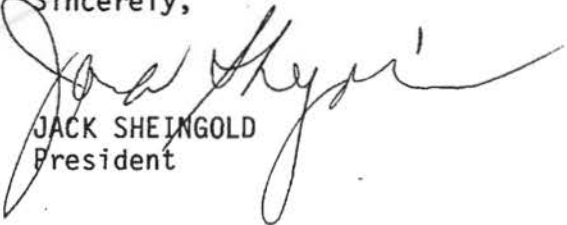
Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

I know that I express the thanks and appreciation of the Officers, Trustees and members of Sutton Place Synagogue who attended the High Holy Days Auditorium-Parallel Services for your magnificent leadership of these Services.

You possess very special and rare qualities as a Rabbi, for you truly share your love of prayer and Judaism and your extraordinary knowledge of world affairs with each and every member of your Congregation. We are extremely proud to have you with us each year and we look forward to your continued affiliation with Sutton Place Synagogue in 1986 and for many, many more years to come.

Thank you for your efforts and on behalf of everyone at Sutton Place Synagogue, we wish you and your dear wife great happiness, good health and success for the New Year.

Sincerely,



JACK SHEINGOLD  
President

JS/hb

OCT 11 1985

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I CONFERÊNCIA PANAMERICANA RELAÇÕES CATÓLICO - JUDAICAS

3, 4, e 5 - NOVEMBRO DE 1985

São Paulo, 27 September 1985

Rabbi Dr. Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director of International Relations  
The American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022  
U.S.A.

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum,

It will be an honor and joy to have you with us at the First Pan-American Conference on Catholic-Jewish Relations, to be held, God willing, on 3, 4 and 5 November, at the "Hebraica" in São Paulo.

As you well know, the Meeting is being sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops and the Latin-American Jewish Congress.

At the festive opening on Sunday evening, 3 November, at 8:00 PM, hopefully you will agree to convey the greetings of the AJC family. You will speak immediately after Dom Ivo Lorscheiter, President of the CNBB. Because of consecutive translation into Portuguese, we would like to suggest that you limit yourself to approximately 5 minutes.

On Monday morning, 4 November, at 9:00 AM, we are pleased to confirm your major address on "Nostra Aetate: a Jewish observer at Vatican Council II". Father Humberto Porto has been indicated to deliver the Catholic response. The moderator of our morning session will be Monsenhor Antonio Quarracino, President of CELAM. You may extend yourself for 30 minutes, which will be tantamount to a full hour, including consecutive translation.

We have booked a room for you at the Hotel Ca' d'Oro, on Rua Augusta 129. You will be received with open arms and open hearts.

Respectfully,

Frei Leonardo Martin

Rabbi Henry I. Sobel

On Behalf of the Organizing Committee

RUA RIO DE JANEIRO, 182 . CONJS. S.2/S.3 . CEP 01240 . SÃO PAULO



September 28 1985

gloria

Dear Marc -

What a very special meaning you gave me in the High Holy Days this year - Kol Nidre services were exquisite and your sermon touched us deeply - It was a privilege to be part of the congregation - Knowing you from the American Jewish Committee and getting to know you as the great theologian that you are - showed us a different side of you than I knew -

Thank you for sharing your  
many talents with all of us -

Best wishes are sent from  
our house to yours - and from our  
family to yours for a happy, healthy  
Productive New Year -

Sincerely  
Grisel Mulman Lewis

## LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

September 30, 1985

TO: Officers, Executive Committee, National Council and  
Key Contacts

FROM: Thomas A. Dine, Executive Director  
Douglas M. Bloomfield, Legislative Director

The Reagan Administration notified Congress last week that it intends to sell Jordan \$1.5 billion to \$1.9 billion in arms despite strong Congressional opposition to such action. The request came after King Hussein, at the urging of the Administration, announced at the United Nations that Jordan is "prepared to negotiate, under appropriate auspices, with the government of Israel, promptly and directly under the basic tenets of Security Resolutions 242 and 338." Hussein insisted that the "appropriate auspices" should be an international conference hosted by the U.N. with the five permanent members of the Security Council, including the Soviet Union, and attended by Syria and the PLO. These conditions are unacceptable to the United States and Israel.

