



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE  
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 102, Folder 7, General correspondence, memos & working papers, September-December 1987.

**HEADQUARTERS**  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 E. 56 St.  
New York, NY 10022  
212 751-4000

**WASHINGTON OFFICE**  
2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036  
202 265-2000

**EUROPEAN OFFICE**  
4, rue de la Bienfaisance  
75008 Paris, France  
1 43-87-36-39 / 45-22-92-43

**ISRAEL**  
9 Ethiopia St.  
Jerusalem 95149, Israel  
02 228862 / 233551

**MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA**  
Av. Ejercito Nacional 533/302-303  
Mexico 6, D.F.  
905 531-0733 / 531-4776

**SOUTH AMERICA**  
(Temporary office)  
165 E. 56 St.  
New York, NY 10022  
212 751-4000

**AREA OFFICES**

**ATLANTA**  
3355 Lenox Road, Suite 880  
Atlanta, GA 30326  
404 233-5501

**BALTIMORE**  
829 Munsey Building  
7 North Calvert Street  
Baltimore, MD 21202  
301 539-4777

**BOSTON**  
One Lincoln Plaza  
89 South Street  
Boston, MA 02111  
617 330-9678

**CHICAGO**  
55 East Jackson Blvd., Suite 1870  
Chicago, IL 60604  
312 663-5500

**CINCINNATI**  
105 West Fourth Street, Suite 1008  
Cincinnati, OH 45202  
513 621-4020

**CLEVELAND**  
625 Hanna Building  
Cleveland, OH 44115  
216 781-6035

**DALLAS**  
Hillcrest Road, Suite 103  
Dallas, TX 75230  
214 387-2943

**DENVER**  
300 South Dahlia, Suite 201  
Denver, CO 80222  
303 320-1742

**DETROIT**  
163 Madison Avenue  
Detroit, MI 48226  
313 966-3353

**HOUSTON**  
2600 Southwest Freeway, Suite 714  
Houston, TX 77098  
713 524-1133

**KANSAS CITY**  
2200 West 75 Street, Suite 218  
Prairie Village, KS 66208  
913 236-9313

**LONG ISLAND**  
P.O. Box 901  
Great Neck, NY 11021  
516 466-2990

**LOS ANGELES**  
Wilshire Blvd., Suite 315  
Los Angeles, CA 90048  
213 655-7071

**MIAMI**  
3000 Biscayne Blvd., Suite 412  
Miami, FL 33137  
305 576-4240

**MILWAUKEE**  
759 North Milwaukee Street  
Milwaukee, WI 53202  
414 273-8833

**NEW JERSEY**  
303 Millburn Avenue  
Millburn, NJ 07041  
201 379-7844

**NEW YORK**  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 E. 56 Street  
New York, NY 10022  
212 751-4000

**ORANGE COUNTY, CA**  
1100 Main Street, Suite D-1  
Irvine, CA 92714  
714 860-8525

**PHILADELPHIA**  
1616 Walnut Street, Suite 2106  
Philadelphia, PA 19103  
215 732-4000

**PHOENIX**  
4710 North 16 Street, Suite 117  
Phoenix, AZ 85016  
602 279-9698

**PITTSBURGH**  
300 South Craig, Suite 224  
Pittsburgh, PA 15213  
412 683-7527

**PORTLAND**  
1120 S.W. Morrison, Suite 930  
Portland, OR 97205  
503 295-6761

**ST. LOUIS**  
7760 Clayton Road, Suite 103  
St. Louis, MO 63117  
314 647-2519

**SAN DIEGO**  
8950 Villa La Jolla Drive, Suite 2210  
La Jolla, CA 92037  
619 546-8777

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
121 Steuart Street  
San Francisco, CA 94105  
415 777-3820

**SEATTLE**  
1411 Joseph Vance Building  
Seattle, WA 98101  
206 622-6315

**WASHINGTON, DC**  
2027 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036  
202 265-2000

**WESTCHESTER**  
48 Mamaroneck Avenue  
White Plains, NY 10601  
914 948-5585

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

*at Work*

*Remembering the Past . . .*  
*Influencing the Present . . .*  
*Safeguarding the Future . . .*

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AT WORK

In 1906, pogroms in Czarist Russia inspired a small group of distinguished American Jews to create the American Jewish Committee and dedicate it to the protection of civil and religious rights of Jews the world over. For more than 80 years, America's first human-relations agency has remained true to their vision and labored to make it a reality.

The distance from the 1900s to the 1980s cannot be measured in time alone. It must also be viewed in terms of the vast political, economic and social changes that have occurred since the turn of the century.

Throughout the years, the AJC has fashioned its programs to meet the needs of the times. History has written our agenda . . . and we have tried to recognize, predict and influence the forces of history.

The distinguished Americans who created the Committee knew that anti-Semitism was not solely a Jewish

problem and that the security of Jews could only be insured by protecting the human rights of all peoples.

Thus, today, as over the past eight decades, the agenda of the American Jewish Committee reflects the concerns of men and women who are, at once, Americans and Jews. Our programs evolve from both our traditional Jewish values and our nation's historic dedication to equality and human rights for all.

As Americans and as Jews, we shall continue to proclaim liberty and labor in its cause.



The American Jewish Committee

The Institute of Human Relations 165 East 56 Street New York, NY 10022-2746

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AT WORK

### In the Beginning

(1906–1919)

Opposes discriminatory U.S. immigration laws and policies.

Sparks first successful state drive to bar racial and religious bias in advertising by places of public accommodation.

Helps create National Jewish Welfare Board to minister to American Jewish soldiers in World War I; plays key role in creation of Joint Distribution Committee to rescue Jewish war victims in Europe.

Endorses Balfour Declaration, which pledges to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Presses drive to include minority-rights provisions in peace treaties.

Undertakes preparation of *American Jewish Year Book*, authoritative annual record of worldwide events and trends in Jewish life.

### The Twenties

Files successful *amicus* brief in U.S. Supreme Court upholding right of Catholic parents to send their children to parochial schools.

Documents widespread postwar anti-Semitism in Europe.

Counters discrimination against Jews in employment and college admissions in U.S.

Joins emergency efforts to rescue 10,000 European Jews stranded by new restrictive quotas in U.S. Immigration Act of 1924.

### The Thirties

Exposes Nazi persecution of Jews and other minorities; presses educational campaign to counteract Nazi propaganda in U.S.

Initiates periodic polling to determine attitudes toward Jews in the U.S. and other lands.

Establishes Library of Jewish Information to provide objective data about Jews and Judaism.

Opposes British White Paper restricting Jewish immigration to Palestine; pledges cooperation with Jewish Agency "to help bring about a just, equitable and workable solution. . . ."

Undertakes extensive programs to help protect Jews in Central and South America; encourages Latin American countries to accept European Jewish refugees.

Denounces fascism and communism as equal threats to democracy and Jewish security.

### The Forties

Sponsors nationwide conference of social scientists to chart decade-long research into the roots of prejudice and its effects on individuals and society.

Mobilizes international support for successful drive to write human-rights clauses into new United Nations Charter.

Calls for immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish Holocaust survivors to Palestine; supports UN's Palestine partition plan.

Files *amicus* brief in U.S. Supreme Court opposing racially restrictive covenants in housing; mounts other legal battles against racial and religious discrimination.

Launches *Commentary* magazine, new intellectual journal of thought and opinion.

### The Fifties

Publishes *Studies in Prejudice*, pioneering five-volume work on causes and effects of bigotry; AJC-sponsored research is cited in historic Supreme Court decision banning racial segregation in public schools.

Surveys status of Jews in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia; demands their right to full and equal citizenship and unhampered emigration.

Publishes first documentary evidence of Soviet anti-Semitism.

Dedicates new national headquarters, the Institute of Human Relations, as center for research and social action.

Sponsors studies of executive-suite discrimination in U.S. business and industry at Harvard, Michigan, UCLA and other major universities; findings spur major U.S. corporations to alter discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.

### The Sixties

Provides Second Vatican Council with scholarly papers reviewing the image of the Jew in Catholic teaching; encourages Protestant, Catholic and Jewish self-studies of religious textbooks and teaching materials.

Opens office in Israel to promote understanding between the U.S. and Israel and clarify that country's ties with Jews in other lands.

Creates William E. Wiener Oral History Library to chronicle the American Jewish experience.

Establishes Institute on Pluralism and Group Life to promote intergroup cooperation.

### The Seventies

Establishes Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights to enhance Jewish security and promote universal freedom.

Organizes National Consultation on Jewish Poverty, to call attention to forgotten Jewish poor.

Conducts first nationwide study of the impact of intermarriage on the Jewish community; creates National Jewish Family Center to strengthen the Jewish family.

Undertakes broad educational program to combat Arab economic warfare.

Launches *Present Tense*, new quarterly magazine focusing on world Jewish affairs.

Files *amicus* brief in landmark *Bakke* case, supporting affirmative action without racial or ethnic quotas.

### The Eighties

Creates new AJC Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations to further understanding and dialogue between the two communities.

Combats gender discrimination in town and city clubs and employment; sends largest American Jewish delegation to international UN Decade for Women's Forum in Nairobi.

Sponsors leadership exchange programs with West Germany's Adenauer and Ebert Foundations.

Commemorates 20th Anniversary of Vatican Council II in historic meeting with Pope John Paul II and interreligious ceremonies in the U.S.; inaugurates new dialogue programs with Catholic, Protestant and Jewish seminarians.

Strengthens coalitions with American racial, ethnic and religious communities to combat extremism, improve intergroup relations and promote common goals.



UN SEGNO  
PER LA VITA

TELEFAX MESSAGE

DATE: 4th September 1987

TO: AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ATTENTION:

CHIEF RABBI TANNENBAUM

FAX NO.: 212. 319.09.75

FROM: ARCHBISHOPRIC OF BOLOGNA  
CONGRESS OFFICE  
TELEFAX NO. 051/228429

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 4 (FOUR)



To the kind attention of the  
Chief Rabbi Tannenbaum  
American Jewish Committee  
New York

Bologna, 4th September 1987

In the course of this year 1987, the Archdiocese of Bologna will celebrate the Sixth Eucharistic Congress, having the Theme 'For the Life of the World'. Among the many final initiatives of the Eucharistic Congress, a special charity Concert "HYMN FOR LIFE", which foresees the special participation of great witnesses working for life and peace, is scheduled for the night of Saturday, September 26th, 1987. The event will be broadcast by our major national television network.

All the Nobel Prizes for Peace, from 1979 to 1986, have been invited; among them we received a positive answer from Mother Teresa of Calcutta, the U.N.O. Commissioners for Refugees, Alfonso Garcia Robles.

Unfortunately Mr. Elie Wiesel cannot attend 'Hymn for Life' as it falls in the middle of the Jewish High Holidays.

Given the importance of the event we contacted the Chief Rabbi of Rome Professor Toaf; Professor Toaf was extremely kind, he offered to help us as far as it was in his power.

Professor Toaf suggested that we could kindly ask for your help in asking again to Mr. Elie Wiesel; as far as the Italian Jewish Community he is very pleased to invite Mr. Wiesel and his family to Rome from September 24th to September 26th.

Mr Wiesel could leave Rome after sunset on September 26th, so not to break his Holidays, and attend the Concert, together with the other Nobel Prizes for Peace. We are also honoured to invite you, as representant of the American Jewish Committee, to the Gala Evening, together with Chief Rabbi Professor Toaf.

The show has been organized to raise funds for the foundation of a Children Food Centre in the Diocese of Iringa (Tanzania).

Many important artists are also taking part in this great event, a concert will be held by the London Symphony Orchestra, directed by Maestro Lorin Maazel - Choruses from Mexico and Spain.

His Holiness, Pope John Paul II is sending a video recorded message to the audience in Bologna and the spectators all over Italy.

The Nobel Prizes will also read their personal message during the Gala Evening, a message meant to be a testimony of their work, their life devoted to peace.

I thank you very much in advance for your kind attention, hoping to receive a positive answer we are looking forward to receiving information from you.

+ *Giacomo Biffi*  
+ Giacomo Biffi  
Arcivescovo di Bologna  
Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church



### L'idea del concerto-spettacolo

L'idea base è quella di un grande concerto sinfonico (London Symphony Orchestra) diretto da un grande maestro (Lorin Maazel), che eseguirà brani popolari di vari autori, integrati dall'intervento di cori, intesi come il riferimento diretto e la metafora di altrettanti sentimenti umanitari, climatici e geografici: primavera, estate, autunno, inverno; cioè Est (India, Cina, Giappone), Sud (Africa, Sud America), Ovest (America del Nord) e Nord (Russia, Europa), riuniti intorno alla sacralità dell'esistenza e della vita umana.

La trasmissione televisiva sarà condotta da Luciano Ripoli, Gina Lollobrigida e Romina Power.

Parteciperanno al concerto-spettacolo tutti coloro che avranno sottoscritto un contributo per la fondazione di un Centro Nutrizionale per l'infanzia nella Diocesi di Iringa (Tanzania).

Tale concerto-spettacolo vuole infatti essere una grande festa alla quale prenderanno parte tutti coloro che avranno contribuito in qualche misura alla realizzazione di questo segno per la vita.

All'importante serata di gala sono chiamati a partecipare personaggi dello spettacolo e della cultura e grandi testimoni della vita e della pace di rilevanza internazionale.

La formula è originale nel senso che si esibiranno una grande orchestra sinfonica diretta da una prestigiosa bacchetta di fama mondiale e altri grandi artisti nell'ambito della musica classica insieme a cantanti e gruppi di musica moderna e folk rappresentativi di diverse aree culturali e di diverse nazionalità.

A queste esibizioni artistiche si alterneranno interventi e testimonianze di figure che si prodigano per la costruzione della pace, per la prosecuzione della vita e di rapporti internazionali ispirati alla fraternità e solidarietà fra gli uomini e le nazioni, come ad esempio, alcuni Premi Nobel per la pace.



Le partecipazioni di diverse forme dell'arte, che di solito si esibiscono disgiuntamente, intendono sottolineare la volontà di chiamare a costruire un evento di pace e per la vita, il maggior numero di artisti e di esponenti della cultura, superando tradizionali e storici steccati fra mondi tradizionalmente distinti, ma non separati proprio perchè espressivi della ricerca del bello e del vero, che contraddistingue lo spirito umano.



SEP 8 1987

VIA FAX

Saudi Arabia

RECEIVED

**E AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** September 8, 1987

**to** Shimon Samuels

**from** George Gruen

**subject** Two urgent inquiries

1. Israeli position on proposed U.S. Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia

Could you please get an immediate, informal reading as to how fundamentally Israeli officials are really opposed to proposed new U.S. arms sales to Saudi Arabia. We will be discussing this at NJCRAC task force meeting in Washington Thursday afternoon Sept. 10. Attached is Packwood and Cranston op ed piece, which continues to give the anti-Saudi arguments, as well as a couple of press clippings.

There is speculation, however, that in view of new developments, including the cancellation of the Lavi--which means Israel will be eager to get alternative financing for other defense projects and increased US-Israeli military direct cooperation in research and coproduction--Israel may be using its opposition to the Saudi sales as a bargaining point and in the end agree. The heightened tensions in the Persian Gulf conflict and reported Saudi helpfulness are another factor. A third is the longstanding US argument that other countries are eager to sell if the US won't and they will impose fewer restraints on resale. This point is underscored by reported latest Saudi-Brazilian deal. Whatever you can learn from your sources will be most appreciated. Please either fax or give me a call at home Wednesday evening or Thursday between 6:30 and 7 AM New York Time (212) 663-5829.

2. Who lobbied on the issue of Who is A Jew? Bert needs this for his report to the Board on September 21. Since Sema and Bert are both away I presume this means Americans other than AJC who lobbied against changes in the various laws that would have strengthened the Orthodox monopoly. I know that Miami and several other communities and or individuals were faxing protests to you for transmission to the Knesset. Also the CJF mission. Please have your office prepare a summary for me so I can include it in a wrap up for Bert. I will check with sources here also.

- Encs. - Many thanks and best wishes.

cc: Bert Gold Marc Tanenbaum David Harris

*George*



ME/arms  
US policy

IS F.R. Arabs - Arms.

# White House Will Again Seek More Arms for Saudis

Y. 14. 87

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS  
Special to The New York Times

SANTA BARBARA, Calif., Aug. 17 — The White House intends to revive its proposals to sell additional arms to Saudi Arabia later this year, but has made no final decisions on the timing of the sale or what the package would contain, White House officials said today.

"I'm confirming, certainly, that we intend to initiate a package at some point," said Marlin Fitzwater, the President's spokesman. There are still "outstanding questions," he added, about "when and in what form, and how much, and how many, and so forth."

The Washington Post reported today that the Administration intended to send the package to Capitol Hill shortly after Congress returns from its summer recess on Sept. 9.

"We don't want to go up with a package that's going to lose," a White House official said. "We've got to sit down with Congress and talk it through. We're talking about a long timetable."

### Stiff Opposition Likely

Any arms proposal is likely to encounter stiff opposition on Capitol Hill. Earlier this year, the White House expressed its desire to sell F-15 fighters and Maverick air-to-ground missiles to the Saudis, but had to withdraw those proposals in the face of fierce Congressional opposition.

The White House said at the time that it would consult with Congress and resubmit its arms request "at the earliest possible date."

According to Mr. Fitzwater, his statement today was a re-statement of longstanding Administration intentions.

On Capitol Hill, Senator Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, issued a statement warning the Administration not to come forward with a new arms sales proposal without consulting Congress

'We've got to sit down with Congress and talk it through.'

"To do so," he said, "would make a bad situation worse in the tense Persian Gulf area."

### Purpose of Arms Questioned

Many members of Congress were unavailable to comment because of the summer recess, and it was difficult to gauge the prospects for such a sale. A spokesman for Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California, who has been a leader in opposing past arms sales to the Saudis, said the opposition to this effort would be just as strong.

"I don't expect the opposition to be lessened at all as a result of whatever the Administration is claiming about new Saudi needs," the spokesman said. "Whatever danger the Saudis are claiming, it is not an invasion from Iran. These weapons won't protect the Saudis from Islamic fundamentalism."

Administration statements on the matter today were inconsistent. In Washington, Phyllis Oakley, a State Department spokeswoman, said, "There have been no new developments, and there is no current active consideration of this issue."

But in Santa Barbara, where the President is on vacation, Mr. Fitzwater said, "We are talking to members of Congress and others about sending these sales up for approval."

Last February, in a secret report to Congress, the White House said it wanted to sell Saudi Arabia 12 new F-15 fighters, mainly as replacements for the current Saudi force of 60 aircraft.

### Production Plant to Close

all the same stuff we've discussed before," he said.

The President's spokesman acknowledged today that there were disagreements within the Administration over the timing of a renewed proposal.

Those favoring a quick request say that the increased American presence in the Persian Gulf could be used as leverage with Congress to approve a sale. In addition, according to argument, the Saudis have helped their case with the Congress by arming the American effort to protect shipping in the Gulf.

Others in the Administration say that taking on a fight with the Congress over the Saudi sale would not make sense at this time, given the competing issues Congress will take up next month. The Administration's nomina-

tion of Judge Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court, aid for the Nicaraguan rebels and the Federal budget will be on the agenda when Congress reconvenes.

The Administration has long had trouble winning Congressional approval for arms sales to the Saudis. Many legislators express concern that advanced weapons could eventually be turned against Israel in the event of a new war in the Middle East.

The Administration argues that the Saudis have been widely misunderstood and have been far more helpful to the United States than is generally known. The Saudis have funneled billions of dollars to various countries and insurgent forces over the last two decades, often at the request of the United States.

Said  
to  
US  
Friends

One official in Santa Barbara said the Saudis had only 56 operating aircraft. The additional planes would be gradually delivered at such a rate that the total Saudi force would never exceed the limit of 60.

The urgency for ordering a dozen now is that the production line for the F-15, made by McDonnell Douglas, is scheduled to close down within a year, the official said. "If we don't get them ordered now, they'll never get built," he said.

The original Administration proposal included 1,600 Maverick missiles, as well as tank modernization parts and other hardware. The total value would be about \$1 billion.

Mr. Fitzwater said the whole proposal could go to Congress as a single package, or as separate requests. "It's

SEP 8 1987

PL 0

\*\*\*\*\*FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET\*\*\*\*\*

DATE 9-8-87

NO. OF PAGES 1 (NOT INCLUDING COVER)

TO: Marc Tanebaum

LOCATION: WPC

FROM: David Harris

LOCATION: DC

SPECIAL REMARKS: pls disregard  
previous cover fax sheet  
pls note c.c.'s

FAX ATTENDANT SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

FAX RECEIVED BY—SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

VIA FAX

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

For Your Immediate Attention

**date** September 8, 1987  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** David Harris  
**subject** PLO Offices in U.S.

At a meeting late last week at the State Department between, on the one hand, John Whitehead and Richard Murphy, and, on the other hand, Morris Abram, Max Fisher, Jack Stein, Israel Miller, Phil Baum, Malcolm Hoenlein and Steve Rosen (AIPAC), a deal on the issue of the PLO offices was reportedly struck.

The details: The Jewish community would seek an end to the legislative effort to shut down the offices in Washington and at the U.N. In exchange the Administration would take administrative action to shut down the Palestine Information Office in Washington, though not the PLO office at the U.N. In other words, the reported outcome is precisely, apparently to the letter, the AJC position adopted at the June 29th Board of Governors meeting.

If this understanding holds, there could be an announcement shortly from the Administration, presumably from the State Department. On this assumption we should be prepared with a press statement that welcomes the move, commends the Administration, etc.

At the same time, however, we need to be careful that there are no premature leaks. If the Administration should begin to balk on the agreement, I'll let you know and we can consider appropriate action at that time.

DAH:dw



cc: Shula Bahat  
Bert Gold  
George Gruen  
Sam Rabinove  
Gary Rubin  
Mort Yarmon

SEP 8 1987

PL 0

\*\*\*\*\*FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET\*\*\*\*\*

DATE 9-8-87

NO. OF PAGES 1 (NOT INCLUDING COVER)

TO: Marc Tanenbaum

LOCATION: NYC

FROM: David Harris

LOCATION: DC

SPECIAL REMARKS: pls disregard  
previous cover fax sheet  
pls note c.c.'s

FAX ATTENDANT SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

FAX RECEIVED BY—SIGNATURE: \_\_\_\_\_

VIA FAX

memorandum

**H AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

For Your Immediate Attention

**date** September 8, 1987  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** David Harris  
**subject** PLO Offices in U.S.

At a meeting late last week at the State Department between, on the one hand, John Whitehead and Richard Murphy, and, on the other hand, Morris Abram, Max Fisher, Jack Stein, Israel Miller, Phil Baum, Malcolm Hoenlein and Steve Rosen (AIPAC), a deal on the issue of the PLO offices was reportedly struck.

The details: The Jewish community would seek an end to the legislative effort to shut down the offices in Washington and at the U.N. In exchange the Administration would take administrative action to shut down the Palestine Information Office in Washington, though not the PLO office at the U.N. In other words, the reported outcome is precisely, apparently to the letter, the AJC position adopted at the June 29th Board of Governors meeting.

If this understanding holds, there could be an announcement shortly from the Administration, presumably from the State Department. On this assumption we should be prepared with a press statement that welcomes the move, commends the Administration, etc.

At the same time, however, we need to be careful that there are no premature leaks. If the Administration should begin to balk on the agreement, I'll let you know and we can consider appropriate action at that time.

DAH:dw



cc: Shula Bahat  
Bert Gold  
George Gruen  
Sam Rabinove  
Gary Rubin  
Mort Yarmon

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** September 8, 1987  
**to** Mario Nunez  
**from** Rita Reznik  
**subject**

PLEASE HAVE A MESSENGER GO TO :

EGYPTIAN MISSION TO THE UN  
36 EAST 67th STREET  
(between Park and Madison)

ASK FOR SONIA, AND PICK UP AN ENVELOP  
MARKED EITHER MARC TANENBAUM OR RITA REZNIK



*Rita*

SEP 14 1987

THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA  
3080 BROADWAY NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

DEPARTMENT OF JEWISH HISTORY

CABLE ADDRESS: SEMINARY NEW YORK

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

Sept 8, 1987

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

In the context of your historic mission  
to date, I enclose a background piece that will  
appear shortly in some Jewish papers outside of  
NYC.

I write on Jewish political and religious  
history, including Jewish-Christian relations, in  
the pre-modern period. Should I be able to  
help you in the future, please do not  
hesitate to contact me.

Best wishes for all your work.

Sincerely yours,

Leon G. Marcus,  
Professor of History



**The American Jewish  
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022-2746  
212 751-4000

**Theodore Ellenoff**  
President

**Leo Nevas**  
Chair, Board of Governors  
**Robert S. Jacobs**  
Chair, National Executive Council  
**Edward E. Elson**  
Chair, Board of Trustees

**Sholom D. Comay**  
Treasurer

**Robert S. Rifkind**  
Secretary

**David H. Peirez**  
Associate Treasurer

**Mimi Alperin**  
Chair, Executive Committee

**Bertram H. Gold**  
Executive Vice-President

Vice-Presidents

**Meta S. Berger**  
Chicago

**Herbert Cohen**  
Atlanta

**Arnold B. Gardner**  
Buffalo

**Rita E. Hauser**  
New York

**David Hirschhorn**  
Baltimore

**Ann P. Kaufman**  
Houston

**Alfred H. Moses**  
Washington, DC

**Bruce M. Ramer**  
Los Angeles

**Jerome J. Shestack**  
Philadelphia

**R. Peter Straus**  
New York

**Gordon Zacks**  
Columbus

Honorary Presidents

**Morris B. Abram**  
**Howard I. Friedman**  
**Arthur J. Goldberg**  
**Philip E. Hoffman**  
**Richard Maass**  
**Elmer L. Winter**  
**Maynard I. Wishner**

Honorary Vice-Presidents

**Nathan Appleman**  
**David B. Fleeman**  
**Martin Gang**  
**Ruth R. Goddard**  
**Andrew Goodman**  
**Raymond F. Kravis**  
**William Rosenwald**  
**Shirley M. Szabad**  
**Elise D. Waterman**

**Max M. Fisher**  
Honorary Chair,  
National Executive Council

Executive Vice-President Emeritus

**John Slawson**

September 18, 1987

Dear Friend,

It gives us much pleasure to invite you to see an extraordinary film, The Righteous Enemy, depicting the untold story of Italians who physically protected some 40,000 Jews in Axis-occupied Italy, France, Yugoslavia, and Greece during World War II.

A moving documentary prepared by Joseph Rochlitz, a youthful Italian Jew whose father was saved by the Italian army in 1943, the film will be shown at the 92nd St. YMHA, on October 13, 8:15 p.m. Tickets will cost \$8.00 (and \$4.00 for seniors and students). The tickets can be obtained at the "Y" box-office (92nd St. and Lexington Ave.) or by calling the "Y" Charge Office, 212-996-1100.

This evening is co-sponsored by the Italian Foreign Ministry, and the Italian Cultural Center in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee. AJC has enjoyed a warm and close working relationship with the Italian government and is eager to make this evening a success.

In addition, on Sunday, November 1, 4:00 p.m., at the Jewish Museum, AJC will co-sponsor with the Italian government Ms. Miryam Meghnagi, who will sing songs of the Italian and Mediterranean traditions. A Libyan Jew, Ms. Meghnagi captivated her audience at the Libyan Jewish conference AJC co-sponsored in New York on June 6 and 7. Tickets will cost \$4.00 (\$2.00 for members) and are available at the Jewish Museum.

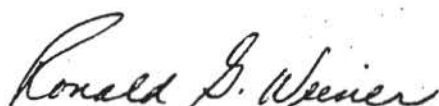
Both these programs of Jewish interest are featured as part of a two-month-long festival presenting the richness of Italy's artistic and cultural traditions, under the theme of Italy on Stage.


We hope you will find it possible to participate in both these interesting events.

Sincerely,

  
Miles Jaffe, Chairman  
International Relations Commission

  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations

  
Ronald Weiner, President  
AJC New York Chapter

  
Haskell Lazere, Director  
AJC New York Chapter

MJ,MHT, RW, HL:RPR



Dean Milhovan  
1-A Bonn Pl.  
Weehawken , N.J. 07087  
Tel : 201 - 867 1678

Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum  
c/o American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56-th Street  
Manhattan , N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum :

I have met you many times and you know me from Dr. Kremer . God rests him .

I am writing you , because I am a little confused . Nobody wants to continue Dr. Kremer's struggle and goals.

The same time , the nazi activity of the Romanian Iron Guards , become more and more intense or anti-semitic .

The leaders of the American Jews from Romania , seem to work too hard , in order to gain their existence , rather than fight nazism . Moreover , it seems that they are confused by some strange propaganda , which push them to fight communism from Romania , rather than the immediate nazism of America .

It is necessary that somebody , with a high authority has to clarify this confusion .

I saw at TV , your audience with the Pope , at Gondolfo - Italy . I have regreted that I did not inform you in advance , about these facts :

Despite his pro-communist orientation , in America , the Pope is a strong supporter of the Romanian nazis. The appointment of Bishop Traian Crisan - a well known nazi , in the Curia Catholica - 1982 , and the creation of the Romanian Greco-Catholic Diocese , which he created in 1983 , in America , also a very nazi strong-hold , are enough proves about .

These facts , make me believe that behind the increasing Romanian nazi activity stays the Russian subversion , which

are using - / -

are using the fanaticism of the imbecile nazis , in order to spread disorder , anti-semitism , crimes , etc..

I have many clues for it , but nobody wants to take them in consideration .

Very truly yours ,

Dean Milhovan

Weehawken , Sept. 21 , 1987



Dean Milhovan

1-A Bonn Pl.

Weehawken , N.J. 07087

Tel : 201 - 867 1678

Rabbi Mark Tanenbaum  
c/o American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56-th Street  
Manhattan , N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabi Tanenbaum :

We met numerous times at the late Dr. Charles H. Kremer...and I remembered your opinion that Radio Free Europe (RFE) was impregnated with nazi elements .

Therefore , I would like to take this opportunity to inform and ask for your advise about new findings in the matter .

By my family's and social's connections , I am interested in a strong friendship between Jews and Romanians . Israel's and Romanian's Governments also .

But , there is a Stalinist - nazi coalition which are using United States' influence and means , in order to gain advantages for themselves .

Its center and base of operation is The Romanian Section of Radio Free Europe - RFE .

Because some members of this coalition are East European Stalinist Jews , or their children , they have succeeded to mislead The United States Officials and The Jewish Organizations who are supporting them .

The false manner which they are presenting The Romanian Democratic Leaders , ar their works (as Maniu , Bratianu , Carandino , Coposu) , in contrast with the Stalinist or nazi characters (as Paul Goma , Ion Pacepa , Virgil Ierunca , Vladimir Socor) , are enough proofs .

The most eloquent and shameful example is how RFE has presented the book "File de Istorie" of democratic leader Carandino., in contrast with the pornographic lies of Stalinist general Ion Pacepa (Securitatea) .

As Dr. Kremer had informed you , in USA and Canada , this plot has succeeded to eliminate the regular and democratic leaders of Romanians - Americans (Anton Crihan , Constantin Visoianu , Nicholas Bucur , John Coman , etc.), using RFE' influence and intrigues, and to get control over The Romanian Organizations .

It is known that nazi bishop Valerian Trifa , who was deported from USA in 1985 , was helped and controlled by former RFE director Noel Bernard (Jew) . Dr. Kremer had denounced it and the officials have investigated the case .

This strange Stalinist-nazi coalition is antagonistic to the political interests of The Jewish People and to The United States . It is damaging the strong friendship between The Jews and Romanian People , who have cooperated with each other for many centuries . The majority of Romanian citizens are devoted friends of The Jews , built on their common culture and traditions .

Moreover , nobody wants to consider the danger for Israel , if The Arabs States will get access to the sophisticated mmilitary industry of Romania !

I exposed these facts , which has provoked a strong and subversive reaction against me . My reputation has been damaged ....., I have been threatened with death ....., being subjected to continuous harassment - all initiated by The RFE's actions.

Please look at the enclosed posters issued by a Romanian Jewish dentist , Mr. Sapsa Velvel , which threaten my life..

I am terrified what will be the reaction of The Romanians to such abuses . Special our day , when the economic situation in Romania is disastrous and some of actual leaders of the country are from Jewish extraction .

It is childish DO NOT preview that the nazis of Romania will put all the blame on Jews , using <sup>These</sup> such abuses as arguments, as Hitler did in the past .

There is enough room for a sincere and profitable cooperation between Jews and Romanians . I know some Romanian leaders ; Coposu , Carandino , Crihan , even Silviu Brucan . They know that heir country needs The Jews , in order to sale its products and to connect them with the foreign world .

I consider as a crime for The Jewry , to avoid them !

Or even worse ; To support the egoistic interests of some few Stalinist Jews against them !

Between Jews and Romanians have existed a commune culture and tradition . The Jews Dobrogeanu Gherea , Lazar Saineanu, Mihai Sorbul , S.Schafferman , Geo Bogza , etc., etc., are elememnts of The Romanian Culture , who CAN NOT be put aside.

During Hitler's occupation , NO JEW from Romania has died at Auschwitz , Dachau , or other concentration camp . Romania was the lightest oppressive country in East Europe , and the only one , where The Jewish leader , Dr. W. Filderman , has continuously negotiated with the nazi leader Marechal Antonescu.

No leader of the world has helped The Jews , how DID The Romanian democratic leader , Iuliu Maniu - see The official reports of British or US embssys from Bucharest ; Letters of Jewish leader Dr. W. Filderman ; The books of M. Carmilly-Weinberger , etc..

But , due to the above intrigues , his name does not find place on The Righteous Alley at Yad Vashem !

Because I worked with Dr. Kremer against nazi criminal bishop Valerian Trifa - protected by The Stalinist Jews from RFE , I am continuously slandered that I am a communist agent connected with the deposed dictator Ceausescu and his former secret police .

In fact , I am a real political refugee who hated Ceausescu's policy and who has suffered prison in Romania .

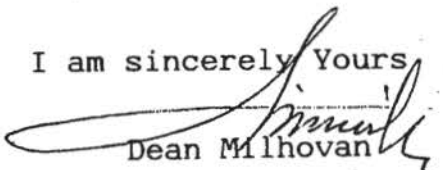
Also , ironically , I am slandered that I am anti-semitic.!

In fact , I was married to a Jewish woman and I have a son with her . Most of relatives and friends are Jews, and beside Dr. Kremer , I have collaborated with Simon Wiesenthal and The Office of Special Investigations against nazi war criminals.

With all respect and consideration for the moral standards and huge contribution to mankind's civilization and culture , by The Jews through-out the ages , I consider my duty to inform you . Please let me know your feelings on the forementi-oned , which I will be prepared to discuss with you .

Thank you !

I am sincerely Yours ,

  
Dean Milhovan

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** September 30, 1987  
**to** AJC Officers, Area Directors, SAC  
**from** Miles Jaffe, Chairman, International Relations Commission  
**subject** Backgrounder on "Pope John Paul II, Waldheim, Jews, and Israel"

At the request of Murray Polner, editor of Present Tense, Marc Tanenbaum prepared the enclosed article describing and interpreting the recent events relating to Pope John Paul II and the Jewish community.

While this article will appear in a shortened form in the next issue of Present Tense, I thought that it would prove useful and interesting as a background interpretive piece in its fuller form.

You may wish to share this with AJC chapter leadership and local Federation, JCRC, and Rabbinic leaders as well.

We would welcome knowing what uses you make of this document, and any reactions to it.

*Miles*

MJ:RPR

87-550

PRESENT TENSE

POPE JOHN PAUL II, WALDHEIM, JEWS, AND ISRAEL

By Marc H. Tanenbaum

Seldom since Vatican Council II which met between 1962-1965 had Jewish emotions and concerns been so deeply stirred as by the audience granted on June 25th by Pope John Paul II to Kurt Waldheim, former Nazi army officer and now president of Austria.

And not since that historic council in Vatican City were the intellectual resources and experiences of the American Jewish Committee so fully challenged.

The spontaneous and worldwide furor that the Papal-Waldheim audience generated throughout the Jewish community -- and, among many Christians as well -- probably resulted from a complex of reasons yet to be fully understood. But some reasons are self-evident.

Probably on the deepest levels were the fusion in public imagery of two of the most powerful emotional symbols in Jewish historic consciousness. Waldheim, by virtue of all the incessant publicity focused on him, became the contemporary embodiment of the Nazi war machine and all the Nazi holocaust means to Jews. The Pope is the supreme representative of the Roman Catholic Church which, until Vatican Council II's adoption of Nostra Aetate, has been experienced in 1,900 years of Jewish history as the mortal enemy of the Jewish people, responsible for "teachings of contempt," ghettos, pogroms, inquisitions, auto-da-fes, yellow badges.

The convergence of those two overpowering symbols in that Papal-Waldheim audience became synergistic, assuming a traumatic force that the event itself may not have justified on rational, analytic terms.

That explosion of feeling may have been further complicated by the fact that since the adoption of Nostra Aetate on October 28, 1965, extraordinary progress had been made, particularly among 52 million Catholics in the United States, in uprooting the theological sources of anti-Semitism, in developing a revised Catholic (and Christian) theology that respects Jews and Judaism in their own terms rather than as stepping-stones to be fulfilled in Christianity, and in joint studies and social action collaboration that contributed impressively to "mutual respect and fraternal dialogue." Even the Nazi holocaust and the Vatican's diplomatic relations with Israel became fit subjects for real and sympathetic discussion between American Catholics and Jews in recent years.

This awareness of significant progress was not theoretical nor abstract for the American Jewish Committee, because AJC was first and foremost in helping bring about the historic achievement of Vatican Council II's declaration which changed the course of Catholic-Jewish relations. AJC's officers then authorized this writer to devote much of the past twenty years in travelling with our interreligious staff to literally every major city in the United States in which networks of Catholic-Jewish dialogues, seminars, institutes, media discussions were organized. Similar AJC programs were implemented in Western Europe, South America, and Israel.

Inspired by the Vatican's Nostra Aetate and the 1974 Vatican Guidelines on Catholic-Jewish Relations which promulgated specific instructions for change, textbooks were revised, liturgies were freed of anti-Jewish prayers, homilies were altered, teachers were retrained, and a whole generation of Catholic seminarians were being educated in the new traditions of respect for Jews and Judaism.

Precisely because such major achievements were realized and friendly relations were established with every level of the Catholic church, the Papal-Waldheim audiences was not only unexpected but appeared to be a startling violation of the promising spirit that permeated the new culture of Catholic-Jewish solidarity. The sense of surprise was intensified because Pope John Paul II has done more to advance Catholic-Jewish understanding than any other pope in recent history, except for possibly for Pope John XXIII.

Thus, in an AJC audience with him in February 1985, this charismatic Polish pope told AJC leaders -- Howard Friedman, then president, Theodore Ellenoff, Arnold Gardner, and their spouses, David Gordis, and myself -- that "Nostra Aetate...must be followed by the (entire) Catholic Church...as an expression of the faith, as an inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as a word of the Divine Wisdom." In other words, the Pope asserted that improved Catholic-Jewish relations was a basic axiom of Catholic doctrine, not just good intergroup relations.

During that moving audience, Pope John Paul II also told AJC officials that "anti-Semitism is incompatible with Christ's teaching," and he prayed for the peace of "the Holy Land." He also praised AJC for collaborating with Catholic agencies in human rights and in helping relieve refugee and hunger problems in Africa and other parts of the world.

Then, on June 25th the Pope received Kurt Waldheim. That audience not only caught world Jewry by surprise; it astounded many Catholics, and -- as I was to learn in mid-July in Rome -- even most of the Vatican curia. From my conversations with several Cardinals and bishops in Vatican City, and later in Austria (where AJC is now carrying on a major cooperative program of education and seminars), I was informed that Waldheim had sought an audience with the Pope on three separate occasions and was turned down. Finally, the Austrian government demanded an audience for domestic political reasons on the ground that Papal



policy requires the Pope to receive the head of state who is democratically elected when such a request is made.

It could then be argued that the Pope had no alternative but to receive Waldheim, especially since Austria is predominantly a Catholic country (87% of its population is Catholic) with a long history of close relations with the Holy See dating back to the Austrian-Hungarian empire. As supreme Pontiff of the Holy See, a sovereign state, the Pope apparently felt that raison-d'etat required him to accede to Waldheim's request. But having received him, what became in the words of AJC's President Ted Ellenoff -- "morally and politically incomprehensible," was the fact that the Pope as "universal pastor" did not utter a word about Waldheim's Nazi past nor the Nazi holocaust.

The danger that could flow from the Papal silence, AJC spokesmen repeatedly asserted to the media, was that an inadvertent message was being sent to millions of young Catholics in Germany, Austria, Poland, and across the globe that the Nazi holocaust had become so irrelevant that it did not deserve a mention in the presence of this former Nazi who had lied about his past for some 40 years.

This implied revisionism of the Nazi period caused Jewish leaders, particularly in the United States, to doubt whether they could in good conscience participate in a "ceremonial" audience with the Pope long scheduled for September 11th in Miami, his first stop on his 10-day pastoral visit to the United States. From June 26th until the end of August, AJC staff -- A. James Rudin, Judith Banki, and myself -- met literally once or twice a week with other major Jewish religious and communal organizations under the umbrella of IJCIC (the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.)

Organized in 1969 by AJC and five other Jewish groups to present a united Jewish front to the Vatican (and the World Council of Churches), IJCIC became the arena in which Jewish policy was hammered out in response to this critical situation. Orthodox groups announced they would boycott the Miami meeting and veto the participation of the Synagogue Council of America, the religious umbrella group, unless the Pope first apologized for the Waldheim meeting and proclaimed that full diplomatic relations with Israel would be established. The American Jewish Congress published a full-page ad in the New York Times, in the form of a letter to Pope John Paul II, indicating they would boycott the Miami meeting. The World Jewish Congress took a similar view. For some weeks the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith gave mixed signals.

These heated pronouncements resulted in widespread resentment in much of the U.S. Catholic community, who apparently perceived American Jews as attacking the person of Pope John Paul II, the Vicar of Christ on earth. AJC sought to clarify that these were not attacks on the person of the Pope, but rather were specific criticisms of this particular political decision to receive Waldheim.

In any case, AJC made public its position, shared by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UHAC), and B'nai B'rith International that we were keeping our options open about going to the Miami meeting, pending further meetings with the Vatican and the American Catholic hierarchy. Our intention was to reduce the rapidly-developing polarization between U.S. Catholics and Jews and to avoid jeopardizing the important gains made in Catholic-Jewish relations during the past 22 years since the close of Vatican Council II.

Through the sympathetic intervention of several key leaders of the American Catholic hierarchy, a hastily-called meeting was arranged with Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, Vatican Secretary of State, on July 9th at the New York residence of the Papal Delegate to the United Nations. Three other colleagues -- Rabbis Mordecai Waxman, Gilbert Klapperman, Wolfe Kelman -- and I had a frank and civil discussion with Cardinal Casaroli for about one-and-a-half hours about the entire situation -- the Waldheim affair, diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Israel, the need of a Papal document clarifying unambiguously the Pope's and Holy See's convictions about the Final Solution in the Nazi ideology and practice, the rise of anti-Semitism, the threat to the future of positive Catholic-Jewish relations.

It was at this meeting that the four of us broached the need for an early meeting with the Pope to clear the air, otherwise, we felt the Miami audience would not take place. Cardinal Casaroli said that he had heard a number of important ideas and that he would discuss them "with my boss."

About ten days later Rabbi Waxman, chairman of IJCIC, received a telephone call from Cardinal Jan Willebrands, president of the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with Jews, informing him that there would be a day-long meeting with his Secretariat on August 31, and on the next day, September 1, there would be a meeting with the Pope at Castel Gondolfo. The following Friday after the Cardinal's call, the Rev. Pierre du Prey, secretariat vice-president, telephoned me from Vatican City to say that he had just seen the Pope. "The Holy Father," he said, "will receive your delegation at 12 noon; there will be an hour-and-a-half allotted to the meeting. The Pope does not want speeches. He would like real conversation, and there are no limits as to what can be discussed."

Father du Prey then told me, "The Pope would prefer five delegates so there could be real exchanges."

It seemed evident that the Pope and the Holy See had responded to all of our requests, and AJC and other Jewish agencies publicly acknowledged that as "a sign of good faith."

For internal Jewish political reasons, AJC reluctantly agreed to allow nine Jewish delegates, instead of the five that Rome had requested.

At IJCIC's request, I prepared a position paper outlining objectives and approaches on five issues: (a) The Nazi holocaust, Waldheim, revisionist tendencies in the Catholic Church; (b) Obstacles that stand in the way toward full diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Israel; (c) Contemporary Anti-Semitism; (d) Contradictory Church Teachings on Jews and Judaism; and (e) Human Rights and Soviet Jewry.

The document was reviewed and approved by AJC officers and Bertram Gold, AJC executive vice-president. It became the basis of our IJCIC discussions with Vatican authorities and the Pope in the Vatican.