The arms package includes 40 F20 or F16 advanced fighters; 12 mobile I-HAWK surface-to-air missile batteries and equipment to convert Jordan's present 14 batteries into mobile units; 108 Stinger shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles; 300 AIM-9P4 infrared air-to-air Sidewinder missiles and 32 Bradley Fighting Vehicles. While it is not clear how the package as a whole would be financed, it is expected that Administration will ask Congress to provide about half the funding.

Hussein's speech was largely aimed at satisfying the conditions of the Smith amendment which was signed into law on August 8, 1985. The amendment states that any notification of a proposed sale to Jordan must be accompanied by a Presidential certification of "Jordan's public commitment to the recognition of Israel and to negotiate promptly and directly with Israel under the basic tenets of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." He served to negate that apparent concession by his insistence to an international forum with the Soviets, Syria and PLO. Those

conditions simply prevent both convening of talks and direct, bilateral negotiations.

A strong feeling pervades Congressional offices that Hussein's U.N. speech and his recent actions signal nothing new in Jordanian policy. The idea of an international conference has been proposed before, and in the past, the United States and Israel have consistently rejected it. Sen. **Richard Lugar** (R-IN), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, issued a statement saying that the king's steps to date still fell short of meeting Congressional strictures and that further steps would be needed to gain Congress' support for the sale.

Before the sale's notification, over two-thirds of the Senate, all 47 Democrats and 26 (of 53) Republicans, cosponsored the **Heinz-Kennedy** resolution stipulating that the U.S. "should not sell advanced fighter aircraft, mobile or anti-aircraft missiles, or any other advanced arms to Jordan" under present conditions. Moreover, after the notification, 26 Republican senators made public a letter to the President criticizing the sale.

The **Heinz-Kennedy** resolution is a non-binding statement expressing the sense of Congress. However, it is expected that binding resolutions of disapproval will soon be introduced in the House and the Senate expressing disapproval of the sale. Meanwhile, initial hearings on the issue are likely to be scheduled in the next two weeks in the House Foreign Relations and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. Congress has 50 days after the President's notification of the sale to vote against the request and the President has the same amount of time to withdraw it. That means the crucial votes should come about mid-November.

The Administration decided to send the Jordan package to Congress before an arms sale to the Saudis, largely because Riyadh did not want to bear the burden of a confrontation or a loss in Congress; as it now stands, it is unclear whether the Administration will request a sale to the Saudis this year. More than a majority of the Senate has already sponsored a resolution of disapproval introduced by Sens. **Alan Cranston** (D-CA), **Alphonse D'Amato** (R-NY), **Alan Dixon** (R-IL), and **Bob Packwood** (R-OR) to block such a sale in the absence of tangible Saudi contributions to the peace process.

Moreover, the Saudis recently purchased 48 ground-attack Tornado jets, 24 interceptors and 60 British/West German tank training planes from Great Britain for an estimated cost of over \$3 billion. The Saudis plan to station the fighter

planes at the Tabuk airbase, 800 miles from the vulnerable oil fields but only 120 miles from Israel's border. Rep. **Charles Schumer** (D-NY) praised the U.S. policy prohibiting the sale of similar offensive aircraft and said that the British sale "lifts the veil" from Saudi intentions and reveals their aggressive intent.

#### FOREIGN AID

Congress last week passed a temporary Continuing Resolution (C.R.), enabling foreign assistance to continue at last year's level until November 15. By that date, Congress will have to decide whether to pass another C.R. until January or pass a full-year C.R. or appropriations bill. It is likely that the FY 1986 Foreign Assistance Appropriations Bill, which includes \$3 billion in all grant economic and military assistance for Israel as well as numerous other pro-Israel provisions, will be considered on the House floor shortly.