On Monday, August 31, our IJCIC delegation held a day-long meeting in Vatican City with Cardinal Willebrands and eight other Vatican delegates, including representatives from the Vatican Secretariat of State and Justice and Peace. I was assigned the responsibility for making the first presentation on the Nazi holocaust, Waldheim and revisionism. Rabbi Leon Klenicki of the Anti-Defamation League discussed contemporary anti-Semitism. Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, spoke on the contradictory teachings about Jews and Judaism in the Catholic Church. Seymour Reich, president of B'nai B'rith International, dealt with the absence of full normalization of Vatican diplomatic ties with Israel. There was full participation by the other delegates: Dr. Gerhardt Riegner of the World Jewish Congress; Henry Siegman, American Jewish Congress; Rabbi Gilbert Klapperman, Synagogue Council of America; Dr. Geoffrey Wigoder, Israel Interfaith Committee.

Each subject was discussed fully, frankly, and with much intensity. There were no limitations on any theme, including Waldheim and Israel. The same open, candid, and civil spirit prevailed the following morning in our unprecedented meeting with Cardinal Casaroli in Vatican City.

In response to these discussions, several concrete achievements emerged:

- \* Cardinal Willebrands proposed that "an official Catholic document" would be prepared examining "the demonic element" in 1,900 years of anti-Semitism in the Christian West; the Nazi holocaust and the role of the Vatican and the Catholic Church during World War II; contemporary anti-Semitism and specific proposals for combatting this ancient evil.

- \* Cardinal Casaroli agreed to meet "from time to time" as need required with IJCIC representatives, especially to discuss Middle East issues and to avoid surprises (such as Waldheim, Arafat meetings with Pope) insofar as possible.

- \* Both cardinals agreed in principle to establish a mechanism within the Vatican for maintaining contact with trends and developments in the world Jewry in order to avoid unnecessary crises and to improve communication.

In a real sense, we felt that these agreements, when translated into reality, would constitute historic breakthroughs in relations between the Vatican and world Jewry. Against that background, our conversation with the Pope that was to follow was looked upon as a symbolic capstone, rather than as a "working session."

Following our meeting on Tuesday morning with Cardinal Casaroli, three Vatican limousines whisked us across the Appian Way to Castel Gondolfo. During the one hour and fifteen minutes of conversation with Pope John Paul II, our IJCIC delegation raised each of the critical issues that we had discussed fully the day before. The Pope did not respond directly to our statements on Waldheim and on Israel. In classic Vatican linguistic ambiguity, he responded indirectly:

\* His opening words were: "Today is September 1, 1987. This is the 48th anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland. I know what the Nazis did to my Polish nation. I know what suffering the Nazis inflicted on the Jewish people." At the close of the meeting, he said to a small circle of us, "This monstrous evil of Nazism must be overcome by the Grace of God with the good." Thus, the Pope did not refer to Waldheim, but he condemned the Nazism that Waldheim's past symbolized.

\* On Israel, he said, I know that Israel is central to the identity of the Jewish people." Later, he said he had visited Jerusalem years ago and would like to go again. There was no mention of "a Palestinian homeland" that he was to refer to in his Miami speech on September 11th.

Following Cardinal Willebrands opening statement in which he presented his proposal for a study of anti-Semitism and the Nazi holocaust, the Pope said instantly: "I support that study. I endorse it wholeheartedly. I wish to see it happen."

On American Jewry, the Pope said, in warmly welcoming us: "I have great respect for American Jews; I know you are strong and influential and powerful."

In sum, the conversation with the Pope was dramatic and symbolically important. But the substantive achievement took place in the day-long meetings the day before with Cardinal Willebrands and later with the Cardinal Casaroli. The Pope lifted up their significance by giving those agreements his personal blessings.

Our seasoned IJCIC delegates knew that it was simply unrealistic to expect the Pope to apologize for the Waldheim episode. Popes have seldom apologized for anything lest it erodes belief in their infallibility. (In Miami, Cardinal Willbrands at a public function suggested an apology by acknowledging that "mistakes and faux pas" were made. Everyone seemed to realize that that was about as close as the Vatican would come to an apology.) Besides, in my judgment, a major Catholic document on anti-Semitism and the Nazi holocaust would be infinitely more useful and meaningful a response to Waldheim than an apology,

although such confessional statements would in fact be the right moral and spiritual thing to do.)

Nor did we expect that our "unprecedented summit meeting with the Pope" would result in instant establishment of full diplomatic ties with Israel. First of all, diplomatic negotiations for exchange of ambassadors are the responsibility of Israeli and Vatican diplomats. World Jewry has an important role to play in interpreting the centrality of Israel in Jewish consciousness, but we have no standing as diplomats, and it is a presumption to act as if we do. Secondly, anyone with a scintilla of knowledge about how Vatican diplomacy and foreign policy function, would know there was to be no magical transformation as a result of the "summit." Even so, important communications mechanisms were agreed upon that can help move the diplomatic process forward, with Israeli and Vatican diplomats as the central actors, and with world Jewry and American Catholics as the supporting cast.

So the air was cleared substantially, and we come to Miami. To be completely honest, Miami was important in itself, but substantively it was anti-climactic after the Vatican and Papal meetings where the real work was done.

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, IJCIC chairman, presented our consensus statement elegantly and effectively and deserved the standing ovation he received. Pope John Paul II was warmly received by some 200 Jewish leaders in the presence of key Vatican curial leaders and American Catholic cardinals. Two thirds of the Pope's address was exceedingly affirmative on Jewish issues, and its importance is that the TV cameras of America and the international media brought that positive message to many of the 52 million American Catholics and possibly to many of the 850 million Catholics across the globe. That was a most important seminar in global Catholic-Jewish relations.

That overall positive statement, however, was marred by his unexpected brief but sharp defense of Pope Pius XII's actions in response to the Nazis, and his reference to "a Palestinian homeland."

While all the issues the Pope spoke about affirmatively -- God's permanent covenant with the Jewish people; the unique suffering and victimization of the Jews under the Nazis; condemning anti-Semitism; collaboration in social justice -- are the ongoing context for future Catholic-Jewish dialogue, it is now evident that he personally has placed the issue of Pius XII and the Nazi holocaust and the Palestinian homeland side by side with the Jewish homeland as priority themes on the next stage of the Catholic-Jewish agenda.

In December 1987, a symposium will be held jointly sponsored by the Vatican Secretariat on Catholic-Jewish relations and IJCIC. It will be held in Washington, D.C., and its overarching theme will be "The Nazi Holocaust -- Christian and Jewish Perceptions."

AJC's quarter century of scholarship, experience, and personal relationships will stand us in good stead as we seek to convert another challenge into an opportunity for increased mutual knowledge and respect.

\* \* \*

Rabbi Tanenbaum, international relations director of the American Jewish Committee, was the only rabbi present as guest observer at Vatican Council II. He is a foremost leader in Jewish-Christian-Muslim relations, world refugees and hunger causes, and human rights.



# RNF

# VISIONS

NEWSLETTER OF THE RELIGIOUS FUTURISTS' NETWORK  
OF THE JOINT STRATEGY AND ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

Volume 5, No. 3

September, 1987

## Pribram's paradoxes: How does the brain know?

### The Future of American Politics

#### Part III: Programs, or Political Action

by Richard Kirby, M.Div.  
President—Order of the  
Academy of Christ

City Temple— London  
Holburn Viaduct  
London EC1A 2DE

Copyright 1987

The first two articles, in this three-part series, have begun a theological investigation into the present and future of American politics. We complete this exploratory series with a delineation of possibilities for action. In doing so, we move from the realms of political philosophy and political psychology, into the realm of political science. But it is with the theological reformation of political science, not necessarily its deployment, that we must be concerned as religious futurists. And we must be open to the possibility that theological reflection may discern the end of any science, including political science. For the theological analysis of any science, including social/human sciences, aims to discern its "end", its telos, its destiny its Christ--- the  
(Cont., p. 3)

From: Brain-Mind Bulletin  
July 4, 1977  
Marilyn Ferguson, Editor

Karl Pribram's research and theory encompass the whole spectrum of human consciousness: learning and learning disorders, imagination, meaning, perception, intention, paradoxes of brain function. Following are current key concepts:

—The brain's intricate mathematical devices may depend on interactions at the junctions between cells (synapses) via a network of fine fibers on the branching axons. Nerve impulses in this fine-fiber network manifest in **slow waves** with the potential to carry out the mathematics. (Other researchers have speculated that the **alpha brainwave rhythm** may be a timing device necessary for this computation.)

—Information in the brain may be distributed as a **hologram**. The brain apparently has parallel-processing capabilities that suggests a model like optics, wherein connections are formed by paths traversed by light, in addition to its more limited digital or linear computer-type connections. A distribution pattern similar to that of a hologram also would explain how a specific memory does not have a location, but is scattered throughout the brain.

—A kind of **stereo effect** of sensory input--auditory, kinesthetic, etc.--causes point perception to leap out into space, as when two stereo speakers are so balanced that sound seems to project from a point midway between them. Such phenomena involve alternation of frequency and phase relationships.

--Pribram speculated that **transcendental experience** might also involve projection of some sort. He said his observations of transcendental experience suggest a possible role for circuits centering on the amygdala that control the joining of feedback and feed-forward mechanisms in the brain. These circuits have been the site of pathological disturbances, he noted, as well as *deja vu* and the "consciousness without a content" of mystical states.

—He believes that the **neuropeptides**, the recently discovered large molecules, will prove to regulate the brain transmitters and represent a breakthrough in understanding brain function.

—Pribram finds mystical experience no stranger than other phenomena, such as the selective derepression of DNA to form first one organ, then another. The most productive scientists, he said, "are as ready and as capable to defend

spirit as data. This is science as it was originally conceived: the pursuit of understanding. The days of the cold-hearted, hard-headed technocrat appear to be numbered."

—He suggested that there is no such thing as metaphor—or, in a sense, that all metaphor is true. "Everything is isomorphic." (In eastern philosophy, "As above, so below.") We may now be experiencing the effects of a social hologram, a pattern of interconnectedness of individuals. **Synchronicity**, meaningful coincidence, makes sense in a meaningful, holographic universe. Pribram proposed that even random distribution is based on holographic principles and is therefore determined. "The uncertainty of occurrence of events is only superficial..." There are **underlying symmetries**, not just haphazard occurrences. He cited recent observations of "spin" in physics and Einstein's insistence that "God doesn't play dice with the universe."

---

#### MANY-TO-MANY COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

---

By Richard J. Spady, President Forum Foundation

(Note: The following paper won an award at CAMCON2 in April, 1987 under both "Application for Local Congregations," and "Ecumenical Networking Nationally.")

#### Hardware:

—CDC Cyber mainframe computer, University of Washington, Academic Computing Services (ACS)

—Any computer with modem to access UofW ACS locally or through Telenet.

#### Software:

--Copyrighted, Forum Foundation, Fast Forum (TM) program at UofW ACS; Church Council of Greater Seattle, on-site agent.

Today most electronic communication by computer is based on one-to-one and one-to-many communication theory and technology. For example, one person sends a message (subjective form) to one or more other persons. However, many-to-many theory and technology permits many people in an organization or institution to communicate their values and opinions (objective form) to themselves as well as to parent, teacher, school, church, business, community, and government establishments of the values and opinions in which they believe. It is called Zeitgeist ("Spirit of the time") communication. The most highly developed form of this new field of communication being defined utilizes an objective "questionnaire" and random sampling based on statistical theory which, in turn, rests upon mathematical theory. Many-to-many communication can utilize also an objective "opinionnaire (TM)" based on participation theory which, in turn, rests on administrative theory. Different rules apply.

The religious question of the century may well be the Identity Questions: "Who am I? Where do I fit in? What is my role in life?" Today, people are inundated with information that comes down to them, e.g. from newspapers, television, radio, magazines, reports, lectures, speeches, sermons, etc. But it is all that people can do anywhere in their organizations and institutions to communicate one simple idea across and upward. "We are facing an 'institutional dysfunctioning' of the highest order" (Professor David Webb, C-Span). An inability of people to communicate ideas and opinions across and upwards lies at the heart of the problem. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to assemble are hollow rights if, as a practical matter, people feel unable to be heard in their organizations and institutions! There is evidence of this when people plan "demonstrations" rather than try to communicate

with their political, community, school and other leaders.

People reach society through their organizations and insti-

---

#### R F N VISIONS

---

Published periodically by the Religious Futurists' Network of the Joint Strategy and Action Committee, Inc., a North American interchurch and interreligious agency based in New York City.

#### Address:

475 Riverside Dr.—Room 450  
New York NY 10115.

Editor: Rev. Wm. A. Heins,

Editorial Office:  
605 N. Barstow St.  
P.O. Box 998  
Eau Claire WI 54702  
Tel. #715/835-7287

Items submitted for publication should be sent to the above address.

---

#### R F N STEERING COMMITTEE

---

The Rev. Dr. Paul McCleary  
Assoc Genl Sec'y - Research  
United Methodist Church

The Rev. Louis Meyer  
VP-Bd of Church Extension  
Church of God

Dr. Thomas R. McFaul  
Director of Graduate Programs  
North Central College

The Rev. Richard Bowyer  
Campus Minister  
Fairmont State College

The Rev. John DeBoer  
Executive Director  
JSAC

Sr. Paula Gonzalez, SC  
Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati

Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum  
National Director  
Interreligious Affairs  
American Jewish Committee



tutions such as those in governments, politics, economics, education and the church. The relationships of people in these organizations and institutions with each other and with their leaders are of vital importance in the administration of a world of increasing instability and tension. This is the domain of administrative theory—a subset of organization development.

The Forum Foundation, a non-profit religious/educational research corporation in association with the Church Council of Greater Seattle, has been conducting research in pure and applied social science in administrative theory (a subset of organization development) since 1970. Last year a prepublication manuscript of the foundation's research was completed titled "Administrative Theory (The Dynamics of Governance and Civilizations Building)." Co-authors were Mr. Richard J. Spady and Dr. Cecil H. Bell, Jr., who is on the faculty of the University of Washington. (Copies are available in the UofW, Business and ACS libraries. A copy of the manuscript can be obtained from the Church Council of Greater Seattle, 4759 15th Ave. N.E., Seattle WA 98105 for \$12.50 which includes \$2.50 for postage and handling.)

From this theoretical research the foundation has developed over the years the Fast Forum (TM) computer program which is capable of implementing the new technology of "many-to-many" communication. It resides at the University of Washington Academic Computing Services, (ACS). The program is now being raised from a research program to a Level 4 support by ACS which will make it available for use of students and faculty on campus without cost and to local, regional and national church organizations and others through Telenet on a surcharge basis to recover costs. (The Church Council of Greater Seattle acts as on-site agent for (1) the International

Church Computer Users' Network [ICCUN] UWRIM database, and (2) United Methodist Communications (UMCom) which uses the UofW ACS. CCGS charges 10% above UofW ACS charges to cover its own overhead plus will charge an additional 10% to churches while they are using the Fast Forum (TM) program. Richard Spady is on the volunteer staff of CCGS, is vice-president of ICCUN, and is also president of the Forum Foundation)

This new theory and technology utilizes mass means of communication that does not break down simply because large numbers of people participate. It uses small discussion groups of 8-12 persons. They read materials and listen to cassette tapes from leaders about organizational and/or institutional concerns. Objective responses are key-punched or scanned optically for tabulation by computer into finished, readable, profile reports. Responses to each question can be shown by demographics such as by age, sex, role, geographic, or other categories. New statistical symbols for easy use by people and leaders who are unskilled in analysis have been developed. For example, a local church can prepare materials for small group discussion, tabulate participant yes/no and other objective responses by keypunch on their own computer, transmit the questions and data to the UofW where final profile reports can be downloaded at the local church or printed and mailed by UofW. If help is needed, CCGS and the Forum Foundation can intervene via electronic mail. The new Fast Forum (TM) program is menu driven and "user friendly." Finally, national or regional church groups can accumulate such local church data (if the same questions are used) to help in printing profile reports for their own broader planning efforts.

The first prototype use of this new computer-assisted technology nationally in the church community was completed

in January, 1987, by Church Women United. Approximately 2,500 women participated in fifty states in consideration of their five-year imperative to address the "pauperization and marginalization of women." Profiles were generated by faith, age, role, region, state, ethnic, etc. This process enabled CWU staff and leadership to communicate better their concerns and to analyze and diagnose the responses of their membership. Theoretically, with better diagnosis will come better decisions in the administrative process which is defined as: Diagnosis, Decide, Accomplish and Review. Furthermore, many-to-many computer technology allows all members who are interested in doing so to participate viably within their time and resources. They can do this without resorting to attending big meetings at remote distances which are the Achilles heel of the democratic process upon which our republic is founded. (Ref. Matthew 5:37)

(Fast Forum, Opinionnaire, and Viewspaper are registered trademarks of the Forum Foundation, U.S. Patent Office.)

### III. American Politics

(From page 1)

meaning of its origin, its history, and its consummation. For theology, at least in its Christian modality, is rigorously eschatological; it finds all times as one in the Divine self-revelation in Christ Jesus. (Needless to say, my primarily Christian analysis does not rule out later versions of this article as amended by followers of other religions.)

America, it is clear to ob-

servers, is at present "in search of itself" again. Its meaning in the divine Plan, its place in the society of nations, its contribution to world affairs — these are data which can be glimpsed in receptive prayer, analyzed in theological reflection, discussed in corporate worship and communicated through the media. If political action is concerned with the life of the polis or nation-State (City-State when Aristotle wrote his *Politics*), then a theological perception of political action sees it as an aspect of MIS- SION. In this sense, political science and the young theological science of missiology are at present converging. Both are pondering the way forward for the nation. One of the most perplexing items in contemporary American political science is the dichotomy of Church/State, which hinders so much good-will from entering the life of the Body Politic, and so much scientific and technological power from entering the life of the Church. The advent of Religious Futurists, however, suggests a way beyond this dilemma. It is the postulation and description of a concept, and a constitution, for a spiritual civilization, to the vision of which all the religions contribute. Such a civilization will be born in the mind of God, heard by the religious futurists and others who are willing to listen to God in contemplation, and brought into being by architects of civilization — writers, orators, scientists, and persons belonging to professions and occupations as yet unborn.

The meaning of American political science, then, according to this scenario, is to facilitate the birth into American society of this noble, scientific, compassionate, creative, "religious" and supremely just, civilization. The poly-religious futurist viewpoint reveals that this concept of civilization is, on the one hand, a type of the

Church; on the other hand, it is the blueprint for the just society — the blueprint for which all political science strives.

This spiritual civilization has been foreshadowed in fact and fiction. The "Four Freedoms" speech of Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II was an attempt to glimpse it. Many science fiction novels and Utopian tracts have seen, and revealed, glimpses of it. These prophecies or anticipations stand in the same relation to it as did Isaiah's "Suffering Servant" visions/prophecies to the reality of the Lord Jesus Christ.

#### America 21

What is the name of this civilization? Some call it Christonia, the people of God as a nation among the nations. But it may instead, within each nation, represent the future consummation of that nation, a future which casts its light backwards to our own, half-wakened times. Thus, for example, in respect of the USA, it contains within it the form, shape or pattern of the ideal future America, of which the present one is a shadow. In this future America the ideal and the real have met; in God's "real time" what we call America today is a pallid reflection of the eschatological reality — moonlight compared with sunshine. It is important to realize, however, that this is a statement about God's power and will, not about America's present or past politicians!

If we call this future reality by the provisional name of America 21, to signify its coming of age, and its possible/probable/preferable shape by the year 2001, we can begin to set before religions and politics alike, the question, what is this ideal of American civilization, and how is it going to come into being? Here theological science unties the religions and the social sciences, supported by the creative arts (especially science fiction), in a

deliberate search for God's will concerning the appearance in America's lands of the outcropping of the supreme spiritual civilization — the Kingdom of God beyond the dichotomy of Church and State. It is this search which is the main "political" action demanded by our theological investigation: that is, this search for the spiritual blueprint of America is revealed by theological reflection as the appropriate behavior of the America "polis" or people.

To engage successfully in this spiritual-scientific search, it is helpful to have an image of the end of the search. One such image is to be found in the famous science-fiction cosmology, Star Maker, written by the philosopher Olaf Stapledon (1886-1950) and first published in 1937. Science-fiction historian Brian Aldiss calls this the "one great gray holy book of science-fiction", written by the "ultimate science fiction writer". In this treatise of speculative philosophical theology/cosmology, Dr. Stapledon tells the "story" of all possible future universes/creations/cosmoses made by the "Star Maker" (his name for God). There is, however, a "final", ultimate and "supreme" creation, the ultimate and perfected cosmos. Stapledon's description of it, and of its relation to the Maker, form the climax of his remarkable-foray into theological metaphysics at the boundaries of the science fiction imagination. Thus, having tantalizingly described the life of the "ultimate cosmos", his theodicy, his cosmic eschatology, reaches a shattering climax: "And now, as through tears of compassion and hot protest, I seemed to see the spirit of the ultimate and perfected cosmos face her maker. In her, it seemed, compassion and indignation were subdued by praise. And the Star Maker, that dark power and lucid intelligence, found in the concrete loveliness of his creature the fulfilment of desire. And in the mutual joy of the Star Maker

and the ultimate cosmos was conceived, the most strange, the absolute spitt itself, in which all times are present and all being is comprised; for the spirit which was the issue of this union confronted my reeling intelligence as being at once the ground and the issue of all temporal and finite things"

One may quarrel with Stapledon's doctrine of God, and his grasp of creation, redemption and sanctification. One may dismiss his cosmology as hopelessly outdated and unscientific. But as a poetical philosopher, his vision is remarkable. His vision shows a way forward for those who seek an image of a divinely mandated spiritual civilization. And indeed, his vision of the "ultimate cosmos" can be seen as a genuine premonition - a discernment in the "Future" section of the "collective unconscious" of the ideal civilization towards which political science and political action more or less consciously strive and for which they yearn. The Kingdom of God on earth - this is the ultimate (though not necessarily the conscious) hope, and destiny of political science.

#### The Search for America 21

The search for America 21 provides a "paradigm" - in Kuhn's sense for political science; it intimates a programme for politics; it signals a "revolution" (again in Kuhn's sense) in political philosophy and political inquiry of all kinds.

But it is a search, a quest, an inquiry, into which all churches, and indeed all religions, share. For it is a search into the heart of God, the mind of the Spirit, the Will of Christ, concerning the nature of this civilization and the means by which it can appear on earth. Worship is transformed by it, for liturgy becomes attention to God, to hear what the Spirit says to the churches concerning the ideal just society "beyond" Church and State. Mission is

the enactment of those dimensions of this civilization which are discerned by the church's listeners. Theology itself is the catalyst by which the sciences are transmuted into the harbingers, the heralds and the suppliers of this civilization. Furthermore, theology yields new sciences, treasure of spiritual knowledge bringing unlimited powers of creative goodness to bear on earth's needs. And this search, this inner quest to find a way to bring the kingdom of heaven to earth, this is the fullest meaning of prayer, meditation and contemplation.

"America 21" has its own concepts of merit, already visible. As the present world has its "Nobel prizes", so America 21 will pioneer the "Angel Awards", for exceptional merit in the facilitation of the growth to maturity of the now-aborning spiritual civilization. All over, America, think-tanks in which the spiritually-minded seek, discover, publish and consolidate this civilization are commencing their life in the Spirit. Their separate activities can be likened to pieces of a jigsaw, the totality of which constitutes the Kingdom of God, the America of which the present one is a shadow and an anticipation.

#### A new political party

"America 21", the USA manifestation of the Supreme Society, has thus made its first appearances on our psychological horizons. Like the planet Mercury in the sight of determined amateur astronomers, it is visible in the "Eastern light" or "dawn" end of the collective unconscious. And its beautiful, compelling countenance is beginning to exert pressure, the pressure of birth-pangs, on the minds, the emotions, and the wills, of artists, scientists, and political leaders. This spiritual civilization, the ideal-real America, is "aching" to be born into our world, our realm of consciousness/matter. In the collective psyche of

the USA, its pains of birth are everywhere being felt - in the resentment of the people against unjust government and governors, in the creations of artists, in the inventions of scientists, in the hopes of advertizers, in the product development departments of industry and business.

The psychological "pressure" of this civilization's envisioned future is the sensed pain of the discrepancies between its dimly-glimpsed and enviable life, love and technology, and our own dappled, fitfully just civilization. The pain of seeing it but not being able to grasp it is causing a new urgency in political philosophy and political science alike. The desire to share, to appropriate, and to imbibe its life, its love and its science lead to a sense of the urgent necessity of bringing into being. This desire - creative and fecund like all desire - is likely to result in the birth of a new political party. This new party must - the times demand it! - be one in which Church/State thought-forms are transcended. This new party - the gift of the Zeitgeist or Spirit of the Times to our time - is to be one in which prayer and science, compassion and artistic imagination go hand in hand. And this combination of qualities will result in a new party-political "platform". This platform will center upon spiritual reformation-- Bonhoeffer's "religionless Christianity" expressed in party-political form, Gregory Baum's "realized Utopia". This new party, the political end of the continuum of which metaphysics is the other pole, may call itself the American Christian Democratic Party, or the Theological Scientists, or the Moral Scientist Party. It will quite possibly create its own "Congress", and exercise its own concepts and patterns of government -- not in the sense of sedition or conspiracy against elected representatives, for its "kingdom is not

of this world" (John 18:36). Its task is to bring into being science and technology which will heal the sick, feed the hungry, and adopt the orphans. And in God's good time it will inspire and transform the de facto government. In a very real sense, its leaders will be a spiritual or theological "Shadow Cabinet"

Thus, as with every theological investigation, everything begins with metaphysics and ends in political action. In this case, it is a matter of American religious leaders discerning, planning and building that new land born in a kingdom not of this world, the ideal future America with all its structures and practices of civilization and outreach, acceleration compassion. As they meet and plan, religious, and ultimately mystical experience, will empower and guide them, so that the transformation fo America will move with intensifying speed and energy.

"And not by eastern windows only,  
When daylight comes, comes in the light;  
In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,  
But westward, look, the land is bright!"

Let us join the poet in looking spiritually or theologically "westward", for America 21 is the new "West", the (spiritual) frontier, the true "High frontier" of America. Happy the ones who assist at its birth!

The constitution, and the leadership, and the ascetical theology or spirituality, of a new, theological-scientific "political party" (or its social equivalent), will be a prime subject for discussion among the representatives of the First World Conference of Religious Futurists. For more information on this conference, please write to The

Order of the Academy of Christ, London Offices, 64 Saxon Drive, London W3, England.

CONCERNS OF RELIGIOUS-CAREER PERSONNEL

James L. Lowery, Jr.  
ENABLEMENT, INC.  
14 Beacon St.—Room 707  
Boston MA 02108  
617/742-1460

[Note: This regular Focus Group column addresses the issue, "Special concerns of persons professionally employed in the field of religion as we look to the future." If you have concerns in this area, please write or call the focus leader at the location given]

New styles/new starts was our previous concern. Now we move to new issues as we gaze forward into the future.

What is an issue? It is an area of real and anxious concern about which there are a multitude of opinions, some of them diametrically opposed. While we agree that our country must be strong, one approach says that we finance defense relations first, and the other says we must give priority to the welfare of our citizenry or we will fall and weaken them from within. The issue is the method for us to maintain strength.

One issue at hand as we face the future is the identity of the clergy. Wherein does it lie? one approach says in being professional. Another says in a special calling from God and Church. All agree the clergy are nowadays caught in role conflicts because of the area with which this issue is concerned. How do we resolve this anomaly in the future?

Our pitch is that it can be resolved. There are four parts to the clergyperson's identity, and the true identity of the clergy is found where all four overlap.

1. As person—entered into at

birth, the essence of personhood being in relationship and revealing self to one another within society and nature.

2. As Christian, Jew, or whatever the religious commitment is. Entered into at baptism, circumcision, or other corresponding rite. The essence for a Christian is new life in Jesus.

3. As professional—entered into at accreditation, licensure, permission to practice, etc. The special marks are knowledge—skills—experience in one direction, and dedication/ervice in the other.

4. Pastoral/priestly/rabbinical vocation, or its counterpart. Entered into at ordination or its counterpart. The essence is the recognition of a special calling, a setting apart by the religious community, and the granting of special authority.

Where these four overlap, there is the identity of the clergyperson. All four are important; each one includes the previous one. (Grace perfects nature!)

With this identity straight, we can face forward into a future of much anxiety, much change, much risk, and perhaps much excitement.

Next column — the issue of morphological fundamentalism versus a variety of models.

**Morphological Fundamentalism, or "The One-Man Band"**

Another issue on the subject of religious personnel, as we face forward into the future, is what one writer calls morphological fundamentalism—one shape, one way, one structure, no other, for clergy ministry. It is the one full-time paid pastor, plus church edifice, plus parsonage, plus church hall -- a package very much centered on that one cleric's ministry.

James Glasse, the noted "preacher-watcher" calls it the "one-man band" model. It

has been the norm in western Christianity since roughly the fifth or sixth centuries. And most clergy, if not laity and hierarchy, are brainwashed to it. It is not a biblical or New Testament model, but one associated with the "peace of the church," the Constantine settlement, the Christendom period -- which we are no longer in.

The New Testament describes mostly unpaid ministry of what we would later call clergy. Paul the Apostle asserts his right to be supported by the church community, but personally models the tentmaking ministry with Priscilla and Aquilla at Corinth and elsewhere, for example.

Further, contemporary studies in church development and church growth of non-Roman Catholic churches have made some interesting observations about size of congregations. They identify four sizes by number of adult active worshippers of an average Sunday: up to 50; 50 to 150; 150 to 350; and 350 and over. The personality of the pastor is extremely important in the size 50-150 and the 350 and over. This means that these sizes need "their own pastor." But the financial figures show that only a small minority of the 50 to 150 size can pay for the full package. And of course full-time paid service of the under 50 church has long since been out of the question.

But if we are under the influence of the Pauline teaching of "one body, many members," and "a variety of gifts in one spirit," there is not much of a problem. Available is the use of many alternative forms of ordained leadership for a congregation: retired or semi-retired pastoral service; tentmaker, either found outside, or raised up, identified, trained and ordained from indigenous leadership in a regional alternative training scheme of good worth (not a second class preparation for second class pastors!)

The use of alternative styles of clergy leadership, particularly tentmaking, the use of alternative styles of preparation, particularly theological education by extension, and the use of more shared clergy-lay total leadership which is shared, breaking down the walls of clericalism, are all characteristic of future main-line denomination life.

The real issue is of bondage to one shape and way of structuring leadership versus a variety of valid and effective models. For the future we look for breaking out of the one-man band into alternative styles of clergy ministry and shared clergy-lay ministry.

#### COMMUNICATION OR TRANSMISSION, THAT IS THE QUESTION

By Francis de Ruijte, a member of the Franciscan Friars in Quebec, Canada, former editor and publisher.

I hear people speak about communications: improve in them, train oneself in them. They mean: "human relationships", but speak about "communications".

Others work in the field of broadcasting, television, video taping and classify themselves as "electronic communication media" people. But do they really communicate? They TRANSMIT. They transmit their message very well, by the way.

The visual means, the image, strikes more than any other medium, especially today. That is a fact. But these so-called "communicators" are really doing nothing else but sending to consumers, who passively receive and no more.

It is a reception, not really a communication. It is a one-way transmission.

Do we have to ask ourselves: What is truly communication? At its Latin root "communis" (common)

means: participation, sharing, taking part in some exchange. It is not merely conveying a message, transmitting a value, thought or feeling. Paraphrasing Saint James, we must ask: Are we hearers/viewers only or are we also doers, actively involved in a response to the message received? In other words, the aspect of mutuality, of reciprocity, is very important to establish true communication and not only transmission. Information must be for all (transmission) and by all (sharing), if we want to speak about genuine communication.

There must, therefore, be a two-way contact between the source and the destination, each party being both in turn. If this takes place, very effective results can be achieved. The following example shows this. The 1987 "Offering of Letters" for Bread for the World -- more than 60,000 of them to the US Congress -- had as an end result the addition of \$37.5 million to the program of child immunization, or the equivalent of \$500 per letter!

As a former editor and publisher of three periodicals and practitioner of some video equipment -- I still have my Super 8 camera and projector somewhere. But I have also discovered the power of telecommunications via computer, modem and gone line! And this would be even more effective for newspapers and broadcasters.

The question that remains is: Why do newspapers and broadcasters have such fear or hesitation to use the computer and telecommunications? I admit I am still looking for an answer to that question. On the other hand, I can assure you that, since I have begun telecommunications (computer, modem and phone line) I have vastly increased my correspondence -- mainly online of course -- and my commitment. And I do not forsake the traditional means of correspondence and the art of writing. Indeed, the computer helps me in this as never before. And, by the way, I write and edit this article on a computer and send it to the editor via telecommunications on NWI.

RENEWAL TIME FOR RELIGIOUS FUTURISTS'

It is once again time to renew your membership in the Religious Futurists' Network. We are updating our files and getting ready to publish the Directory for 1987-88.

If you renewed for two years last year, it is not necessary to do it this year (unless, of course, you want to pay through 1989). If you renewed for just one year, please send a check for \$15.00 in by November 30, 1987. We are going to try to have the Directory published in time to be mailed with the December issue of Visions.

So, send in your check or money order, mailed to:

JSAC/RFN  
475 Riverside Drive -- R. 450  
New York, NY 10115

Remember, in order to be included in our new Directory we must have your renewal in by November 30th!



\* \* \* \* \*

SOMETHING TO SHARE WITH THE RFN?

Do you have something of interest that other members of the Religious Futurists' Network might enjoy reading? An article, book, etc.

If that is the case, please send it to our Editor, The Rev. William Heins, PO Box 998, Eau Claire, WI 54702.

Many of the articles printed in Vision are contributed by other members of the Network. We would love to hear from you too.

Thank you.

\* \* \* \* \*

RFN CHAIR IN NEW POSITION

Dr. Paul McCleary, Chair of the RFN Steering Committee, has been appointed Executive Vice President of SAVE THE CHILDREN. As a result Dr. McCleary has moved from Washington, DC to Save The Children headquarters in Wilton, Connecticut.

We wish Dr. McCleary the best in his new position, and know that Save The Children is very fortunate to have him.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date**      October 6, 1987  
**to**         Marc Tanenbaum  
**from**       David Geller  
**subject**    Vatican Jewish Relations

Shortly after the meeting with the Pope in Rome, on September 1, 1987, a group of European Jewish leaders including Rabbis, met to discuss the meeting and its implications. Tullia Zevi, the leader of the Italian Jewish Community, made one of the presentations. During her brief stay in the US, she shared a rough copy with several of us who met with her.

I thought you would like to see a copy.



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date**      October 6, 1987  
**to**            Marc Tanenbaum  
**from**         David Harris  
**subject**      Vice President Bush's Recent Visit to Poland

In case you missed it, the Washington Post (September 30) had a somewhat more detailed report on Bush's visit to Poland than did the New York Times. Please see the attached article. Note, particularly, Bush's reference in the penultimate paragraph to those courageous Poles who sheltered tens of thousands of Jews, and, in the final paragraph, to Father Maximilian Kolbe.

I am sure that Poles and Polish-Americans will be pleased with the statements, assuming they have been reported accurately: the first, on its face, not only exonerates Poles of anti-Semitism or indifference to the fate of Jews during the war, but portrays them heroically. While this is undoubtedly a part of the picture, is it the full picture? Is this part of an effort to put this sad and admittedly controversial chapter of history to rest by suggesting an all-white picture?

About Kolbe, I need not comment as you know much more about him than I.

I will try to get the complete text of the Vice President's remarks.



DAH:dw

cc: David Geller  
 Bert Gold  
 David Roth  
 Gary Rubin.

enclosures



# Bush Ends Visit to Poland

## Touring Nazi Death Camps

By David Hoffman and Jackson Diehl  
Washington Post Foreign Service

OSWIECIM, Poland, Sept. 29—Vice President Bush examined evidence of the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust today in a solemn visit to the death camps at Auschwitz and Birkenau, paying tribute to the 6 million Jews who died here and at other Nazi extermination camps.

"The brutal and tragic horrors of Auschwitz serve as grim reminders of man's capacity for evil," Bush said later. "The denial of human rights—the denial of human dignity—leads ultimately to this, the attempted extermination of an entire people."

The vice president's walking tour of the Nazi camps was the highlight of his final day in Poland on a visit designed to improve U.S.-Polish relations and boost his presidential campaign. Before leaving Warsaw this morning, Bush acknowledged the political goal of his tour. Asked about the impact at home of his dramatic appearance with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on a church balcony, Bush said, "I suppose the next question is how many relatives does he have in Iowa?"

Bush said he hired a campaign camera crew "to take good pictures of me in Poland" and said, "I hope it helps me with everybody."

He defended his talks with government, church and opposition leaders, saying they had left him with the "very distinct feeling" that "Poland has come out of a very difficult time and things are moving forward." He said "time will tell" whether the communist government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski moves to adopt further political and economic reforms which the vice president urged it to take if Poland is to get additional international economic aid.

After Bush left Warsaw, Polish government spokesman Jerzy Urban announced that the two governments have agreed to exchange ambassadors for the first time since the suppression of Solidarity in December 1981. Urban said Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Kinast will become Warsaw's

envoy in Washington, and that Poland has accepted John R. Davis Jr., now U.S. charge d'affaires in Warsaw, as ambassador.

Urban also gently chided Bush.

"The western press, especially the American press, said that Bush opened his presidential campaign in Poland," he said. "I am having trouble distinguishing which part of the visit was international politics by an American statesman and which part was internal American politicking in the context of the American election."

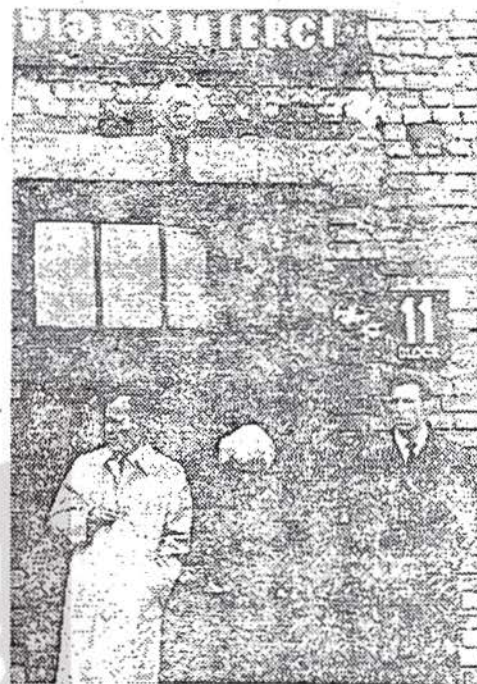
Bush had irritated the government yesterday with his open endorsement of Solidarity, the outlawed trade union, and his appearance with Walesa before a cheering crowd. Today, spokesman Urban renewed a line of criticism that the government has taken in recent months toward Walesa.

"It is often the case that politicians have connections to people in another country who are their clients," he said. "Those people are not necessarily politically important in the country."

Bush made no major breakthroughs in the impasse in U.S.-Polish relations during his visit, in which the Polish government is seeking additional international economic aid, and the United States is asking for further "visible" reforms toward political and economic pluralism. Bush said today he did find "common ground" on the need to improve relations and said, "I did find an openness—a willingness to discuss economic and political reform. Indeed, some changes have been made . . ."

Bush said in response to a question that he favors restoration of Solidarity to full legal standing, although other officials have said U.S. policy has not been to insist on this. Urban rejected any role for Solidarity, saying, "We shall not try to treat ailments by again injecting the country with illnesses that have been cured."

Later today, Bush arrived under a cold rain at the bleak Nazi concentration camp here and was escorted through the barracks, gas chambers and crematorium by Casimir Smolen, the director of the camp museum and an inmate at Auschwitz in 1940-45. Bush viewed Soviet film, taken after Soviet troops liberated the camp, that



Vice President Bush, left, and his wife, Barbara, leave the death block at Auschwitz.

documented the killing, including footage of a mass burial of victims in pine boxes. As he left the room, the vice president shook his head. "Strong," he said. "Wow. Powerful. That's something, isn't it?"

Among other exhibits, Bush viewed one of dozens of cans of the Zyklon B gas used to kill millions of Jews and others, and another showing how the Nazis used hair from their victims to make a burlap-like "hair-cloth." The Bushes appeared upset at some of the exhibits. Bush also examined the "Wall of Death" where thousands of Auschwitz inmates were murdered by SS guards with handguns.

Bush laid a wreath at the memorial at Birkenau and wrote in a guest book, "May the children of the future be spared the agony of this horrible past."

Later, in a ceremony marking the upgrading of the American Consulate in Krakow, Bush said of the slaughter of 6 million Jews, "Thank God courageous Poles, risking the lives of themselves and their families, sheltered tens of thousands of Jews from their Nazi enemies."

"Hundreds of thousands of Christians met their ends in the awful death camps . . . Today we saw the cell of Father Maximilian Kolbe, who sacrificed his life for that of a fellow prisoner and was canonized by the Catholic Church."

OCT 19 1987

LAW OFFICES OF  
LEONARD HORWIN  
121 SOUTH BEVERLY DRIVE  
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA 90212  
(213) 272-7807 OR (213) 275-5132

October 12, 1987

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
The American Jewish Committee  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, N. Y. 10022-2746

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Your letter of September 29, acknowledging receipt of my "recent letters" "best wishes for Shanah Tovah!" which I wholeheartedly reciprocate herewith, and especially thoughtful, detailed and important copy of your statement of September 29, 1987, apparently for "Present Tense: On Pope John Paul II, Waldheim, Jews, and Israel" are all deeply appreciated.

Because of its materiality, I call attention only to the following:

1. At page 3, 2nd lit. para., of your Present Tense Statement, you summarize the Waldheim incident as: "'morally and politically incomprehensible', and that the Pope, the 'universal pastor', did not utter a word about Waldheim's Nazi past nor the Nazi Holocaust."

What is omitted however, is that the Pope described Austria's President Waldheim in welcoming him at the Vatican reception, as "always devoted to bringing peace among peoples."

He thus went out of his way, in my judgment, to rebuild Waldheim's stature, notwithstanding his complicity in the Holocaust!

2. In those additional words, the Pope was rendering "moral" judgment as the Vicar of Christ on Earth in Catholic theology, not just acting in a diplomatic capacity as head of the Holy See --

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
October 12, 1987  
Page Two

described at the bottom of your page 3, as "this particular political decision to receive Waldheim." (My underscoring)

3. This "moral" judgment of the Pope with regard to Waldheim, it seems to me, must be read together with "his opening words" of September 1, 1987 to your delegation at Miami in which (your page 6, 3rd lit. para.) you report him as stating: "At the close of the meeting . . . to a small circle of us, 'This monstrous evil of Nazism must be overcome by the Grace of God, with the good.'"

4. I read this latter as a possible calculated intention to bathe Jews, as well as the killers of Jews, in a professed Papal "love", i. e. returning "good" for "evil."

5. This latter may be suggested also by what you described as the "unexpectedly brief but sharp defense of Pope Pius XII's actions in response to the Nazis . . ." (your statement page 7, 5th lit. para.) September 11, 1987 at Miami." (Castle Gandolfo)

6. The Pope's (i.e. Vatican's) returning Papal "good" for the "monstrous evil of Nazism" inflicted on the Jews but not on the Vatican -- is perhaps a key to explaining matters which are puzzling only to the victims, not to the perpetrators, -- as, for example, the Concordat of July 20, 1933 with Adolf Hitler; the Vatican's reputed escape hatch from Europe at the end of World War II for as many as perhaps 50,000 Nazis (Bruno Weiser Baron, in "The Nazis' Friend in Rome") described as "the largest single organization in the illegal movement of Nazis after the end of the war" including Eichmann, Mengele, Raiff, Barbie and others; the Vatican cover provided after the War for Bishop Hilaron Capucci (originally from Cyprus), released by Israel to the Vatican and by the Vatican to Vatican functions elsewhere, after indictment and jailing in Israel for smuggling pistols, hand grenades, machine guns, plastic explosives and other weapons and ammunition for the PLO into Israel under the mantle of the Greek Eastern Catholic Church; the warm embrace afforded by the present Pope to Yassir Arafat, killer of innumerable innocent civilians, etc., etc.

7. It must be foreseen, that some such posture is possible for the promised December 1987 "Symposium . . . jointly sponsored by the Vatican Secretariat . . . and IJCIC . . . on Catholic-Jewish relations" at Washington D. C., with what you described as the "overarching theme" of "the Nazi Holocaust -- Christian and Jewish perceptions" -- (your statement page 7, last lit. para.), but regarding which you state (next to last lit. para. page 7) that "it is now evident that" the Pope "personally has placed the issue of Pius XII and the Nazi Holocaust . . . as priority themes on the next stage of the Catholic-Jewish agenda."

8. At your page 7, 2nd lit. para., you state that "World Jewry has an important role to play in interpreting the centrality of Israel in Jewish consciousness" but subject to "Israeli and Vatican diplomats as the central actors . . ."

9. It must be recognized, however, that failing Vatican recognition of the State of Israel (which your statement suggests is not forthcoming, and without which no act on the part of the Vatican could possibly begin to balance prior wrongs, bearing in mind that the State of Israel is in fact arisen out of the ashes of the Holocaust) -- the net result of the Pope's balancing the "monstrous evil of Nazism" by doing Papal "good" for the perpetrators (and asking Jews and others to do likewise) is tantamount, basically, to a Vatican whitewash of responsibility for the Holocaust, in which the killers of Jews are given the same Papal "love" (i.e. embracing Waldheim, Arafat, Capucci, etc., etc.), as is professed for the Jews.

10. The foregoing reference to who are "the central actors" likewise raises a basic problem regarding the "monstrous" duplicity in the Vatican's professing to be the "Vicar of Christ on Earth" and therefore entitled to ultimate "moral judgment", and likewise professing to be top diplomat "required" to welcome Arafat and Waldheim to the Vatican, extend recognition to some of the meanest regimes on earth, yet withhold it from one of the worlds most democratic and law-abiding states, i.e. Israel, etc., etc.

11. In the United States, the Consitutional prohibition on State interference in religion and doctrine of separation of church and state, plus an 1867 law prohibiting federal funding of th US Embassy at the Vatican, substantially prevented US recognition of the Vatican as a diplomatic entity until President Reagan's recognition of it, January 10, 1984.

The present US recognition of Catholicism through the Vatican as a State, contrasts with the treatment of representatives of other religions not entitled to diplomatic immunity, as, for example, Protestant Evangelical groups subject to possible prosecution, including for income tax evasion, and Protestant Reverend Pat Robertson, who purported to resign the "700 Club" and from his ministry, in order to conduct his campaign for President, strictly separate from the operations of his church.

12. The operation of the Vatican as a State among States, and operating within them through its hierarchy, in addition to diplomatic representation, -- is archaic and discriminatory among religions, dangerously devious, and uncontrollable in its ultimate consequences.

13. In this year of re-dedication of the US Constitution, the time may have come to reconsider the US violation of its Consti-

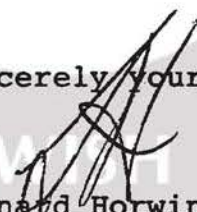
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
October 12, 1987  
Page Four

tutional intentions by diplomatic relations with the Vatican, -- so that the Vatican may be treated like the representative of any other religion -- strictly as a religion and not as a state.

I realize that this is a tall order, given the close relations of President Reagan with the present Pope, but overall circumstances may yet permit, nay require, a re-thinking of this subject matter under more propitious auspices.

I remain, with all kind regards,

Sincerely yours,



Leonard Horwin  
former US Diplomat  
former Mayor of Beverly Hills  
former Editor, Yale Law Journal  
Member, American Jewish  
Committee

LH/gg



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

ASIA PACIFIC REGION

October 13, 1987

BUENOS AIRES  
Larrea 744

GENEVA  
1 rue de Varembe

JERUSALEM  
4 Rotenberg Street

LONDON  
11 Hertford Street

NEW YORK  
One Park Ave.

PARIS  
78 Av. des Ch. Elysees

ROME  
Piazza Scanderbeg 51

Mr. David A. Harris  
Washington Representative  
The American Jewish Committee  
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036  
U.S.A.

Dear David,

Earlier this year, as you may know from a report I sent to you (a copy of which is attached), I visited China for discussions with senior government officials and leading Chinese scholars, with whom contacts had been cultivated since my first visit in 1981.

The general objective of my third visit to China was to extend our existing contacts and to seek new areas for 'joint ventures' between the Chinese and Jewish worlds through the avenues of cultural and academic exchange. My purpose, too, was to explore the possibility of holding a meeting, in Beijing, of the International Steering Committee of the Asian-Jewish Colloquium on which Jewish scholars, some of them from Israel, are represented.

While the latter idea was regrettably rejected as premature by the Chinese, considerable interest was evinced in the area of cultural and scholastic exchanges between China and the Jewish world. In terms of Chinese-Jewish relations, this was a significant development. We are confident that, in future, Chinese scholars will be permitted to attend international Jewish conferences. Furthermore, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences - a highly influential body - has undertaken to explore seriously the possibility of holding a Jewish Studies conference in Shanghai towards the end of 1988, with assistance from our offices.

These developments, together with the willingness of the Academy to arrange for the placement of Jewish texts in the libraries of six major Chinese tertiary institutions, reflects a growing interest in Jewish history, folklore and culture. One set of books would be specifically designated for the Institute of

Mr. David A. Harris  
October 13, 1987

2

International Affairs at the Academy of Social Sciences which services the Foreign Ministry.

An all-embracing bibliography of Jewish texts, together with the Encyclopaedia Judaica, has been compiled and the list is appended. I am turning to your organisation, as an opinion-leader in the Jewish world, to ask whether you would sponsor the donation of one such set of texts to one of the six Chinese academic institutions. The cost of such a set - which would be sent in your organisation's name - would be US\$900.

I hope that you will lend your co-sponsorship to the project and look forward to your reply.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,



ISI J. LEIBLER

Encl.



TEXTS FOR CHINESE TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

- . Encyclopaedia Judaica (with Yearbooks)
- . Tanach (J.P.S. Hebrew/English edition)
- . Siddur (Birboam edition: Hebrew/English)
- . Ch. Ben Soussan: History of the Jewish People
- . Hermann Strack: Introduction to Talmud and Midrash
- . Guttman: Philosophies of Judaism
- . Shlomo Pines: Translation of Maimonides' 'Guide to the Perplexed' (2 vols.)
- . Mishna: Danby edition

INSTITUTIONS

- . The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Documentation Centre
- . The National Library, Beijing
- . Beijing University
- . Fudan University, Shanghai
- . The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences
- . Nanking Theological Seminary.



4/26/87  
*[Signature]*



**The American Jewish  
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022-2746  
212 751-4000

**Theodore Ellenoff**  
President

**David M. Gordis**  
Executive Vice-President

**Leo Nevas**  
Chair, Board of Governors

**Robert S. Jacobs**  
Chair, National Executive Council

**Edward E. Elson**  
Chair, Board of Trustees

**Sholom D. Comay**  
Treasurer

**Robert S. Rifkind**  
Secretary

**David H. Peirez**  
Associate Treasurer

**Mimi Alperin**  
Chair, Executive Committee

Vice-Presidents

**David B. Fleeman**  
Miami

**Arnold B. Gardner**  
Buffalo

**Rita E. Hauser**  
New York

**Charlotte G. Holstein**  
Syracuse

**Ann P. Kaufman**  
Houston

**Alfred H. Moses**  
Washington, D.C.

**Idelle Rabin**  
Dallas

**Bruce M. Ramer**  
Los Angeles

**Jerome J. Shestack**  
Philadelphia

**Richard L. Weiss**  
Los Angeles

**Gordon Zacks**  
Columbus

Honorary Presidents

**Morris B. Abram**

**Howard I. Friedman**

**Arthur J. Goldberg**

**Philip E. Hoffman**

**Richard Maass**

**Elmer L. Winter**

**Maynard I. Wishner**

Honorary Vice-Presidents

**Nathan Appleman**

**Martin Gang**

**Ruth R. Goddard**

**Andrew Goodman**

**Raymond F. Kravis**

**James Marshall**

**William Rosenwald**

**Shirley M. Szabad**

**Max M. Fisher**

Honorary Chair,  
National Executive Council

Executive Vice-Presidents Emeriti

**John Slawson**

**Bertram H. Gold**

October 23, 1986

Rabbi Alan L. Berg  
Temple Anshe Amunim  
26 Broad Street  
Pittsfield, MA 01201

Dear Rabbi Berg,

Thank you for your thoughtful invitation to deliver "The Hilda Vallin Feigenbaum Memorial Lecture" on Sunday evening, April 26th.

My schedule is free that evening and I shall therefore be glad to accept your invitation.

Cordially,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department

MHT:RPR



4/16/87

RABBI ALAN L. BERG

October 8, 1986

413-442-5910

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

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum,

*26 Broad St*

Each year Temple Anshe Amunim in Pittsfield, <sup>01201</sup> Massachusetts presents a major lecture in our series, "The Hilda Vallin Feigenbaum Memorial Lecture". We would like to invite you to be this year's Feigenbaum speaker on Sunday evening, April 26th. We were hoping to have a topic that would address both Catholic - Jewish relations, and because this will be our community's Yom Ha Shoah commemoration, we would like to, as well, touch on some aspect of the Holocaust.

We are able to offer an honorarium of \$1,500, plus expenses.

I look forward to hearing from you and to discussing any additional aspects of this with you.

Sincerely,

*Alan Berg*  
Rabbi Alan L. Berg

ALB:gmg

*Marc*  
*for approval*  
*at ME session*  
*Gary Wolf has the original*

THE ANTI-TERRORISM ACT OF 1987

An Update on the Controversy Surrounding  
Efforts to Close Down PLO Offices in the U.S.

by George E. Gruen  
Director, Israel & Middle East Affairs  
International Relations Department

Legislation designed to close down the offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the United States is now before a conference committee in Congress. The Senate bill, known as the "Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987", was introduced by a bi-partisan group of senators led by Bob Dole (R-Kansas), Charles Grassley (R-Iowa), Rudy Boschwitz (R-Minn.), Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ) and Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio). The bill now has 50 co-sponsors. The House version, introduced by Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY), had 76 co-sponsors. The House conferees have been authorized to accept the Senate version, S. 1203, which has been tacked on as an amendment to the State Department Authorization Act. Final approval is expected within a month.

Senator Dole explained that the purpose of the legislation is "to strengthen the defenses of this country against the real, physical threat that the PLO represents." In its section on findings and determinations, the bill notes that Middle East terrorism constituted 60 per cent of world terrorism in 1985; it then documents specific instances of PLO terrorism as well as general statements showing the organization's commitment to armed struggle.

The American Jewish Committee has supported government initiatives to close the PLO's Palestine Information Office (PIO) in Washington. In July of this year, the Committee's Board of Governors approved a statement declaring that "because the Palestinian Liberation Organization is a terrorist organization, its office in Washington should be closed down, by administrative action if possible -- if not, by appropriate legislation."

Critics of the bill, such as the Washington Office of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Washington Post and the New York Times, regard the proposed legislation as an unwarranted infringement of free speech. Norton Halperin, ACLU's Washington director, termed it "clearly a violation of the rights of free speech and association to bar American citizens from acting as agents seeking to advance the political ideology of any organization, even if that organization is based abroad." Secretary of State George Shultz was quoted, in a May 26, 1987 editorial in the Washington Post, as saying that the PLO Washington office is duly registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act and that "so long as that office regularly files reports with the Department of Justice on its activities as an agent of a foreign organization, complies with all other relevant U.S. laws and is staffed by Americans or legal resident aliens, it is entitled to operate under the protection provided by the First Amendment of the Constitution."

By September, Secretary Shultz had apparently modified his position. Following a legal determination that the PLO was in fact a foreign mission subject to regulation under the Foreign Missions Act, the State Department on September 16 ordered the PLO's Washington information office to close within 30 days. According to State Department spokesman Charles Redman, the decision was a demonstration of "U.S. concern over terrorism committed and supported by organizations and individuals affiliated with the PLO." The deadline was later extended to December 1, however, following a request by the information office's lawyers for time to settle contract obligations and other legal matters.

The Government's action was hailed by most American Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, which stated: "We believe this action sends a clear message to the countries of the world: so long as the PLO engages in terrorist acts against Americans and other innocent civilians, its agents will not be permitted to conduct business as usual in our nation's capital."

The Committee also expressed the view that this action would

contribute to the peace process in the Middle East. "By underscoring our firm commitment to the principle that only those Palestinians prepared to commit themselves to live at peace with the state of Israel are suitable partners for negotiations," the AJC declared, "we hope that moderate Palestinians will be encouraged to step forward and join with Jordan in discussions with Israel for a just and lasting settlement."

The PLO office in New York, which has the status of an Observer Mission to the United Nations, is more problematic. Although the UN Legal Counsel noted, in October 1982, that "there are no specific provisions relating to permanent observation missions in the Charter, the Headquarters Agreement or the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations," the United States Government feels bound by its Headquarters Agreement with the UN to permit members of the PLO Observer Mission to carry out their official UN-related functions.

The United Nations Office of Legal Affairs has ruled that "Permanent Observer Missions are not entitled to diplomatic privileges or immunities... If they are not listed in the United States diplomatic list, whatever facilities they may be given in the United States are merely gestures of courtesy by the United States authorities." PLO representatives accredited to the UN are already currently restricted to a 25-mile geographic radius from the UN, as are representatives of some Communist countries. Mr. Shultz has acknowledged, moreover, that "we retain the right to deny entry to, or expel, any individual PLO representative directly implicated in terrorist acts." The AJC statement noted the Administration's commitment to closely monitor the activities of the PLO observer Mission "to assure that it does not in any way foster or facilitate the spread of terrorism." The Committee has not, however, actively advocated closing the observer mission because of the likelihood that such action would embroil the U.S. in a lengthy suit before the International Court of Justice.

Advocates of the new legislation contend that it is a logical extension of existing American policy and legislation. It should be

noted that on September 11, 1978, Assistant Secretary of State Douglas J. Bennet, Jr. wrote to Representative Stephen J. Solarz (D-NY), assuring him that PLO members would not benefit from the McGovern Amendment. The McGovern Amendment, which was enacted to demonstrate U.S. commitment to the free travel provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, provided that the Secretary of State should recommend a waiver of visa ineligibility for persons who were ineligible solely on the grounds of their membership in or affiliation with a "proscribed" organization. Mr. Bennet went on to declare:

Although the PLO is an umbrella organization which includes a number of factions and individuals who hold different views on terrorism, the Department clearly recognizes that significant elements of the PLO do advocate, carry out or accept responsibility for acts of terrorism. As a matter of policy we consider any official of the PLO, and its designated or self-proclaimed agents or spokesmen, ineligible for visas.

He added, however, that "this ineligibility may be waived under existing law..." To close this potential loophole, Congressman Solarz introduced an amendment to the McGovern language in the State Department Authorization Act of 1979 by inserting a new subsection under Nonimmigrant Visas Sec. 107 (2): "(c) This section does not apply with respect to any alien who is a member, officer, official, representative, or spokesman of the Palestine Liberation Organization."

On January 15, 1986, State Department spokesman Charles Redman reiterated U.S. policy regarding visa denial to terrorists:

With the very narrow exception of those who espouse terrorism, the United States does not exclude aliens for purely ideological reasons...This having been said, however, overriding national security concerns sometimes demand that we exclude a particular alien or class of aliens from the United States...For example, it has been United States policy, sanctioned by the Congress as recently as 1979, to deny visas to members of the PLO. Similarly, we will as a matter of principle exclude individuals who personally advocate

terrorism or who we believe have participated in or supported terrorist activities. (Emphasis added.)

The current legislative effort to close down the PLO offices, its proponents point out, would extend this established U.S. policy to persons within the United States who are in the employ of the PLO.

Q What of the charge that this infringes first amendment rights of free speech? Proponents of the legislation stress that the proposed law explicitly permits Americans to continue "to receive...informational material from the PLO." Americans will also remain free to espouse the views of the PLO and even to contribute to groups advocating its positions. Indeed, there are a considerable number of American voluntary organizations, both Arab-American and more generally constituted groups, that openly advocate Palestinian self-determination and a role for the PLO in the peace process.

In fact, James Zogby, director of the Arab-American Institute, has announced the formation of the Commission on American-Palestinian Relations. "If they close down the PLO information offices," Mr. Zogby told the Washington Post, on June 29, "we will open one of our own."

The proposed law would not restrict the activities of such indigenous American pro-PLO groups. What the law would do is to bar the PLO, a foreign organization which the United States Government has declared to be engaged in terrorism, from carrying on business as usual in the United States.

In addition to the Solarz Amendment, the United States Government has taken other actions to hamper the PLO. For example, the U.S. has announced that it will not pay for certain programs of international organizations in which the PLO participates (22 U.S.C. §2227 and 22 U.S.C. §287e), and instructed U.S. representatives to oppose PLO membership in the International Monetary Fund (22 U.S.C. §§286e-1, 286). Moreover, Congress has enshrined in legislation the essence of Secretary

of State Henry Kissinger's September 1, 1975 Memorandum of Agreement with Israel by making it the statutory policy of the United States not to negotiate with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist, and accepts UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. (P.L. 99-83, Title XIII, §1303).

Q Is this action arbitrary and lacking in due process? Before any sanctions are applied the matter must be brought for a hearing before a U.S. Federal District Court. Critics of the bill have expressed concern that it appears to single out a specific organization. Proponents of the legislation respond that while the Palestine Liberation Organization is specifically mentioned in the law, the target of the legislation is not the PLO as a national, ethnic, religious, or political ideology. The legislation is directed explicitly at the terrorist activities of the PLO. There is a clear remedy within the law to enable the PLO by its own action at any time to be freed of the restrictions in the law. Section 5. (b) stipulates:

The provisions of this Act shall cease to have effect if the President certifies in writing to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House that the Palestine Liberation Organization, its agents, or constituent groups thereof no longer practice or support terrorist activities anywhere in the world.

Thus the basic intent of the legislators is not to deprive supporters of the PLO from expressing their opinions, but to induce the PLO to renounce the use of terrorism. By reaffirming United States abhorrence of terrorism, the supporters of this legislation also hope to encourage the emergence of Palestinian leaders who are dedicated to a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israel conflict.

6646-(IRD-10)/1s

October 22, 1987



*Marsha Turken*

*742*



The American Jewish  
Committee

Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746 • 212 751-4000

September 10, 1987

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Thursday, October 29-Sunday, November 1, 1987

Waverly Hotel, Atlanta

Working Agenda

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28

12:00 Noon - 5:00 PM Chapter Presidents' Meeting  
(G. Rozanski)

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29

9:00 AM - 12:00 Noon Committee on Organizational Development

1:00 PM - 3:00 PM Concurrent Committee Meetings

4:30 - 6:30 PM Opening Plenary Session  
(at Carter Presidential Center)

Opening Remarks  
Bertram H. Gold,  
Executive Vice President

"The President, Congress &  
the Constitution"

Keynote Address  
President Jimmy Carter

Possible Respondent:  
Griffin Bell

Discussion

6:30 - 8:00 PM Atlanta Chapter Reception  
(at Carter Presidential Center)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

8:00 - 8:30 AM Plenary Breakfast

Preface to following workshops

8:30 - 10:00 AM

(M. Provizer)

Concurrent "Action Where You Are" Workshops

A. National Affairs

Subject: Election '88

*Diff. Community Outreach Issues & Opportunities*  
*Cedric Sumner*

(M. Tanenbaum)

*Albert Kowitz*

(S. Bayme)

*Hester Ave  
Miami  
LA  
Detroit*

B. International Affairs

Subject: Consular Visits

*Sherry Frank  
Richard Rice*

C. Jewish Communal Affairs

Subject: Intra-Jewish Dialogues

(A. Mittleman)

D. Interreligious Affairs

Subject: Religion & Society

10:30 AM - 12:00 Noon

Plenary Session

(S. Bayme)

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Election of the Nominating Committee

Report of the National Task Force on Family Policy

E. Robert Goodkind

Chapter Response

Discussion & Action

Resource  
David Biale

12:00 Noon - 2:00 PM

Plenary Luncheon

(M. Provizer)

"Election '88 Forum"

Possible Speakers:

Senator Rudy Boschwitz

Senator John Kerry

2:00 - 4:00 PM

Concurrent Program Forums

(G. Rubin)

*DAVID HANCOCK*

A. "The Newest Immigrants: Changing the American Landscape"

Panel of ethnic leaders

*Special Asst to Pres  
Semi-Peruse  
NE  
Bb Oakley  
DENNIS RICE*

(M. Tanenbaum)

*Sarit  
Jury*

B. International Relations Forum

4:00 PM

Meeting of Chapter Presidents & National Officers

6:45 PM

Hospitality at the homes of Atlanta Chapter members

*Moris B. Abram  
David Harris*

*Magg Kaufman*

*Sharon  
Jury  
Suzanne*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

8:00 - 9:00 AM

Buffet Breakfast

9:00 - 10:30 AM

Shabbat Service

10:30 AM - 12:30 PM

Concurrent Program Forums

(G. Rosen)

A. "The Impact of Feminism on the Jewish Community"

Possible speakers:

Amy Eilberg  
Betty Jacobson  
David Biale

(A. Mittleman)

B. "Breakthroughs in Protestant-Jewish Relations"

Panelists:

Prof. Walter Harrelson,  
Vanderbilt Divinity School  
Prof. W. Eugene March,  
Louisville Presbyterian  
Theological Society

12:30 - 2:30 PM

Plenary Luncheon -

*Morris Abram  
David Harris*

(I. Levine/  
B. Gayle-Almeleh)

"Blacks & Jews: A Common Agenda"

Possible Speakers:

~~Stuart Eizenstat~~

2:30 - 3:30 PM

Special Forum

Address by Dr. Bruno Heck, Director  
Konrad Adenauer Foundation

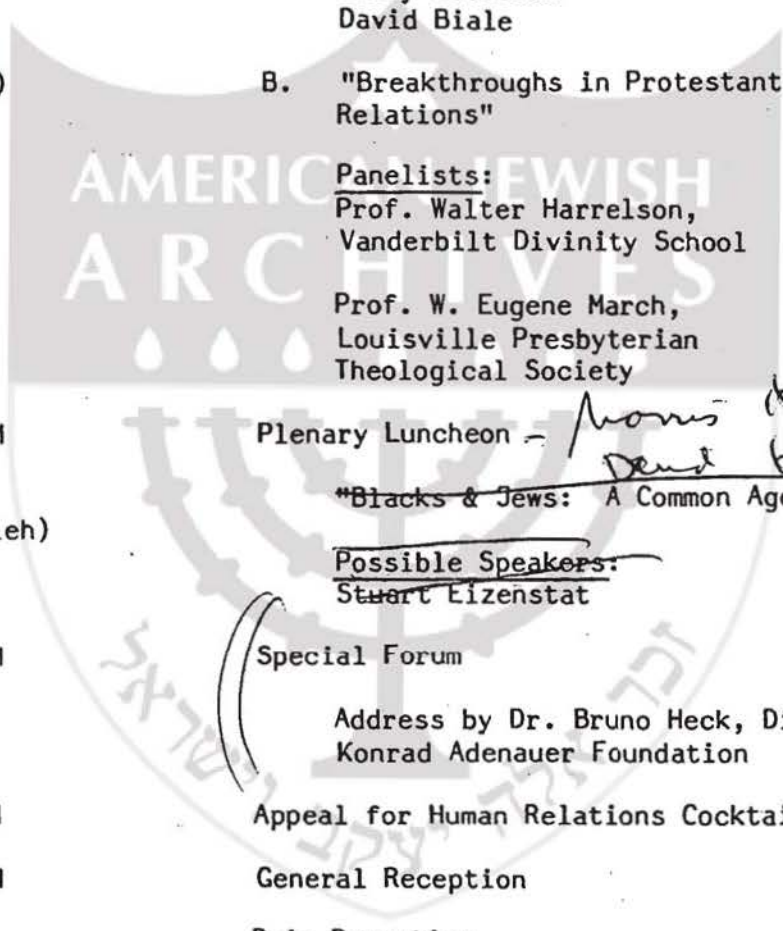
5:00 - 6:30 PM

Appeal for Human Relations Cocktail Reception

6:30 - 7:30 PM

General Reception

Dais Reception



7:30 - 10:00 PM

National Executive Council Dinner

President's Address  
Theodore Ellenoff

Possible Speakers:  
Howard Baker  
Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad

Possible Award Presentations:

Mass Media Award to:  
Leonard Fein, Moment  
Ellen Goodman, syndicated columnist  
Elizabeth Drew, author & columnist

Constitution Bicentennial Award  
to Rosalyn Carter

*Ed Elson  
clears*  
*Henry  
Brunwald*

10:00 PM

President's Reception

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

~~8:00 - 10:00 AM~~

~~Plenary Breakfast~~

~~Subject:  
Stereotypes & Prejudice~~

*Elmer Wipac, Chair*

10:00 AM - 12:00 Noon

Closing Plenary Session

(S. Hirsh/G. Rubin/  
M. Tanenbaum)

"American Jewish-Israeli Relations"

~~Possible Speakers:  
Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad~~

*Al  
Moore  
Israeli  
Avner  
Yaniv*

12:00 Noon-3:00 PM

Board of Governors Meeting

Afternoon

Optional tour of High Museum of Art  
(hosted by the Atlanta Chapter)

*Nimrod Novick }  
~~Dennis Ross~~*

*Shl. Avineri }  
M. Moses*

*Room*

*Oa Kleg*

*202-395-6900*

*Nimrod Novick*

SB/ed1

nec/40  
87-100

September 21, 1987

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Thursday, October 29-Sunday, November 1, 1987

Waverly Hotel, Atlanta

Working Agenda

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29

(for members only)

9:00 AM - 12:00 Noon

Committee on Organizational Development

12:00 Noon - 3:00 PM

(by invitation only)

Board of Trustees (for members only)

1:00 PM - 3:00 PM

Concurrent Committee Meetings

ARCHIVES

A. National Committee on Anti-Semitism & Extremism ✓

B. National Women's Issues Committee ✓

C. National Legal Committee ✓

D. Energy Committee ✓

4:30 - 6:30 PM

Opening Plenary Session (at Carter Presidential Center)

"The President, the Congress & the Constitution"

Opening Remarks  
Bertram H. Gold,  
Executive Vice President

Keynote Address  
President Jimmy Carter

AJC Respondents

Discussion

6:30 - 8:00 PM

Atlanta Chapter Reception (at Carter Presidential Center)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

8:00 - 9:00 AM

Plenary Breakfast

Orientation to morning workshops ✓

9:00 - 10:30 AM

8:30 - 10:00 AM

(M. Provizer)

(M. Tanenbaum)

(S. Bayme)

(A. Mittleman)

Concurrent "Action Where You Are" Workshops

- A. Election '88:  
Influencing the Campaign Process
- B. Consular Visits
- C. Intra-Jewish Dialogues
- D. Religion & Society

*Emman -*  
*Japanese -*  
*Nigerian -*

*Adore Suzman*  
*Star Wainberg, Illic*

~~10:00 - 10:30 AM~~

~~Workshop Reports~~

10:30 AM - 12:00 Noon

Plenary Session

(S. Bayme)

- Election of the Nominating Committee
- Report of the National Task Force on Family Policy  
E. Robert Goodkind
- Chapter Response
- Discussion & Action

Resource  
David Biale,  
Graduate Theological Union

12:00 Noon - 2:00 PM

Plenary Luncheon

(M. Provizer)

"Election '88:  
Exploring the National Agenda"

Possible Speakers:  
Senator Rudy Boschwitz  
Senator John Kerry

Panel of AJC leaders

2:00 - 4:00 PM

Concurrent Program Forums

(G. Rubin)

- A. "The Newest Immigrants:  
Changing the American Landscape"
- Prof. William McCready,  
Associate Director,  
Public Opinion Laboratories

Panel of ethnic leaders

- B. ~~International Relations Forum~~

"Soviet Jewry: A Call for Action"

Chapter Presidents & National Officers Meeting

4:00 PM

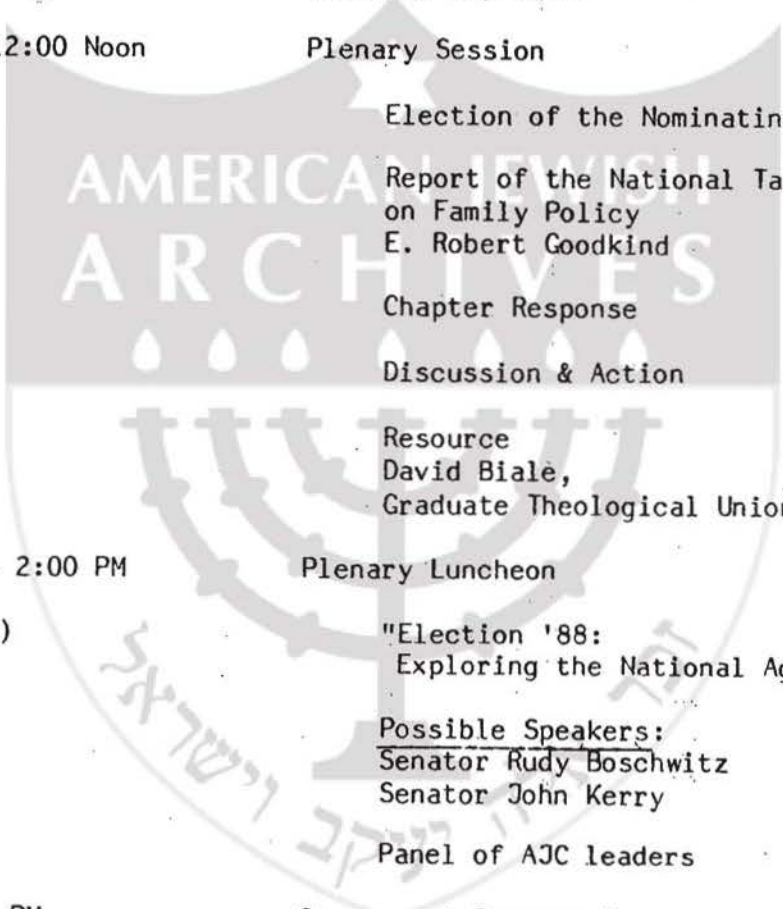
6:45 PM

Hospitality at the homes of Atlanta Chapter members

*Nov. 22 - Summit*

(M. Tanenbaum)

*Ridgway -*  
*Shavansky*  
*D. Harris*



SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

8:00 - 9:00 AM

Buffet Breakfast

9:00 - 10:30 AM

Shabbat Service

(S. Frank)

10:30 AM - 12:30 PM

Concurrent Program Forums

(G. Rosen)

A. "The Impact of Feminism on the Jewish Community"

Panelists:

Amy Eilberg, Conservative rabbi

Betty Jacobson, President  
Atlanta Jewish Federation

David Biale,  
Graduate Theological Union

(A. Mittleman)

B. "Breakthroughs in Protestant-Jewish Relations"

Panelists:

Prof. Walter Harrelson,  
Vanderbilt Divinity School

Prof. W. Eugene March,  
Louisville Presbyterian  
Theological Society

12:30 - 2:30 PM

Plenary Luncheon

(I. Levine/  
B. Gayle-Almeleh)

"Blacks & Jews: A Common Agenda"

Possible Speakers:

~~Eleanor Holmes Norton,~~

Georgetown University

Rep. Bartsch-Jordan ✓

2:30 - 3:30 PM

Special Forum

(W. Trosten)

Address

Dr. Bruno Heck, Director  
Konrad Adenauer Foundation

5:00 - 6:30 PM

Appeal for Human Relations Cocktail Reception

6:30 - 7:30 PM

General Reception

Dais Reception



7:30 - 10:00 PM

National Executive Council Dinner

President's Address  
Theodore Ellenoff

Possible Speakers:

Howard Baker  
Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad

Possible Award Presentation:

Mass Media Award to:

~~James Reston, columnist~~  
Henry Grunwald, Time

10:00 PM

President's Reception

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

8:00 - 10:00 AM

Plenary Breakfast

"Critical Choices in the Middle East"

Possible Speakers:

Israeli Consul General  
Muhammed Massarwa

Avner Yaniv,  
University of Haifa

*Dennis Zuss*

*Robert Oakley*

*Nimrod Novick*

*Shlomo Aviner*

*- Green Policy*

10:00 AM - 12:00 Noon

Closing Plenary Session

(S. Hirsh/G. Rubin/  
M. Tanenbaum)

"American Jews & Israelis:  
Defining a Common Agenda"

Possible Speaker:

Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad  
*Shlomo Aviner*

12:00 Noon-3:00 PM

Board of Governors Luncheon  
(for Board members only)

Afternoon

Optional tour of High Museum of Art  
(hosted by the Atlanta Chapter)

SB/ed1

nec/40  
87-100

NEC

VIA FAX

October 2, 1987

Mr. Natan Sharansky  
2 Ben Zion  
Kiryat Moshe  
Jerusalem 95423  
ISRAEL

Dear Natan:

I hope this note finds you, Avital and Rakhel in good health. All best wishes to the three of you for a New Year filled with peace and happiness.

I regret that we missed each other before you returned to Israel. My wife told me you had tried to reach me at home. By the time I tracked you down, Zeesy advised me that you had already departed for Jerusalem. Knowing, however, that you are planning to return to the States later this month, I do hope there will be ample opportunity for us to talk further. I am especially interested in doing so as I have been asked to serve as the professional coordinator for the summit mobilization, including the Washington demonstration. In that regard, I look forward to working closely with you and benefitting from your thinking.

From October 29th to November 1st, the American Jewish Committee will be holding its annual National Executive Council meeting in Atlanta. Hundreds of Jewish leaders from across the country will be attending and, if past experience offers a clue, press coverage will be extensive. We would be delighted if you were able to join us for a part of this four-day meeting. It would give you an opportunity to reach an influential segment of the American Jewish community prior to the expected summit, and it would give us the chance to honor you with the American Liberties Medallion, the highest award of the American Jewish Committee. Presented annually to persons of exceptional distinction, courage and leadership, last year's recipient was George Shultz. Other recipients have included Elie Wiesel **AND** the late Henry Jackson.

Ideally, we would welcome your presence at the banquet dinner on Saturday evening, October 31st and, if possible, for an earlier session on Soviet Jewry, which is scheduled for Friday afternoon, October 30th. We would certainly make appropriate accommodations for Shabbat observance. If neither of these proposed times should be convenient, please let me know whether there might be another suitable time during these four days. We are prepared to be flexible as possible to accommodate your schedule.

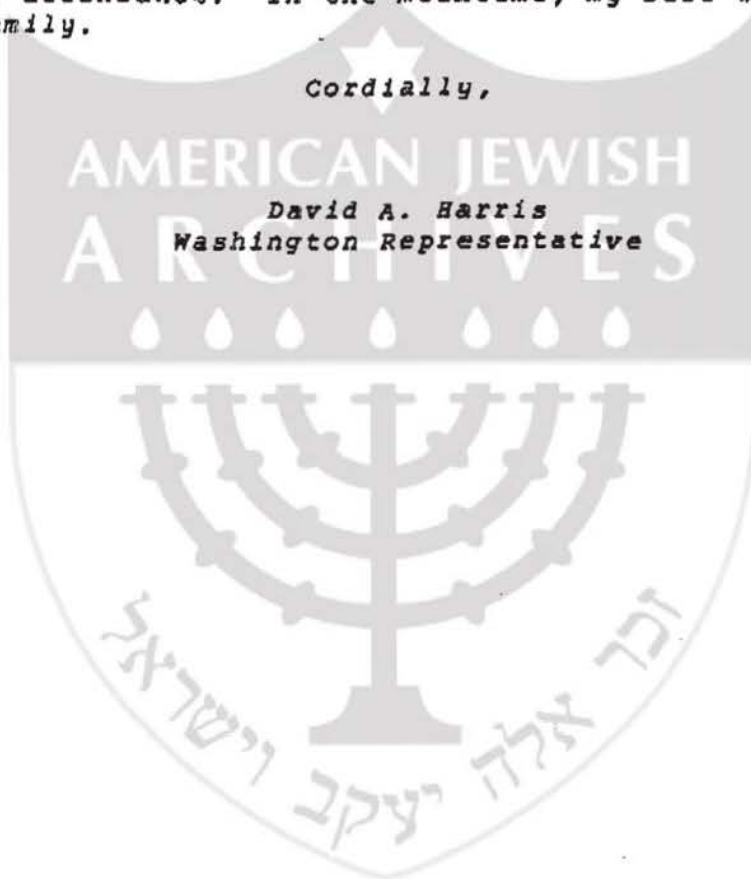
AS

Please cable or call collect to let me know whether we might expect your attendance. In the meantime, my best wishes to you and your family.

Cordially,

AMERICAN JEWISH  
 David A. Harris  
 Washington Representative  
 ARCHIVES

DAH:dw



JUL 29 1987



The American Jewish  
Committee

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022-2746  
212 751-4000

Theodore Ellenoff  
President

Leo Nevas  
Chair, Board of Governors

Robert S. Jacobs  
Chair, National Executive Council

Edward E. Elson  
Chair, Board of Trustees

Sholom D. Comay  
Treasurer

Robert S. Rifkind  
Secretary

David H. Peirez  
Associate Treasurer

Mimi Alperin  
Chair, Executive Committee

Bertram H. Gold  
Executive Vice-President

Vice-Presidents

Meta S. Berger  
Chicago

Herbert Cohen  
Atlanta

Arnold B. Gardner  
Buffalo

Rita E. Hauser  
New York

David Hirschhorn  
Baltimore

Ann P. Kaufman  
Houston

Alfred H. Moses  
Washington, DC

Bruce M. Ramer  
Los Angeles

Jerome J. Shestack  
Philadelphia

R. Peter Straus  
New York

Gordon Zacks  
Columbus

Honorary Presidents

Morris B. Abram

Howard I. Friedman

Arthur J. Goldberg

Philip E. Hoffman

Richard Maass

Elmer L. Winter

Maynard I. Wishner

Honorary Vice-Presidents

Nathan Appleman

David B. Fleeman

Martin Gang

Ruth R. Goddard

Andrew Goodman

Raymond F. Kravis

William Rosenwald

Shirley M. Szabad

Elise D. Waterman

Max M. Fisher

Honorary Chair,  
National Executive Council

Executive Vice-President Emeritus

John Slawson

July 28, 1987

Mr. Norman Winer  
230 Park Avenue  
New York, NY 10169

Dear Norman:

Ted Ellenoff asked me to respond for him to your letter of July 23rd. I must say it was good to hear from you after all these years. You may have heard that five years after retirement, I was called back to hold the fort here until a new Executive Vice President can be found.

The issue of representation at the September meeting with the Pope was not included on the agenda of the National Executive Council meeting in Atlanta, since that meeting will not be held until the last week in October, long after the Pope has returned to Rome. However, at its last meeting in June, our Board of Governors expressed its regret at the audience the Pope had given Mr. Waldheim and that having given the audience, made no mention of Mr. Waldheim's past. The Board decided to leave open our attendance at the September meeting in Miami, awaiting further developments. Since then we have been central to discussions with Vatican representatives about the meeting in Miami.

There is general agreement - and the Vatican has been so informed - that none of the Jewish organizations will attend unless the Pope issues a major statement on the Holocaust and anti-Semitism prior to that meeting and makes arrangements one way or another for a follow-up, substantive discussion. Marc Tanenbaum, who met with Vatican officials last week, is of the opinion that they want to make some kind of amends about the Waldheim reception, but they are not yet quite sure how. I believe that unless some appropriate posture is taken, we, along with most other Jewish groups, will not attend the meeting in Miami.

Sincerely,

Bertram H. Gold  
Executive Vice President

cc: Theodore Ellenoff  
Marc Tanenbaum.

BHG:stg

NEC

VATICAN  
PJP WALDHEIM

LAW OFFICES  
NORMAN WINER  
230 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10169

(212) 867-1890

July 23, 1987.

Mr. Theodore Ellenoff, President  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Ellenoff:

As one who was very active in the American Jewish Committee decades ago, I still receive the correspondence to "leaders" and, so, received the information for the Atlanta meeting.

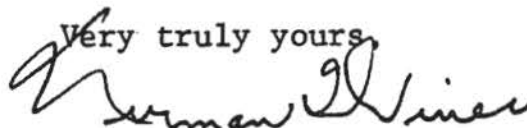
Missing from the agenda is the issue of representation at a September meeting with the Pope. Presumably, this is regarded as better determined by the Board.

Since an opinion offered after the decision is made will surely be useless, I express myself now. I believe that for AJC to attend would be utterly self-denigrating and self-defeating.

I am and have been for years fully aware of the enormous effort on the part of Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum to build bridges, one of which others have now destroyed. The efforts must be continued with respect to other bridges with better foundations (particularly with other Catholics) which should be strengthened. Participation in the September meeting, in my opinion, would be a surrender of self-respect and of the respect of others. Absence would permit the work of good will to continue where it may be effective. We should do nothing to harm those who have exhibited mutual respect and will for progress. Maneuvers to rescue a bad situation will fool only us.

This is an unusual letter for me to write. I do it because I sense the potential for great harm to AJC and the Jewish people if we surrender self-respect and turn the other cheek.

Very truly yours,



Norman Winer

NW:mm

cc: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum



The American Jewish Committee  
**1987 National Executive Council Meeting**  
The Waverly Hotel, Atlanta • Thursday, October 29-Sunday, November 1, 1987

**SCHEDULE OF WEEKEND EVENTS**

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29**

9:00 A.M.

**COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
(by invitation only)

1:00 P.M.

**CONCURRENT NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS**

A. Committee on Anti-Semitism & Extremism

Television station manager **Chuck Sherwood** & AJC experts will discuss "Countering Bigotry on the Air."

B. Women's Issues Committee

"The Impact of Current Stereotypes on Women" will be analyzed by Lilith editor **Susan Weidman Schneider** & author **Francine Klagsbrun**.

C. Legal Committee

D. Energy Committee

4:30 P.M.

**OPENING PLENARY SESSION** at the Carter Center

**THE PRESIDENT, THE CONGRESS & THE CONSTITUTION**

**President Jimmy Carter** will deliver the keynote address at AJC's celebration of the Constitution's 200th year.

6:30 P.M.

**ATLANTA CHAPTER RECEPTION** at the Carter Center

Southern hospitality, including tours of the Carter Library.

**FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30**

8:00 A.M.

**PLENARY BREAKFAST/"ACTION WHERE YOU ARE"  
WORKSHOPS**

- A. Election '88: Influencing the Campaign Process
- B. Consular Visits Program
- C. Intra-Jewish Dialogues
- D. Religion & Society

10:30 A.M.

**PLENARY SESSION**

**NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON FAMILY POLICY**

Debate AJC's proposed policy statement on family policy.

12:00 Noon

**PLENARY LUNCHEON**

**ELECTION '88: EXPLORING THE POLITICAL PROCESS**

Top Democratic and Republican policy makers will discuss their parties' approach to the coming campaign.

2:00 P.M.

**CONCURRENT PROGRAM FORUMS**

- A. The Newest Immigrants: Changing the American Landscape  
Panel discussion with social analyst **William McCready**, anthropologist **Lucy M. Cohen** & **James Tso** of the Organization of Chinese Americans.
- B. Soviet Jewry: A Call for Action  
Leading experts will assess the outlook for Soviet Jewry on the eve of the superpower Summit.

4:00 P.M.

**CHAPTER PRESIDENTS' MEETING**

6:45 P.M.

**HOSPITALITY AT THE HOMES OF  
ATLANTA CHAPTER MEMBERS**

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

8:00 A.M.

**BUFFET BREAKFAST**

9:00 A.M.

**SHABBAT SERVICE**

10:30 A.M.

**CONCURRENT PROGRAM FORUMS**

A. The Impact of Feminism on the Jewish Community

Discussion with **Rabbi Amy Eilberg** & historian **David Biale**.

B. Breakthroughs in Protestant-Jewish Relations

Featuring **Prof. Walter Harrelson** of Vanderbilt Divinity School & **Prof. W. Eugene March** of the Louisville Presbyterian Theological Society.

12:30 P.M.

**PLENARY LUNCHEON**

**BLACKS & JEWS: A COMMON AGENDA**

Prominent Black & Jewish leaders will explore future areas of mutual concern.

2:30 P.M.

**SPECIAL FORUM**

Featuring **Dr. Bruno Heck** of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

5:00 P.M.

**APPEAL FOR HUMAN RELATIONS COCKTAIL RECEPTION**

In honor of **Herbert Cohen**

6:30 P.M.

**PRE-DINNER RECEPTION**

7:30 P.M.

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DINNER**

Israeli **Ambassador Moshe Arad** will keynote this gala community-wide event.

10:00 P.M.

**PRESIDENT'S RECEPTION**



**SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1**

8:00 A.M.

**PLENARY BREAKFAST**

**CRITICAL CHOICES IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

Examine the current strategic situation in the Middle East with prominent U.S. & Israeli officials.

10:00 A.M.

**CLOSING PLENARY SESSION**

**AMERICAN JEWS & ISRAELIS:  
DEFINING A COMMON AGENDA**

Leading Israelis & American Jews will chart a path for future relations between our two communities.

12:00 Noon

**BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING**  
(for Board members only)



MARC TANENBAUM

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** October 26, 1987  
**to** Ed Elson  
**from** Shula Bahat & Marsha Turken  
**subject** YOUR NEC SCHEDULE

The following is a schedule of National Executive Council Meeting sessions at which you have specific responsibilities, as well as the meetings you are expected to attend (some of which do not appear on the printed NEC program):

Wednesday, October 28

1:30 PM Editorial Board Meeting [Atlanta Constitution]

Sherry Frank will meet you insider the main entrance of The Waverly Hotel and accompany you to the Atlanta Constitution building. The meeting is scheduled to begin at 2:00 PM.

The subjects to be covered are Soviet Jewry, Middle East peace prospects, the concerns of American Jews vis-a-vis the upcoming elections, and extremism in the media.

Thursday, October 29

9:00 AM Committee on Organizational Development Ballroom I

As you know, the function of the Board of Trustees will be discussed.

12:30 PM Board of Trustees Chancellor Room

You will be presiding. Arthur Feuer will provide you with additional details regarding this session.