#### TRADE ENFORCEMENT BILL

The Textile and Apparel Trade Enforcement Bill which in its current form limits the growth of Israeli imports, was recently reported out of the House Ways and Means Committee and is now pending on the House calendar. An amendment introduced by Rep. **Richard Gephardt** (D-MO) to exclude multilateral and bilateral agreements (including free trade agreements such as Israel's) from the provisions of the bill was defeated by one vote in the committee, in large part due to Chairman **Rostenkowski's** desire to hold off all amendments on the bill. The Senate version of the bill is still pending in the Finance Committee. The President has threatened to veto the bill unless the Senate makes major revisions.

#### TRANSITION

##### NEWLY ELECTED

Rep. **Cathy Long** (D-LA)  
Rep. **Jim Chapman** (D-TX)

RETIRING

Sen. John East (R-NC)  
Sen. Charles Mathias (R-MD)  
Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-MO)  
Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-AZ)  
Sen. Russell Long (D-LA)  
Sen. Paul Laxalt (R-NEV)  
Sen. John East (R-NC)  
Rep. Thomas "Tip" O'Neill (D-MA)  
Rep. William Whitehurst (R-VA)  
Rep. Thomas Hartnett (R-SC)  
Rep. Gene Snyder (R-KY)  
Rep. Elwood Hillis (R-ID)  
Rep. Eldon Rudd (R-AZ)  
Rep. Marjorie Holt (R-MD)  
Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-MD)

RESIGNED

Rep. Sam Hall (D-TX)  
(nominated to Federal judgeship)

RUNNING FOR SENATE

Rep. John Breaux (D-LA) running for  
Sen. Russell Long's seat  
Rep. Tom Daschle (D-SD) running for  
Sen. Jim Abdnor's seat  
Rep. Bob Edgar (D-PA) running for  
Sen. Arlen Specter's seat  
Rep. Ken Kramer (R-CO) running for  
Sen. Gary Hart's seat  
Rep. John McCain (R-AZ) running for  
Sen. Barry Goldwater's seat  
Rep. Henson Moore (R-LA) running for  
Sen. Russell Long's seat  
Rep. Richard Shelby (D-AL) running  
for Sen. Jeremiah Denton's seat  
Rep. James Broyhill (R-SC) running  
for Sen. John East's seat  
Rep. Tom Kindness (R-OH) running for  
for Sen. John Glenn's seat

RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR

Rep. John McKernan (R-ME)  
Rep. Tom Loeffler (R-TX)

DEATHS

Rep. Gillis Long (D-LA)

\*\*\*\*\*

**ACTION NEEDED!**

Contact your Senators and Representatives to sponsor Resolutions of Disapproval of the arms sale to Jordan. Until Jordan sits down with Israel face-to-face for direct negotiations, all friends of Israel are opposing this sale.

\*\*\*\*\*



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

\*\*\*\*\*

MARK YOUR CALENDARS NOW

AIPAC'S 27TH ANNUAL POLICY CONFERENCE  
APRIL 6-8, 1986  
WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

\*\*\*\*\*

UPDATE ON SEVEN KIDNAPPED LEBANESE JEWISH LEADERS

(An International Relations Department Analysis)

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

In recent days hopes have been raised and then again dashed for the early release of several prominent members of the Lebanese Jewish community who have been held hostage for months by a pro-Iranian Lebanese Shi'ite faction. According to information obtained by the European Office of the American Jewish Committee, on Wednesday, September 11, the wife of Dr. Elie Hallak received a phone call in Beirut from the kidnappers, who then permitted her to speak directly with her husband and to Isaac Sasson. The two gentlemen, who are respectively the vice president and president of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Jewish community, said that "we are all well." They expressed the hope that they -- as well as the other Lebanese Jewish men being held with them -- would be released on the eve of Rosh Hashanah (September 15).