4:15 PM Photo at President Carter's office. [Carter Center]

4:30 PM Opening Plenary Session [Carter Center]

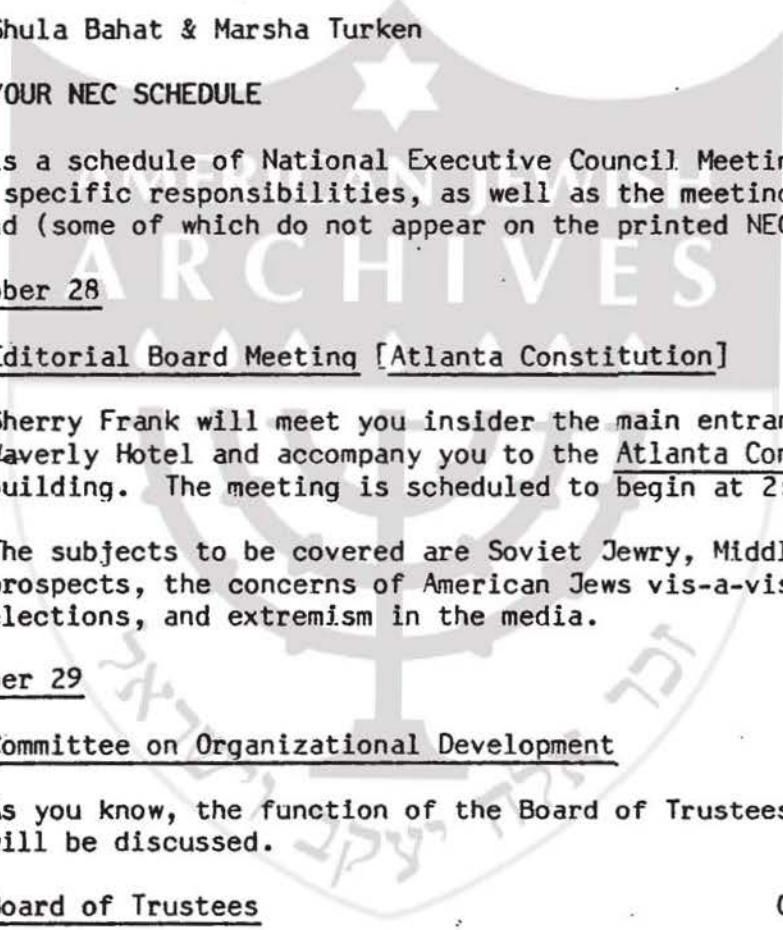
Friday, October 30

4:00 PM Chapter Presidents' Meeting Wilton Room

Saturday, October 31

7:30 AM Administrative Officers' Breakfast Ambassador Room

RECEIVED OCT 28 1987



5:00 PM Fundraising Reception Kennesaw Room

In honor of Herb Cohen

6:30 PM Dais Reception Habersham Room

7:30 PM NEC Dinner Grand Ballroom

You will be presenting the Mass Media Award to Henry Grunwald. Marc Tanenbaum will provide you with suggested remarks for your presentation.

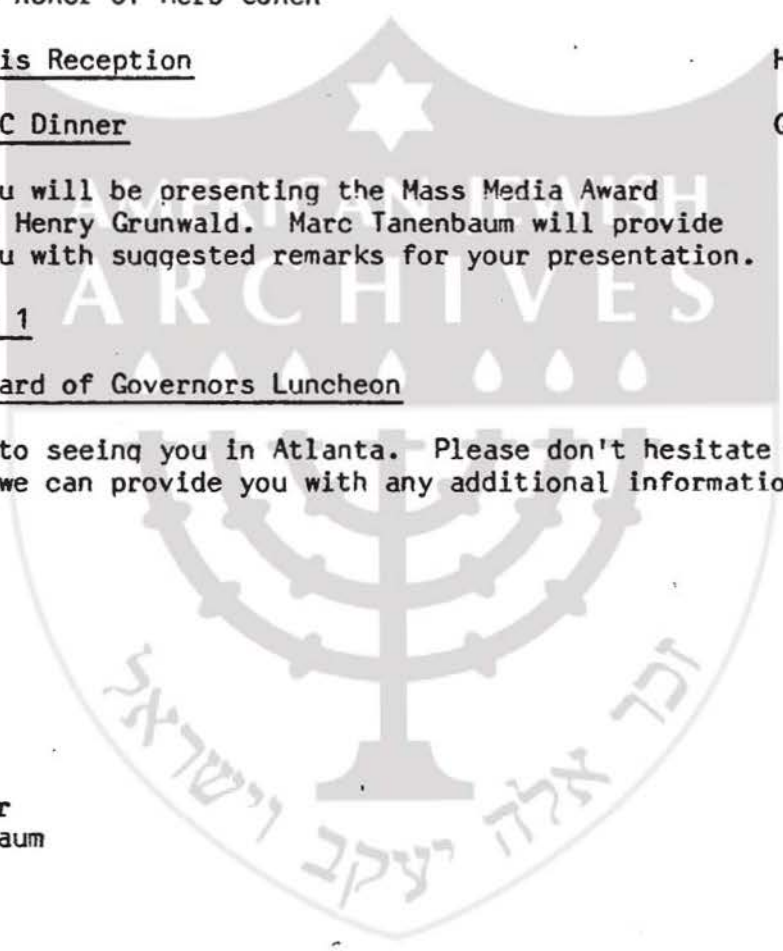
Sunday, November 1

12:00 Noon Board of Governors Luncheon Ballroom II

We look forward to seeing you in Atlanta. Please don't hesitate to call either of us if we can provide you with any additional information.

SB/MT/br

cc: Arthur Feuer  
Marc Tanenbaum



July 2, 1987

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING

Thursday, October 29-Sunday, November 1, 1987

Waverly Hotel, Atlanta

Working Agenda

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 28

Morning/Afternoon

Chapter Presidents' Day

6:00-9:00 PM

Committee on Organizational Development  
Dinner

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29

10:00 AM-12:00 Noon

Concurrent Committee Meetings

12:00 Noon-3:00 PM

Board of Governors Luncheon

3:00-4:00 PM

Special Forum

Address by Dr. Bruno Heck, Director  
Konrad Adenauer Foundation

5:00-7:00 PM

Atlanta Chapter Reception  
(at Carter Presidential Center)

7:00-9:00 PM

Opening Plenary Session  
(at Carter Presidential Center)

Opening Remarks  
Bertram H. Gold,  
Executive Vice President

"New Options for Peace in  
The Middle East"

Possible Speakers:

President Jimmy Carter  
Israeli Consul Mohammed Masarwa

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30

8:00-10:00 AM

Israel-Black Africa  
M.F.  
S.J.

Concurrent Action Where You Are Breakfasts

- A. National Affairs
- B. International Affairs *Communities*  
Consulate visits - Consuls
- C. Jewish Communal Affairs
- D. Interreligious Affairs

10:00 AM-12:00 Noon

(S. Bayme)

Plenary Session

Election of the Nominating Committee

Report of the National Task Force on Family Policy

Discussion & Action

Possible Speakers:

Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder  
David Biale

12:00 Noon-2:00 PM

(M. Provizer)

Plenary Luncheon

"Election '88 Candidates' Forum"

Possible Speakers:

Joseph Biden  
Albert Gore, Jr.  
Robert Dole

2:00-4:00 PM

(G. Rubin)

Concurrent Program Forums

- A. "The Newest Immigrants: Changing the American Landscape"

Possible Speakers:

Lawrence Fuchs  
panel of ethnic leaders

*Isi Weiser*  
*Rafi Israeli*  
*H.W. - China*

East Asian - Jewish Relations - The New Frontier

Japan - East Asia

- B. International Relations Forum

4:00 PM

Meeting of Chapter Presidents & National Officers

6:45 PM

Hospitality at the homes of Atlanta Chapter members

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31

8:00-9:00 AM	Buffet Breakfast
9:00-10:30 AM	"Shabbat Delight" Service & Study Session featuring Black spiritual choir
10:30 AM-12:30 PM	Concurrent Program Forums
(S. Bayme)	A. "Jewish Education & Jewish Unity" B. Interreligious Affairs Forum
(A. Mittleman)	<u>Possible Subject:</u> Breakthroughs in Protestant-Jewish Relations
12:30-2:30 PM	Plenary Luncheon
(I. Levine/ B. Gayle-Almeleh)	"Blacks & Jews: A Common Agenda" <u>Possible Speakers:</u> Andrew Young Stuart Eizenstat
	<u>Possible Award Presentation:</u> Constitution Bicentennial Award to John Lewis/Cecil Alexander
5:00-6:30 PM	Appeal for Human Relations Cocktail Reception <u>Possible Honorees:</u> Edward & Suzanne Elson Herbert Cohen Al Davis
6:30-7:30 PM	General Reception Dais Reception
7:30-10:00 PM	National Executive Council Dinner <u>Possible Speakers:</u> Sam Nunn Howard Baker Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad
	<u>Possible Award Presentations:</u> Mass Media Award to Ted Koppel
10:00 PM	President's Reception

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

8:00-10:00 AM

(S. Bayme/  
L. Greenman)

Plenary Breakfast

"The Impact of Feminism on  
Jewish Communal Life"

10:00 AM-12:00 Noon

Surveys -

Closing Plenary Session -

"American Jewish-Israeli Relations"

*Moshe Arad*  
*Al Moses*  
*Sh. Einat*

Afternoon

Optional tour of High Museum of Art  
(hosted by the Atlanta Chapter)



nec/40  
87-100

CURRICULUM VITAE  
(Updated 10/87)

Name: David G. Goodman

Address: Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies  
University of Illinois  
1208 W. California Ave.  
Urbana, Illinois 61801

(217) 244-4009 (direct); 333-4850 (message).

Title: Associate Professor, Japanese and Comparative Literature.

Education: 1982 Ph.D. Cornell University.  
1980 M.A. Cornell University.  
1969 B.A. Yale University (cum laude).

Research, Creative, and Other Scholarly Activities

Books in English:

- Five Plays by Kishida Kunio. [Edited volume, with translations by self, J. Thomas Rimer, and Richard McKinnon.] Forthcoming.
- Japanese Drama and Culture in the 1960s: The Return of the Gods. [Anthology and critical analysis of five Japanese plays from the 1960s.] M. E. Sharpe. Forthcoming (Spring 1988).
- After Apocalypse: Four Plays of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. [Critical anthology of plays on the atomic bomb experience by Hotta Kiyomi, Betsuyaku Minoru, Tanaka Chikao, and Satoh Makoto]. Columbia University Press. 1986. X + 325 pages.
- Land of Volcanic Ash. [Annotated translation of Kazanbaichi by Kubo Sakae, a monumental work of socialist realist drama from the 1930s.] Cornell East Asia Papers. 1986. Viii + 285 pages.

Books in Japanese:

- Fujisan mieta -- Satoh Makoto ni okeru kakumei no engeki. [Mount Fuji Perceived: The Revolutionary Theatre of Satoh Makoto.] Hakusuisha, 1983. [Adaptation of Ph.D. dissertation; written in Japanese.] 253 pages.
- Isuraeru -- koe to kao [Israel: Voices and Faces.] Asahi shimbunsha, 1979. [Written in Japanese.] 352 pages.
- Tōbōshi. [The Escapologists.] Shōbunsha, 1976. [Written in Japanese.] 324 pages.



Chapters in Books:

- Ismene. Alternative Japanese Drama: An Anthology of Contemporary Plays, edited by Robert Rolf and John Gillespie. Forthcoming. [Translation of the play by Satoh Makoto, with introduction.]
- "Kazoku-gokko" [Playing Family]. Oyako-juku. Edited by Mōri Taneki. Shōbunsha 1987. [Written in Japanese]
- "Modern Japanese Theatre." The Cambridge Guide to World Theatre. Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming.
- "Shingeki Under the Occupation." The Occupation of Japan: Arts and Culture. MacArthur Memorial. Forthcoming.
- "The Post-Shingeki Movement." Theatre Companies of the World. Edited by William C. Young and Colby H. Kullman. Greenwood Press. 1986.

Articles in Journals:<sup>1</sup>

- "Han-yudayashugisha to shite no Momotarō." [Momotarō as Anti-Semite]. Sekai. Forthcoming. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Japanese Anti-Semitism." The World and I. November 1987.
- "Anata ga anata de aru yue ni watakushi ga watakushi de aru." [I am I Because You are You]. Honyaku no sekai. September 1987. Pp. 52-55. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Creative Language Use and World Order." Swords and Ploughshares. May 1987. Pp. 3-4.
- "Reason for Concern in Japanese Anti-Semitism." Letter. The New York Times. March 25, 1987.
- "Sezokugeki to shite no 'Kazanbaichi.'" ["Land of Volcanic Ash" as Secular Drama.] Kubo Sakae kenkyū. XI. Forthcoming. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Sekinin bungaku, musekinin bungaku." [On Literary Responsibility and Irresponsibility.] Honyaku no sekai. June 1986. Pp. 62-65. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Nihongo no jūsōka o mezashite." [Toward a Multidimensional Japanese Language.] With Fujimoto Kazuko. Light Up. June 1986. Pp. 25-27. [Written in Japanese.]
- "On Teaching Hiroshima and Auschwitz." ACDIS Bulletin. V:5 (April 1985). Pp. 3-6.
- "Notes to Encourage a Production of Satō Makoto's Play My Beatles." The Canadian Theatre Review. Fall 1978. Pp. 37-79.

<sup>1</sup>-----  
This list does not include the articles I am writing in Japanese for two monthly magazine serials. See "Work in Progress (Short Term)" below for details.

- "Kyūsai ka rekishi e no kaiki ka." [Redemption or a Return to History?] Tenbō. August 1978. Pp. 55-68. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Yudaya-shi no benshōhō o ikite: Gershom Scholem to no kaiwa." [Living the Dialectic of Jewish History: A Conversation with Gershom Scholem.] Tenbō. September 1977. Pp. 116-129. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Japanese Political Theatre in Context." The Drama Review. June 1975. Pp. 37-42.
- "Zasetsu-gata no yudayajin." [The Self-Destructive Jew.] Tenbō. March 1975. Pp. 96-109. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Hankindaikasai." [Anti-Modernization Festival.] Tenbō. April 1975. Pp. 136-147. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Seika to chinmoku." [Sanctification and Silence.] Tenbō. May 1975. Pp. 117-129. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Saraba sensuikan reisu no yoru." [Farewell, Nights at the Submarine Races.] Tenbō. June 1975. Pp. 120-130.
- "Ideogōgii mo kuso mo nai mama ni." [Without Ideology or Affectation.] Tenbō. July 1975. Pp. 65-76. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Chomuskii." [Chomsky.] Tenbō. August 1975. Pp. 201-220. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Genbaku, sei, jinshu." [Nuclear Weapons, Sex, Race.] Tenbō. September 1975. Pp. 123-134. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Nureba." [Love Scene.] Tenbō. October 1975. Pp. 135-144. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Furoito no shinkei." [Freud's Nerve.] Tenbō. November 1975. Pp. 117-129. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Furoito no rekishi." [Freud's History.] Tenbō. January 1976. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Ishin no seishin." [Spirit of the Restoration.] Tenbō. February 1976. Pp. 164-179. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Nakairi." [Intermission.] Tenbō. March 1976. Pp. 136-150. [Written in Japanese.]
- "Rekishi e no tenraku." [The Fall into History.] Tenbō. April 1973. Pp. 54-69.
- "Preliminary Thoughts on Political Theatre." Concerned Theatre Japan, II:3-4. Spring 1973. Pp. 26-111.
- "Dono yō na daishō o harau no ka." [What Price are We Willing to Pay (For Cultural Exchange)?] Universitas. Spring 1973. Pp. 12-16.
- "Nō no ōshū kōen o oete." [On Concluding a European Tour with a Nō Theatre Ensemble.] Asahi shimbun. 14 October 1972.
- "The Japanese Absurd." Books Abroad. Summer 1972. Pp. 366-373.
- "Kōi to kankyō: kankyō to shite no dentō sono ni." [Act and Environment: Tradition as Environment, Part 2.] Chūō kōron. December 1971. Pp. 298-317.
- "Kankyō to shite no dentō: sono ichi -- Tanizaki Junichirō ni okeru shōchōteki renzokusei." [Tradition as Environment:

- Symbolic Continuity in the Work of Tanizaki Junichirō.] Chūō kōron. November 1971. Pp. 314-330.
- "New Japanese Theatre." The Drama Review. Spring 1971. Pp. 154-168.
- "Ai no kojiki: aru itansha no kōsatsu." [The Beggar of Love: A Heretic's View.] Dōjidai engeki. September 1970. Pp. 184-188.
- "Tachifusagaru meimō." [A Debilitating Delusion.] Dōjidai engeki. June 1970. Pp. 206-212.
- "Nihongo no byōbu no kage kara." [Out from Behind the Screen of Japanese.] Dōjidai engeki. February 1970. Pp. 8-11.

Subtitles:

- Ōshima Nagisa. The Ceremony [Gishiki]. 1972.
- Ōshima Nagisa. The Man Who Left His Will on Film [Tōkyō sensō sengo hiwa]. 1972.

Selected Translations:

- Hayashi Hikaru. "Little Landscapes of Hiroshima: For Mixed Chorus." Zen-on Music, 1982.
- Morisaki Kazue. "Two Languages, Two Souls." Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars. July-September 1977. Pp. 12-18.
- Hasegawa Shirō, "Ballad of Soldiers," The Poetry of Postwar Japan, ed. Kijima Hajime (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1975). Pp. 12-14.

Book Reviews:

- Wilson, The Marginal World of Ōe Kenzaburō. World Literature Today. Forthcoming.
- Anderer, Other Worlds. World Literature Today. Winter 1986.
- Kita, The House of Nire, II. World Literature Today. Autumn 1985.
- Tayama, Country Teacher. World Literature Today. Summer 1985.
- Ōe, ed., Atomic Aftermath: Short Stories About Hiroshima and Nagasaki. World Literature Today. Spring 1985.
- Kita, The House of Nire, I. World Literature Today. Spring 1985.
- Yamazaki, Mask and Sword; Kinoshita, Between God and Man; and Takaya, ed., Modern Japanese Drama. Asian Theatre Journal. I:2 (Autumn 1984).
- Inoue, Chronicle of My Mother. World Literature Today. Summer 1984.
- Tanizaki, The Secret History of the Lord of Musashi; Arrowroot. World Literature Today, Summer 1983.
- Takaya, ed., Modern Japanese Drama. Canadian Theatre Review, Winter 1980.

- Kinoshita, Between God and Man. Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese, XIV:2 (1978).
- Richie, Ozu: His Life and Films. Books Abroad, October 1975.
- Hamada, trans., Tales of Moonlight and Rain: Japanese Gothic Tales. Books Abroad, April 1973.
- Nakamura, Noh: The Classical Theater. Books Abroad, January 1973.

Dissertation:

"Sato Makoto and the Post-Shingeki Movement in Japanese Contemporary Theatre." Cornell University. 1982.

Panels Organized and/or Chaired:

- "The Atomic Bomb Experience in Japanese Art and Literature." Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting. March 1984. Organizer and Chair.
- "Modern Japanese Drama." Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs. October 1983. Chair.
- "Angura: A New Genre of Japanese Theatre?" Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting. April 1982. Organizer and Chair.

Papers Delivered:

- "Shingeki under the Occupation." MacArthur Symposium. October 1984.
- "After Apocalypse: The Atomic Bomb Experience in Japanese Drama." Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting. March 1984.
- "Kubo and Kishida: 'Political' and 'Literary' Theatre in Japan in the 1930s." Midwest Conference on Asian Affairs. October 1983.
- "On the Page and On the Stage: Translating and Directing Modern Japanese Drama -- The Case of The Elephant." Midwest Japan Seminar. April 1983.
- "The Revolution in Japanese Playwriting, 1950-1970." Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting. April 1982.
- "On the Plays of Sato Makoto." Twenty-sixth International Conference of Orientalists. May 8, 1981. [In Japanese.]

Public Lectures:

- "Anti-Semitism in Japan: A Curious Phenomenon." Chicago. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. September 10-11, 1987.
- "Kodomo to otona no hontō wa." [The Truth About Children and Parents.] With Mōri Taneki. Crayon House. Tokyo. June 10, 1987. (Published in Gekkan kodomo, August 1987). In Japanese.
- "Watakushi wa 'Changjang Ch'ūya' o dō yomu ka." [How I Read Oguma Hideo's Poem "Changjang Ch'ūya"]. Oguma Hideo no yūbe. Tokyo. November 16, 1985. In Japanese.
- "The Commandment 'To Remember.'" Sinai Temple. Champaign. April 19, 1985.
- "Modern Japanese Theatre: An Outline History." University of Toronto. April 4, 1985.
- "On Teaching Hiroshima and Auschwitz." Ministerial Association of Champaign-Urbana. March 19, 1985.
- "The Role of the Humanities in the Nuclear Arms Debate." University of Wisconsin - Parkside. November 8, 1984.
- "Classical and Modern Theatre in Japan Today." Old Dominion University. October 20, 1984.
- "Japanese Attitudes Toward the Jews and Israel." Beth Israel Sinai Temple, Racine, WI. April 22, 1984. Temple Sinai Adult Education, Champaign. April 10, 1983. Champaign-Urbana Chapter of B'nai Brith. March 20, 1983.
- "The Elephant and The Bomb." Southern Illinois University. April 21, 1983. University of Wisconsin - Madison. September 19, 1983.
- "The Psychological Effects of Nuclear Weapons on the Japanese." Japanese Culture Club. University of Illinois. November 1982.
- "Satō Makoto's My Beatles: A Play for Our Time." University of Toronto. November 16, 1977. York University. November 17, 1977.

Theatre Productions:

Betsuyaku Minoru, The Elephant. Krannert Center for the Performing Arts. February 1983.

Awards and Fellowships:

- 1985-86 NEH Fellowship for Independent Study and Research. [1985-86 Fulbright-Hays Grant for Faculty Research Abroad, awarded but declined.]
- 1983 Undergraduate Instructional Award, University of Illinois.
- 1980-81 Fulbright Fellow, Tokyo, Japan.

- 1978-80 A. D. White Fellow, Cornell University.  
 1973-74 NDFL Fellowship, Stanford University.  
 1969 Graduated cum laude, Yale University.  
 1969 Williams Prize for Best Essay on an Asian Subject by a  
 Yale Undergraduate.  
 1968 Jonathan Edwards Traveling Fellowship.  
 1966-67 Yale Five-Year B.A. Program participant, Okayama  
 Japan.

Editorship of Journals:

- The Canadian Theatre Review. Fall 1978. [Special issue on con-  
 temporary Japanese theatre.]  
The Drama Review. Spring 1971. [Japan section.]  
Concerned Theatre Japan. 1969-73 [Editor-publisher.].

Other Professional Experience:

- Acting Assistant Professor, Japanese Language and Literature,  
 University of Kansas. 1981-82.  
 Manager, Zeami-za Nō-Kyōgen Ensemble, European tour. 1972.

Work in Progress

Short-Term:

- Hashiru [Running.] Semi-autobiographical fiction in Japanese,  
 serialized in the monthly Suigyū tsūshin since January 1986.  
 Expected date of completion: December 1987.  
 "American Report." Monthly column on education in Japanese,  
 published since January 1987 in Gekkan kodomo [The Child.]  
The Poetry of Oguma Hideo [Translations and interpretation of a  
 major poet from the 1930s.] Expected date of completion:  
 August 1988.  
 "Ghosts in Contemporary Japanese Drama." A paper to be  
 delivered at the Modern Language Association annual meeting,  
 December 1987.  
 "The Gods Return." World Literature Today. Summer 1988.

Long-Term:

- A History of Modern Japanese Theatre, 1887-1980. [Including re-  
 search supported by a grant from the National Endowment for  
 the Humanities.]  
Hiroshima/Nagasaki and The Literature of Survival [The literary  
 responses of the Japanese to the atomic bombings compared  
 with the literary responses of the Jews to the Nazi  
 Holocaust. This project was awarded a Fulbright-Hays Grant  
 for Faculty Research Abroad for the 1985-86 academic year,  
 but the award was declined.]

### Resident Instruction and Service

#### Courses Taught:

Japanese 305-306: Advanced Japanese.  
 Japanese 309: Social Science Readings in Japanese.  
 Japanese 390: Readings in East Asian Literature.  
 Asian Studies 205: Japanese Literature in Translation, I.  
 Asian Studies 206: Japanese Literature in Translation, II.  
 Asian Studies 238: Hiroshima/Nagasaki and the Literature of Survival. [Chosen for special mention in "Nuclear War: A Teaching Guide" published by The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 40:10 (December 1984).]  
 Asian Studies 315: Modern Japanese Fiction.  
 Asian Studies 325: Modern Japanese Drama. [Course development supported by Undergraduate Instructional Award, 1983].  
 Asian Studies 450: Seminar in Asian Studies.  
 ACDIS Arms Control Seminar. [Senior honors seminar team-taught by members of the executive committee of the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security, fall 1984.]

#### Supervision of Student Research:

Number of Master candidates currently being supervised: 0  
 Number of Ph.D. dissertations currently being supervised: 0  
 Number of Master candidates supervised in past 5 years: 7  
 Elizabeth Cheng, I-chun Wang, Koon-ki Ho, Bimpering Uen (Comparative Literature); Hiroyo Demers, Kung-hua Lee, Renee Schwartz. (Asian Studies).  
 Dissertations supervised in past 5 years: 2

#### Committee Assignments:

1986- Chair, University of Illinois Japan Seminar.  
 1986- Co-chair, Ethical Studies Group, Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security, University of Illinois.  
 1986- Member, Advisory Committee, Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Illinois.  
 1986- Senator, Academic Senate, University of Illinois.  
 1986-87 Member, Chinese/Comparative Literature Search Committee.  
 1986-87 Chair, Capricious Grading Committee, Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Illinois.  
 1984-85 Co-Chair, University of Illinois Japan Seminar.  
 1984-85 Program and Student Affairs Committee, Center for Asian Studies, University of Illinois.

- 1983- Participating Faculty, Committee on Jewish Culture and Society.
- 1983-85 Grievance officer, Center for Asian Studies, University of Illinois.
- 1983- Member, Executive Committee, Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security, University of Illinois.





# International Jewish Committee

ON

## Interreligious Consultations

November 5, 1987

Dear IJCIC Member:

AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:  
Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016  
Tel.: (212) 686-8670

EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT:  
World Jewish Congress  
1 Rue de Varembe  
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland  
Tel.: (022) 34 13 25

CONSTITUTENT AGENCIES:  
American Jewish Committee  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022

B'nai B'rith  
1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W.  
Washington, DC 20036

The Israel Interfaith  
Association  
P.O.B. 7739  
Jerusalem 91.077, Israel

Synagogue Council of America  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

World Jewish Congress  
1 Park Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016

Attached herewith are copies excerpted from the NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER and from the NATIONAL CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE involving statements and interview of Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, head of the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Its contents is self-explanatory.

So far we have not taken any steps to react to the statements, and it is being placed on the agenda of our forthcoming meeting. In the meantime, however, Rabbi Mordecai Waxman has telephoned Bishop William H. Keeler, chairman of the U.S. Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical & Interreligious Affairs and Dr. Eugene J. Fisher, Executive Secretary, Secretariat for Catholic--Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops (Washington, D.C.) to express our reactions. They promised to obtain clarification in Rome as soon as possible - prior to the next IJCIC meeting.

PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF DATE FOR NEXT IJCIC MEETING:

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1987 at 9.00 A.M.

in the offices of the Synagogue Council, 327 Lexington Avenue  
(entrance 39th Street)

ENCLOSURE:

"Reflections on Catholic-Jewish Relations: April 13, 1986-Sept. 11, 1987" by Dr. Eugene J. Fisher (dated September 22, 1987).

P.S. A number of other documents and items will be sent to you under separate cover.

Thank you for your cooperation and continued interest.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Mordecai Waxman  
Chairman

Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

[start]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible



## Dialogue with Jews must reflect Catholic theology, cardinal says

NC News Service

ROME — Catholic dialogue with Jews must reflect the "theological line" that Judaism finds its fulfillment in Christianity, said Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, the Vatican's monitor of theological orthodoxy.

The cardinal, commenting in a magazine interview, said Jews do not agree with this position, but the aim of dialogue is to arrive at truth rather than to exchange opinions.

The cardinal was interviewed by *Il Sabato*, an Italian Catholic weekly magazine where he also discussed bioethics. He also said the Vatican has no plans in the foreseeable future to issue another document on bioethics but is encouraging meetings among theologians, phi-

losophers and scientists to discuss the ethical implications of modern science.

THE CARDINAL CITED the controversial example of Edith Stein, a Jew who converted to Catholicism and became a Carmelite nun. She was killed in a Nazi concentration camp during World War II and her beatification by Pope John Paul II as a Catholic martyr has been criticized by Jews.

"Finding faith in Christ, she entered into the full inheritance of Abraham," said Cardinal Ratzinger in the interview.

"She turned in her Jewish heritage to have a new and diverse heritage. But in entering into unity with Christ she entered into the

very heart of Judaism," he added.

Cardinal Ratzinger heads the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. A congregation official confirmed the interview and said the cardinal reviewed the text of his quotes prior to publication.

THE DOCTRINAL congregation is not directly involved in Catholic-Jewish dialogue but is responsible for monitoring the Catholic theological content. The Vatican agency directly responsible for dialogue is the Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism, headed by Cardinal Johannes Willebrands.

Regarding dialogue with Jews, "the pope has offered respect, but also a theological line," said Cardinal Ratzinger. "This always implies our union with the faith of Abraham, but also the reality of Jesus Christ, in which the faith of Abraham finds its fulfillment."

Dialogue with Catholics is also a controversial issue among Jews. Orthodox Jewish groups refuse to participate in formal dialogue.

The pope's May 1 beatification of Edith Stein also has sparked Jewish

assertions that she was killed because she was Jewish, not because she was a Catholic nun.

AS CARMELITE SISTER Teresa Benedicte of the Cross she was arrested in the Netherlands with other Jewish converts to Catholicism during World War II after the Dutch bishops spoke out against Nazi policies. She was executed in Auschwitz in 1942.

In his comments on bioethics, Cardinal Ratzinger said "an ethics of science is necessary."

"Until now, science has been considered an autonomous island" in which "no limits can be placed," he said.

The doctrinal congregation's 1987 procreation document opposing in vitro fertilization was an effort to establish ethical guidelines for science, he said.

"The moment is ripe" for such documents because many scientists want "to find the true place of science" in human activity, the cardinal said.

# Ratzinger knocks Green party, dialogue with Jews

By GARY MacEOIN  
Special to the National Catholic Reporter  
Rome

CARDINAL JOSEPH RATZINGER, prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, in an interview published last week in *Il Sabato*, criticized environmentalists, threw cold water on those who saw last year's peace meeting of the world religions at Assisi as significant for ecumenism and offered a negative evaluation of continuing dialogue with the Jews.

*Il Sabato*, an organ of the Communion and Liberation movement, openly sympathizes with Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, suspended by Pope Paul VI, and others who reject many Vatican council teachings. Like its companion monthly, *30 Giorni*, it promotes Ratzinger as protector of the faith.

Totalitarianism, Ratzinger said, results from concentrating on certain values while ignoring others. The popular form in the late 1960s was a romantic Marxism that sought to create a new society totally free and emancipated from every power. "But it is my impression that Marxism is today in crisis, and even its more refined version, that combined with romantic elements, has lost attraction and force. What is now coming to the fore is rather a vision, and it is in the line of ecology and the Greens."

The Greens constitute a movement



Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger

that began in Germany about a decade ago and has spread widely in Western Europe. They oppose nuclear plants and all forms of industrial development that threaten clean air and water and the world's ecological balance. They have formed political parties, usually identified with the left, in Germany, Holland and Italy.

What characterizes the Greens, according to Ratzinger, is a still not well-defined romanticism with elements of Marxism and even stronger strains of

liberalism. The synthesis is expressed in "a somewhat antitechnical, somewhat antirational concept of man as united to nature. It is a concept that has an antihumanist element. It presents man as having, by his thinking and his action, destroyed the beauty and equilibrium that once existed. That would mean that man had moved backward in regard to himself. That seems to me the position of one who no longer recognizes himself in himself, who even has a kind of hate of himself and his history."

Turning to the meeting at Assisi, Ratzinger challenged the accepted interpretation of that event, namely, that the participants sought a dialogue on the basis of the different values stressed by their varied historical experiences. "That is the definitive rejection of truth . . . the debate on religions has to be begun all over. The category of truth and the dynamism of truth are put aside. The attitude that says that we all have values and nobody possesses the truth expresses a static position and is opposed to true progress. To accept that historical identity is to imprison oneself in historicism."

As for the Jews, the object of dialogue with them is to lead them "toward the complete truth" of the religion of Abraham, "which is revealed in the event of Christ, son of Abraham, son of God." ■

Catholic dialogue with Jews must reflect the "theological line" that Judaism finds its fulfillment in Christianity, said Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

The cardinal, in an interview published Oct. 24 in *Il Sabato*, an Italian Catholic weekly magazine, said Jews do not agree with this position, but the aim of dialogue is to arrive at truth rather than to exchange opinions. Ratzinger cited the controversial example of Edith Stein, a Jew who converted to Catholicism and became a Carmelite nun. She was killed in a Nazi concentration camp during World War II, and her beatification by Pope John Paul II as a Catholic martyr has been widely criticized by Jews. "She turned in her Jewish heritage to have a new and diverse heritage," he said. "But in entering into unity with Christ, she entered into the very heart of Judaism."

Regarding dialogue with Jews, "the pope has offered respect but also a theological line," said Ratzinger. "This always implies our union with the faith of Abraham, but also the reality of Jesus Christ, in which the faith of Abraham finds its fulfillment."

OCT. 10, 1957

National Catholic Reporter

# National Catholic Reporter

P.O. Box 419261, Kansas City, MO 64141 (816) 531-8538  
 © 1987 The National Catholic Reporter Publishing Co.

**WILLIAM L. McSWEENEY JR., Publisher**  
**THOMAS C. FOX, Editor**  
**DAWN GIBEAU, Managing Editor**  
**MICHAEL J. FARRILL, Forum Editor**

**CANDIE SACKUVICH, Copy Editor**  
**JEAN BLAKE, Assistant to the Editor**  
**TIM MCCARTHY, Staff Writer**  
**SUSAN HANSEN, Staff Writer**

**EILEEN WEST, Design Editor**

**WASHINGTON** Room 1292B, National Press Building, 529 14th St. NW, Washington, DC 20045; (202) 652-7191. **JIM McMANUS, Washington Bureau Chief**; **ARTHUR JONES, Editor at Large**; **RICK REINHARD, Photographer**.

**UNITED STATES** **ROBERT J. MCCLORY, Chicago**, (312) 328-7610; **JOAN TURNER BEIFUSS, Memphis**, (901) 682-8009; **BILL KENKELLEN, San Francisco**, (415) 921-1644; **PATRICIA SCHARBER LEFEVERE, Teaneck, N.J.**, Special Report Writers.

**FOREIGN** **PENNY LERNOUX, Latin American Affairs Writer, Bogota, Colombia**; **PETER HERBUETHWAITE, Vatican Affairs Writer, Oxford, England**; **STEVE ASKIN, Africa Correspondent, Harare, Zimbabwe**.

## National Catholic Reporter Publishing Co., Inc.

Board of Directors: **José B. Caron**, chairman, **William L. McSweeney Jr.**, president, **John P. McKeel**, secretary, **Scott Joe Christian**, OSB treasurer, **John Carr**, **William V. D'Alonzo**, **James W. Farley**, **Rose Veronica Lacey**, **David J. O'Brien**, **Sister Mary Roger Th. Anderson**, SPS. © National Catholic Reporter Publishing Co., Inc. 1986. Second-class postage paid at Kansas City, MO 64108. Published weekly September through May with the exception of the first week in January. Weekly June through August. Office of Publication: 1175 East Armour Boulevard, Kansas City, MO 64111. Mail Stop 48-Crossed P.O. Box 419261, Kansas City, MO 64141. Phone: (816) 531-8538. Postmaster: Please send Form 3573 to National Catholic Reporter, P.O. Box 419261, Kansas City, MO 64141.

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES:** Single copy \$1.00. One year (12 issues) U.S. \$12.00. Canada and all other countries U.S. \$14.00. Expedited \$17.00. Please write for information about bulk rates for parties, groups, schools, libraries, etc., for five or more copies to the publisher.

(816) 531-8538

The National Catholic Reporter is a publication of the National Catholic Reporter Publishing Co., Inc., a nonprofit corporation. NOTE: Classified advertisements should be sent to the attention of the circulation manager and may be accompanied by a self-addressed return envelope.

The National Catholic Reporter is published weekly.

[end]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible



# SUTTON PLACE SYNAGOGUE

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

## OFFICERS

**Jack Sheingold**  
President

Arthur Belfer  
Allen Fergang  
Kenneth Gladstone  
Samuel Gunther  
Leonard Seiser  
Simon Srybnik  
Vice Presidents

Martin A. Simon  
Treasurer

Philip H. Cohen  
Financial Secy

Robert W. Berend  
Recording Secy

Stephen J. Pollack  
Corresponding Secy.

## PAST PRESIDENT

Warren Alpert

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Warren Abrams  
Harvey Adler  
Robert Belfer  
Morton M. Berger  
Ruth Berger  
Saul Birnbaum  
Leonard Boxer  
Dr. Jerome S. Breslaw  
Seymour Brown  
Seymour Cohen  
Irving Coopersmith  
Richard Coopersmith  
Chaim Diamond  
Michael Erdheim  
M. Monroe Fass  
Russ Fierman  
Dr. Irwin M. Freedberg  
Harry Freund  
Frank Furth  
Ruth Gardner  
Robert Gladstone  
Alfred Goldberger  
Stephen Greenwald  
Bibi Herzog  
Herbert Horowitz  
Philip Horwitz  
Laurence Jacobson  
Stanley H. Kaplan  
Corinne Reid Korenvaes  
Joseph Krieger  
William Langfan  
Julius Lipsitt  
Anna London  
H. Bert Mack  
Cyrus Mager  
Robert Meister  
Jerome Meyerowitz  
Milton Newmark  
Paul Pilzer  
Jack Resnick  
Hyman D. Rosenberg  
H. Jay Rosenblatt  
David Sachs  
Marvin Sachs  
Raymond Sagov  
Philip Sassower  
Martin Schanback  
Harold Schlienger  
Sala Schliesinger  
Stanley Schechter  
Lawrence Schneider  
Nathan Serota  
Ira Smith  
Oscar Spielberger  
Louis Srybnik  
Dennis Strom  
David Tananbaum  
Arthur Toback  
Gary Wattenberg  
Isidore Wollerstein

**David B. Kahane**  
Rabbi

Ari Korenblit  
Assistant Rabbi

Dov Keren  
Cantor

Harriet A. Janover  
Executive Director

November 5, 1987

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
45 East 89th Street #18I  
New York, NY 10128

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

On behalf of the Officers, Trustees and members of Sutton Place Synagogue we want to express our sincere thanks and appreciation for appearing as Guest Speaker for the Annual Milton Kunen Memorial Lecture on November 2, 1987.

Your deep insight, understanding and thorough knowledge of the peoples of the world, combined with your charming personality and extraordinary ability to communicate most deservedly earn you your prominence and excellent reputation.

I'm sure it was evident to you that you held the undivided attention and interest of the audience and the numbers that attended that evening, were a further indication of their interest in seeing you and hearing your views and experiences.

We truly look forward to seeing you at Sutton Place Synagogue in the very near future. Again, thank you for being so generous and sharing your valuable time and knowledge.

May the Lord grant you strength and good health to continue your worthy endeavors which have made you a blessing to Jewry and so highly regarded by your many friends and admirers.

Sincerely,

JS/jka  
enc.

DAVID B. KAHANE  
Rabbi

  
JACK SHEINGOLD  
President

DEC 24 1987

November 19, 1987

Yoram Eytan-Ettinger  
Consul General of Israel  
1 Greenway Plaza East, Suite 722  
Houston, Texas 77046

Dear Sir:

After enduring a most difficult summer in Israel, I am writing you at the suggestion of Rabbi Howard Laibson of Temple Beth El in Las Cruces, New Mexico. Upon sharing some of this summer's experiences with a few of my Jewish friends, they all felt I needed to contact someone in the Israeli government. Because I have known Rabbi Laibson for some time and have enjoyed learning from him, I felt very comfortable in calling him, briefly telling him my story, and asking him what to do. He directed me to you.


Since the events of my trip to Israel are so complicated and many-faceted, I shall simply give you the high-lights and then ask that you refer to the enclosed copies of other letters written by my traveling companion, Retta Thayer, and me, for the critically important details.

Retta and I signed up to attend the 1987 BAR Israel Summer Seminar (Biblical Archaeology Review). It was to be my second trip to Israel and her third. Although we are both Christians, we both have a deep love for and loyalty to Israel and the Jewish people. Upon our arrival in the Jerusalem area, we were housed in a place called Tantur (operated by two American men: Dr. Landrum Bolling and Mr. John Sutton). It didn't take long to determine that Tantur and the people who run it are militantly pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli. It is so much so that we view it as a very real danger to the State of Israel. Christian ministers, seminary students, and other study groups come to Tantur, for varying periods of time, where they are intensely indoctrinated with pro-Palestinian propaganda; all at the expense of Israel.

After reviewing the enclosed materials, if you feel that I can be of further service, please contact me.

2910 Karen Drive  
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001  
Unlisted Phone 505-525-2971

Respectfully,

  
Anne F. Graham



Copies of  
my letters, one to  
Dr. Shanks & one to  
Dr. Houston

My letter to Dr. Shanks,  
head of Biblical Archaeology  
Society, who publishes B.A.R.  
Attached is his response.  
This is the group with whom  
I went to Israel this summer.

September 16, 1987

Dear Mr. Shanks:

It has now been a full month since we returned from our BAS Israel Seminar. Unfortunately, it has taken that long for me to begin to deal with all the anger, fear, and frustration which I experienced during the tour. Those six weeks in Israel were the most difficult weeks of my life, both physically (which I fully expected and about which I have no complaint) and emotionally (which I hadn't expected and over which I am deeply resentful).

Dr. Fleming is a first-class archaeologist whose academic skills I greatly respect. Our time with him on field trips and class lectures was extremely rewarding. Had our lodging been on his premises, perhaps the situation would not have developed as it did. However, since Dr. Fleming had no lodging facilities and had to "sub-contract" the group out to Tantur, it turned out to be a most unpleasant experience.

My first trip to Israel was with a Jewish Christian. The environment was totally Jewish, totally pro-Israeli, totally first-class, totally protected, and an absolutely beautiful experience. Tantur could not have been a more opposite environment. Unfortunately, I made the mistake of putting the description of my first trip down on a piece of paper and sending it to Tantur. I believe that those of us who did so were subsequently targeted as "pro-Israeli supporters" by the staff at Tantur. Life seemed to be much more difficult for those of us who strongly supported Israel. Their methods were so subtle as to hardly be noticed if the events were examined on an individual basis. Yet, when combined with many other events, there was no doubt that the Arab staff (not all, but most) actually took pleasure in making things unpleasant with a great amount of intimidation. I did not sacrifice and pay approximately \$3,500 for Arab brain-washing sessions nor did I pay \$3,500 to be treated rudely by pro-Arab supporters.

It is both my hope and my belief that you are not aware of the activities going on at Tantur. Had I known that the group would be staying in such a place, I wouldn't have considered this tour under any circumstances. If you have not been aware, perhaps this letter will serve a purpose. I respectfully request that you and BAS investigate the situation there. If you have been aware, then I respectfully request that you publish in the BAR advertisements (relating to the summer Israel seminar) a description of Tantur relating to its pro-Arab doctrine.

People have a right to know what they are walking into for such an extended period of time. If this letter will prevent even one person from the total sense of indignation which I experienced and am still experiencing, then this letter was worth my time and effort.

Although I realize you are an extremely busy man, a reply to this letter would be greatly appreciated. It will take many more weeks and perhaps months for me to get over the emotional stress which I lived through at Tantur. Please do not allow any other pro-Israeli Christian to have to deal with the situation at Tantur during future summer tours.

Sincerely,



Anne Graham

2910 Karen Drive  
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001



# BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY SOCIETY

Publisher of BIBLE REVIEW and  
BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY REVIEW

HERSHEL SHANKS  
Editor & Publisher

September 22, 1987

Ms. Anne Graham  
2910 Karen Drive  
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001

Dear Ms. Graham:

I am most grateful for your letter of September 16 concerning Tantur. Yours is the second letter received on this subject. You may be sure that a BAR group will never again have anything to do with Tantur.

We will look into the matter and hopefully report more fully to you. Right now, we are in the midst of another tragedy. Sue Singer, who really handles the arrangements for the Israel Summer Seminar, had two sons in the Israeli army. One of them, Alex, was killed on his 25th birthday. I just returned from Israel for his funeral. Sue is not yet back. In due course, we will give a fuller report.

Thank you for writing.

Sincerely,

Hershel Shanks  
Editor

HS/cac

November 12, 1987

*Copy of my letter  
written to Dr. Houston,  
who is involved in  
the funding process of  
a Christian (???) organization  
called "The World  
Council of Churches."  
They help fund Tantur*

Dr. Robert Houston  
475 Riverside Drive, Room 1300  
New York, New York 10115

Dear Dr. Houston:

Dr. Leonard Gillingham, my minister at St. Paul's United Methodist Church in Las Cruces, New Mexico, gave me your name as a person who should know what I experienced at Tantur, while on a six week BAR tour in Israel this summer.