They had hoped that their captors, who are believed to be affiliated with the Hizbollah (the Party of God), would have responded to religious appeals to make a humanitarian gesture in view of the fact that the Jewish New Year corresponds with the first day of Muharram, which is the Muslim New Year. However, the holiday has passed and they remain in captivity. While the relatives were naturally disappointed, they continued to hope that international humanitarian efforts on their behalf might result in their release by Yom Kippur (September 25) which corresponds to Ashura Day, a day of special solemnity for Shi'ite Muslims. Unfortunately, this day too has passed and there is still no word of their release. This adds to the fears that their kidnappers fail to be moved by such religious appeals.

It should be noted that the Jewish community in Beirut has scrupulously stayed out of the factional fighting in Lebanon or the Arab-Israel conflict. Moreover, none of the kidnapped Jews played any partisan political role. For example, Dr. Hallak is a respected doctor, whose patients have come from the various ethnic and religious communities. Indeed, some years back he treated the son of one of the Palestine Liberation Organization's leaders in the city. Mr. Sasson heads the pharmaceutical division of Khalil Fattal & Fils, a major Lebanese trading company, and travelled freely in the Arab world for the company. Isaac Tarrab is a respected retired professor of mathematics at the Ecole des Lettres Francaises de Beyrouth. The other kidnap victims were Jewish communal officials and businessmen.

Although the Jewish kidnap victims are believed to be held by persons affiliated with the Hizbollah group who hijacked the TWA plane and are still holding several Americans, there is one significant difference: In the case of the Americans, specific and repeated demands were made for the release of Shi'ite terrorist suspects held by Israel (and since released) and for the release from prison of 17 Shi'ites convicted of terrorist acts in Kuwait against



American, French and Kuwaiti-owned facilities. In the case of the Lebanese Jewish hostages, no political demands have been received by the Jewish community or their relatives.

Indeed, precisely because the Lebanese Jews play no role in local or regional politics, the kidnappings have outraged Muslim as well as Christian leaders in the country. In fact, Nabih Berri, the leader of the Amal, the mainstream Shi'ite militia, explicitly condemned the kidnapping of four Jewish leaders at the end of March. Mr. Berri, who has served in the Lebanese Cabinet as Minister of Justice and Minister for South Lebanon Affairs, declared on April 4 that the kidnappings "falsify the image of Beirut, which is built on co-existence." He concluded that "whoever kidnaps a Jew just because he is Jewish only helps Zionism and has nothing to do with patriotism or the struggle...."

However, as became evident during the TWA hostage crisis, the more pragmatic and Western-educated Mr. Berri has himself been facing a challenge to his leadership within the Shi'ite community posed by fanatical, pro-Iranian fundamentalist groups such as the Hizbollah. Some of the latter apparently have been so blinded by hatred that they make no distinction between Israelis and Jews in general, despite Ayatollah Khomeini's clear injunction that under an Islamic Republic Jews and Judaism are to be respected, so long as they do not actively aid "the Zionist enemy."

The family of one of the Jewish hostages, Haim Cohen, is of Persian origin and he holds an Iranian passport. They have appealed to the Iranian authorities for the Ayatollah's intervention with the kidnappers on his behalf as an Iranian citizen, as well as on humanitarian grounds for the other hostages.

The once flourishing Jewish community, which still numbered 6,000 in 1967, has shrunk today to a tiny remnant of less than 100, mostly elderly. According to a reliable source in the community who conducted an informal census, at the beginning of August of this year there were 47 Jews living in Christian east Beirut and 18 in the predominantly Muslim western part of the city.

The Lebanese Government has confirmed that the six Jewish kidnap victims are alive and are being held by the Hizbollah. While the Government of President Amin Gemayel has promised to do whatever it could to obtain their release, its capacity to do so is quite limited. Additional appeals have been made to the Syrian authorities, who are in effective control of Baalbek in the Bekaa Valley in Eastern Lebanon, where the Hizbollah and other pro-Iranian Shi'ite fundamentalist groups have their headquarters. President Assad of Syria played a crucial role in July in obtaining the release of the TWA hostages held by the Hizbollah.

The American Jewish Committee, which has been in contact with the American, Lebanese and Syrian authorities, and with various other governments and human rights groups since the beginning of the kidnappings, hopes that intensified international attention to the plight of the Lebanese Jewish hostages will finally lead to their unconditional release without further delay.

The following details on the identity of the Lebanese Jewish kidnap victims and what is known of the circumstances of their abduction are based upon infor-

mation compiled by the American Jewish Committee from various sources in the Middle East, Western Europe and North America:

1. Salim Jammous, secretary general of the Jewish community, was kidnapped on August 15, 1984, reportedly by three armed men who abducted him from his car near the communal office which is in the compound of the main synagogue in the Wadi Abu Jamil quarter of West Beirut.
2. Dr. Elie Hallak, 60, vice president of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Jewish community, was kidnapped from his home in West Beirut, around midnight of the Sabbath night of March 29-30.
3. Elie (Yussef) Srour, 68, reportedly was kidnapped on Saturday night, March 30. He was in charge of preparing the dead for burial according to Jewish religious rites.
4. Haim Cohen, 37, also kidnapped on March 30. An accountant for a Beirut department store, he was well-liked and had friends among all segments of Lebanese society, and had no known enemies, according to his family. His wife and three sons remain in Beirut.
5. Isaac Sasson, in his mid-60's, president of the Jewish community, was kidnapped by an armed gang on Sunday, March 31, while travelling to the city from Beirut International Airport. Mr. Sasson was returning to Beirut from a business trip to the United Arab Emirates on behalf of Khalil Fattal & Fils, a major Lebanese trading company, whose pharmaceutical department he heads. When news spread of the kidnapping of the other three Lebanese Jews earlier in the weekend, his friends sought to warn him not to go to West Beirut and the company sent a car with police guards to meet him and take him to presumably safer Christian East Beirut. Eye witnesses say that when armed men stopped the car and demanded Mr. Sasson, the guards in the car offered no resistance. Mr. Sasson is believed to suffer from diabetes.
6. Isaac Tarrab, 75, a retired professor of mathematics, kidnapped later in April or early in May. Nothing is known of the circumstances of his abduction. When he failed to return to his home one evening, the superintendent notified the authorities, who could find no trace of him. A Kurdish family took over the apartment a week later. Professor Tarrab's family in Canada have had no further word from him. It is not known whether he is being held with the Jewish hostages taken earlier.
7. We have not been able to obtain any confirmation concerning the whereabouts of a seventh Lebanese Jew, Yehuda Benisti, 68, a former manager of Bank Safra in Beirut. It is feared that he too may have been kidnapped.

(For earlier background information on the Lebanese Jewish community, please see our report, "The Kidnapping of Lebanese Jewish Leaders," first issued on April 1 and revised on April 24, 1985.)

October 2, 1985

85-580-32

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** October 2, 1985  
**to** Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff  
**from** Eugene DuBow  
**subject** WILHELM HAAS

Attached is a copy of an article from The German Tribune concerning Wilhelm Haas, the new Ambassador from the Federal Republic of Germany to Israel.

Considering our good contacts with the Germans and our two exchange programs, he should be someone you might want to get to know.

Thought you would be interested.

cc: William Trosten  
Marc Tanenbaum  
David Harris



## ■ PEOPLE

# Bonn's new envoy to Tel Aviv

**DIE WELT**  
TÄGLICHE ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

**W**ilhelm Haas, a 54-year-old career diplomat, has been appointed Bonn's new ambassador to Tel Aviv. He takes over from Niels Hansen.

Both will accompany Bonn head of state Richard von Weizsäcker and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on a visit to Israel next month.

Also in the party will be Jürgen Sudhoff of the government Press and Information Office.

Herr Sudhoff has maintained close ties with Israel ever since a spell at the German embassy in Tel Aviv.

For the outgoing ambassador the state visit is the climax and conclusion of an unusually successful term in office.