No description of Tantur was given to us prior to our trip as far as its purpose or mission. We were informed only of its physical make-up: location relative to Jerusalem, dining rooms, game rooms, etc. All we knew was that BAR had "sub-contracted" the group out to Tantur as a place to stay. I truly thought it was some sort of hotel. Had we been told it was a center where Jewish-Arab relationships were to be developed, I might have been able to deal with staying in such a place, although with that knowledge, I probably wouldn't have even gone on the trip. Frankly, it has been my experience that the Arab world does not want to talk with the Jews in any setting. The sole purpose of most Arabs is to crush the Jews. So arriving at Tantur and quickly determining just what was going on there, a sense of deep dread set in. My experience was so negative that I am writing those whom I feel should know.

On or about July 4, 1987, we met the staff and administrators of Tantur, including Landrum Bolling who was in charge (and seemed to be the brains behind the operation). Our orientation and introduction to daily life, including the rules and regulations of Tantur, was presented by the number two man, John Sutton, a former (?) Methodist Minister. Mr. Sutton announced that Tantur was an ecumenical, research center for clergy and theological students. He stated in a most arrogant and superior manner that Tantur accepted "no one lower than BAR", and even though it was funded by the World Council of Churches, it always ran a deficit. In other words, it left me with the feeling that he viewed our presence with utter contempt and we were tolerated only for the additional income we provided to Tantur.

According to our journals (though I was not present), it was carefully reported to me that John Sutton said that those at Tantur must help the Arabs, and that the funds which Tantur received from the WCC were turned over to help their cause.

This disturbed me because I had just reread in the "Levitt Letter" a statement by Zola Levitt, a Jewish Christian whom I deeply respect. The statement read as follows: "Money given in church collection plates somehow ends up buying guns for revolutionaries the world around, and particularly Marxist-inspired revolutionaries. I have personal knowledge of donations from Christian Churches that end up with the PLO! Thereby, money dedicated to Jesus Christ would be used to destroy His land and His people. (Levitt Letter, Vol. 5, No. 2, Zola Levitt Ministries, P.O. Box 12268, Dallas, Texas 75225)

On or about July 13, my partner, Retta Thayer, received a concussion from a reckless bus driver, and I subsequently volunteered to take care of her. At 10:00 p.m. I was informed that it was my duty to go to Bethlehem (1 1/2 miles south) to get medicine for her. Having no transportation, or skill in finding what I needed at this time of the night, I found John Sutton, and told him of my need. After giving me a harsh verbal attack, he reluctantly acquiesced to take me for the medicine. He located an Arab driver who took Mr. Sutton and me to Bethlehem. On the way, the two of them spoke in English as I listened silently. Their conversation reflected pro-Arab attitudes, and when the subject of Israel surfaced for the first time, the voice tone of Mr. Sutton became drastically different: disgust, ridicule, and bitterness were overwhelmingly evident. It reached its heights when Mr. Sutton turned to me, in the back seat. and said angrily, "We can go only to the Arab pharmacy, because the Israeli pharmacies will not honor the prescriptions written by our fine Arab doctor." The look, tone of voice, and appearance of total hatred toward Jews, and seemingly toward me, left me feeling afraid, intimidated, and victimized by a situation in which I found myself to be a helpless participant. I was absolutely mute, fearing to say anything at this point, because it seemed I was especially hated because of my appreciation of Judaism. The main cause of Mr. Sutton's hostilities that particular night seemed to come from Israeli refusal to honor a medical prescription, and the perceived treatment (abuse) of Arabs in general.

As disgusting and offensive as Mr. Sutton was, he was not the one whom I feared the most. Dr. Landrum Bolling is smooth, sly, and in my opinion, extremely dangerous. Dr. Bolling, Mr. Sutton, and all the Arabs with whom I saw them seemed banded together as brothers in their pro-Palestinian, anti-Israeli,

anti-American purpose and values. We were told that Dr. Bolling has powerful connections "in very high places" in the Arab world.

From the leadership at Tantur, I found no discussion of issues, only condemnation of Israel. I found no forum for peace-making, no place for understanding, no opportunity for discussion of both sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was totally and militantly pro-Palestinian. The reading rooms were stocked solely with anti-Israeli, pro-Palestinian pamphlets and brochures. There was no other literature that I could find (and I certainly did look) to give another side. (However, after the individual letters which Retta Thayer and I wrote to Dr. Shanks of BAR complaining about the situation, it is very possible, perhaps even likely, that Dr. Bolling and Mr. Sutton have, on a temporary basis, placed appropriate Israeli reading material in the reading rooms!) This situation deeply shocked me since I later read that the library had been furnished by a Jewish man. How outraged that Jewish man would be now if he could see what it has become!

Films were shown during which Israeli abuse of Arabs was reported. Lectures promoting Islam were held and discussions accusing the American government of lies and betrayal were presented. The sole purpose of these one-sided propaganda and brain-washing sessions seemed to be as follows: to incite such outrage at the alleged abuse of the Arabs by the Israelis (and apparently, on a second-hand basis by the Americans) that we would return home and "rattle as many cages" as possible: ie, contact our senators and representatives, give pro-Arab talks, etc. It was very effective on some of the BAR people.

One of the persons with whom I talked on several occasions was Jeff Hutson, a member of the BAR group. Jeff had at one time wanted to become a priest, but celibacy was more than he could commit. Jeff was an outstanding young man who had a deep commitment to Christ. This was his second trip to Israel with BAR. In our room, during the period of Retta's concussion, he discussed with us about how different this trip was. To paraphrase, Jeff felt that it had all taken on a pro-Arab stance which had not been present on his prior trip. He seemed amazed that the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem was being avoided like the plague by Dr. James Fleming, the BAR guide and resident scholar in Israel. (As a matter of interest, Dr. Fleming has his office and apartment on the Tantur property. There are also other building projects going on on the grounds which benefit Dr. Fleming. A most interesting tie, is it not????) After Jeff left the room, Retta and I wondered if Dr. Fleming had been expelled from the Jewish Quarter due to his association with Tantur. We were hard pressed to come up with any other explanation for Dr. Fleming's numerous statements that we (BAR) definitely wouldn't include the Jewish Quarter in our walks in the Old City. He stated we were free to go on our own, but he would not go there with us.

Let me report one other incident. Dr. Fleming quoted Eleazor ben Hazor, an ancient zealot leader, as saying, "If to overcome a beast, you become a beast, then the beast has won." Subsequently, on or about July 20, Claren McQueen, called by Dr. Fleming, "My associate" and a graduate student, was assigned the task of speaking to our group. According to our journals, Claren interpreted Luke 19: 41-44 as follows: Speaks to all of us who bare the sword instead of working for reconciliation and forgiveness. The Jewish people are now persecuting the Palestinians and are becoming the beast of the earlier quote (meaning Fleming's statement about the beast). The only meaning I could get from this was that Claron was advocating, and that we should believe, that the Jews should give the land back to the Palestinians and leave. It seemed to me a clear implication that Claren, as a member of the teaching team associated with Tantur, was pro-Arab and anti-Israeli.

One of the head workmen at Tantur was verbally abusive and scared me half to death (by walking uninvited into my room) because I refused to attend any more of what I considered to be propoganda sessions. It is my understanding that he has since been fired.

As I stated earlier, I have complained to Dr. Shanks at BAR that I did not pay \$3,500 for Arab brain-washing sessions nor did I expect to be treated so rudely by pro-Arab supporters. If BAR is going to be pro-Arab, then their advertising should reflect that. In repsonse (Sept. 22, 1987) to my letter, Dr. Shanks said, "I am most grateful for your letter of September 16 concerning Tantur. Yours is the second letter received on this subject. You may be sure that a BAR group will never again have anything to do with Tantur."

I am concerned because the United Methodist Church, my church, donates to the WCC, and the leadership at Tantur brags about the amount of money they get in support of Tantur and "its activities". Although the term "PLO" was never openly mentioned by Bolling or Sutton, there is no doubt in my mind that some of that money goes for guns and terrorist activities as well.

May I ask you to please use this information, any information which Retta Thayer may write, and any other information you can glean, to investigate the use of WCC funds. I can't believe that the WCC would take the Arab side in this conflict. I can't believe that the WCC would champion such hate-filled groups. I can't believe that Christian money would be used for such malicious teaching and propoganda.

Please be aware that this letter to you has taken some degree of courage for me to write. During the time I was at

Tantur, there were times I feared for my safety due to my pro-Israeli stance. If you can protect my identity throughout your investigation, please do so. This is a small world and the arm of Arab/PLO terrorism can reach a long way. I am sure it would be no problem for them to "take care" of one outspoken woman who was causing them a problem. However, if you cannot protect my identity, so be it.

Thank you for you assistance.

Yours in Christ,

*af*

Anne F. Graham

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

2910 Karen Drive  
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001  
Unlisted Phone: 505-525-2971





16 August 1987

Zola Levitt & Jeffrey Seif  
Institute of Jewish-Christian Studies  
Zola Levitt Ministries, Inc.  
P. O. Box 12268  
Dallas, Texas 75225-9990

Shalom, Zola and Jeff!

Since returning home from Israel and consulting my medical doctor I thought both of you should know the outcome of my Israeli summer. Actually, as I told you over the phone, Jeff, it was my Arab summer. The Israel I saw this time was so different from the Israel of Our Lord, which I had seen on your tours before.

I've told the story to my doctor, who firmly believes it is now my mission to warn others so that they might avoid the emotionally and physically damaging experience that I went through.

I have enclosed copies of two letters, one to Dr. Fleming, which I wrote and delivered while still at Tantur, and the other to Hershel Shanks, editor of BAR and president of BAS (Biblical Archaeology Society). I think you will find both of these most interesting. I shall try not to duplicate what is in those letters in this one.

Once I was home my husband reminded me of the questionnaire I had filled out before going on the BAS seminar. This questionnaire was "to help Dr. Fleming to better serve our interests and needs." Ha! It was mailed to Tantur and subsequent events amply demonstrated that these questionnaires were also used to mark certain members of the group as "undesirables" (read: pro-Israeli) so they could be treated differently from the others.

The information on the Seminar itself was straight-forward and certainly okay. It was the true nature of Tantur that was very well hidden. The only clue is in its name--"tantur" is arabic for "hilltop." But I did not pick up on the place name as a clue to its location or its mission. After all, lots of places in the so-called "occupied West Bank" have arabic names. According to the literature we received, Tantur was located "outside Jerusalem near Bethlehem." Actually, it is located practically inside Bethelhem and a good distance from Jerusalem. It is in Palestinian territory.

The director of Tantur is Dr. Landrum Bolling, who was instrumental in securing the release of the first U.S. hostage in Lebanon--Jereme [pronounced "Jeremy"] Levin, who was taken captive in 1984 and released in 1985. We had three lectures by the Levins, who happened to be in Tantur while we were there. Their lectures fell into the classification of "pro-Arab propaganda," which I mention in my letter to Mr. Shanks. Incidentally, they came and left Israel by way of Jordan.

These propaganda lectures, which we were strongly encouraged to attend even though they had absolutely nothing to do with our work under Dr. Fleming, were generally dedicated to the plight of the "poor" Arabs and their alleged maltreatment by the Israelis. Here are a few quotes from some of these lectures:

First, from some of the Levin lectures:

"I was taken hostage due to the militant actions of the U. S., specifically for the shelling of Lebanon by the U.S.S. New Jersey. The ambush of the U. S. Marines was in retaliation for U. S. actions in the Mid-East."

"The bombing of Libya caused more hostage taking and deaths of hostages."

*Copies of letters written  
by my traveling partner  
(sent to you with her  
permission) contains  
extremely important  
information (in the  
Levitt/Seif letter  
especially) as she  
took word for word  
notes.*

"Hostages were taken by relatives of Shiites who were sentenced to prison in Kuwait for bombing of the U.S. Embassy there in 1983. The relatives want the release of these prisoners in exchange for U.S. hostages they have taken."

"The Mid-East is a microcosm of all that's wrong with religion and everything else."

"We, the U.S., must be concerned for the needs not of the Jews, but of the Palestinians...the citizens of the world [Jews aren't?]. The problems will only continue to get worse."

"The Moslems are victims of military action by the U.S. in Lebanon and its injustices."

"The results of all this are that there is a growing hostility toward Americans by Palestinians and Islamic people everywhere. One result was the hijacking of TWA #847, and presently the arms for hostages scenario with Iran, who is no friend to the rest of the Arab world."

"More people in the Mid-East have been victims of the hostage/militant actions [by the U.S.] than were injured in World War 2 [ed. note: there were 20 million killed in WW 2 and God only knows how many injured]."

The Levins urged us to pressure the U.S. government into releasing the prisoners in Kuwait [who are getting their just deserts!].

From other lectures:

"The Israeli government is keeping the Arabs illiterate and oppressed; look at the refugee camps just outside Bethlehem!"

"The Arabs had this land of Israel first [!] and should have it back."

Never once did they mention that the history of Israel and the land dates back to the time of Abraham and the Abrahamic Covenant. Nor do they mention that it was the Arabs who attacked Israel (beginning with the Moslem invaders) and lost the land by their own actions. The answer to the question, "Who stole the Palestinian homeland?" is simple: It was Jordan, at the end of the 1948 war of independence. Israel did not take the West Bank from the Palestinians, they took it from Jordan, which had no legal right to it in the first place.

We were shown slide shows of how Israel is denying the Arabs' land, water, electricity, and civil rights. The implication was that the Arabs will not take this much longer and, with PLO help, will run the Israelis into the sea [where have we heard this before? Shades of 1948!] along with their U.S. allies. I say, let 'em try!

It is very interesting that Dr. Bolling knows a large number of high government officials, both in our government and in the Arab world. For examples, King Hussein of Jordan and Yasser Arafat of the PLO. Bolling also holds both U.S. and Jordanian passports."

Personally, I believe that Tantur is a hotbed of Palestinian agitators (or worse) operating under the guise of being an "ecumenical" theological seminary [they're about as ecumenical as Khomeini!]. I really think someone should "blow the whistle" on them.

Now, as to my efforts to see either Johnny Bauer or Yazzi Ashkenazi. I sent each of them a card when I was in the Galilee. I never heard from Johnny (I understand from Yazzi that he has health problems), but I did receive a message from Yazzi on August 2nd. We spoke on the phone.

He told me that he had been trying to locate Tantur ever since getting my card. He finally found me. He asked me, very pointedly, "DO YOU KNOW WHERE YOU ARE?" I assured him that I did, but not until I had gotten there. He said that he wanted to see me, perhaps have dinner together so that we could talk in privacy about this matter. I agreed, and we set it up for a Wednesday evening. His car was in the shop for repairs, and he thought it would be ready by then. He said "I'll meet you at the gate, but I will NOT come in." I said that was okay. The next day Yazzi called to say that his car would not be ready in time and he would try to borrow a car from a friend. He told me he would call between 1:00 and 3:00 pm the next day for sure, either way. I made sure I was in my room to receive his call the next afternoon, but I never got either a call or a message. I suspect it was "intercepted" (we have reason to believe that our phone conversations were monitored by the Tantur staff).

Please tell Yazzi that I didn't "stand him up." I never got his message. I feel so bad about this--I really wanted to talk with him and see what he knows about Tantur. Please convey my sorrow to Yazzi. Perhaps when he is with you later this month he could call me so we could talk about it?

If you are interested, I could write you in more detail about these matters. Please let me know how you feel about all of this.

Shalom, and continued prayers  
for the peace of Jerusalem,



Retta M. Thayer

2110 Chilton Drive  
Las Cruces, NM 88001

505-522-1130

15 August 1987

Hershel Shanks, Director  
Biblical Archaeology Society  
3000 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 300  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Shanks:

This summer's BAS Israel Seminar was certainly an experience I shall not soon forget! I have nothing but praise for the instruction given us by Dr. Fleming. He certainly knows his subject thoroughly and is a most energetic, dedicated teacher. There is no question that we learned a great deal from Jim and saw many sites not on the usual tourist routes.

Our accommodations in the Galilee were pleasant little cottages beside the lake, and our meals were excellent, with Israeli style breakfasts and tasty dinners. The camel trip in the Negev was strenuous but rewarding.

When we reached Tantur, however, things changed drastically. My roommate (Anne Graham) and I had both filled out questionnaires giving our previous Israel experiences (tours with Zola Levitt) and, in my case, affiliation with the Institute for Jewish-Christian Studies, part of the Zola Levitt Ministries. Although these questionnaires were for Dr. Fleming's use, they were sent to Tantur, so the people there had ample opportunity to make use of them for their own purposes. Upon arrival at Tantur, Anne and I were given a room far from the rest of our group and essentially in the basement, in a section known as the "Monk's Wing." This room proved to be extremely uncomfortable in the heat as it received no air circulation because of its location. When we asked to change rooms, which we did a number of times over a period of several weeks, we were told that there were no rooms available, even though the population of Tantur dropped off as time went by. A gentleman who was also in our group asked for a different room and was immediately accommodated.

We quickly learned from the opening introductory speech by Mr. John Sutton that we were not welcome guests there. His talk opened with these words: "We don't take anyone lower than BAR; we are a theological seminary." We were next instructed regarding the building at Tantur and local transportation. We were advised to use only Arab buses; the Israeli buses were described as being both expensive and unreliable [actually, just the opposite is true: the Israeli buses are reliable, clean, and comfortable, whereas the Arab buses are dirty, uncomfortable, and unreliable]. We were encouraged to patronize only Arab merchants. All of our field trips were made on Arab buses from the Mount of Olives Bus Company--please see the enclosed copy of a letter to Dr. Fleming concerning my experience on one of these buses.

The ideology of Tantur, we soon learned, is pro-Arab and anti-Israeli. The staff at Tantur, with the exception of the Director, the Registrar, their secretaries, and Dr. Fleming and his staff, are all Arab. We were strongly encouraged to attend video showings, seminars, classes, and discussions on pro-Arab themes. Those of us who were pro-Israeli were treated differently from those who accepted the pro-Arab viewpoint.

As I stated, my roommate and I were given lodging that was separate from but definitely not equal to that given to the others in the BAS group. We had difficulty getting our mail (some of it was never delivered), toilet paper (we had to ask others in the group to get it for us, since whenever we asked they were always "out"), and soft drinks (they would always say they were "out," even though we could plainly see someone else come up just after we had been turned down who would be given whatever he or she asked for).

When we first arrived we were told that no key was available for our room and that no master key was available to unlock the door if we left it locked. We were without a key for 26 hours. During this time someone entered our room and stole our sunhats (they were the only things not locked up in our luggage). When we reported this to the Tantur officials, we were totally disbelieved and shown no sympathy whatsoever. Even after we were given a key, small items continued to disappear--evidence that someone was entering our room (presumably using the "non-existent" master key). I never unpacked my luggage. Instead I kept all personal items under lock and key in my cases, including my clothing. This is not a very pleasant way to have to live!

Our living conditions were intimidating, to say the least. On several occasions we were confronted in a threatening manner. One morning we were attending one of the "propaganda" classes (not under Fleming), and my roommate decided not to attend the rest of the class after the mid-morning break. I returned to the class; she went back to our room to study. As she sat at the desk studying her notes, the maintenance "supervisor" walked into the room--the door being open for ventilation--and came up behind her. He abruptly demanded to know why she was not in class. Did she not like the lecture? Did she not realize that the lecturer was a highly educated Arab and quite knowledgeable about Arab affairs? This was sheer intimidation; it was certainly no business of his! When I returned from class, she was nearly hysterical but managed to tell me what had happened. Shortly afterwards there came a knock on the door. It was the same maintenance man. He had come to ask me if there were going to be any more classes in the lecture hall that day, for if there were, he would have to move the fans. Why on earth ask me? I was only a participant, not a lecturer. Why make a special trip, three floors down to the basement and far from the central offices, to ask such a question?

Things remained like this until we learned to "play the game"--i.e., to give the appearance of being anti-Israeli and pro-Arab. And even then, things were still bad for us, although we could now get toilet paper when we needed it and usually a soft drink when we asked for one (we had to pay for them, of course).

My roommate and I were the only occupants of this lowest level of Tantur, which left us feeling very insecure as well as hot and uncomfortable. Our requests to be moved continued to be ignored.

I am sure you are aware of the incident at Mecca, which the Iranians blamed on the United States. It caused very difficult times for us, although this, at least, we cannot blame directly on Tantur, only on the location. I was the victim of pushing and shoving and "American go home!" taunts while in Bethlehem. As it turned out, two of the victims at Mecca were from Bethlehem. We were also accosted by cars full of Arab youths, who made threatening gestures and shouted at us (fortunately, in Arab, so we couldn't understand what they were saying). One such group followed my roommate to a local shop, and remained outside in their car waiting for her to reappear until finally

they tired of the game and left. My roommate stated that she had never walked so fast in her life as she did coming back to Tantur. As it was, she had been gone for so long that I was on the verge of trying to organize a search party to look for her when she walked in the door.

As a result of all this, we spent the last week mostly staying in our room because we were afraid to go out (we did not go on the dig at Lachish--the conditions there were abysmal and the heat almost unendurable). In the end we were thoroughly cowed and beaten.

To top things off, on the evening of our departure for the United States we were instructed by the Tantur staff to lie to the Israeli security personnel when we got to Ben Gurion Airport. We were to tell them we had been staying in Gilo (an Israeli settlement just across the road from Tantur) because "the security checks are easier for those from West Jerusalem than for those from the East Jerusalem, Arab sector."

As if all of this weren't enough, the food was awful. Their food handlers come from Arab refugee camps around Bethlehem, where sanitation is not the best (to say the least!). Several cases of serious illness (resembling the classic symptoms of food poisoning, at least to this untrained observer) were suffered by Tantur guests while we were there--my roommate among them, although her case was not as severe as some of the others. My family doctor is now having me tested for some sort of parasitic disease that he suspects I may have picked up from the food at Tantur. The lunches they supplied for our field trips were monotonously the same and contained perishable items that nearly always were spoiled by lunch time. Insects and scorpions were also a problem. One young woman was stung by a "yellow" scorpion while studying in the Tantur library and had to be hospitalized (the "yellow" scorpion is evidently one with a neurotoxic venom). Two more yellow scorpions were found there later.

In summary, I am left with a very low opinion of Tantur. It was totally inexcusable for them not to have had a key for our room. After all, it's not as though we were unexpected; they had plenty of time to prepare for our arrival. Then, when our hats were stolen, they could at least have offered to pay for them, seeing that it was their fault we didn't have a key to lock our room with. I don't think that BAS is being well served by an association with such a group.

Mr. Shanks, believe me when I say that if I had known beforehand that I would be subjected to pro-Arab "brain-washing," substandard living conditions, and prejudice because of my pro-Israeli leanings, I would never have gone on this trip. I suppose it is some slim consolation that I have seen firsthand the other side of the Arab-Israel debate. But this trip was so different from my first two experiences in Israel as to be like night in comparison with day. As of now, I have no desire to ever return to Israel. The experience really was that bad!

Sadly,



Retta M. Thayer

2110 Chilton Drive  
Las Cruces, NM 88001

NOV 30 1987

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**  
**Israel Office**

**date** November 22, 1987

**to** Mordechai Gazit

**from** Shimon Samuels

**subject** IAJIR alumni meeting in Tel Aviv  
on November 19.

memorandum

Attached is an updated address and telephone  
number list of the alumni and a copy of  
the circular distributed at the meeting.  
(please note my separate memo on the  
meeting).

Regards,

cc: Bert Gold  
Selma Hirsh  
Marc Tanenbaum



תל-אביב, 19 בנובמבר 1987

כינוס יסוד - "ידידי הועד היהודי האמריקאי בישראל"

1. מוצע בזאת להקים מסגרת, שתאגד בתוכה את בוגרי "התוכנית למנהיגות ישראלית צעירה ע"ש מתאו ועדנה בראון", של המכון ליחסי יהדות ארה"ב - ישראל. חברי הקבוצה, הרואים עצמם כידידי הועד היהודי האמריקאי בישראל, יפעלו להידוק הקשרים האישיים בין המנהיגות היהודית הצעירה בארה"ב בככל והמנהיגות הצעירה של הועד היהודי האמריקאי בפרט, לבין המנהיגות הצעירה בישראל.
2. הקבוצה רואה את מטרת פעילותה הראשונית ביצירת מסגרת ארגונית שתשמש כתובת אישית לחברי הועד היהודי האמריקאי בישראל ותאפשר קיום מפגשים עם קבוצות ובודדים מקרב בוגרי התוכנית על בסיס אישי וחברתי.
3. הקבוצה תפעל ותסייע לקידום ההכנה והשותפות בין שתי הקהילות על ידי החלפת דעות ורעיונות ופעילות לקידום פרויקטים משותפים.
4. הקבוצה רואה תנאי להצלחת פעילותה בשיתוף פעולה הדוק ופורה בינה לבין המכון ליחסי יהדות ארה"ב - ישראל, בישראל ובארה"ב.





The American Jewish  
Committee

OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-2000

November 24, 1987

TO: Marc Tanenbaum

FROM: David Harris

Please note Isi's request for a \$900 contribution, at the end of the cover letter. We owe him a response one way or the other:

What do you think?



To: Bert Gold

From: Shimon Samuels

November 25, 1987

YAACOV PNINI'S COMPENSATORY TIME: <sup>SS</sup>

Considering the expanded managerial responsibilities regarding office staff, work allocation etc, and Yaacov's role in organizing missions (2 expected at the end of December and one in February), it is unlikely that he will be able to take off the quarter time due him through the end of February.

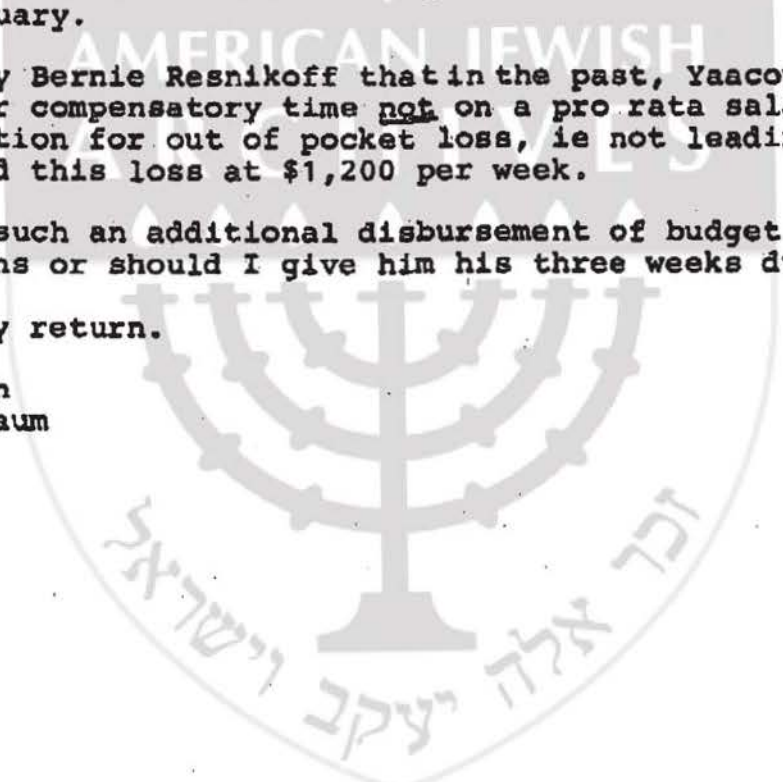
I am informed by Bernie Resnikoff that in the past, Yaacov received remuneration for compensatory time not on a pro rata salary basis, but as compensation for out of pocket loss, ie not leading groups. Yaacov evaluated this loss at \$1,200 per week.

Do you approve such an additional disbursement of budget over the next three months or should I give him his three weeks due in January?


Please advise by return.

cc: Bill Trosten  
Marc Tanenbaum

SS/ml/11:21



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** November 25, 1987  
**to** Joan Silverman  
**from** Jacobo Kovadloff   
**subject** Speaking engagement at Chicago Chapter

Sorry for my delay in answering your memo of November 9th.

It is okey with me for June 1988, preferably the 3rd week.

I can only speak on South America, Central America is Sergio's area.

Many thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

JK/iof

cc: Marc Tanenbaum  
Charney Bromberg



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**Long Island Chapter**

**date** November 9, 1987

**to** Jacobo Kobadloff'

**from** Joan Silverman

**subject**

NOV 10 1987

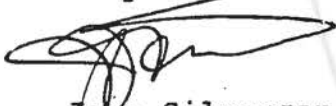
Dear Jacobo:

Nancy Isserman of the Chicago Chapter sent me the enclosed brochure for her Chapter's "Viewpoints" meetings. She has you tentatively scheduled for June 1988.

I know this is a little premature, but since she is trying to pre-plan this series, she has asked me to ask you if you have any dates in June that you would be available to discuss the political situation for Jews living in Central and South America.

Please call me, so I can tell her if you are able to be there.

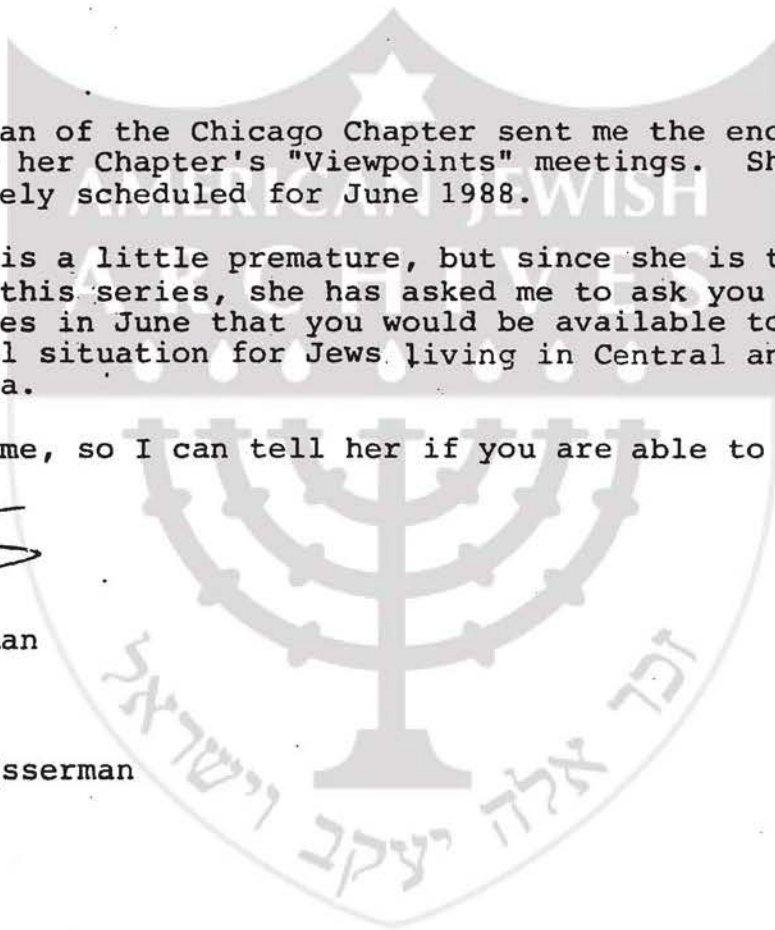
Many Thanks.

  
Joan Silverman

Encl.

C.C. Nancy Isserman

JS/lv



To: Bert Gold

From: Shimon Samuels <sup>SS</sup>

November 25, 1987

ARCHITECT:

Bee Hoffman introduced Yaacov Pnini to her architect, Israel Levitt. Levitt is a long time associate and friend of mine and I highly recommend his services. He was in charge of the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter.

His estimate for the construction work on our office on the i.e. some 50% of the other architects estimate.

If I do not hear any immediate objection from you, we will proceed to work with Levitt providing him with plans of the premises etc.

Regards,

cc: Bill Trosten  
Marc Tanenbaum

SS/ml/11:19



November 25, 1987

*From the Desk of*

**M. BERNARD RESNIKOFF**

**TO: MARC TANENBAUM/GEORGE GRUEN**

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION**



THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY  
THE VIDAL SASOON INTERNATIONAL CENTER  
FOR THE STUDY OF ANTISEMITISM  
THE ISRAEL INTERFAITH ASSOCIATION  
THE ECUMENICAL THEOLOGICAL RESEARCH  
FRATERNITY IN ISRAEL  
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE —  
ISRAEL OFFICE

הפקולטה למדעי הרוח של  
האוניברסיטה העברית  
המרכז הבינלאומי לחקר האנטישמיות  
ע"ש וידאל ששון  
האגודה להבנה בינדתית בישראל  
האיחוד האיקומני התיאולוגי למחקר בישראל  
הועד היהודי האמריקני — המשרד בישראל

cordially invite you to

מזמינים את כב'

The Prize Award and Annual Lecture  
in memory of the Rev. Dr. JAMES PARKES

להענקת הפרס ולהרצאה השנתית  
לזכרו של רבונד ד"ר ג'יימס פארקס

on Monday, December 14, 1987  
at 8.00 p.m.  
in the Van Leer Institute  
43 Jabotinsky Street, Jerusalem

ביום שני, כ"ג בכסלו תשמ"ח (14.12.87)  
בשעה 8.00 בערב  
במוסד ון-ליר,  
רח' ז'בוטינסקי 43, ירושלים.

Chairman : Dr. S. Zalman Abramov

יו"ר : ד"ר ש. זלמן אברמוב

Prof. R. Zwi Werblowsky

will lecture on :

THE CHRISTIAN-JEWISH DIALOGUE,  
ANTISEMITISM AND THE RETURN TO THE LAND  
IN THE THEOLOGY OF JAMES PARKES

פרופ' ר. ז. צבי ורבלובסקי  
ירצה באנגלית על:  
דו-השיח הנוצרי-יהודי,  
האנטישמיות והשיבה לארץ בתיאולוגיה של  
ג'יימס פארקס

Recipient of the Prize, Ms. Maya Kaganskaya

הפרס ניתן לגב' מאיה קגנסקיה

Concluding Remarks :

Rev. Ake Skoog

דברי סיכום:

רב. אקה סקוג

Refreshments will be served at 7.30 p.m.

כיבוד קל יוגש מ-7.30 בערב

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**  
**Israel Office**

memorandum

**date** November 25, 1987

**to** James Rudin

**from** M. Bernard Resnikoff

**subject**

Attached are three reading lists, two dealing with Christian reflections and one dealing with Jewish reflections - all representing materials collected by The Theological Fraternity and copies of unpublished lectures and presentations made to the Fraternity over the years.

With our help, the Fraternity succeeded in organizing and classifying this bulk material and now have it ready for modest distribution to a selected few.

In a discussion between us, the question was raised whether these might not be distributed, in looseleaf form to seminaries, theologians, and others under our sponsorship. The Fraternity is willing.

Are you interested? \$1000 would get us the package.

I am requesting a response by the end of the month.

cc: Bill Trosten, Bert Gold, Marc Tanenbaum/  
George Gruen, Shimon Samuels

(Dictated but not read)



STATE OF ISRAEL

Christian Reflections  
from 1957 to 1987

Part I

Albright William F.: Israel - Profetic Vision and Historical Fulfillment  
Face to Face, vol 1 Fall 1975

Ambroggi Thomas E.: Christian Support for Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 36-37 1974

Archbishop Raya (Interview): The Church in Israel; Politics and Religion  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 39 1974

Barth Markus: On Palestinians in Israel. A Report  
Journ. of Ecum. Stud., vol 10 nr 1 1973

Braun Roger et Passelecq Georges: 50 ans d'évolution des Chrétiens devant  
l'Etat d'Israel  
Rencontre nr 55 1978

Brockway Allan R.: The Christian Facing Israel  
Chr. Jew. Rel., vol 14 nr 2 1981

Brown Wesley H.: Christian Understanding of Biblical Prophecy, Israel and the Land  
Tantur Yearbook 1984-85

Dubois Marcel J.: The Catholic Church and the State of Israel - After 30 Years  
Chr. News from Israel, vol XXVII nr 1 1975

Ellul Jacques: Un Chrétien pour Israel  
Sens, nr 3 1987

Fischer Eugene J.: The Holocaust and the State of Israel. A Catholic Perspective  
Judaism, vol 35 nr 1 1986

Fischer Eugene J.: The Pope and Israel  
Chr. Jew. Rel., vol 18 nr 1 1985

Flannery Edward H.: L'Antisionisme Chrétien  
Rencontre, nr 19 1970

Geddt Michel de: Land of Israel, Palestinian Homeland  
Sidiq, vol XVI nr 1 1983

Greenberg Gershon: Fundamentalists, Israel and Theological Openness  
Chr. Jew. Rel., vol 19 nr 3 1986

Greenberg Irving: Israel and the Holocaust in Judaism and Christianity. An Outline  
Document

Hall C.: Friends of Israel - Stillborn Prologue  
Sidiq vol 1 nr 3 1968

Hammerstein Franz von: Der Stellenwert Israels im Oekumenischen Rat der Kirchen  
Judaica, vol 34 nr 2 und 3 1978

Heschel Abraham J.: Engagement to the Land  
Face to Face, vol 1 Fall 1975

~~Jersild Paul: Christians' Dilemma over the Middle East~~  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 58 1976

Klein Charlotte: The Theological Dimensions of the State of Israel  
Journ. of Ecum. Stud., vol 10 nr 4 1973

Klein Charlotte: Vatican and Zionism 1897-1967  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 36-37 1974

Mann Thomas W.: Israel and the Land  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 69 1979

Maritain Jacques: Digression on the State of Israel  
Face to Face, vol 1 Fall 1975

Mewhirter Joan: The International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem  
Chr. News from Israel, June 1985

Moore Donald J., S.J.: Hope in Jerusalem  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 60 1978

Oesterreicher John M.: For the Love of Zion I Cannot Be Silent  
Chr. News from Israel, nr 3-4 1978

Oesterreicher John M.: Salut en Israel  
Freiburger Rundbrief, vol XXII nr 81-84 1970

Rondtorff Rolf: Christians and the State of Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 39 1974

Riquet Michel: Israel demain  
Rencontre, nr 55 1978

Rossing Daniel: The Christian Communities of Israel  
Chr. Jew. Rel., vol 19 nr 3 1986

Schoneveld Coos: The Religious Roots of Jewish Nationhood  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 46 1976

Schneider Peter: Bible and the Middle East Today  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 42 1975

Schneider Peter: The Christian Debate on Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 66 1979

Schneider Peter: Israel Actual and Mysterious  
Published by CCJ London and Ends and Odds

Schneider Peter: WCC and the Promises to Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 35 1974

Song Chean-Song: Asian Christians' Vision of Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 50 1976

Stone Ronald: The Zionism of Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr  
Chr. Jew. Rel., vol 15 nr 3 1982

Sullivan Desmond: Vatican Policy on Jerusalem  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 62 1978

Thomas Clamons: The Link Between People, Land and Religion in O.T. and N.T.  
Siddic, vol VIII nr 2 1975

Wall James M.: Israel's Security  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 35 1974

Zager Maricl Kogen and Victor: Are the Falwells Good for Israel?  
Jewish Spectator, Fall 1984

--: Between Palestinian Christians and Foreign Christians  
Holy Land, Spring 1986

--: Ein Zeugnis  
Freiburger Rundbrief, vol XIX nr 69-72 1967

--: ETRF Panel Discussion: People, Land and Faith  
ETRF Lecture 10 feb. 1977

--: Israel - Volk, Land und Staat  
Freiburger Rundbrief, vol XXIII nr 85-88 1971

--: Jerusalem und das Jüdische Volk gehören unauflöslich zusammen  
Freiburger Rundbrief, vol XIX nr 69-72 1967

--: Pourquoi le Saint-Siège ne reconnait pas l'Etat d'Israel  
Rencontre, nr 55 1978

--: Reflections on the Problem "Church-Israel" issued by the Central Board of the  
Union of Evangelical Churches in Switzerland 1977  
Helge Croner: More Stepping Stones to Jew.-Chr. Relations, N.Y. Paulist Press 1985

--: Solidarität mit Israel  
Freiburger Rundbrief, vol IX nr 33-36 1956-57

--: Swiss Churches and Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism, nr 59 1978

--: Vatican Recognition of Israel  
Chr. Jew. Rel., vol 19 nr 1 1986

STATE OF ISRAEL

Christian Reflections  
from 1957 to 1987

Part II

Angell Charles: The Churches' Task in the Middle East  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 44 1975

Archbishop Raya: Arab Christian's View of Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 11 1970

Baillehache Marie-Noelle: God's Choice of Israel  
Sidic vol XIII/2 1980

Borchsenius Poul: A Christian's View of Israel  
Chr. News from Israel vol VI/1-2 1955

Boyd Malcolm: On Criticizing Israel  
Newsday January 18 1974

Cucchetti Mgr.: Israel Reborn  
Chr. News from Israel vol VII/3-4 1956

Cushing Richard Cardinal: Chr. Views on Israel Today. The Root of the Mideast  
Chr. News from Israel vol XX/1-2 1969 Conflict

Dubois Marcel J.: Le voyage du Saint Père en Israel Jan. 1964  
Jerusalem Ed. de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure

Dubois Marcel J.: La Guerre des Six Jours Juin 1967  
Jerusalem Ed. de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure

Dubois Marcel J. Theol. Implications of the State of Israel. The Cath. View  
Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Book 1974

Dubois Marcel J.: Racisme et Sionisme aux Nations Unies Oct. 1975  
Jerusalem Ed. de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure

Dubois Marcel J.: Israel - Its Significance for Jewish-Christian Relations  
ICCJ Conference Jerusalem 21-30 June 1976

Dubois Marcel J.: A Christian View of Jews, Judaism and Israel  
Immanuel nr 7 1977

Dubois Marcel J.: La lecture de la Bible et l'existence juive en terre d'Israel,  
J-m Ed de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure aujourd'hui Printemps 1983

Dubois Marcel J.: Un chrétien devant Israel  
Etudes Février 1986

Eckardt A. Roy: Anti-Israelism, Antisemitism and the Quakers  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 21 1971

Eckardt A. Roy: Theol. Implications of the State of Israel. A Protestant View  
Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Book 1974

Eckardt A. Roy: Toward a Secular Theology of Israel  
Chr.-Jew. Relations nr 72 Sept. 1980

E.T.R.F.: Stellungnahme zum "Christlichen Weltkongress für Palästina" 7-10 Mai 1970  
IDOC Dokument. 6 Sept. 1970

E.T.R.F.: An Appeal to Churches Around the World  
Jerusalem 30 November 1975

Israel Study Group: Israel - People, Land, State. A Statement to our Fellow Christians  
Comm. on Faith and Order NCC New-York June 1973

Jacob Isaac H.: Israel, History and the Church  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 23 1972

Lacocque André: Judaïsme et Etat d'Israel  
VAV Revue du Dialogue nr 7 1970

Lazar David: French Catholics and the Struggle for Israel 1945-1950  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 20 1971

Littell Franklin H.: Christendom, Holocaust and Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 32 1973

Moaz Baruch: Israel - People, Land, State and Torah  
Mishkan nr 5 1986

Moaz Baruch: A Response to "Whose Promised Land" by Colin Chapman  
Mishkan nr 5 1986

Marquardt F.-W.: "Die Juden und ihr Land" (Hamburg 1975) Book Review  
WCC CCJP Newsletter Sept. 1975

Nothomb Paul: Israel et l'Eglise  
WCC CCJP Newsletter Sept. 1975

Schneider Peter: The State of Israel as a Factor in the Chr.-Jew. Relationship  
Lecture given in Saint Paul's Cathedral 24th of July 1964

Simson W.W.: Israel - Significance and Realities  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 49 1976

Weber Hans-Ruedi: Bible and Mid-East; the Promise of the Land  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 22 1972

Willmott Ernest: Christians' Need for a New Theology of Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 26 1972

Yaakov Ben: Christians and the Land of Israel. Book Review on Pragai M.J.: Faith  
Common Ground nr 1986 and Fulfilment, Valentine Mitchell

-: The Challenge of Israel. British Protestants face "Conflicting Emotions"  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 16 1971

-: Christians' Confusion over Israel's Resurgence  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 20 1971

-: Resolutions on the Middle East  
WCC CCJP Newsletter Sept. 1975

-: The Significance of Israel. A French Priest's Reassessment of Scripture  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 7 1969

-: The State of Israel Seen as a Fulfilment of Prophecy  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 2 1968

-: Vatican and Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 22 1972

STATE OF ISRAEL

Christian Reflections  
from 1957 to 1987

Part II

Angell Charles: The Churches' Task in the Middle East  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 44 1975

Archbishop Raya: Arab Christian's View of Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 11 1970

Baillehache Marie-Noelle: God's Choice of Israel  
Sidic vol XIII/2 1980

Borchsenius Poul: A Christian's View of Israel  
Chr. News from Israel vol VI/1-2 1955

Boyd Malcolm: On Criticizing Israel  
Newsday January 18 1974

Cucchetti Mgr.: Israel Reborn  
Chr. News from Israel vol VII/3-4 1956

Cushing Richard Cardinal: Chr. Views on Israel Today. The Root of the Mideast  
Chr. News from Israel vol XX/1-2 1969 Conflict

Dubois Marcel J.: Le voyage du Saint Père en Israel Jan. 1964  
Jerusalem Ed. de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure

Dubois Marcel J.: La Guerre des Six Jours Juin 1967  
Jerusalem Ed. de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure

Dubois Marcel J. Theol. Implications of the State of Israel. The Cath. View  
Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Book 1974

Dubois Marcel J.: Racisme et Sionisme aux Nations Unies Oct. 1975  
Jerusalem Ed. de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure

Dubois Marcel J.: Israel - Its Significance for Jewish-Christian Relations  
ICCJ Conference Jerusalem 21-30 June 1976

Dubois Marcel J.: A Christian View of Jews, Judaism and Israel  
Immanuel nr 7 1977

Dubois Marcel J.: La lecture de la Bible et l'existence juive en terre d'Israel,  
J-m Ed de l'Olivier 1984: L'Exil et la Demeure aujourd'hui Printemps 1983

Dubois Marcel J.: Un chrétien devant Israel  
Etudes Février 1986

Eckardt A. Roy: Anti-Israelism, Antisemitism and the Quakers  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 21 1971

Eckardt A. Roy: Theol. Implications of the State of Israel. A Protestant View  
Encyclopaedia Judaica Year Book 1974

Eckardt A. Roy: Toward a Secular Theology of Israel  
Chr.-Jew. Relations nr 72 Sept. 1980

E.T.R.F.: Stellungnahme zum "Christlichen Weltkongress für Palästina" 7-10 Mai 1970  
EDOC Dokument. 6 Sept. 1970

E.T.R.F.: An Appeal to Churches Around the World  
Jerusalem 30 November 1975

Israel Study Group: Israel - People, Land, State. A Statement to our Fellow Christians  
Comm. on Faith and Order NCC New-York June 1973

Jacob Isaac H.: Israel, History and the Church  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 23 1972

Lacocque André: Judaïsme et Etat d'Israel  
VAV Revue du Dialogue nr 7 1970

Lazar David: French Catholics and the Struggle for Israel 1945-1950  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 20 1971

Littell Franklin H.: Christendom, Holocaust and Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 32 1973

Moaz Baruch: Israel - People, Land, State and Torah  
Mishkan nr 5 1986

Moaz Baruch: A Response to "Whose Promised Land" by Colin Chapman  
Mishkan nr 5 1986

Marquardt F.-W.: "Die Juden und ihr Land" (Hamburg 1975) Book Review  
WCC CCJP Newsletter Sept. 1975

Nothomb Paul: Israel et l'Eglise  
WCC CCJP Newsletter Sept. 1975

Schneider Peter: The State of Israel as a Factor in the Chr.-Jew. Relationship  
Lecture given in Saint Paul's Cathedral 24th of July 1964

Simson W.W.: Israel - Significance and Realities  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 49 1976

Weber Hans-Ruedi: Bible and Mid-East; the Promise of the Land  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 22 1972

Willmott Ernest: Christians' Need for a New Theology of Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 26 1972

Yaakov Ben: Christians and the Land of Israel. Book Review on Pragai M.J.: Faith  
Common Ground nr 1986 and Fulfilment, Vallentine Mitchell

-: The Challenge of Israel. British Protestants face "Conflicting Emotions"  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 16 1971

-: Christians' Confusion over Israel's Resurgence  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 20 1971

-: Resolutions on the Middle East  
WCC CCJP Newsletter Sept. 1975

-: The Significance of Israel. A French Priest's Reassessment of Scripture  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 7 1969

-: The State of Israel Seen as a Fulfilment of Prophecy  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 2 1968

-: Vatican and Israel  
Chr. Att. on Jews and Judaism nr 22 1972

JEWISH ANALYSES OF JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS  
from 1957 to 1987

- Ankori Zvi: Greek Orthodox - Jewish Relations in Historic Perspective - the Jew.  
Journal of Ecum. Stud. vol 13/4 1976 17-57 View
- Aron Robert: Judaism and Christianity  
Encounter Today nr 3-4 1972 99-115
- Bamberger Henry: Some Difficulties in Dialogue  
Judaism vol 32/2 1983 176-183
- Berger David: Jewish-Christian Relations. A Jewish Perspective  
Journal of Ecum. Stud. vol 20/1 1983
- Berkovits Eliezer: Facing the Truth  
Judaism vol 27/3 1978 324-326
- Bernards Solomon S.: Jewish-Christian Relationship in America  
Judaism vol 27/3 1978 327-334
- Blue Lionel: The New Paradigm of Europe.  
European Judaism nr 1 1975 2-5
- Bowler Maurice G.: Rosenzweig on Judaism and Christianity - The Two Covenant  
Theory  
Judaism vol 22/4 1973
- Cohen Jack J.: Jewish Views on Christianity  
Rainbow Group Lecture 2/6 1982
- Cohn-Sherbok Dan: Jewish-Christian Dialogue - A New Proposal  
Manuscript oct. 1983
- Cohen Samuel S.: Reflections on Judaism and Christianity  
Jewish Spectator Fall 1976 19-23
- Cutter William: Censorship - Yes or No?  
Jewish Spectator Spring 1974 56-59
- Falk Ze'ev: Dialogue and Witness.  
ETRF Lecture April 1977 7 pp
- Farhi Daniel: Les conditions d'un dialogue entre Chrétiens et Juifs  
Sens nr 8-9 1987 231-234
- Friedman Edie: The Harborne Hall Consultations - A Jewish View  
Chr.-Jew. Rel. vol 19/4 1986 43-47
- Gilbert Arthur: The Mission of the Jewish People in History and the Modern World  
Chr., Jews and the Mission of the Church. Reprinted from Lutheran World vol X/4  
and XI/3 -63
- Goldberg Michael: Jews and Christians on Matters of Life and Death  
Judaism vol 36/1 1987 66-73
- Goldman Solomon: The Ways Diverge  
Facing Realities CCJ London 1974 2nd Ed. 16-20
- Goldstein Israel: Interfaith Relations in Israel  
For Are We Not All Kinsmen? AJC ETRF IIC WJC



Goldstein Israel: Pioneering in America and in Israel  
Judaism vol 27/3 1978 277-282

Gordis Robert: Religious Liberty - A Jewish Perspective  
Sidic vol XIII/3 1980 10-24

Graubart Judah I.: The Vatican and the Jews: Cynicism and Indifference  
Judaism vol 24/2 1975 168-180

Greenberg Blu: Rabbi Jacob Emden; The Views of An Enlightened Traditionalist on  
Judaism vol 27/3 1987 351-363 Christianity,

Greenberg Irving: New Revelations and New Patterns in the Relationship of Judaism  
Journal of Ecum. Stud. vol 16/2 1979 249-267 and Christianity

Hartman David: Creating Space for the Integrity of the Other  
Sidic vol XV/2 1982 5-10

Jais Meyer: On the Jewish-Christian Dialogue Part I and II  
Sidic vol VIII/3 1975 25-32 and vol IX/1 1976 23-27

Jakobovits Sir Immanuel: Jewish Understanding of Interfaith Encounter  
Chr. Jew. Rel. vol 16/4 1983 11-21

Klenicki Leon: The Guidelines. A Jewish Point of View  
Face to Face vol 1 Summer 1975 10-13

Levin Nora: Whither Christian-Jewish Dialogue?  
Judaism vol 33/2 1984 233-239

Matt Hershel: How Shall a Believing Jew View Christianity?  
Judaism vol 24/4 1975 391-405

Merkle John C.: Abraham Joshua Heschel and Interfaith Dialogue  
Chr. Jew. Rel. vol 19/4 1986 23-33

Novak David: A Jewish Response to a New Christian Theology (Review-Essay)  
Judaism vol 31/1 1982 112-119

Petuchowski Jakob J.: The Christian-Jewish Dialogue. A Jewish View  
Chr., Jews and the Mission of the Church. Reprinted from Lutheran World vol X/4  
1963 and vol XI/3 1964

Riegner Gerhart: Review of Christian-Jewish Relations  
Chr.-Jew. Rel. vol 14/1 1981

Rivkin Ellis: Jewish-Christian Relations in the Next Hundred Years  
Face to Face vol 1 Winter/Spring 1976 12-13

Samuelson Norbert: Response to Paul van Buren: Chr. Theology Today  
The NICM Journal vol 1/2 1976 64-87

Siegel Seymour: The Anti-Dialogue Pitch  
WCC CCJP Newsletter March 1967

Siegel Seymour: Jewish-Christian Dialogue - Prospects and Future  
Face to Face vol 1 Winter/Spring 1976 13-15

Siegman Henry: Dialogue with Christians - A Jewish Dilemma  
WCC CCJP Newsletter March 1971

Siegman Henry: Ten Years and Two Documents; Their Significance  
Sidic vol VIII/3 1975 4-12

Siegman Henry: What Kind of Dialogue?  
WCC CCJP Newsletter June 1976

Siegman Henry: Christian-Jewish Relations: Still a Way to Go  
Judaism vol 35/1 1986 25-28

Singer Howard: Don't Try to Sell Me Your Religion  
WCC CCJP Newsletter March 1967

Steinberg Milton: Questions Asked and Answered  
Facing Realities CCJ London 1974 2nd Ed. 12-15

Shemaryahu: Interfaith Dialogue in Israel  
Face to Face vol II Winter/Spring 1977 3-5

Toaff Elio: Human Rights and Religious Liberty in Jewish-Christian Dialogue  
Sidic vol XIII/3 1980 25-27

Touati Emile: Reflexions Juives sur le texte de Paul Nothomb: Esquisse d'une  
VAV Revue du Dialogue nr 4 1973 / théologie chrétienne vis à vis d'Israël

Tucker Gordon: 1984 and Beyond - Purpose and Strategy in Jew.-Chr. Relations.  
Martin Buber House nr 7 1984 A Jew. Point of View.

Waskow Arthur I.: Response to Paul van Buren: Chr. Theology Today  
The NICH Journal vol 1/2 1976 38-50

Werblowsky Zwi: Some Observations on the Renewal of the Dialogue Between the  
Forum vol III Jerusalem 1957 Church and Israel

Werblowsky Zwi: Interfaith in Jerusalem  
Face to Face vol II Winter/Spring 1977 6-10


Wigoder Geoffrey: A Jewish Reaction to the "Notes"  
ETRF Lecture dec. 12 1985

Wolf Alfred: A Tale of One City  
Judaism vol 27/3 1978 292-298

Wyschogrod Michael: A New Stage in Jew.-Chr. Dialogue. (Review-Essay)  
Judaism vol 31/3 1982 355-365

Yaron Zvi: An Orthodox Jewish Israeli Views Interfaith  
Face to Face vol II Winter/Spring 1977 15-18

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** November 25, 1987  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum, Charney Bromberg  
**from** Gary Rubin   
**subject** Long Range Program Planning Committee

As we discussed at a previous SAC meeting, I am sending you a set of planning papers I developed last year for AJC's Long Range Program Planning Committee. The papers aim to consider current trends in areas of AJC interest and our programmatic responses to them.

The Committee has requested that departments go over these papers and give us your own evaluation of trends in your area that will affect AJC's program over the next 3-5 years. Your analysis will be shared with the committee at our next meeting.

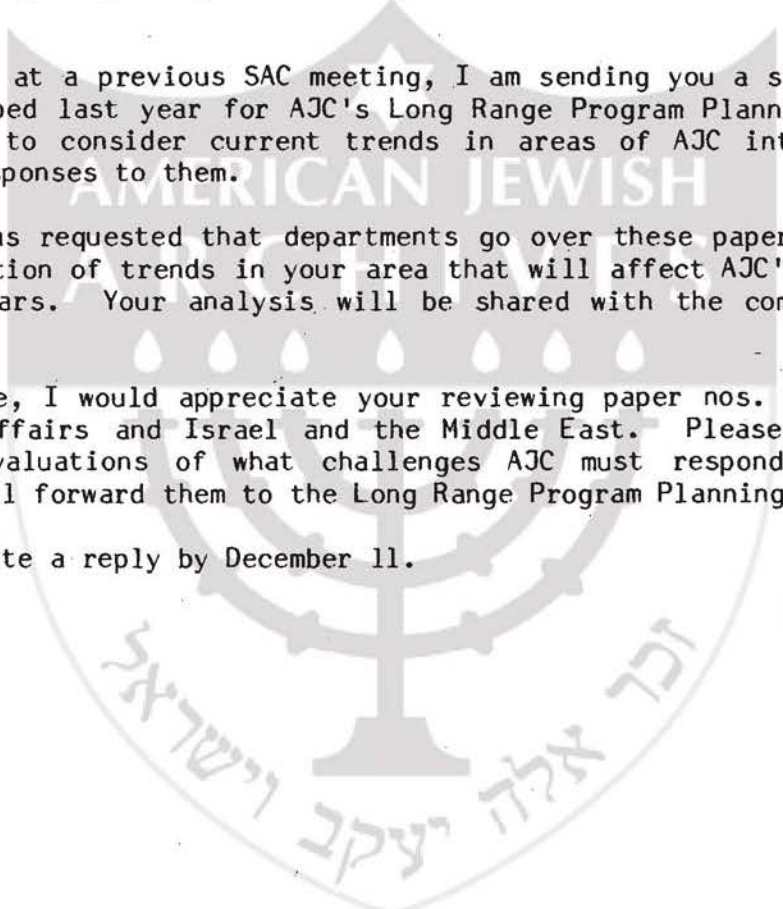
For this purpose, I would appreciate your reviewing paper nos. III and IV on International Affairs and Israel and the Middle East. Please send me your best current evaluations of what challenges AJC must respond to in these fields and I will forward them to the Long Range Program Planning Committee.

I would appreciate a reply by December 11.

HK/GZ/ha  
 Enclosures

cc: Bert Gold

87-990



## Introduction

This paper is intended to provide background for discussions of AJC's long range program planning committee. In each of the six major areas of AJC's program, it seeks to lay out the outlines of current discussion on issues important to the agency and to describe AJC's present activities on them. It makes no conclusions or recommendations, which is the job of the committee, but rather provides a set of options for AJC action from which we can choose emphases that fit our goals and organizational capacities.

### I. American Social Policy

Several demographic trends are now converging to produce new policy challenges to American society. Some groups which once required policy support are becoming more independent, while others will experience greater need. Major institutions such as the family, government and workplace are changing in significant ways that require innovative policy responses.

A summary of key demographic changes at critical stages of life would include:

### Birth

- There has been a long-term trend, over two centuries, of falling birthrates in the U.S. There have been some variations in fertility rates, as births fell sharply during the Depression, rose in the post-war period and declined again from 1960 to the present. But the

long-term trend is definitely down. Since 1973, birth rates in the U.S. have been below replacement levels.

- Birth rates are declining for three basic reasons, none of which seem likely to reverse in the near future: 1) Children are no longer needed to support a family economically, as they were on farms or in the early industrial revolution; 2) the cost of raising children has increased (including housing, food, education, loss of parents' time in the workforce, etc); 3) Contraception and abortion are cheaper and more available.
- Fewer births will have some positive social consequences, as age cohorts will be smaller than the "baby boom" generation now in the early stages of their careers in the workforce. Future generations will face less overcrowding in schools and less competition for jobs and therefore lower unemployment.
- Lower birthrates will also mean more families with one or two children and fewer with four or more children. Research has shown that children from smaller families do better in educational and occupational achievement.
- Crime will also go down, as most crimes are committed by male youth who will decline in numbers with falling birth rates.
- Infant mortality continues to decline, except that the rate remains higher for Blacks than whites. Also, further decreases in infant mortality will require very high medical costs, raising the question of

whether social resources are best expended for this group or for other populations in medical need.

- The biggest social problem relating to birth is the rapid rise in out-of-wedlock births, especially to Blacks. Births to single parents are statistically associated with low education, low income and poor prospects for future advancement. Children born into these families face lifelong social and economic disadvantages.

### Childhood

- The overwhelming trend in childhood is for fewer services to be offered to children within the family and more by public institutions and the marketplace.
- Services for children outside the family are growing rapidly in three areas: expenditures on education continue to rise as more youths seek schooling for longer periods of time; child care services, by formal day care centers and even more by informal neighborhood arrangements, are growing as more women enter the workforce; and trends show an enormous proportion of childrens' time spent watching television which must now be counted as a huge, market-based influence on young peoples' lives.
- At the same time, children spend less time with their families, and families are increasingly unable to offer time and care to them. This is especially true because rises in divorce, births to unmarried women and greater workforce participation by parents allow for less

interaction between parents and children and greater economic pressures on families.

- Trends are for children to be in better health than previous generations, though whites do better in this area than Blacks.

### Adolescence

- Educational enrollment is up for all youth, including women and Blacks. Educational gaps between white men, who have traditionally had an advantage, and women and Blacks may close somewhat in the coming decades.
- Youth employment and rates of schooling have risen, but a large gap separates whites and Black youth employment. Black teen unemployment has grown more severe as the workforce has become more technologically sophisticated and labor more expensive.
- Overall teen fertility is down, but it has not fallen as fast as all births. Teen childbearing, especially among the unmarried, has therefore risen as a percentage of births. This is a problem of special significance among Blacks, who are more likely than whites to conceive, less likely to abort and more likely to stay unmarried after the birth.
- Self destructive behavior among adolescents, as evidenced especially by rises in rates of homicide and suicide, may reflect loss of strong values and commitment in this group.

Working Adults

- The biggest change in the workforce in the past few decades has been an enormous rise in working women, especially mothers with children. This trend predates both the feminist movement and affirmative action plans, through it has been accelerated by them. It is largely due both to higher wages attracting more women to work and expansion in the service sector of the economy where most women find employment.
- While working more, women still lag significantly behind men in earnings. Part of this is due to discrimination and socialization. A significant part is also due to women's greater commitment to childrearing, causing them to interrupt careers and education to care for children and giving them less seniority and experience than male counterparts. Concern with this problem has stimulated much interest in alternative arrangements.
- Black earnings have gained relative to whites, especially among the young and more highly educated. Significant differences still remain, however, especially at the ends of the earnings spectrum, with relatively few Blacks among the economic elite and relatively few whites among the hard-core poor. Much of the remaining gap can be explained by the neighborhoods, schools and broken families from which many Blacks come, indicating a continued serious social problem with multiple causes.
- Poverty among American families is surprisingly widespread, with about a quarter of all families dropping below the poverty line at some time



within the period of a decade. About the same proportion use some form of government assistance, usually food stamps, in this time span.

- Persistent poverty and welfare use, on the other hand, is relatively rare. About 2.5% of Americans form an "underclass" of consistent poverty and dependency on welfare. These are concentrated among Blacks and families headed by women.
- Of all social indicators, the family is by far the most important factor in economic well-being. Intact families have relatively few economic problems, while broken families have many.
- Yet the family is undergoing increasing change, as divorces grow and more single people live away from their families and have children. Divorced and single parents are especially economically vulnerable.
- Income shifts are very common among a growing number of Americans, due to a spell of unemployment or changes in number of hours worked. When this happens, the family is decreasingly able to help as extended family ties decline and divorce increases.

#### Older Adults

- Social security and other benefits have allowed more people in their late 50's and early 60's to retire from the workforce, thus creating a larger pension class for a shrinking workforce to support.
- The Social Security System will face increasing strain as more retirees

rely on fewer workers. Conflict will grow over whether to resolve this squeeze by higher taxes on workers or lower benefits for the elderly. The fact that many workers will be minority and most retirees white may add a racial dimension to this debate.

- As the elderly rise in proportion in the population, health costs go up. This will set up a conflict in generations over whether social costs are better allocated for health care for the elderly or other uses.
- On the other hand, a larger group of senior adults with lifelong experience in handling complex problems will be available to contribute to social policy, if ways can be found to tap their wisdom.

#### Additional Issues

At least three other trends will greatly influence policy discussions in the near future:

1. The electoral and governing processes have always been key arenas for the airing and resolution of policy disputes. Sharply different projections have been made about their future. Some see the decline of political parties, the rise of single interest groups and the coming into electoral prominence of wealthy individuals unattached to a strong constituency base as severely threatening the capacity of the political system to handle complex problems. Others see these same trends as movement to a more democratic form of decision making. In any case, the ability of the system to define and handle critical

social problems will be a major factor in policy directions in the next few years.

2. Many policy disputes will require resolution in the courts. Yet, important debates have arisen about the direction, authority and function of the court system. Some would like to curtail the scope of judicial activism, while others want to maintain a broad mandate for decision-making. The outcome of this debate will have broad implications for policy matters, especially for agencies like AJC which have placed great emphasis on working through the the judicial system.
3. Policy choices reflect values on which there has been much recent debate. Unlike the 1960s, when many liberals focused on individual civil rights and conservatives on community allegiance, liberals like Robert Bellah are now decrying the decline of community and seeking revitalization of common commitment, while conservatives like Charles Murray are calling for a reemphasis on individual responsibility. Policy outcomes will be greatly influenced by value choices that underlie them.

### Policy Directions

These demographic and social trends will generate new discussions on policy in the future. Some, of special relevance to AJC, include:

1. Some issues now high on the public agenda will likely decline in importance. These include crime, unemployment and overcrowded schools

and housing which may ease as the size of age cohorts of young people declines with fertility rates.

2. Inequality will remain a major social challenge, but reducing it will become harder. Current inequality between Blacks and whites stems not from unfair laws but from basic social facts such as different rates of broken families, neighborhood origin or quality of schools. Unequal rates of achievement between men and women stem in large measure from different levels of commitment to young children, requiring exploration of new modes of child care and family responsibility.
3. Greater generational competition for social goods will become evident as young and old struggle over allocations of health care and financing of Social Security.
4. Changes in demography will push new ethical questions to the fore. Infant mortality has declined to the point where further advances will prove extremely costly and keep alive babies with severe physical defects. In the same way, longer life spans for the elderly have raised serious questions about the advisability of care in certain situations of grave illness. Issues of when to treat medical conditions and how to allocate health resources will prove both increasingly agonizing and more common. In like manner, one result of the decline in fertility will be ethical disputes over surrogate mothering and other means of having children.
5. Much policy debate will center around the family, which because of

rising divorce, geographical mobility and single parenthood is less able to perform support functions than in the past, yet remains a critical factor in maintaining social and economic well-being.

6. All of these major changes involving inequality, competition, family changes and ethical issues will put tremendous pressure on the political and legal systems to mediate disputes in areas central to the lives of many Americans. New electoral trends and legal doctrines will vitally affect American society in the coming years.
7. Such major social changes will also entail a significant debate over whether public policy should promote a specific set of values and what the content of those values should be. This has already begun to happen in the field of welfare, where assessments differ sharply over whether policy should promote social responsibility or individual self-sufficiency or some combination of the two. In like manner, trends such as the rising tide of pregnancies and suicides among teens have raised serious questions over what values currently permeate American life and whether these are adequate for a healthy society.

#### Current AJC Policy

In the American public policy area, AJC program currently focuses on the following areas:

- Promoting a multi-issue agenda for American Jewry and assuring the involvement of the Jewish community in broad social as well as particular Jewish issues.

- Facilitating the smooth functioning of the political system by a coordinated effort to promote reform and fight extremism, undue sectarian influence and group libel in political campaigns. These efforts are now geared to agency action on Election 88.
  
- Using the Constitution Bicentennial to highlight several areas of AJC concern with Constitutional issue, including: public education on key Constitutional principles; publications on major Constitutional topics, with an emphasis on religious pluralism; workshops for AJC chapters on handling local disputes on church-state separation; programs on comparison of principles of Jewish and American law; and conferences on Constitutional themes.
  
- Action on the national and local levels on social policy in which we seek to promote simultaneously individual and social responsibility. This program includes legislative advocacy, publications, conferences and building coalitions on key issues affecting social life in the U.S.
  
- Convening a task force on family policy to define AJC substantive and strategic action in this area.
  
- Continuation of AJC legal activity on issues of civil rights, church-state separation, affirmative action, censorship, equal opportunity, etc.
  
- Promotion of economic and social equality for women.

- Supporting quality education and promoting effective ways to teach values in schools without favoring sectarian interests.
- The Skirball Institute for American Values, which runs programs and conferences on the media, education and other key issues influencing values in American life.

GR4



## II. Intergroup Relations

Intergroup relations have always been a distinctive hallmark of AJC's program. In this area, we have pioneered in ethnic and interreligious contacts. New developments in both ethnic and religious communities are now taking place that will have significant implications for the agency.

### Ethnic Trends

Enormous changes are now taking place in the ethnic makeup of America that will have a real impact on AJC and the Jewish community:

- Blacks remain the largest identifiable racial minority in the country. They number about 23 million, or 11% of the total population. Complex changes are taking place within the community. Employed Blacks and those intact families have made enough economic progress to close significantly their earnings gap with whites, though few have penetrated the upper reaches of the economic or social structure. On the other hand, Blacks are disproportionately represented among low income, single parent families. Politically, they are also split, with some seeking cooperation with other ethnic groups and others adopting an isolationist stance. The Black social agenda also shows signs of bifurcation, with some continuing to focus on traditional welfare issues and others seeking new initiatives on strengthening family and community life. For these reasons, it is decreasingly useful to speak of a unified Black community and more necessary to be conscious of the varying segments of this group which relate differently to others in



American society.

- Asians constitute the fastest growing segment of American society. Because of exclusionary immigration laws in force until 1965, the total number of Asians in the U.S. now approximates only the number of Jews. But they are the largest proportion ethnically of current legal immigrants. Between 1970 and 1980, their population in the U.S. rose by 146% and growth is even faster now. Chinese, Indochinese and Filipinos have recently surpassed Japanese as the largest Asian subpopulations, with increases also taking place among Koreans and Indians. Occupationally and educationally, Asians do very well as compared with other Americans, though their overall success masks poverty among some of the subgroups, especially Filipinos, and success is sometimes achieved at the price of high rates of stress-related disease. National organizations are well developed among the Japanese but are just beginning to achieve stature in the Chinese and Indochinese communities and are even less significant among the other groups. Still, this is a community that will grow in power and influence and should therefore figure into future plans for intergroup ties.

- Hispanics combine the traits of large current numbers and rapid growth. Their population now exceeds 17 million and immigration of this group remains sizable. Hispanics are made up of disparate subgroups. Cubans are distinctive from the others in their political conservatism and concentration in South Florida. Mexicans are by far the largest and most powerful Hispanic group; the leadership of most Hispanic

organizations is Mexican as are most Hispanic public officials. Puerto Ricans make up a small segment of this group but their influence is enhanced by their geographical concentration in the Northeast. Caribbeans and South Americans constitute a growing proportion of new immigrants. Hispanics earn less and stay in school for a shorter time than any other American ethnic group, though a new professional and managerial class is starting to emerge. Private organizations representing Hispanic interests have made significant recent gains on both the national and local levels. Politically, Hispanics have not yet turned their numbers into real electoral clout, but local political successes provide the promise of greater national influence in the future. Hispanics now live in all regions of the U.S. and will become an increasingly prominent force in intergroup relations.

- White ethnics such as Polish, Italian and Greek Americans are now coming into full participation in the social, political and economic spheres of American life. Much of what Jews achieved in the second and third generations is now being matched by white ethnics in their third and fourth generations of residence in this country. In educational and economic terms, they are the fastest rising groups in the U.S. Ethnic Catholic intellectuals are now at the cutting edge of social thought, playing much the same role as did Jewish thinkers in the 1940s and 1950s. While some discrimination still exists, they are found in the top ranks of American business and social life. While there is some loss of strong ethnic identity and much intermarriage among these groups, their ethnic organizational structure has become more elaborate and more influential as they have learned to exercise influence in the

American power structure. Italian and Polish American organizations, for example, have already access to the highest levels of Congressional and Administration circles. Once concentrated in the Northeast and Midwest, these groups are now found in urban areas in all sections of the U.S. They will exercise a strong influence on American life for the foreseeable future.

### Religious Group Trends

Changes of at least equal significance are now occurring among religious groups, which, like ethnic trends, will have a large impact on AJC programming:

- The Catholic Church and its membership have changed significantly over the past two decades. Once in an insular and embattled position in the U.S., Catholics now feel able and even obligated to influence mainstream social thinking. The recent Bishops' letters on the economy and nuclear arms proceed from the assumption that broad policy debates are enhanced by knowledge of Christian moral teachings on controversial subjects. Dissident Catholics who criticized the letters did so because they disagree with their recommendations, not because they think Catholic thinking irrelevant to policy issues. We can expect more Church activity aimed at influencing the broad public. The Catholic hierarchy is now split on theological and social issues between liberal and conservative wings but has been able to forge unified positions on social welfare, abortion, family policy and the arms race. Catholic laity were once solidly Democratic in political orientation but now split their votes evenly between the two parties.

A new source of tension is developing as Hispanic and Asian Catholics vie with entrenched European-origin correlative religionists for leadership positions in the Church.

- Evangelical Protestants have made spectacular political and organizational gains in the past decade. Traditionally, Evangelicals had concerned themselves with personal salvation and paid relatively little attention to public affairs. Their geographical concentration in the South and low average income led them to vote mostly for Democrats. This picture has completely reversed. Evangelicals are now very active as candidates for every level of government, have carried out the most successful voter registration drives of the past two elections, and support conservative Republicans. The social issues of the 1970s, especially abortion, family policy, religion in the schools and a feeling of loss of common values have galvanized them into action. They adhere in many cases to a doctrine that seeks to establish their religious beliefs as public policy. At times, they have made effective alliances, as on the abortion issue with Catholics and Orthodox Jews. While not all, or even most, Protestants who identify as Evangelicals support fundamentalist social and political stands, enough do to make their movement and its leaders very powerful. They lost some key Senate races in 1986 but will still retain much clout in the 1988 elections, from local contests to the Presidential primaries.

- By contrast, mainline Protestants have entered a period of some difficulty. For years, American culture was identified with their

views and traditions. The rise of a new assertiveness among Evangelicals, Catholics, Jews, Blacks and ethnics has challenged somewhat their cultural hegemony. Moreover, severe internal splits have developed within mainline Protestant ranks. Traditionally, this is a culturally conservative and politically Republican group. Polls of the last few elections show that the mass of Protestants retain these attitudes. But their leaders do not. The bureaucracies of both the individual denominations and the umbrella group, the National Council of Churches (NCC) have moved far to the left in their issue advocacy. They form a center for opposition to current U.S. policy abroad, especially on Central America and Middle East issues, and support of collectivist social policies at home such as high welfare benefits, affirmative action quotas, and anti-corporate strategies. They have moved well beyond the issue consensus of both political parties and their own member constituencies. This has resulted in both intensive internal debate and a decline in NCC's national clout. Still, because of their large numbers and sophisticated organization, they remain a significant force in American life.

- Black churches require special mention in a survey of religious pluralism. Within the Black community, the churches have served as both a source of spiritual uplift and a center for political organizing. A disproportionate number of Black officials and heads of civil rights groups are ministers, and churches have become central locations for campaigning and community organizing. A key current question is whether this network will promote Black interests within mainstream parties or lead to Black separatist efforts outside the

major institutions of American political life.

- As the flow of immigrants from Eastern nations grow, increasing numbers of Americans will adhere to faiths outside the Judeo-Christian tradition. In particular, Islam, Hinduism and Bhuddhism will find more adherents. At present, there may be as many as two million Muslims and 600,000 Hindus in the U.S. While not yet a major factor in American religious pluralism, they will play a greater role in the future.

#### Key Issues

These ethnic and religious trends will result in important challenges, some of which include:

- Issues of religion and society will not fade away, but, if anything, will become even more heated than at present. The surge of Evangelical power will assure that religiously divisive issues such as prayer in the schools, abortion, scientific creationism and public displays of religious symbols remain in the center of public controversy. New legal doctrines will be advanced to justify mixing of religion and public life. Separation of church and state will remain high on the America's issue agenda. At the same time, new thinking from Catholic and Jewish sources will seek to infuse current issue discussions with the wisdom of religious traditions. This will be welcomed to the degree that it seeks to add values perspectives to public debate but opposed if it is seen as attempting to impose particular religious strictures on all Americans. Where to draw the line between healthy

religious participation in public life and impermissible establishment of religious views will remain a key question.

- The nature of American pluralism will also generate much debate. For much of this century, attention focused on how to explain ethnic and religious pluralism when diversity referred to West versus East Europeans and religious differences remained within Judaism and Christianity. Now, Americans come from all over the globe and adhere to Islam and Eastern religions as well as mainstream faiths. How to handle vast ethnic and religious diversity within the context of a civic unity will become an even more pressing national issue.
- Immigration will remain a key issue, but in a new form. Debates will persist on how many newcomers should come to the U.S. Attempts will be made by restrictionists to curtail the flow, while proponents will continue to argue for generous entry numbers. But increasingly, attention will turn to issues that arise after entry, about the impact of immigrants on the larger society. These will focus on the economic impact of newcomers, their relations with other minorities and the broad American population, language policy and use of social-services. Some of these concerns, especially language, have already generated heated national debate that will grow even more intense as more states conduct referenda on the status of English as the official language. Defining positive responses to these concerns and incorporating newcomers into the American pluralistic framework will form an urgent national priority.

- Attention will also focus on the field of intergroup relations. The human relations profession, which flourished in the 1950s and 1960s, declined in the 1970s, as the civil rights consensus broke down. There is now a lack of professional capacity to broker among groups and increase mutual understanding at the very time when these skills are sorely needed. A revitalization of the intergroup relations field will be an important agenda item in the near future.

AJC Program

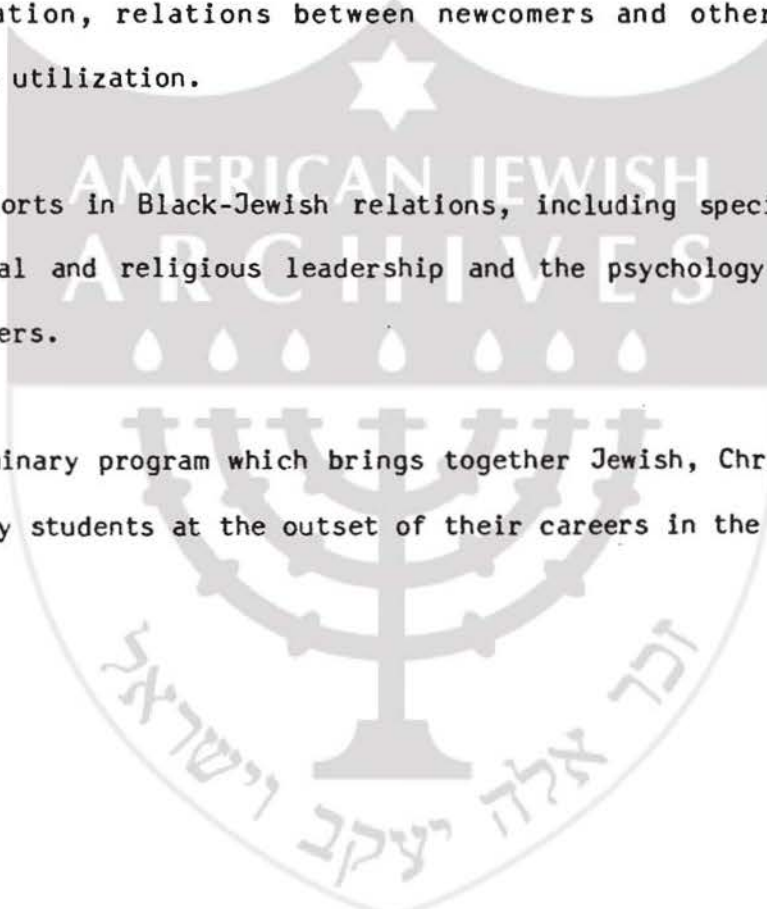
Intergroup relations rank among AJC's oldest and most highly developed programs. Current activities include:

- A Religion and Society Task Force to study intensely the complex relation between these two forces and make program recommendations to AJC.
- A stress on church-state separation and religious pluralism in our legal activities and our program on the Constitutional Bicentennial.
- A new effort to organize associations of intergroup relations trainers as a means of revitalizing the human relations profession.
- New outreach and coalition building efforts with Asian and Hispanic Americans, as well as continued joint activities with white ethnics of Polish, Italian and Greek origin.



- Dialogue and joint action with Catholics, mainline Protestants, Evangelicals and women of faith, as well as new efforts to open contacts with Hindus.
- Continued advocacy of a generous immigration and refugee policy and a new stress on acculturation issues, such as language policy, economic integration, relations between newcomers and other Americans and service utilization.
- New efforts in Black-Jewish relations, including special attention to political and religious leadership and the psychology of Black-Jewish encounters.
- Our seminary program which brings together Jewish, Christian and Black divinity students at the outset of their careers in the clergy.

GER4



### III. International Affairs

AJC has put much emphasis on international affairs, both in its concern for endangered Jewish communities abroad and in its interest in the promotion of democracy and human rights around the world. New trends and debates among leaders in this field will have important implications for AJC's program in the years ahead.

#### Foreign Policy Directions

The broad consensus that guided the nation's foreign policy in the years immediately following World War II has broken down. Sharply differing views now contend over whether and how the U.S. should project its interests abroad. This debate will have a real impact on American and Jewish interests:

- The bipartisan consensus on foreign policy that followed World War II was built of several elements: America should be active in the world to promote freedom; its major enemy was world Communism; and its chief instruments were strong military force, western alliances and international mechanisms, primarily the United Nations.
- Practically every element of this consensus has recently come under attack: Setbacks in Vietnam and Lebanon have cooled interventionist tendencies; regional conflicts in Central America, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and South Africa have deflected attention from a comprehensive Communist threat; military budgets have become the source of deep domestic discord; the military alliance with Europe has undergone review from financial and strategic points of view; and the

U.N. has lost credibility as a serious practical or moral force.

- Consensus has been replaced by competing schools of thought on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. These have been variously described. One conceptualization, by Charles Krauthamer, discerns a three-cornered debate now taking place among: (1) Neo-isolationists, centered among liberal Democrats, who seek to spread American values, but only through international associations and persuasion, not military strength; (2) Neo-internationalists, found most prominently among supporters of the Reagan Doctrine, who seek to project freedom through a combination of containment of the Soviets, support for anticommunist insurgencies and promoting American-style democracies; and (3) Realists, found largely among professional foreign relations scholars, who reject the ideological bases of both Reagan and his opponents and seek to relate foreign policy to U.S. interests and power.
- However defined, these debates reflect fundamental differences on how engaged the U.S. should be in the world. Some view an optimum foreign policy as promoting pro-active U.S. actions on behalf of allies, while others view this goal as quixotic and stress the maintenance of the security of the U.S. as their primary aim. Many in the center reject both aggressive internationalism and abandoning of foreign commitments and seek some synthesis of support for democracy abroad and realism about the limits of American power.
- This debate is over means as well as ends. Those who find America's recent foreign actions too ideological tend to argue for more decision making to be made by career professionals, especially in the State

Department, rather than by Presidential aides, Congress or private or ethnic pressure groups. Those who want a more principle-oriented policy, on the other hand, argue for more Congressional and private sector participation in international affairs and a more democratic mode of defining objectives and strategies.

- Human rights policy has been especially affected by these debates, though in complex ways. Those defining themselves as realists often consider human rights concerns as interfering with pursuit of power and interest, the true aims, in their view, of a rational policy. "Neo-isolationists" often support human rights objectives, though not the actions of power necessary to enforce them, while "neointernationalists" have been accused of pursuit of anti-communism to the exclusion of a human rights perspective. As in other areas of foreign policy, the necessity in human rights is to decide both what is desirable to support and what is realistic given the current strength and commitments of U.S. resources.
- These are critical debates not only for the country at large but for the Jewish community in particular. Jewish interests, both in Israel and on behalf of Jewish communities around the world, have required and generally enjoyed vigorous U.S. support. It would severely harm international Jewish objectives if America either limited its foreign actions to the point of disengagement from other regions of the world or acted in such a reckless fashion as to damage its credibility. Given deep concern with Jewish life the world over, the American Jewish community has a strong stake in the outcome of American foreign policy debates.

Endangered Jewish Communities

Jews have particular as well as general concerns on the world scene which must figure into the community's attitudes on international affairs:

- The plight of Soviet Jewry remains grim. Recent well publicized actions by the Soviet government to let a few visible dissidents leave internal exile or exit the country have not translated into a fundamental shift in emigration policy. On the contrary, the flow of Jews out of the USSR has dropped to an all-time low. Internal repression of Jewish identity and pervasive anti-Semitism have continued unabated. Precious few real levers of influence exist to pressure Soviet authorities to alter their course. Traditional efforts to use trade policy and formal governmental channels to bring advances on Soviet Jews will continue, along with new initiatives to influence participants in renewed scientific and cultural exchange programs to use their contacts to raise this issue. Great reluctance remains to ally the Jewish issue with other groups' grievances against the Soviet Empire, such as "captive nations" concerns since, advocates feel, more progress will be made if Jews are treated as a special case, not part of a larger campaign to attack the Soviet Union. Tension persists between the American and Israeli Jewish communities over whether financial assistance should be granted to Soviet emigres no matter where they choose to reside, including the U.S., or only if they move to Israel.
  
- Some Jewish communities, particularly in the Middle East, remain in severe physical danger. Special urgency applies to diplomatic and

private attempts to protect or rescue them.

- Other Jewish communities in Europe or Latin America face in particular severe from a set of problems not unknown to American Jews: declining Jewish identity among the young, high intermarriage rates, low levels of Jewish education, etc. Sharing of Jewish resources with these communities is an important need.

### Nuclear Arms

The debate over the maintenance, ethics and strategies of nuclear weapons remains one of the central international issues of the day. New directions have influenced discussions in this field, including enhanced attention given to authorities speaking from the perspective of religious traditions:

- Nuclear arms debates take different forms depending on the expertise of the participants. Perhaps the most wide-ranging discussions occur among philosophers. One vocal group calls for the total abolition of nuclear weapons, or if necessary, unilateral disarmament since these instruments of destruction are by their nature evil and no good can come from using or even possessing them. It is simply immoral, in this view, to own bombs that could kill millions of innocent people. Other philosophers contest this stance. They hold that certain values, such as democracy and freedom, are worth protecting even at the risk of great loss of life. Even among those justifying nuclear weapons for the purpose of deterrence, however, most philosophers perceive an obligation to limit or work for ever greater controls on them. The Catholic Bishops of the U.S. have adopted this stance.

- Among military strategists, the debate looks very different. There is no support for disarmament. The spectrum runs between those who accept deterrence but constantly look for new ways to balance nuclear arsenals or enhance conventional forces, so that nuclear use will never occur, to those who seek practical ways to deploy nuclear arms so that they could be used as part of an offensive strategy. Some seek to maintain parity with the Soviet Union, since balance dictates that neither side will use its weapons, while others maintain that the U.S. is safe only if it achieves nuclear superiority.

- These positions are well illustrated by the Star Wars debate. Few, even among the strategists, believe in the feasibility of creating a "nuclear astrodome" which we would prevent all Soviet nuclear weapons from landing on U.S. territory. But there is a real possibility that defensive weapons could create great uncertainties for Soviet forces, making it impossible for them to know which of their missiles could get through the U.S. shield, thus severely complicating their targeting strategy. Some see these weapons as fundamentally immoral since the side that has them may feel invulnerable and hence more likely to begin a nuclear war. Some strategists oppose them because they create a destabilizing effect. If the rationale for deterrence is the maintenance of a rough balance on both sides, then defensive forces destroy this equilibrium by giving one contender an edge in being able to disrupt the plans of the other. This could cause either a preemptive strike by the side losing parity or a feeling of invulnerability leading to aggressiveness to the side with a defensive capability. Other strategists, on the other hand, seek precisely this advantage. To them the U.S. is more safe with the nuclear edge

provided by defensive capability since only superiority, in their view, guarantees security.

- In many ways, the nuclear debate resembles the foreign policy debate discussed above. Disarmament advocates tend to be associated with "neo-isolationists" who would withdraw U.S. power from a vigorous role beyond its own borders. Those supporting deterrence, on the other hand, believe nuclear arms at this point essential to neutralize Soviet strength and allow the U.S. to project the power necessary to achieve foreign policy objectives. They see parity as a necessary condition to avoid nuclear blackmail and make feasible U.S. action through conventional and diplomatic means. But actions that go beyond deterrence to seek superiority, in their view, only provoke the Soviets to match advances, thus accelerating the arms race, creating greater risk of nuclear war and providing no real security. Those who seek superiority, by contrast, hold that real U.S. gains are possible against the Soviets only if greater leverage can be obtained through nuclear advances. Anyone concerned with preserving the U.S. capability to act in pursuit of its interests must take notice of this debate.

- The range of actors in the nuclear debate is quite wide, encompassing philosophers, strategists, theologians, military personnel, politicians, journalists, foreign policy experts, budget monitors and others. Many view the nuclear issue only from their own particular point of view. It is rare, but would be extremely helpful, to have more groups able to see the issue simultaneously from a moral, foreign policy and political perspective. On such a critical concern, more sophistication is sorely needed. Voices speaking from religious traditions, for example, are an



increasingly prominent part of this debate, but they will be effective only to the degree that they can integrate other concerns with their own. Yet the moral perspective is urgently needed on such a life-and-death issue as nuclear arms.