Over the past four years Herr Hansen, 60, has combined balanced analysis and level-headed negotiating skill with such individual commitment and personal charm that he has become a most popular person in Israel.

Time and again he has surprised Jewish audiences and opposite numbers with his impeccable Hebrew. He learnt it the hard way, while he was in Israel.

Heidelberg-born Hansen, a man who

been good for a surprise in other respects, such as when he played the flute at the 75th birthday reception for Max Flesch, the arts patron, whose family came from Berlin. His impromptu performance on the flute, accompanied by a youth orchestra, prompted a standing ovation.

He has proved so popular and such a force for social integration that the Tel Aviv Rotary Club elected him as its president.

His next posting is in Brussels, where he will be the German ambassador to Nato. Past postings in New York and Washington should stand him in good stead, as should his experience as head of planning at the Bonn Foreign Office.

His reputation and skill should benefit both Germany and the North Atlantic pact.

Having transferred such a senior diplomat and star performer to Brussels, Foreign Minister Genscher could hardly appoint a run-of-the-mill diplomat to replace him.

In the quest for a man whose appointment as German ambassador in Jerusa-



From left, new ambassador Haas; Israel expert Sudhoff; and, with Yarmulka, outgoing ambassador Hansen.

(Photos: Sven Simon 2; Bonn Press and Information Office)

personal gesture Herr Genscher's attention was drawn to Wilhelm Haas, a departmental head at the Foreign Office.

There were three reasons why Herr Haas was felt to be the right man for the job:

- As head of the department in charge of relations with Africa, Asia and Latin America he was a senior man to send out to head the embassy in Israel as befits the importance attached to German-Israeli relations;

- He has extensive international experience and is skilled at understanding the other side's position;

- His mother is Jewish. On her account his father was dismissed from the foreign service in 1933. He left Germany with the family and work as a company representative in the Far East.

His mother thus escaped Nazi persecution. Haas grew up in Japan and China. The family did not return to Ger-

His past is sure to open many doors that might otherwise be closed to a German diplomat in Israel.

He is a flexible person who finds it easy to make contact with others and has gained a wide range of experience in his diplomatic career.

He studied law before joining the foreign service, then served in the United States, in Bonn and Munich, at the German embassy in Tokyo, in the East European department at the Foreign Office, at the embassies in Nairobi and Paris and as head of the disarmament department at the Nato secretariat-general.

He went on to become deputy head of the Foreign Office's planning department and special envoy to Africa in 1979. His last appointment was as head of the political department in charge of relations with the Third World.

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That posting is to be taken over by Herr Sudhoff, 50, whom the Foreign Minister might have also considered in the running for the Tel Aviv post.

Herr Genscher made his acquaintance in 1975 in Israel, where he served with distinction as press officer. He was so impressed that he took him straight back to Bonn as Foreign Office press officer.

Bochum-born Sudhoff, always with a friendly smile, has never been seen to show the slightest sign of nerves.

He spent nearly four years in Israel and found them a lasting experience. He felt a sense of personal commitment in "working with and in a country in a tight corner, a country we Germans have a special feeling for and sympathy with."

He still has many friends in Israel and as head of department at the Foreign Office will be partly responsible for relations with the Jewish state.

But relations with the Third World are naturally far more extensive, and Herr

Sudhoff has many qualities that suit him for the job.

As Herr Genscher's press officer he followed at first hand the progress of Bonn's Third World policy, including European cooperation with Asean and a more active policy toward Latin America.

He helped to follow up this policy in the field from 1980 to 1982 as German ambassador in Mexico.

He was then recalled to Bonn by Chancellor Kohl on Herr Genscher's recommendation.

As assistant chief government spokesman at the Press and Information Office he held a point of view that can be sure to influence his future work at the Foreign Office.

"Foreign policy," he said, "does not take place in thin air. It has to be based on a consensus. That presupposes people know what is being talked about and what the country's policy objectives are."

*Bernt Conrad*

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