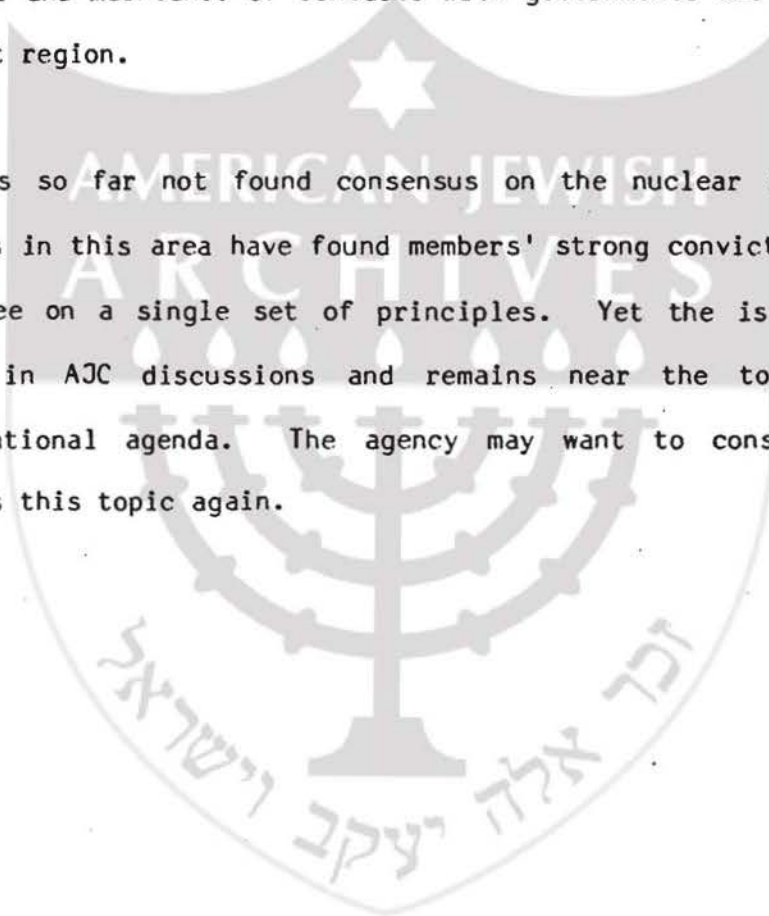
### AJC Program

AJC's current program in international affairs encompasses several activities including:

- The Jacob Blaustein Institute for Human Rights which has for several years pioneered in new human rights initiatives and is now focusing its program on human rights education, the right to leave, religious tolerance, and monitoring the Helsinki process.
- Forceful advocacy on behalf of Soviet Jewry through national and chapter leadership missions to the USSR, monitoring exchange visits and seeking to influence their participants, leadership conferences, information dissemination, raising the issue in visits with officials of other countries and interreligious activities to gain support for Soviet Jews.
- High level contacts with European governments and Jewish leadership in Europe, where many vital Jewish and Israeli interests lie. Countries to which we will target contact include: Poland, Greece, Austria, Germany, France, Italy and the Vatican. Our successes in Germany will serve as a model for many of these initiatives.

- Continued efforts to play a constructive role in South Africa through a coordinated program of condemning apartheid, strengthening peaceful forces of change and maintaining close ties with the country's Jewish community.
- Delegations and continued support to Jewish communities in Latin America and maintenance of contacts with governments and church officials in that region.
- AJC has so far not found consensus on the nuclear issue. Previous efforts in this area have found members' strong convictions too diverse to agree on a single set of principles. Yet the issue continues to arise in AJC discussions and remains near the top of the broad international agenda. The agency may want to consider whether to address this topic again.

1/27/86



#### IV. Israel and the Middle East

Israel ranks at or near the top of the agenda of all Jewish organizations, including AJC. Recent trends in both Israel's relations with its neighbors and in internal Israeli society require new thinking about AJC programs in this area.

##### Prospects for Peace

While it is never wise to rule out vigorous peace initiatives, at present prospects for a settlement between Israel and her neighbors appear dim. A recent Council of Foreign Relations assessment by Israeli and American scholars and diplomats reached several conclusions shared by numerous other observers:

- Relations between Egypt and Israel have become bogged down in a "cold peace," in which both sides refrain from hostility and maintain formal contacts but avoid any warming of their relationship. This situation is best exemplified by the highly legal and complex negotiations over ownership of the small area of Taba. Some analysts hold that Israelis are satisfied with a peaceful Egyptian border and Egyptians with regaining Sinai, but peace was supposed to mean more. Sadat and Begin sparked expectations of growing cultural, commercial and social ties between the two countries. Disappointment that this has not occurred has caused some to question the worth of reaching formal peace settlements.
  
- Syria continues to see no advantage in improving Arab-Israeli

relations. Unlike Egypt, and possibly Jordan, it has no realistic hope of gaining back territory lost to Israel in the 1967 war. Moreover, since an Israeli settlement with Jordan would leave Syria as the sole confrontation state that borders on Israel, Syria has worked hard to prevent an Israeli-Jordanian accord. For the same reason, Syria has opposed U.S. efforts to further peace talks and continued to provide an opening for Soviet activity in the region. Syria will insist on being part of any overall settlement, but given its demand for the Golan Heights and ties to radical Palestinians, terms of agreement with her are hard to envision.

- Lebanon continues to be a battlefield where the interests of Shiites, Christians, Syrians, Druze, Israelis and others are fought out. Tensions rife here could spread to disrupt relations in other parts of the region.
- Jordan has shown great reluctance to join in peace talks. The Jordanian regime has always been quite shaky and dependent on the good will of other Arab states. While Jordan might like to gain sovereignty over the largely Palestinian population of the West Bank, it lacks legitimacy in the Arab world for this objective and any attempt to move in this direction might rob it of needed Arab support. Moreover, the isolation suffered by Egypt after its settlement with Israel causes great concern for the Jordanians, who do not want to face a similar fate. For these reasons, Jordan has traditionally sought guarantees of support from other Arab states before entering negotiations, but these assurances have not been forthcoming.

- The power of the PLO lies in its ability to deny legitimacy to Jordan or any other state seeking to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians. Bereft of territory (though seeking to regain a foothold in Lebanon) and facing opposition from Syria, the main PLO faction has still been able to block any accord which does not result in the establishment of a Palestinian state. Since Israel is staunchly opposed to this outcome, little progress has occurred.
- Resurgent Islam poses a threat to almost all of Israel's neighbors and raises the spectres of terrorism, assassination or even revolution if peace with Israel were negotiated.
- In this context, it also needs to be stressed that Jews in Arab countries face very serious, in some cases life-threatening, problems. The Syrian and Iranian Jewish communities feel themselves under constant threat and individuals among them have been killed. The regimes of these countries can always hold these communities hostage as a way to apply pressure on Israel. In addition, the Jews remaining in Lebanon face continuous danger in that chaotic country.
- Israel sees few options for movement in this complex situation. Great division exists within the country over the ultimate status of the West Bank, but even moderates find their options limited by the absence of Arabs willing to consider serious compromise. Broad agreement exists within Israel on the rejection of a West Bank Palestinian state, but other possibilities, including various plans for self-administration, could be explored if real negotiations could be established. Still, vocal elements on the right, especially among religious activists,

would oppose any move toward diminished Israeli control. In any case, a framework for Arab-Israeli discussions that would test the possibilities for compromise does not yet exist, nor have periodic attempts by the U.S. to establish one made significant progress.

- In this volatile situation, it is critical to keep the interests of all the key actors in mind when considering policy options. The temptation exists to devise and promote simplistic schemes that serve one faction's interests but create greater instability in the region as a whole. Difficult as it is, progress can only arise from a comprehensive view of the situation and a plan that realistically assesses the needs of all factions. Many resolutions offered by experts in private think tanks or governmental positions have failed to meet this standard.

#### Trends Within Israeli Society

Difficult as are these issues of Israel's external relations, a situation of equal gravity and complexity exists in developments within Israeli society. Sharp cleavages between Israeli Jews and Arabs and among different factions of Jews have recently become more severe, leading to a search for new intergroup approaches. Some recent trends include:

- Little progress in mutual acceptance has been made in two decades of Arab-Jewish encounter on the West Bank. Arabs remain committed to a future independent of Israeli rule and often look to the PLO for leadership. Militant Jewish religious settlers have moved to the West Bank. The most vocal of them invoke Biblical sources to claim

legitimacy for their control over the territories and deny any organic connection of Arabs to the land. Some have even called for expulsion or "population transfers." Even where these staunchly separationist tendencies do not exist, almost no attempts have been made to bring the two populations together. They coexist in close proximity but each participates in an insular society that produces resentment and occasional violence toward the other.

- Within Israel's pre-1967 borders, problems also exist between Arabs and Jews. Though Israeli Arabs are citizens and have voting and civil rights, they are excluded in several ways from the mainstream of the country's life. Their problems run from exclusion for security reasons from the armed forces, which are a critical integrating mechanism in Israeli society, to stereotypes against them to the difficulty of finding a legitimate place within an openly Jewish state. For their part, Arabs harbor deep resentments and stereotypes toward Jews. This antagonism is reinforced on both sides by textbooks, cultural images and socialization patterns. Deep seated fears, sexual fantasies and images of violence that accompany stereotypes in all cultures exacerbate tensions and drive Israeli Arabs and Jews to remain largely apart and to evidence much suspicion when they do come into contact.
  
- Relations among various factions of Jews have become, if anything, even more troubling. Some tensions along ethnic lines between Eastern and Western origin Jews continue to exist, although they show signs of abating. Deep splits along religious lines have created a chasm in Israeli society, with the Orthodox claiming sole legitimacy over religious functions and others seeking officially acknowledged

expression of their own views. At times, these conflicts have escalated to violence but even when peaceful the two groups still live apart, maintain their own institutions or neighborhoods (sometimes whole towns) and harbor mutual suspicions. Their children attend separate schools, supported by separate state funds, where they acquire different values and attitudes toward each other. The original vision of a united and tolerant Israeli society has come under serious threat.

- Despite these severe problems, opportunities for progress exist in Israeli society that need nurturing. Institutes, foundations and schools committed to diversity and mutual understanding have stepped up their programs to counter current trends. Respect for pluralism forms at least one strand of both Jewish and Western values that permeate Israeli society. Religious, ethnic and even national conflicts have posed serious problems to Israeli society but have by no means eliminated people and organizations committed to tolerance, humanism and diversity. An internal struggle is now being waged over the tenor and quality of Israeli society whose outcome is by no means decided.

#### Israel-Diaspora Relations

Relations between Israel and the Diaspora is one area where clear progress can be seen. While misunderstandings and tensions persist, Jews in and outside of Israel are developing greater understanding and cooperation with each other:

- In the early years of the state, Israeli-Diaspora relations were tentative and based on little mutual understanding. The first



generation of Israeli leadership saw no legitimacy to Jewish life outside of Israel, an attitude often based on their own experience in Europe, while Diaspora Jews took some time to adjust to the reality of an independent Jewish state.

- Several major events, most notably the Six Day War, brought deep Diaspora concerns about Israel to the fore of Jewish consciousness, while demonstrating to Israelis the importance of support from Jews abroad. Even absent wars on other spectacular events, some stark facts became obvious. Most Diaspora Jews would not move to Israel, forcing some sort of relationship with them in their current nations of residence. Philanthropy from abroad figured as an important source of Israel's funding, travel between the Diaspora and Israel became a common experience and organizational and cultural exchanges proliferated. Ties between Jews in and out of Israel, while never totally avoiding older tensions, became strong and enduring.
- Efforts are now being made to institutionalize these ties and mine their potential for enhancing the quality of Jewish life around the world. Formal institutes are being created to organize Israel-Diaspora discussions and raise them to a higher level.
- Intense and high quality discussions are needed, for delicate issues remain in Diaspora-Israeli relations. These include aliyah and as its implications for Diaspora communities; whether Soviet Jews should receive financial help if they decide not to settle in Israel; how much public dissent is advisable in the Diaspora on Israeli policy, especially on peace and the territories; and who speaks and with what

authority, for world Jewry.

### Perceptions of Israel in the U.S.

America remains Israel's staunchest ally and a key to its continued existence. Public perceptions of Israel are therefore critical:

- Israel's advocates have always made two cases for U.S. support: Israel is a strategic asset and a beacon of democracy and morality in the region.
- These rationales have come under scrutiny due to a series of events potentially damaging to Israel's standing: The Pollard spy affair, the Iran scandal and allegations of Israeli involvement, debates over Israeli ties to South Africa, attention drawn to arms traders, and negative reactions to blunt tactics used by the more aggressive of Israel's advocates on Capitol Hill.
- These events do not necessarily auger a decline in American support for Israel. On the contrary, AJC polls show Israel's standing among the broad public higher than it has ever been. But two actions may prove necessary: first, to explain the facts and contexts of the issues troubling to some Americans and, second, to demonstrate that constructive programs are underway to remedy them.

### AJC Program

AJC's program, while concerned with the broad spectrum of issues facing

Israel, is focused on pluralism in Israeli society and Israel-Diaspora relations. It includes:

- Upgrading the activities of our Israel office to enhance contacts with government officials, scholars, key journalists and other influentials.
- New emphasis on public interpretation, both of Israel in the U.S. and of AJC activities in Israel through a new Hebrew language public relations capacity.
- Convening of groups in the U.S. to promote pluralism in Israel and condemn intolerance.
- Intergroup relations training and conferences on pluralism in Israel.
- Work through AJC's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations to promote mutual understanding, organize exchanges of influentials in both communities, and conduct research on issues central to Diaspora-Israel relations.
- Representations to U.S. and foreign governmental and private agency officials to provide protection to endangered Jewish communities in Syria, Lebanon and Iran, as well as continued efforts to maintain contact with these communities.
- Publications aimed at both American and Israeli audiences on key issues of concern and explaining each community to the other.

## V. Anti-Semitism and Extremism

Sharply differing estimates have recently come to light on the extent of anti-Semitism in the U.S. New developments have also occurred on extremist groups and political parties. These trends need to be taken into account in assessing AJC's program.

### Trends in Anti-Semitism

Consensus on the breadth and depth of anti-Semitism has broken down, with conflicting schools of thought emerging on both assessment of facts and program direction:

- Polls measuring anti-Semitism have shown a sharp and consistent drop since attitudes were first studied in the 1930s. At present, about a quarter of Americans, largely concentrated in low education and low income groups, express anti-Jewish sentiments. This figure has remained fairly consistent in the 1970s and 1980s.
- Events in the past decade that could have put Jews in a negative light or caused resentment against them, such as the Arab oil embargo or the fight over AWAC sales to Saudi Arabia, did not cause appreciable rises in anti-Semitism, as measured by polls.
- Yet, Jews have shown great skepticism about the decline in anti-Semitism. Polls indicate that Jewish respondents consistently estimate anti-Semitism to be more widespread than is shown by surveys of gentiles.

- Two theories contend in explaining these data. One view, most prominently associated with Charles Silberman, holds that declines in anti-Semitism are real and that Jewish fears of hostility are largely vestigial. This school argues that Jews can now turn their primary attention away from anti-Semitism and focus instead on more positive programs such as strengthening Jewish identity and building institutions.
- A second school challenges this viewpoint. It holds that anti-Semitism may be more widespread than current polls indicate. People may have become more reluctant to admit their hostilities to poll takers but could still harbor anti-Jewish feelings. Jews may see more anti-Semitism than pollsters find because they experience real behaviors that do not show up on surveys. If this theory is true, it would point to the existence of "latent anti-Semitism" which still poses a threat to Jews.
- Even if "latent anti-Semitism" exists in some measure, it would have few real consequences unless it were mobilized into action. When attitudes move to behavior is therefore a critical question for supporters of this viewpoint.
- One of the major problems in assessing anti-Semitism is that current measures of it may be seriously outdated or inadequate. For the most part, these instruments were developed decades ago by agencies like AJC. The same questions have been asked since then, which provides the advantage of being able to gauge changes over time in answers to a standard set of inquiries. But the meaning of the questions may have

drastically changed. Some, for example, focus on perceptions of Jewish power. But questions on this topic could not possibly mean the same thing before 1970 when Jews were heavily underrepresented as public officials as they do now when Jews hold offices in numbers far exceeding their proportion of the population. In the same way, using attitudes toward intermarriage as an indicator of anti-Semitism had one meaning in the 1950s when the intermarriage rate was below 10% and quite another now when it is several times higher. Questions devised in one era may not provide reliable data in another. More work needs to be done before we can claim to understand with confidence trends in anti-Semitism.

#### Groups of Particular Concern

While surveys measure trends in anti-Semitism in the population at large, it is also necessary to look at particular groups where the problem occurs in special ways or with unusual salience:

- Surveys of Blacks show patterns of anti-Semitism quite different from whites. By the 1960s special trends had been noticed. While whites tended toward social anti-Semitism (reluctance to marry, live near or be friendly with Jews) and away from economic stereotypes (which see Jews as sharp in business practices, more prone to take advantage of customers, etc.), Blacks showed the opposite pattern. They were more tolerant socially, yet more likely also to adhere to economic stereotypes. In the late 1970s and 1980s, another quite disturbing pattern appeared. While among the general population anti-Semitism tended to decline among respondents with higher education and income,

among Blacks an opposite trend emerged. Young, highly educated Blacks scored higher on measures of anti-Semitism than older counterparts who had less schooling. This proved especially disconcerting since education had always been seen as the primary vehicle for combatting anti-Semitism, yet here it appeared as part of the problem. Moreover, Black studies departments at universities, which were established in response to the rise in Black consciousness and spurt in research about Blacks in the late 1960s and 1970s, emerged as centers of anti-Zionist and in some cases anti-Semitic thought. Problematic attitudes have also appeared in Black political campaigns at the national and local levels. It needs to be stressed that these trends do not affect a majority of Blacks and that some polls conducted by Black-owned firms show general positive attitudes among Blacks toward Jews. But in an era when general anti-Semitism is declining or stagnant at a fairly low level it is striking to find it at a consistently higher rate among a clearly identifiable sector of the population, upscale Blacks.

- Economically vulnerable populations are special targets of anti-Semitism. In the nation's farm belt, for example, increases in economic hardship and property foreclosures raise fears that Jews would be a convenient target for blame, as they were in the Populist Era in this region. Certainly, blatantly anti-Semitic organizations such as the Identity Church have tried to stir up anti-Jewish sentiments. Some disagreements exist over their impact. In polls, farmbelt respondents did not express much more anti-Semitism than the population at large when asked directly about Jews. But they did tend to place blame on "international bankers" and other groups which have traditionally served as code words for Jews. In any case, economically volatile

areas such as this must be closely monitored for trends in anti-Semitism.

- Careful distinctions have to be drawn in assessing anti-Semitism among fundamentalist Christians. The Christian right in its criticism of Church-State separation has advocated positions strongly opposed by most Jews. But disagreement over issues, even fundamental ones such as church-state concerns, does not amount to anti-Semitism. Moreover, much of the anti-Semitism that does exist among fundamentalist Christians could be due to their average low income and education rather than to religious beliefs. Yet, in a situation where this group will often find itself in opposition to Jewish organizations on several sensitive issues, it will be important to monitor whether disagreements on policy spill over into hostility toward Jews.
- Trends in immigration are now bringing into the country groups from places such as Latin America where Church-based education includes anti-Jewish teachings. It will be important to assure that acculturation for these newcomers includes an appreciation of tolerance and pluralism in American society.
- A special concern lies in attitudes of American youth. While few systematic nationwide data yet exist, a spate of ethnically motivated violence in schools and neighborhoods, crimes against religious property committed by teenagers and nihilistic cultural manifestations such as rock lyrics, have raised real concern. Again, these observations, if they prove to be part of a statistical trend, would be especially disturbing since it had previously been assumed that the



young would be less prejudiced than their elders. More research is needed in this area.

### Extremist Groups

Extremism has experienced something of a revival of late and reactions to it need to be carefully considered:

- Hate groups have attracted attention in all regions of the U.S. The Arayan Nations in the Northwest, the Identity Church in the Midwest, and the KKK, centered in the South but extending also into the North and West, have become more vocal. Media attention recently focused on KKK organizing in Forsyth County, Georgia and the murder trial of Arayan Nations members in Seattle. Camps for paramilitary training attract followers and cable TV shows and telephone hotlines spread messages of hate. In the political arena, extremist groups on the left, such as the New Alliance Party, and the right such as Lyndon Larouche's party, put up candidates for office, while the Liberty Lobby continues its Washington-based advocacy.
- Experience shows that the broad public basically rejects these groups but can sometimes give unintended support to them when facts about extremists are not known. In Illinois, for example, two Larouche followers won Democratic primaries for state office in 1986, though their views were hardly known to the great majority of voters. In New York, the New Alliance Party almost gained entry to debates in the Governor's race since many lacked familiarity with their extremist platform. In general, when information about extremists reaches the

public, they do very poorly; they make gains only when their aims remain hidden. This points up the importance of information gathering and dissemination on extremists.

### AJC Program

AJC has a coordinated program of research and action on anti-Semitism and extremism, including:

- Convening of a working group of scholars to assess current trends and modes of measuring anti-Semitism and suggest better means of measurement. A long-range research project may be commissioned on this topic.
- Comparing trends in the U.S. with anti-Semitism in other countries and planning an international conference on this topic.
- Commissioning a Youth Attitude Survey to explore extremism and bigotry among young people.
- Establishing task forces in AJC chapters to handle concerns on a local level and providing training for these groups.
- Targeting the election campaigns leading up to 1988 as activities in which extremism could find expression.
- Building broad coalitions with other ethnic and religious groups to combat bigotry and anti-Semitism.

- Setting up an information network to monitor Black anti-Semitism, farmbelt extremism, Arayan Nations activity in the Northwest and other movements of concern.
- Working with Congress on drafting Constitutionally acceptable hate crime bills and with law enforcement officials on the local level.

1/28/87



## VI. Jewish Public Policy

Complex trends are now taking place within the Jewish community, some suggesting an erosion of identity among Jews and others renewed allegiance. Both positive and negative developments need to be identified and evaluated for their program implications.

### Trends in Jewish Communal Strength

Patterns of Jewish allegiance and communal structure are developing in several ways:

- Sharp and steady declines have occurred in traditional religious observances. First generation, elderly Jews remain largely observant, but ritual performance drops sharply in the second generation and continues down in the third. There may be some leveling off of this decline between the third and fourth generations, but at a low level of ritual observance. Still, there is some variation in this trend. A relatively small but visible and vocal element has maintained Orthodox practices and attracted some previously unobservant Jews to its fold in movements of Jewish renewal. Moreover, among most Jews decline in ritual performance has not been uniform. It is most noticeable when rituals clash with modern lifestyles; eating kosher food and refraining from work or travel on the Sabbath are observed by few mainstream Jews. But rituals that fit into modern modes of living or reflect current ideals such as freedom are still fairly frequently observed. These include having a Passover Seder, or affixing a Mezzuzah to the door of one's residence. Ritual performance is down but not entirely absent.

- Formal Jewish education shows similar trends. Enrollment in afternoon or Sunday schools is down and the quality of these programs for those who do attend is often low. With some important exceptions, these schools have not succeeded in producing a Jewishly literate cadre of graduates. On the other hand, Jewish day schools have grown enormously. They are educating Jewishly knowledgeable and observant graduates but, will, at best, reach only a minority of Jewish students.
- Trends in family life in the general society are mirrored in the Jewish community, though at somewhat different rates. The family remains a key to transmission of Jewish values and identity, but parents increasingly know little about their heritage and so are handicapped in passing it on to their children. Moreover, divorce among Jews, while lower than in the population in general, has affected many families. Single parents, overburdened with responsibilities, sometimes find it especially hard to spend time on Jewish values and observances. Jewish educational and communal institutions will have to assume a greater role in teaching Jewishness to youngsters.
- Jews intermarry less frequently than the general population, but the rates are rapidly increasing. In purely numerical terms, intermarriage may not result in loss to the Jewish community if the non-Jewish spouse converts or the children are raised as Jews. But the quality of Jewish life in these families is open to some question. They find it especially difficult to transmit Jewish values and identity.
- Jews tend to move more frequently than other Americans and this lessens their allegiance to the community in two ways. First, geographical

movement prevents them from developing long-term ties with schools, synagogues or communal institutions. Second, Jews are often going to outer suburbs or new areas in the South and West where communal institutions have not yet developed the capacity to reach out and serve new residents.

- Still, some trends move in the direction of encouraging greater affiliation with the Jewish community. As noted above, movements of Jewish renewal have emerged with seek to reinvigorate Jewish identity and observance. In part, these are reflections of a greater acceptance of ethnic and religious diversity in American society at large, a trend that will facilitate Jewish allegiance.
- American Jews come into contact, by and large, with Jewish institutions or synagogues at some point in their lives. Usually this happens when they first have a child or want to enroll one in a school, youth group or bar/bat mitzvah program. This means that Jewish institutions will likely have an opportunity to reach and influence Jewish families at a critical point in their development. Whether they can organize to be maximally effective at this time remains to be seen.
- While traditional ritual observance declines, alternative modes of Jewish identification have grown. Philanthropic or political action on behalf of Israel or Soviet Jewry has become the chief mode of communal identification for many Jews. Others find group expression through cultural or organizational outlets. Some even express Jewish values through voting patterns -- liberal for most, neoconservative for a vocal minority. Some analysts believe that these alternative modes of

communal identification can replace ritual observance as ways to tie people to the Jewish community. Others remain skeptical that these activities contain sufficient Jewish content to perform the communal functions rituals did in the past.

- Conflicting trends are also found on the campus. On the one hand, Jewish identification has in many cases attenuated during college and graduate school years as students become ingrained in a universalistic environment. On the other, vibrant Jewish student organizations have developed on many campuses. Moreover, Americans have made contributions to Jewish scholarship of a quality and quantity that matches perhaps any other Jewish community in history. As in other areas of Jewish life, great resources exist on campus, but they have to be mobilized to meet difficult challenges.
- Jewish unity has emerged as a key issue. Divisive debate, largely between the Orthodox on one side and Conservative and Reform Jews on the other, has broken out over basic questions of Jewish identity, including conversion, patrilineal descent, and rabbinic authority. At their worst, these disputes could divide the community seriously. But attempts are being made at dialogue now at both the local and national levels that if successful could prove of great benefit in enhancing mutual understanding. It remains to be seen how these developments will turn out.
- The sum of these considerations is that contradictory trends are now at work in the Jewish community, some leading toward dissolution of communal ties or divisiveness, others toward stronger identification

and quality in Jewish life. A comprehensive review of these trends and planning process in response to them is needed.

### Jewish Values and General Policy

A second Jewish communal concern involves not internal Jewish trends but the relation between the Jewish community and broad public issues. Much of Jewish organizational effort has been directed in the past few years to core communal concerns such as anti-Semitism, Israel and Soviet Jewry. Outsiders have noticed a diminution in Jewish participation on broad social issues. Yet, Jewish values and experience have much to contribute, not only to Jews involved in these matters, but to anyone interested in what the wisdom of Jewish tradition has to say on key social issues. Jews can add a unique dimension to public issue discussion by introducing a perspective informed by centuries of concern with social questions. In this sense, Jewish thinking need not be limited to how to strengthen the community, though this is a critical issue, but could also seek to infuse values perspectives into broad considerations of current problems. To accomplish this, more lines of communication will have to open between Jewish thinkers and policy advocates. Jewish agencies will have to consider whether they want to organize themselves to accomplish this objective.

### AJC Program

Current Jewish Communal Affairs programming includes:

- Research and conferences on the prospects of the Jewish renewal movement for stimulating stronger Jewish identity among significant



numbers of people.

- Creating dialogues on the national and local levels among various denominations of Jews to promote greater mutual understanding and unity.
- Policy development and research on family issues through a national AJC task force on family policy and our William Petschek National Jewish Family Center.
- Study and work with academicians to enhance Jewish life on campus.
- Summarizing and disseminating two decades of AJC work on Jewish identity.
- Setting up a think tank on Jewish education.
- Convening a conference with emerging Jewish leadership from the U.S., Europe and Latin America to discuss common problems and programs.

1/28/87

[start]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible





Telegram

TIC382(1951)(1-018398A332) PD 11/28/79 1927

ICS IPMAAAC ATL

03136 FR ATLANTA GA 143 11-28 526P EST

PMS RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

IMMEDIATE DELIVERY

DIRECTOR NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

165 EAST 56TH STREET

NEW YORK NY 10022

IT IS WITH GREAT PLEASURE THAT I INVITE YOU TO BE THE KEYNOTE  
 SPEAKER FOR THE ECUMENICAL SERVICE COMMEMORATING THE LIFE AND  
 WORK OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. ON TUESDAY, JANUARY  
 15 AT 10 A.M. TO 12 NOON AT EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH IN  
 ATLANTA. THIS MOVING AND MEMORABLE OCCASION WILL BE A HIGH POINT  
 OF THE 1980 BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION AND WE WOULD BE HONORED TO HAVE

SF-1201 (RS-89)



Telegram

YOU PARTICIPATE. WE SUGGEST THAT YOU LIMIT YOUR REMARKS TO  
 FIFTEEN MINUTES BECAUSE OF THE CONTENT OF THE PROGRAM AND  
 BECAUSE THE SERVICE WILL BE TELEVISED LOCALLY. WE WILL SEND  
 YOU ADDITIONAL DETAILS ON THE JANUARY 10-15 PROGRAM WITH  
 THE HOPE THAT YOU CAN BE WITH US FOR OTHER EVENTS DURING THE  
 WEEK. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE HAVE YOUR STAFF  
 TELEPHONE MR. LLOYD DAVIS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE  
 KING CENTER AT (404) 524-1956

MR. S. CORETTA SCOTT KING  
 PRESIDENT  
 NNW

*MLK for Social Clean  
 503 Auburn Ave. N.W.  
 MLK 6 30312  
 bio & photo*

SF-1201 (RS-89)

[end]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible




**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 - Plaza 1-6800, Ext. 268

DATE: 11/30

TO:

*More  
Any decision yet?*



*D*

**DAVID GELLER**

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** November 20, 1987

**to** Marc Tanenbaum

**from** David Geller

**subject** European Union of Jewish Students

Prior to the closing of our Paris office, Nives called to tell me that I would soon be hearing from a representative of the European Union of Jewish Students. For a number of years, our Paris office maintained contact with this group and provided them with small contributions on a fairly regular basis.

They are presently engaged in putting together a series of activities commemorating the 50th anniversary of Kristallnacht and other events relating to nazism and anti-Semitism. An important aspect of this special commemoration year is a poster competition towards which they have asked us to contribute, to help defray printing, graphic and other costs. Nives said that had the office remained in operation, they might have contributed \$1,000. She hoped we would make some contribution, because she felt that this was an important group that deserved our help.

cc: Charney Bromberg

DG:ss

RECEIVED  
NOV 23 1987  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** December 1, 1987  
**to** Sam Rabinove  
**from** Charney Bromberg  
**subject** Anti-boycott Office Charge Against Sara Lee

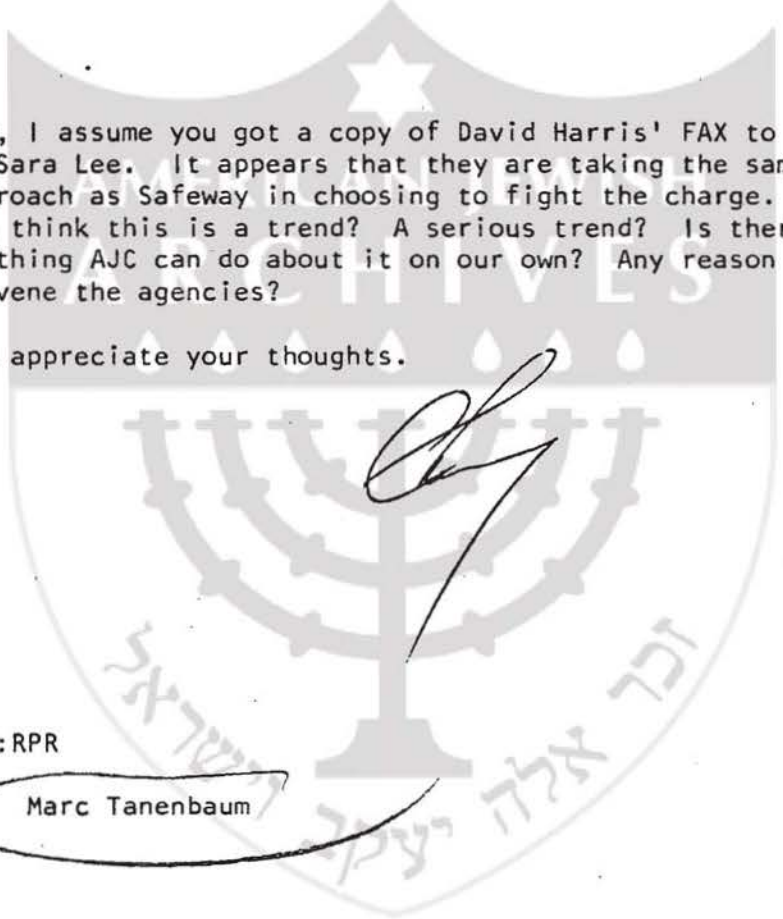
Sam, I assume you got a copy of David Harris' FAX to Bert on Sara Lee. It appears that they are taking the same approach as Safeway in choosing to fight the charge. Do you think this is a trend? A serious trend? Is there anything AJC can do about it on our own? Any reason to convene the agencies?

I'd appreciate your thoughts.



CVB:RPR

cc: Marc Tanenbaum



DEC 2 1987

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** December 2, 1987  
**to** Eugene DuBow  
**from** Joan Silverman  
**subject**

Dear Gene;

Attached please find a fax from Shimon Samuels Re: Zeiden Atashe's lecture tour during March and April, 1988.

Gene, as you will recall, there were problems in approaching members of the American-Druze community, since some of them are hostile to Israel and it would be very difficult for us to tell who is and who isn't. Also, Atashe was very up front about his interest in fundraising.

Shimo suggests a Chapter appearance for Atashe. Kindly let me know how you would like this handled.

Best Regards.

CC: Bert Gold  
Marc Tannenbaum  
Bill Trosten

JS/lv

Encl.



To: Joan Silverman

From: Shimon Samuels

December 2, 1987

ZEIDEN ATASHE:

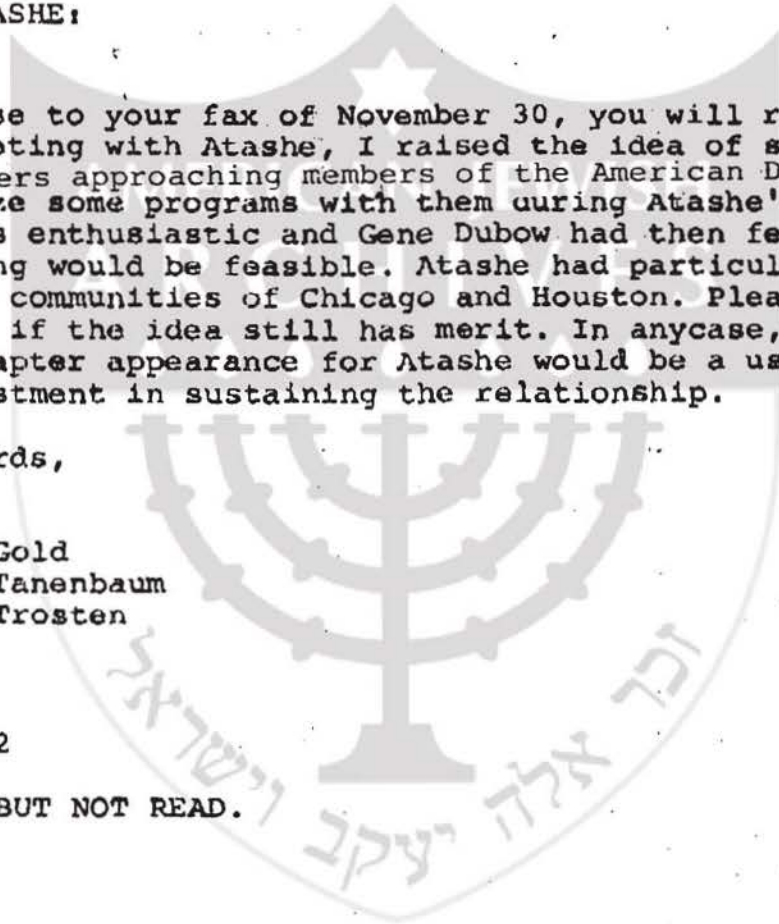
In response to your fax of November 30, you will recall that at our meeting with Atashe, I raised the idea of selected AJC Chapters approaching members of the American Druze community to organize some programs with them during Atashe's visit. Atashe was enthusiastic and Gene Dubow had then felt that such programming would be feasible. Atashe had particularly mentioned the Druze communities of Chicago and Houston. Please check with Gene if the idea still has merit. In anycase, I think that a chapter appearance for Atashe would be a useful long-term investment in sustaining the relationship.

Best regards,

cc: Bert Gold  
Marc Tanenbaum  
Bill Trosten

SS/ml/12:2

DICTATED BUT NOT READ.



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
Executive Committee Meeting  
Sunday, December 14  
The Drake Hotel

SUMMARY OF  
NEW PROGRAM INITIATIVES, 1987-8

Mimi Alperin: Presiding

Anti-Semitism and Extremism

- Measures of Anti-Semitism: We will convene working groups and conferences of scholars and commission research to revamp current measures of anti-Semitism which are outdated and inadequate.
- International Conference: We will organize an international conference to share data and experiences of several countries in studying and combatting anti-Semitism.
- Youth Attitude Survey: We will sponsor new research on extremism, bigotry and attitudes toward pluralism of American youth.

Israel and the Middle East

- Promoting Understanding of Israel in the U.S.: We will convene conferences in cooperation with our chapters on the twentieth anniversary of the Six Day War and fortieth of the State of Israel on critical issues such as Arab-Israeli relations, administration of the territories, American-Israeli relations, etc.
- David Ben-Gurion Centennial: We will join the celebrations by highlighting the nature of Diaspora-Israel Relations through republication of the Blaustein - Ben-Gurion correspondence.
- Public Interpretation: We will mount new efforts to promote public understanding of our programs on Israel including enhanced information from our Israel office to be disseminated to American audiences and the translation of more of our materials and news releases into Hebrew to reach significant segments of the Israeli public.
- Conference on Religious Pluralism: We will convene in Israel an international conference on Religion & Society in the Jewish World.

World Affairs

- Soviet Jewry: We will increase our activities on behalf of Soviet Jews through two new initiatives: contacts with leaders of various fields engaged in exchange visits with Soviet counterparts and briefings for them on ways to be helpful to Soviet Jews and undertaking a leadership

mission to the USSR to meet with key contacts, journalists, diplomats and, possibly, Soviet officials.

- Europe: New initiatives will be made to Poland and Greece both of which have shifting relationships with Israel as well as strong contacts with key ethnic and religious groups in the U.S.
- South Africa: We will launch our South Africa Education and Civil Rights Program to promote constructive and peaceful projects in that country.

### American Social Policy

- Religion and Society: We will initiate a task force on the difficult balance that needs to be maintained between religion and society, including concerns for church-state separation and maintaining core values in American life.
- Campaign Reform: As part of our Election 88 programming, we will examine emerging proposals for campaign reform and consider new AJC policy in this area.
- Constitutional Bicentennial: AJC plans both to commemorate the Bicentennial of the Constitution and to make a substantive contribution to public understanding of it through a coordinated series of publications, conferences, public events and workshops.

### Jewish Public Policy

- New International Jewish leadership: We will hold a conference of new, emerging Jewish leaders from the U.S., Europe and Latin America to discuss common issues and create a sense of intercommunal identity.
- Jewish Renewal: We will assess the communal significance of previously inactive Jews who have found a renewed commitment to their faith and develop policy proposals on this topic for Jewish organizations.

### Intergroup Relations

- Intergroup Relations Training: We will organize associations of intergroup relations experts in several cities in an effort to give greater coherence to the field of intergroup relations which flourished two decades ago but has since declined.
- Interreligious Training Workshops: We will organize in chapters Interreligious Training Workshops to assist local dialogues.
- Outreach to New Populations: We will intensify efforts to create links with groups in the U.S. that are growing in both numbers and significance, especially Hispanics and Asians. This will include both ethnic groups and religious ones such as Hindus.

# Shmoos Column

**THE INTERNATIONAL** Jewish Committee for Inter-religious Consultations has elected by unanimous vote **Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum**, director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee as its chairman. He succeeds **Rabbi Mordecai Waxman**, who served as Jewish spokesman during the meetings with **Rabbi Tanenbaum** **Pope John Paul II** and Vatican authorities in Rome on September 1 and later in Miami. Founded in 1969, IJCIC has been centrally involved in implementing programs with the Vatican Secretariat on Religious Relations with the Jewish People, headed by **Cardinal Johannes Willebrands**, president. For 25 years, **Rabbi Tanenbaum** served as national inter-religious affairs director of the AJC ...



## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**Date** Dec. 18, 1987  
**to** Marc H. Tananebaum  
**from** Charney V. Bromberg *CVB*  
**subject** Israel and the Middle section of Program Plan Draft

I have given George Gruen a copy of the draft Program Plan and await his comments and suggestions. In the meantime, here are mine.

Page 3, third item, second sentence should read, "In addition, a series of radio, news feature spots on Israel's achievements in medicine, technology, the arts and other areas is being developed for national distribution as part of AJC's Celebration of Israel's existence and achievement over four decades."

Note: Bert Gold has to sign-off on the \$3500 cost of this project.

Page 3, fifth item, says that "a conference on "Israel and Black Africa" will take place in cooperation with the Atlanta chapter toward the beginning of the program year."

To my knowledge, that program is on hold. How do you want to address this?

Secondly, the paragraph talks about consultations on "Israel and the Pacific Rim". While this section deals with Israel, do we want to focus the title of the consultation on "Israel" since there is a broader agenda as the ensuing description of the consultation makes clear?

Additional items

1. The Religion, State and Society seminar.
2. A 40th Anniversary book of testimonials to Israel by prominent Christian, ethnic, and other influentials.
3. An updated version of "In Vigilant Brotherhood" documents on behalf of Israel.
4. Do we want to mention the critique we are preparing on the Lutheran document on the "Israel/Palestinian Conflict?"

-2-

5. Do we want to make reference to increased national office and chapter involvement in immediate and increasingly complex issues such as Israel's foreign aid and questions relating to U.S. arms sales policy ( a possible subject for an internal, high level political/academic consultation.)

Please let me know which of these changes and additions you would like me to make.



Debbie Hirsch - One People, Many Voice - Requests

Annual Meeting  
Conference of Jewish Communal Service  
May 25-28, 1987  
Concord Hotel \* Kiamesha Lake, N.Y.

Forum on  
"INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF UNITY AND DIVERSITY:  
IMPACT ON ISRAEL AND WORLD JEWRY"  
(in cooperation with the  
World Conference of Jewish Communal Service)  
Tuesday, May 26, 1987 \* 3:30 - 5:30 PM

## AMERICAN JEWISH

Religious conflicts and political differences threaten the consensus that had been forged after World War II by the trauma of the Holocaust and the dramatic struggle to establish the State of Israel. How can tensions be diminished, strains modified? What are the dynamics that can lead to a fostering of unity while maintaining the integrity of diversity and respect for differences? What role can American Jewry -- and the Jewish communal professional -- play in the healing process?

Chairman: THEODORE COMET  
Director of International Affairs,  
Council of Jewish Federations  
Program Chairman, World Conference of  
Jewish Communal Service

Speakers:

- \* DR. EMANUEL RACKMAN - Israel - U.S.  
Chancellor, Bar Ilan University
- \* RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM - Europe  
Director, International Affairs - Latin America  
American Jewish Committee - South Africa

TC:hj

VOLUNTARY  
R Annual

DEC 28 1987

Time Inc.

December 21, 1987

Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director of International Relations  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc:

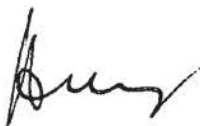
I've just heard of your new position. I sincerely hope you find it satisfying and exciting. It certainly sounds that way.

At this writing, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved my appointment but the full Senate has not yet acted so I really don't know when I'll be on my way.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of my opening statement at the hearing.

I hope we'll see you in Vienna if not before.

With warm regards,





OPENING STATEMENT BY HENRY GRUNWALD

CONFIRMATION HEARING ON THE APPOINTMENT

AMERICAN JEWISH  
AS AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA

ARCHIVES

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

DECEMBER 9, 1987



I want to thank the Committee for taking time to hold these hearings in this extremely busy and hectic period. I am honored to be the President's nominee for the post of Ambassador to Austria and I thought the Committee might find it useful if I stated some of my views of this post.

Austria is a small country, but its geopolitical significance is widely considered to be much greater than its size.

It is significant by virtue of its geographical position on the fault line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It is a traditional crossroads between East and West. It is an important observation post and point of contact with Eastern Europe, where we are now witnessing political and economic turbulence that may turn out to be important for the world as a whole. Austria is also a way station for thousands of refugees from the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Like Geneva, Vienna is an international capital. It is the scene of many international conferences including those concerned with the reduction of conventional arms, which is emerging as a major policy issue.

Finally, Austria is a Western success story. It emerged from the First World War and an arbitrary peace treaty as a poor remnant of a once great empire. In the twenties and thirties, it proved unable to find economic and political stability or a sense of identity. But after World War II, with massive American help, it was able to accomplish these things.

It achieved an enviable degree of prosperity, it built a viable and stable democracy, it found a new sense of self and sense of mission in the world. One might also recall that Austria is the only place from which the Soviet Union ever withdrew voluntarily, and a country, by the way, that has been less hospitable to the Communist ideology than perhaps any other in Europe. While it is neutral under the State Treaty of 1955, it is politically and culturally a solid part of the West and has always been strongly pro-American.

Today our European allies are looking for a strong signal of leadership and continued commitment from us following the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. It will be the task of American diplomacy to reinforce our relationship over the long term, in new and imaginative ways. That effort is being led by the Secretary of State, who is planning to leave for a NATO meeting after the conclusion of the current summit. At such a time, it would hardly be in the American interest to see our relationship with Austria deteriorate, especially at a time when the Soviets are being unusually solicitous of Austria. Thus I think it highly desirable to maintain and reinforce friendly relations with Austria, provided this is not done at the expense of our principles.

And that inevitably brings me to the Waldheim case. I need not repeat to this Committee the circumstances which

unfortunately compelled the American government to place President Waldheim on the so-called Watch List. This was inevitable under American law, and that decision, as Deputy Secretary John Whitehead recently reiterated, is firm and not subject to change. Many Austrians understand this, as well as the legal and moral basis for our action; some Austrians do not understand it. The only wise course under the circumstances, I believe, is not to perpetuate the discussion over this action but to get on with the business of American-Austrian relations in the many areas in which we have common interests. Let me stress that this is not at all the same as ignoring the Waldheim situation or sweeping it under the rug.

There is a legitimate concern about the relations between the American Ambassador and the President of the Republic. I am sure the Committee will want me to discuss this.

If we are to have full diplomatic relations with Austria -- and I am not aware that any serious person wants anything else -- certain things follow. One is, of course, that the American Ambassador presents his credentials to President Waldheim. For the rest, I intend to act, should I be confirmed, in accordance with State Department guidelines. Under those guidelines, the American Ambassador will be expected to attend official protocol functions, hosted by or given for the President of the Republic. In the normal course of events, the American Ambassador will be expected not to attend social or other

lesser functions hosted by or given for the President. I repeat, these are the Department's guidelines, and I fully concur with them.

May I insert a personal note? In weighing my nomination, you will probably consider my background and the fact that I left Austria as a teen-ager with my parents, fleeing Nazi persecution. Some of you may wonder whether this might cause me to be unduly emotional in my dealings with Austria, should I go there as Ambassador. I would like to point out that throughout my professional career, I have been trained, as far as possible, to analyze people and situations dispassionately.

Some well-meaning friends have asked me in recent weeks how it might feel to be going home. That is the wrong question. With all due regard to a very lovely and remarkable country, Austria is not my home. My home is America, the country which shaped my work and my thinking, the country in which my children were born and grew up, the country for which I bear the deepest love and gratitude. The only passion I would bring to Austria would be a passion for the American national interest.

I have been extremely fortunate, unlike so many others, to be able to escape the horrors of Naziism and to make my way here in this great and free land. But for the grace of God, I could easily have been one of those millions who were doomed by the Holocaust. The civilized world can

never forget those victims, and should I go to Austria, they will be very much in my mind.

But it is also necessary to live and work in the present. I would like to dedicate myself to a principled and sensitive foreign policy, one that above all enhances American strength, enhances American influence among its friends and potential friends, and does not inadvertently play into the hands of our adversaries. It was after all, America which above all other countries helped to end the Nazi horror. Today it is America which above all other countries, is fighting to build a world where the nightmare of the Holocaust can never recur. That is why I believe a foreign policy to further American interests, strength and influence is not merely a pragmatic policy but a moral one, a policy which serves not only the living but also serves the cause and the demands of the victims.



The American Jewish  
Committee

OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-2000

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

December 23, 1987

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

Dear Marc,

In a spirit of collegiality and friendship, I would like to express concern about the thrust of some of your remarks on the Soviet Jewry issue made at Monday's SAC meeting. I did not feel it appropriate to express these thoughts at the time.

While it may not have been your intention, the conclusion that I drew, one confirmed by several colleagues who subsequently volunteered their comments to me, was of an unfortunate trivialization of much of the Soviet Jewry movement's work. Yes, many of the larger meetings are terribly frustrating, often off the mark. How well I know this! And yes, it is also true, as you suggest, that consultations with key figures like Kissinger can be revealing. But to leave the impression, even unintentionally, that little serious thinking or discussion takes place is simply wrong. Many working sessions are productive, the analyses prepared for private and public discussion are often of high quality, and consultations with key figures in politics, academic, business and the think tanks do take place regularly.

Few people have been more vocal in their criticism of the weaknesses of the Soviet Jewry movement than I. At the same time, however, I respect and acknowledge the movement's truly

Dr. Marc Tanenbaum  
December 23, 1987  
Page 2

historic achievements. Those accomplishments would not have been possible without the dedication and, yes, competence of many people involved in the issues. In my judgement, therefore, it's both inaccurate and unfair to appear to belittle their work, even as many of us recognize and welcome the need for infusions of new ideas and directions.

Cordially,

*David*

David A. Harris  
Washington Representative

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

DAH:ds





JAN 14 1988

Rabino Henry I. Sobel

São Paulo, 30 December 1987

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

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

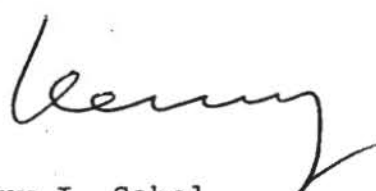
Dear Marc,

Congratulations on your election to the Chair of IJCIC.

Creative energy, inspiration, and a harvest of *Naches* from  
accomplishments.

You have warm good wishes from all your devoted friends in Brazil.

Affectionately,

  
Henry I. Sobel  
Rabbi

HIS/po

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



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
TO THE HOLY SEE

Rome, Italy

ROME  
12/30

MARC —

CONGRATULATIONS ON  
BEING DESIGNATED CHAIRMAN  
OF THE IJCIC. WHAT  
A WISE AND FORTUITOUS  
CHOICE.

I LOOK FORWARD TO  
OUR NEXT TALK — HERE  
OR THERE.

BEST Frank

EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
Ambassador Frank Shakespeare  
American Embassy - The Holy See  
APO New York 09794



Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum  
Chairman  
International Jewish Committee on  
Interreligious Consultations  
327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, NY 10016





**AMERICAN JEWISH**  
**HIGHLIGHTS OF ACTIVITIES OF THE**  
**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT**  
**OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**JANUARY 1, 1987 THROUGH JULY 1, 1988**

**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906 in response to the brutal pogroms in Kishinev and elsewhere in Tsarist Russia. Since that time, AJC has maintained as its central purpose the protection of Jews around the world. In this pursuit, it has become a significant and respected factor on the international scene.

The goals of the International Relations Department today fall into five principal categories:

- a) Strengthening the security and well-being of Israel, interpreting its concerns in the United States and elsewhere, and seeking to contribute to the domestic quality of life, particularly in the sphere of inter and intra-group relations;
- b) Combatting of anti-Semitism and protection of endangered and otherwise vulnerable Jewish communities, including those in the Soviet Union, the Middle East and North Africa, Ethiopia, and South Africa;
- c) Enhancement of the quality of Jewish life, particularly in smaller communities in Central and South America, and Europe;
- d) Promotion of international human rights standards and adherence, including religious tolerance, the right to leave, human rights education, and respect for civil and political rights;
- e) Pursuit of inter-religious dialogue, especially with the Vatican and the hierarchies of the Catholic Churches in Europe, Central and South America, Africa and Asia.

## FORWARD

The year and a half, from January 1, 1987, through July 1, 1988, was an unusual period of tumult and challenge in international relations.

The Palestinian intifadeh uprising erupted during this period. King Hussein of Jordan announced his breaking of administrative and legal ties with West Bank Palestinians. The Iran-Iraq brutal war seemed to move toward a cease-fire. Election politics charged the air of both Israel and the United States.

The summit meetings of President Reagan-Chairman Gorbachev were held and raised dramatic questions about the next stages of East-West relations and arms control. Implicit in glasnost were questions of its possible meanings for the future of Soviet Jewry and of Soviet-Israeli relations.

There was intifadeh fall-out in Western and Eastern Europe, with a number of anti-Israeli demonstrations in several of these countries. Relations with European governments (and media) with Israel and their respective Jewish communities became a matter of intensified concern.

The meetings between Pope John Paul II and Austria's President, Kurt Waldheim, in Rome on June 25, 1987, and again in Austria during the June 22-25, 1988, papal visits stressed Vatican-Jewish relations and required special attention.

Panama became a symbol of the uncertainties experienced by Jewish communities in Central and South America. And relations between Japan and Israel and world Jewry also surfaced as a meaningful challenge.

In keeping with the founding mandate of the American Jewish Committee, the international Relations Commission in cooperation with the department's professional staff, sought to "defend the religious and civil rights of Jews throughout the world" and to contribute to the defense of democracy and human rights everywhere.

This report of the highlights of the program activities of the IRD suggest how the AJC sought to be responsive to the above challenges which fell within the organization's mandate from its inception. It remains for the reader to determine just how faithfully and effectively that mandate was honored.

Deepest appreciation is owed to the IRD Steering Commission members as well as to the department's exceptionally competent professional staff for the intellectual and moral contributions they have made to the realization of this far-flung program.

We look forward to the continuation of this high tradition of service under Richard Rice of Chicago, newly-elected chairman of the International Relations Commission.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations Department

Miles Jaffe  
Retiring Chairman

**HIGHLIGHTS OF ACTIVITIES OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT  
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**January 1, 1987 - July 1, 1988**

**ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST**

During the past year, AJC's International Relations Department (IRD) has continued in its efforts to interpret events in the Middle East, both to AJC's own membership and to the American and international publics at large. This year we were faced with a significant challenge: to educate the public in the midst of widespread criticism of Israel for its actions during the Arab uprising in the West Bank and Gaza.

While not endorsing specific military measures, AJC sought to help maintain support for Israel during this difficult period. To that end, AJC organized a score of meetings with key American and Israeli officials, including high-ranking White House and State Department staffs, the Israeli ambassador to the U.S., and other key Israeli officials. Consultations were also held on the Middle East with Ambassadors and foreign ministries in Western and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Japan.

AJC leaders have met with a wide range of U.S. officials central to Middle East policy, from Secretary of State Shultz to key members of the State Department and National Security Council (NSC). Specifically, there were meetings with John Whitehead, Deputy Secretary, Department of State; Richard Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs; Philip Wilcox, Mr. Murphy's assistant and the recently named new consul general in Israel. In each instance, the AJC expressed solidarity with Israel and urged that U.S. initiatives be taken to renew peace initiatives. There were several consultations with National Security Council officials, among them, Ambassador Robert Oakley and Middle East specialist, Dennis Ross.

IRD has also conferred regularly with Israel officials, meeting three times in just ten days with Moshe Arad, Israel's Ambassador to the U.S. Consultations were also held with Dr. Yossi Beilin, the political director general of the Israeli foreign ministry, and Nimrod Novik, Foreign Minister Peres' political advisor. Cables were sent to Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres, and Defense Minister Rabin in which the AJC expressed its concern over some of the measures used to bring stability to the occupied territories. AJC President Ted Ellenoff also met with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to discuss Egypt's role in the resolution of the crisis.

IRD has maintained close contacts with other major organizations, such as, the Conference of Presidents (headed by Honorary AJC President Morris Abram) in order to preserve a unified approach in this difficult period. The department has shared materials and analyses with the various AJC chapters and Jewish federations/CRCs all over the country. Finally, the

AJC has participated in intense media consultations both here and in Israel on this issue, urging major media discussions to put the situation in perspective. IRD joined in meetings with ABC, NBC, and CBS television executives in January to discuss the achievement of balanced news interpretation. These meetings served as useful forum for the exchange of views, and for the communication of constructive ideas.

In addition, IRD cooperated in assembling together in many cities various non-Jewish ethnic and religious groups in order to convey to them a better understanding of Jewish concerns.

Throughout this period, IRD has done its utmost to keep AJC leaders, the field staff and other involved individuals abreast of new developments, and to provide them with the necessary tools for taking action in their own communities.

A primary tool in promoting public understanding of the Israeli dilemma was a background analysis, prepared by Dr. George E. Gruen and Gary Wolf, entitled "Continuing Turmoil in the West Bank and Gaza: Responses to the Current Crisis, Underlying Issues and Potential Solutions." This report, which was updated and expanded four times, has become a standard document used by numerous American Jewish organizations.

In March, AJC and other Jewish leaders from around the country came to Washington for AJC's two-day "Fly-In", an intensive series of discussions aimed at formulating strategies for dealing with the uprising. Participants were given the AJC's "Talking Points and Action Recommendations for Meetings with House and Senate Members." Furthermore, Jewish activists have been kept up-to-date throughout 1988 by way of frequent lectures by AJC Middle East experts.

The IRD has prepared educational materials on many other important topics relating to Israel and the Middle East. In addition to the weekly Israeli Press Highlights these reports include "The Current Status of the Arab-Israel Peace Process"; "The Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987"; the Arab Summit in Amman"; "Israel: A Democratic, Pluralistic Society"; "The PLO and the Palestinian Uprising"; and "The Mubarak Awad Case". (See list of IRD publications on back page.)

A critical problem faced by Israel society over the years has been the growing tension between religious and secular Jews. In recent years, this tension has occasionally escalated into violent clashes and other ugly incidents. In response to this ongoing crisis, the IRD organized together with the Leonard Davis Institute on International Relations of the Hebrew University a three-day conference on "Society, State and Religion: The Jewish Experience", held in Jerusalem in February 1988. The conference was attended by distinguished academics and religious and communal leaders from Israel and the Diaspora, as well as by several Israeli government officials.

The conference included such eminent speakers as Professors Yehoshafat Harkabi and Shlomo Avineri, Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, former Ambassadors Avraham Harman and Zalman Abramov. The conference was co-chaired by Prof. Harkabi and IRD director, Marc Tanenbaum. Coordinators were Gabriel Scheffler, associate director of the HU Davis Institute, and AJC's Dr. George Gruen.

Among the key sessions were the presentation of papers on "Jewish Law and the



Character of the State of Israel," "Political, Social and Cultural Cleavages within Jewish Society," "Means and Strategies for Change in Israel," and "Mutual Impact Between Developments in the Diaspora and Israel." The concluding sessions explored how to strengthen Jewish unity within a democratic, pluralistic framework with an eye toward advancing mutual respect and solidarity between Israel and the Diaspora. There were recommendations for an expanded secular-religious dialogue and for more attention to the issue of women's participation in religious life.

Plans are under way for publication of the major papers and a summary of the stimulating discussions which brought together representatives of a broad spectrum of political and religious views. In addition, IRD has already released its own background paper dealing with this area, entitled "Religious Conflict Among Jews in Israel: Prospects for Reconciliation," written by IRD's Gary Wolf.

In the spring and summer of 1987, IRD joined in efforts to deter Knesset passage of several pieces of legislation aimed at changing the definition of "Who is a Jew" so as to deny the authority of conversions performed under the auspices of Conservative and Reform movements. Persistent consultations with Israeli political leaders by IRD's Israel and New York offices, as well as by other advocates of the status quo, paid off when the resolutions in question were either defeated or not put to a vote.

In May 1987, Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead requested IRD Director Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum's assistance in forming a coalition of religious, ethnic and civic leaders to help mobilize a national constituency behind the maintenance of a full foreign affairs budget including foreign aid. On May 19th, a meeting organized by the State Department, with substantial IRD assistance took place at the White House. At this meeting, over 40 communal leaders were addressed by Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, NSC Director Frank Carlucci, and officials of the Agency for International Development (AID) all of whom emphasized the strategic importance of foreign aid. AJC President Ellenoff, Board of Governors' Chairman Leo Nevas, and Tanenbaum actively participated in the consultation.

The recently released report by the Lutheran World Federation, "The Palestinian/Israeli Issue" threatened to rupture Jewish/Lutheran relations at a time when real progress had been made. The Middle East Affairs Division formulated a critique of this blatantly anti-Israel paper which contributed to the Federation's decision not to adopt the document's views.

### Soviet Jewry

In collaboration with other Jewish organizations, IRD played a major role in organizing the successful Mobilization Rally in behalf of Soviet Jewry in Washington on December 6, 1987, the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit. David Harris, formerly deputy director of IRD and now the head of the AJC's Washington office, coordinated the effort which brought over 200,000 Americans from all across the nation to demonstrate solidarity with the plight of Soviet Jewry. AJC's Morton Yarmon also led the publicity and public relations aspects of the rally. In addition, IRD prepared material on the Soviet Jewry issue for Senate Majority leader Robert Byrd and House Minority leader Robert Michel. The role the Soviet Jewry rally played in focusing world attention on this vital issue was extraordinary. In harnessing the support of public figures in solidarity with Soviet Jewry, IRD obtained a statement from Nobel Peace

Prize Laureate Oscar Arias Sanchez, the President of Costa Rica. After the rally, former Prisoner of Zion, Natan Sharansky, received the AJC's highest honor, the American Liberties Medallion, at an award dinner at the Sheraton Grand Hotel in Washington, D.C.

A major consultation on Soviet Jewry was held in Chicago in March 1987. Participants included Thomas W. Simons, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs; and Dr. David Luft, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State of Commerce for Services. Richard Rice of Chicago, newly-elected chairman of AJC's International Relations Commission, presided at the proceedings. IRD director of European Affairs, David Geller, coordinated this successful conference

At the conference, specialists from government and academia discussed Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost policy and its effect on Soviet Jewry. While participants did not feel that glasnost had especially benefitted Jews, the release of most prisoners of Zion was noted as a step forward. The Jackson-Vanik amendment, which restricts U.S. trade with the Soviet Union so long as the latter obstructs the free emigration of its citizens was acknowledged as an important instrument of leverage. IRD published a backgrounder prepared by David Geller on the Amendment explaining its history and significance. The discussants also noted the growing influence of Russian chauvinism and the persistence of anti-Semitism even among some of the intelligentsia. The expanding dialogue between the USSR and Israel was also discussed. Few expected that the restoration of full diplomatic ties will occur in the near future. It was suggested that a special meeting of marketing specialists be convened to help develop more effective publicity and public relations. Of utmost importance, conference participants decided, was the need to reach out to various groups in the non-Jewish community and in Congress to keep them informed on the status of Soviet Jewry. IRD has made presentations on Soviet Jewry to various American groups and has made appeals in behalf of Soviet Jewry over radio as well.

In order to help preserve Jewish culture and identity in the USSR, IRD has been active in developing a radio program on Jewish themes to be transmitted to the Soviet Union. The "Academy of the Air for Jewish Studies" has broadcast insightful educational lectures on various aspects of Jewish history, culture and religion. Several hundred tapes have been prepared by scholars and translated into Russian for use in this project. The "Academy of the Air" has been heard by Soviet Jews, including renowned activist Ida Nudel.

A book was published based on the papers from the March 1986 conference on the conditions of Soviet minorities under international law, co-sponsored by the AJC and the Institut fur Ostrecht of Cologne University. One of the first comparative treatments of the condition of Soviet Jews and Soviet Germans, the dual language book, with contributions from scholars of international law and Soviet nationalities from both sides of the Atlantic focuses on internal Soviet affairs and human rights.

IRD has continued to intervene for the rights of individual refuseniks. In the case of refusenik Gregory Gimpelson of Leningrad, a letter was drafted to the editor of the New York Times and documentation was submitted to Ambassador Schifter and Assistant Secretary of State Simons as well as to Spencer Oliver, Chief Counsel for the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

### Europe

In January 1988, IRD and the Washington office launched a new program, the Ambassador's Forum. The Forum is an opportunity for AJC leadership and other members of the Jewish community to meet with foreign ambassadors to the United States to discuss issues of mutual concern. The first forum was a luncheon addressed by Ambassador Rinaldo Petrignani of Italy. The discussion focused on such topics as East-West relations, the current conflict in the Middle East, Italian-American relations, international terrorism, and recent manifestations of anti-Semitism in Italy. Other subsequent Forums featured addresses by the Canadian Ambassador and the Hungarian Ambassador.

In November, IRD participated in a conference in Bonn on relations between American Jews and West Germany. The Conference, organized by William Trosten, AJC associate director, was co-sponsored by the AJC and the Atlantik Bruecke (Atlantic Bridge), a prominent German foreign policy group. American academics and journalists joined AJC leaders in meeting with German leaders of industry, politics, and academia to discuss their perceptions of one another, reactions to events such as Bitburg, and how the mass media has influenced the two sides' thinking. A series of recommendations were issued to improve the ties between American Jews and Germans. A second conference with Atlantik Bruecke was held in New York in June 1988.

Preparations are underway for a conference on the introduction of courses on American Jews in German high schools. Held in March 1988, the conference was co-sponsored by the AJC, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and the Georg Eckert Institute, Germany's leading textbook research organizations. Participants in the conference included German government education officials, teachers, union members, and publishers. They were assisted in their deliberations by German and American scholars specializing in aspects of American Jewish history.

IRD has maintained contacts with the Greek government in an effort to encourage Greece's full diplomatic recognition of Israel as well as its greater involvement in the Middle East peace process. IRD had urged Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias to improve Greek-Israeli relations during the Foreign Minister's 1986 visit to the States. Last November, Papoulias became the first Greek Foreign Minister to make an official visit to Israel. After his successful meetings with top Israeli leaders, Mr. Papoulias indicated that he would recommend that Greece establish with Israel de jure relations. In addition, the Greek Foreign Minister invited his Israeli counterpart, Shimon Peres, to visit Greece. Prime Minister Shamir has invited Greece's Prime Minister Papandreou to Israel as well. Appreciation of IRD's role in contributing to this progress was noted by Greece's Ambassador to the U.S., George Papoulias, in a letter to IRD director Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum.

The long standing relationship between the AJC and the Italian Government was demonstrated by the cooperation between Italy and IRD in co-sponsoring two cultural events during the two-month long "Italy on Stage" festival in New York. The two events were a documentary film depicting Italians who risked their lives to protect Jews during World War II, "The Righteous Enemy," and a performance by the Libyan Jewish Singer Myriam Meghnagi. More joint programs in Rome and New York are being planned for 1988-89.

IRD has played a significant role in coordinating activities relating to the Rashi Associa-

tion, a group of scholars and laymen involved in the preservation of Jewish monuments in Europe. Rashi was started by Dr. Werhner Cahnman and is currently under the chairmanship of Dr. Joseph Maier. IRD's David Geller sits on the association's executive board.

#### Austria, Waldheim, and Nazis

The Austrian and international reaction to revelations of President Kurt Waldheim's role in relation to Nazi war crimes has been closely monitored by IRD. AJC sought to distinguish between Waldheim and Austria in acknowledgment that two-thirds of the Austrian people were born either during or after World War II. Moreover, the Austrian Government has provided first asylum for over a quarter of a million Soviet and East European Jews. Thus, the AJC has looked forward to opportunities to improve Austrian-Jewish relations. To this end, IRD plans to co-sponsor a symposium on "Austrian-American Jewish Relations -- Past, Present, and Future" with the Austrian Government, political parties, and universities. The conference, to be held in early 1989, is the outgrowth of an AJC delegation's visit to Austria headed by Leo Nevas, and a subsequent mission led by Ted Ellenoff. It will cover all aspects of Austrian-Jewish interaction with an emphasis on facing the Nazi past and learning lessons for strengthening democracy and human rights in the Second Republic.

In November, 1988, Rabbi Tanenbaum will address an international congress of scholars, Vatican and other religious leaders at the Institute for the Study of Man in Vienna. He will share a platform with Archbishop Pietro Rossano, president of the Pontifical Vatican University in Rome. Both speakers will present papers on "Jews and Christians - Accomplishments and Unfinished Agenda."

In a letter to IRD director Marc Tanenbaum, Austrian Foreign Minister and Vice-Chancellor Alois Mock conveyed his endorsement of the conference but also detailed a number of his country's projects designed to improve Austrian-Jewish relations. These projects include the establishment of a Jewish Museum in Vienna, including a Holocaust memorial during 1988; the organization of an international symposium in Vienna dealing with Judaism and Christianity; and a related symposium of historians dealing with the "history and pre-history" of the "Anschluss," Austria's 1938 absorption into greater Germany.

\* IRD played an instrumental role in persuading the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Perez de Cuellar, to open up the UN archives on Nazi criminals for use by individuals and governments who are still trying to bring these perpetrators of crimes against humanity to justice. David Harris obtained the file of Nazi war criminals and David Geller compiled ten volumes listing 25,000 Nazi war criminals (category A) whose files are under the jurisdiction of the UN War Crimes Commission. This research and the publications prompted the opening of the archives. IRD's efforts were acknowledged by Israeli Ambassador to the UN Binyamin Netanyahu in letters of appreciation which he sent to the department. IRD intends to turn over the lists to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, which has the competent staff to use these materials constructively and responsibly.

#### Vatican-Jewish Relations

\* IRD has been closely involved in efforts to clarify and improve relations with the

Vatican in the wake of Pope John Paul II's meeting with Kurt Waldheim on June 25, 1987 and again in Austria in June 1988. IRD director Marc Tanenbaum was an active participant in the meetings between Jewish leaders and the Pope which took place in Rome on September 1, 1987, and in Miami ten days later. In the aftermath of these meetings, Rabbi Tanenbaum prepared an IRD backgrounder on the issue, "Pope John Paul II, Waldheim, Jews and Israel." Last fall, Rabbi Tanenbaum was unanimously elected chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations (IJCIC). IJCIC is the coordinating body of major Jewish religious and communal groups in their relationships with the Vatican, the World Council of Churches, and other international religious bodies. Thus, IRD will be at the forefront of constructive engagement with the major world religious communities.

At AJC's annual meeting in May 1988, Sir Sigmund Sternberg of London awarded the "International Interfaith Medallion" to Rabbi Tanenbaum in recognition of his quarter century of "historic leadership" in improving Jewish-Christian relations in many parts of the world.

#### South Africa

\* In an effort to help relieve the widespread hunger and malnutrition in the black "homelands" of South Africa, IRD helped to launch the Bayard Rustin Project in December. This project will provide life-saving self-help programs to eight villages in the northern South African region of Lebowa. Deprived of minimum protein requirements, children in these villages suffer from "stunting" or damage to mental and physical development. The Bayard Rustin Project will provide tools, seeds, building materials and instructions to make these villagers self-sustaining and ready to produce craft goods for income. The project was implemented with the American Jewish World Service, which provided a matching grant to that of AJC.

#### Japan and the Pacific Rim

\* Concern over Japan's compliance with the Arab boycott of Israel as well as the publication of millions of copies of anti-Semitic diatribes (such as the infamous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion") led the IRD and AJC's Washington Office to seek a consultation with Japanese studies specialists. A January 1988 meeting between AJC leaders and five American scholars on the subject of Japanese-Jewish relations was widely covered by the Japanese media. In the aftermath of this consultation, one of the academic participants reported that a Japanese foreign ministry official had heard of the meeting and wanted to work with the IRD in organizing a program in Japan on Japanese-Jewish relations. Discussions are under way to realize this objective first proposed by IRD's director, Marc Tanenbaum, three years ago.

This opportunity to progress in the much neglected area of Jewish relations with the Pacific rim -- which is overtaking Europe as an American trading partner -- should facilitate improved relations between Japan and Israel as well as with diaspora Jewry. While the Japanese Ambassador to the U.S., Nobuo Matsunaga has stated that "anti-Semitism has no roots in Japan's cultural history," the problematic state of Japanese-Israeli relations is readily apparent. Until July 1988, no Japanese cabinet member has ever officially visited Israel. Prime Minister Suzuki was the first head of a non-communist country to receive Yasir Arafat

(in 1981). Until recently, no Japanese economic delegation has ever visited Israel. David Harris, AJC's Washington representative and former deputy director of IRD, critically analyzed Japanese-Jewish relations in an October 1987 article in Moment magazine.

#### South America

\* In August 1987, AJC lay leaders, David Hirschhorn of Baltimore and Charlotte Holstein of Syracuse, led an AJC mission to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay in order to study the current conditions of South American Jews and to help promote Jewish identity. In addition to exploring reports of growing anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in the region, the 28 member delegation of AJC members from all over the U.S. served, as Jacobo Kovadloff, AJC's Latin American director, put it, "...to bring the message of AJC's ongoing commitment to democracy, pluralism, and human rights.[and] to find new ways to improve upon the various interreligious and intergroup programs that AJC is involved with in South America." Through the high-level contacts established by Mr. Kovadloff over many years of AJC programming in South America, the delegation met with President Alfonsin of Argentina, President Sarney of Brazil, and President Sanguinetti of Uruguay. In addition, there were meetings with the Foreign Ministers of all four nations as well as with other members of these states' cabinets. Consultations were held with Jewish Community and Catholic Church leaders and human rights organizations.

The highly successful mission resulted in a number of recommendations to foster improved South American-Jewish relations. These included calls for programs to share AJC expertise in Jewish Affairs and interfaith dialogue with Latin American Jewish communities; an exchange program for Jewish youth to learn more about each other's communities; research on the status of small Jewish communities in Latin America, outside population centers; the publishing of a two-way informational newsletter; the sharing of educational materials; and increased education programs in Washington for the advancement of democracies in Latin America.

\* As part of IRD's extensive program in international understanding, Jacob Kovadloff, IRD's Director of South American Affairs led a delegation of Hispanic Jewish and Catholic leaders from the New York area on a twelve-day trip to Israel in February 1987. The interreligious, interethnic mission was co-sponsored by the AJC and the Northeast Regional Pastoral Center for Hispanics. The result of years of joint efforts by both groups in Jewish-Catholic relations, the mission included visits to holy sites as well as meetings with Spanish-speaking groups at Kibbutzim, Universities, and interreligious bodies.

\* The Iranian embassy in Brazil's circulation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, repudiated by the Brazilian press, prompted a report by Mr. Kovadloff, The "Protocols" in Brazil: The Iranian Connection, which was published as an IRD background analysis in September.

\* IRD's South American Affairs Division has continued the major project of translating into Spanish AJC materials, including press releases and backgrounders. This effort has enabled IRD to disseminate information to the Spanish media in this country, Spain, and throughout Latin America. The result has been increased publicity for AJC programs and points-of-view in the Spanish-speaking world which benefits the Jewish Community, Israel, Soviet Jewry, and

improved human relations between people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

#### Central America

\* An AJC leadership delegation headed by Sergio Nudelstejer, the Director of IRD's Mexico and Central American Office, visited Guatemala and Panama in March 1987. In Guatemala, the delegation met with leaders of the Jewish Community as well as with Guatemalan Congressmen representing the various political parties there. The mission was also briefed on Guatemala's political, social, and economic situation by Vice-President Robert Carpio Nicole. In addition, meetings were held with the Israeli and American Ambassadors.

In Panama, the AJC group met with leaders of the local Jewish Community, and also visited well-reputed Jewish schools. The delegation also met with Foreign Minister Jorge Abadia Arias. American-Panamanian as well as Jewish-Panamanian issues were discussed and attention was given to Panama's role in the Contadora Group, involving Latin American nations who are trying to pacify the region in light of civil wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

The mission afforded a unique opportunity to improve contacts with these two Jewish Communities. The delegation was able to experience the problems and challenges Central American Jews face in trying to maintain their Jewish identity while remaining loyal citizens of their respective countries, especially during periods of turmoil.

\* Twice during the past year, Sergio Nudelstejer met with the Presidents of the Jewish Communities of Panama, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, as well as with some of the Board members of FEDECO (the Federation of Jewish Communities of Central America and Panama) concerning the next FEDECO conference which is ostensibly scheduled for Costa Rica in 1989.

Sergio's office plays an important role in the preparation of this conference, a rare opportunity for Central American Jewry to meet and exchange views on such issues as how to confront anti-Semitism that often accompanies domestic upheaval. The reports of the dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda by some of the elements opposed to Panama's General Noriega, for example, have been closely monitored by IRD's Central American Division.

\* Through the Mexico City office headed by Sergio Nudelstejer, IRD has enabled Mexican and Central American Jewry to participate in issues of concern to world Jewry. Thus, through the initiative of the Mexico office, mass demonstrations were held in front of the Soviet Embassy last December 7th during the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in behalf of Soviet Jewry. A small delegation, including Mr. Nudelstejer, was welcomed by high-ranking officials of the Soviet Embassy during this demonstration -- thereby starting a dialogue on the plight of Soviet Jewry. Mr. Nudelstejer is a member of the Executive Board of the International Council of the World Conference on Soviet Jewry. He was elected to serve as chairman of the Latin American Conference on Soviet Jewry.

### International Human Rights

\* The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights (JBI) is preparing an authoritative Guide to Interpretation and Application of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, in a continuation of JBI's previous contributions in the area of freedom of religion or belief. The Declaration is the only human rights instrument which establishes explicit protections for specific practices as expressions of religion or belief. In the United Nations and in non-governmental circles, strong interest is now being voiced in promoting and expanding upon the protections set forth in the Declaration. The Guide will provide government officials, jurists, teachers, and scholars with approaches to resolving conflicts between the freedom of religion or belief and other human rights associated with religion or belief.

Donna Sullivan, assistant to JBI Director Sydney Liskofsky, drafted the text of the analysis, which will be reviewed and revised by an international group of eminent legal scholars in a series of three conferences. The first conference will be held in New York in the autumn of 1988. In cooperation with the Strasbourg Institute for Human Rights and the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, JBI plans to convene the second and third conferences in Strasbourg, France and San Jose, Costa Rica.

\* JBI devoted considerable energy in 1987 to systematically distributing a Declaration on the Right to Leave and Return. The Declaration was adopted by a conference of legal experts at the Strasbourg Institute in November 1986. The conference was co-sponsored by JBI and assisted by a Ford Foundation grant. The conference called on all nations to adopt legislative or other measures ensuring full enjoyment of the right to leave one's country, temporarily or permanently, and to return. The Declaration spelled out a variety of political and legal steps to realize this fundamental human right, including coordination of state policy with international organizations. The text has now been made available in English, French, Spanish, German, and Russian. JBI gave personal copies in all five languages to Ambassador Warren Zimmerman, head of the U.S. delegation to the Helsinki review conference meeting in Vienna. Copies were also distributed to participants in the November 3, 1987, experts' meeting with President Jimmy Carter at the Carter Center in Atlanta. Jacob Kovadloff and Sergio Nudelstejer had Spanish copies distributed to appropriate groups and individuals in the Hispanic world, including an intimate advisor to President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina. This effort to "assist" the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of discrimination and Protection of Minorities to adopt the international instrument on the right to leave and return has been a primary focus of the JBI since its creation. The significant JBI contribution to this goal is ongoing.

\* The second seminar of the JBI-subsented Conference on Human Rights Education, co-sponsored with the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights, was held in November in San Jose, Costa Rica. Specialists from Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Panama, and Costa Rica--including representatives of the various ministries of education -- evaluated the human rights educational programs that had already been initiated in their native countries and analyzed the reports given by the other participants. The seminar provided a forum for the discussants to voice their problems, exchange ideas, and explore new ways of integrating human rights principles in the curricula of primary, secondary, and higher education institutions as well as in programs in the Education and Human Rights project. Participants were very enthusiastic about the Project and expressed hopes for its continued success.



### Endangered Jewish Communities

\* The third international conference of the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) was held in Washington in October. IRD played a seminal role in the planning and coordination of this forum for addressing the concerns of Jewish refugees from Arab lands as well as those Jews who remained in Arab states who continue to face persecution and an uncertain future. IRD provided key documents in support of Jewish claims against various Arab states and assisted in the drafting of WOJAC resolutions. The WOJAC conference noted that some Arab states continue to deny human rights to Jews, including the "right to leave" established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. WOJAC resolutions called upon Arab governments -- particularly Syria, Iraq, and Yemen -- to cease persecution of Jews and to allow them to emigrate. Syria was admonished to let Jewish women leave in order to find Jewish spouses. WOJAC appealed to the international community -- and to the United States in particular -- to use its influence on Arab governments to ensure that they fulfill their obligations to protect the rights of their Jewish minorities and redress the claims of Jewish refugees. IRD's Division of Middle East Affairs compiled background material for a courtroom-style tribunal investigating abuses of the human and civil rights of Arab Jewry. IRD published an English translation of a paper by the former head of the Jewish Agency's Aliya and Absorption Department, Yehuda Dominitz, entitled Immigration and Absorption of Jews from Arab Countries. This paper estimates that Israel spent \$11 billion to resettle some 600,000 Jewish refugees from Arab states, and notes that many refugees left penniless, while fewer than 25,000 Jews remain in the Arab world today. A pamphlet by Dr. George Gruen, The Other Refugees, documents the gross violation of these Jews' human rights. Dr. Gruen notes that UN Security Council Resolution 242, still considered the primary vehicle for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict, calls for a redressing of Jewish as well as Arab claims in affirming the need for "a just settlement of the refugee problem." He cites Justice Arthur Goldberg, the American delegate who helped to draft the resolution to corroborate this interpretation. The AJC will continue working with WOJAC to bring the much neglected issue of the rights and claims of Jews from Arab lands to the attention of the United States and the international community.

\* In June, IRD sponsored the first international convention of Libyan Jews, in New York. IRD was involved in the planning, coordination, and execution of this event in which hundreds of Libyan Jews gathered from all over the globe to mark the twentieth anniversary of the forced flight of Jews from Libya after a two thousand year-old presence in that country. The conference sought to focus attention on the history and cultural heritage of Libyan Jewry, as well as on the nearly forty thousand Jews who were forced to leave Libya since the birth of the State of Israel. The conference called for a redress of the claims of Libyan Jews against the loss of communal assets and personal property in Libya. Much Jewish property was either seized by governmental decree or destroyed by Libyan Arab mobs in the wake of 1967's Six Day War. In the aftermath of this historic conference, the AJC announced that it would be willing to serve as a center for the processing of these claims. Unfortunately, while Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi's government obligated itself to compensate Libyan Jewry through the issuing of fifteen year government bonds in 1970, the deadline passed in 1985 without any action by the Libyan Government.

\* The plight of Ethiopian Jewry was publicized by IRD through the hosting of a press conference for journalist Ruth Gruber, the only foreign journalist allowed to witness Israel's "Occupation Moses" airlift. In the course of a discussion, chaired by IRD Director Marc

Tanenbaum, Ms. Gruber revealed hitherto secret information about the operation while also relating what she had seen of the absorption of Ethiopian Jewish refugees in Israel, the anguish of those who had to leave friends and relatives behind, and the plight of the 10,000 Jews still remaining in Ethiopia. IRD will continue its efforts to seek freedom for the remaining oppressed Jewish Community of Ethiopia.



Activities.MT5 - IRD  
8/17/88: og

88-550

Papers on current issues available from the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department:

- \* Anti-Jewish Discrimination in Soviet Higher Education, by Allan L. Kagedan
- \* Anti-Semitic Rhetoric at the United Nations, by Daniel Meron, The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights
- \* Can Saudi Arabia Defend Itself?, by Mordechai Abir
- \* Crisis in Soviet Jewry: A Call to Involvement, by David A. Harris
- \* A Dismal Anniversary: A Decade of the U.N.'s "Zionism Equals Racism" Resolution 1975-85, by Sidney Liskofsky, The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights
- \* Fallacies About Israel's Ties with South Africa, by Allan L. Kagedan
- \* Growing Political Leadership Roles of Sephardi Jews in Israel, by Harry M. Rosen
- \* Israel and South Africa, by Kenneth Bandler and George Gruen
- \* Perspectives on Palestinian Women, by Mala Tabory, the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights
- \* The Position of the "Black Hebrews" in Israel: An Examination of the Complex Issues Involved, by George E. Gruen
- \* Soviet Anti-Jewish Publications, 1979-1984, by Allan L. Kagedan
- \* Soviet Jewry After Shcharansky: Winds of Change? by David A. Harris
- \* Soviet Jews: Beneficiaries of Improving Soviet-American Relations? by David A. Harris

Papers on current issues relating to Israel and the Middle East available from the American Jewish Committee's International Relations Department:

- \* **Continuing Turmoil in the West Bank and Gaza: Responses to the Current Crisis, Underlying Issues and Potential Solutions**
- \* **The PLO and the Palestinian Uprising: Their Tactics and Declared Objectives**
- \* **Israel, A Democratic, Pluralistic Society: The Status of Israel's non-Jewish Minorities**
- \* **The Arab Summit in Amman: A Qualified Success for King Hussein, Egypt and Pragmatism**
- \* **Arab Aid to the Palestinians**
- \* **The Other Refugees: Impact of Nationalism, Anti-Zionism and the Arab-Israel Conflict on the Jews of the Arab World**
- \* **The Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987: An Update on the Controversy Surrounding Efforts to Close Down PLO Offices in the U.S.**
- \* **PLO Hardliners versus Arab Moderates: Implications for U.S. Policy and Mideast Peace**
- \* **Back to Basic Principles: The Relationship Between the State of Israel and Jewish Communities or Other Countries**
- \* **The USSR and Israel: A New Chapter?**
- \* **Shi'ite Terrorists Target Lebanese Jews**
- \* **Israel and Asia: A Survey of Bilateral Relations**
- \* **Combating Terrorism: Lessons from the Istanbul Massacre**
- \* **Israel and Black Africa: A Step Closer**
- \* **Gush Emunim: The Politics of Zionist Fundamentalism in Israel**
- \* **Oil, Guns and Gold: The Arab-South African Connection**
- \* **Fallacies About Israel's Ties with South Africa**
- \* **Syria: The Big Question Mark in the Middle East**
- \* **Growing Political Leadership Roles of Sephardi Jews in Israel**
- \* **Perspectives on Palestinian Women**
- \* **Jordan's Disengagement from the West Bank: A Preliminary Assessment**

Contents

Page

A Tribute to the Late Zachariah Shuster

\*Zachariah Shuster: A Moral Giant.....1

Middle East

\*Israel's Ethiopians: Absorption and Integration.....9

\*Lebanese Jews: Victims of Shi'ite Muslim Terror.....14

Soviet Jewry

\*Anatoly Shcharansky and Soviet Jewry in the Wake  
of the Summit.....18

\*AJC Statement on Shcharansky's Release.....22

\*Letter to President Reagan.....23

\*Letter to Secretary of State Shultz.....24

\*Cable to West German Chancellor Kohl.....25

\*Anatoly Shcharansky: Humanitarian Voice of Our Age.....26

\*Soviet Jewry: An Overview.....27

\*US/Soviet Relations in 1986.....33

Latin America

\*The Argentine Jewish Community Under Alfonsin.....34

\*Curacao's Jews Celebrate 300 Years of Freedom.....39

\*AJC Statement on Guatemalan Inauguration.....40

International Human Rights

\*Letter to President Reagan on Senate Passage of the  
Genocide Convention.....42

\*Letter to Senator Proxmire on Senate Passage of the  
Genocide Convention.....43

\*Letter to the Editor, New York Times, on Anti-Zionism  
at the United Nations.....44

\*Participants in Meeting on Right to Leave,  
Bonn, West Germany.....46

South Africa

\*Arabs, Gold and South Africa: Arab-South African  
Connection.....49

Western Europe

\*Spanish-Israel Ties Need U.S. Nurture.....55

\*Spanish-Israeli Ties Recall Historic Past. ....58

\*AJC Statement on Meeting with Spanish Consul General.....59

\*Portugal: High Time for an Embassy in Israel.....61

\*The Trial of Klaus Barbie: A Troubling Court Decision.....64

\*Letter from Office of Special Investigations.....66

Other

\*Letter from President of Secretariat for Promoting  
Christian Unity.....68

\*Stop Terrorism at the Source.....70

ContentsPageTerrorism

- \*Proposal for the Convening of a White House Conference on  
Combating International Terrorism.....1

International Human Rights

- \*Incitement to National, Racial and Religious Hatred in U.N. Forums....4

Middle East

- \*The Struggle Between Pragmatism and Extremism.....16
- \*Results of March 1986 Smith Research Center Poll of  
Israeli Jewish Public Opinion.....20

Soviet Jewry

- \*Report on the Condition of Minorities in the Soviet  
Union Under International Law.....25
- \*Gorbachev and the Jews.....37
- \*Soviet Jewry: Back to Square One?.....41

Latin America

- \*Mexico: Difficult Steps Toward Normalization.....45
- \*Costa Rica: Important Factor for Peace in Central America.....49
- \*Anti-Semitism in Argentina: Old and New.....53
- \*Jewish Communities in a Turbulent Region.....58
- \*Prospects for Peace and Democracy in Central America:  
A Diplomat's View.....62

South Africa

- \*Finding a Middle Way in South Africa.....68
- \*South African Jewry: Caught in the Middle.....71

Western Europe

- \*Jacques Chirac, France and the Middle East.....76

Contents

Page

Israel and the United States

The Embeddedness of the Arab-Jewish Conflict in Israeli Society.....1

Back to Basic Principles.....10

American Jewish Attitudes toward Israel and Israeli Jews.....14

Attitudes of Americans toward Israel and American Jews.....18

Jewish Realities in the United States.....20

Africa and Asia

Israel and Black Africa: A Step Closer.....26

South African Jewish Leader asks for Understanding.....29

Israel and Asia: A Survey of Bilateral Relations.....33

Eastern Europe

The USSR and Israel: A New Beginning.....40

Poland and Israel, 1967-1987.....47

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment: Questions and Answers.....50

Germany

Address by Gunther van Well, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany.....56

Austria

Address by the Federal Chancellor Dr. Franz Vranitsky.....62

The Jews of Austria: In Memoriam.....65

Greece

An American Jewish Perspective on Greek Foreign Policy.....69



Greek-American Leaders Commend Statement of  
American Jewish Committee Official.....73

Terrorism

Combatting Terrorism: Lessons from the Istanbul Massacre.....74

International Human Rights

Statement to the UN Commission on Human Rights.....82

Latin America

The "Jewish Invasion": A Case History of Anti-Semitic  
Propaganda in Argentina.....84

Black-Jewish Relations

Excerpts from Address by Marc Tanenbaum at the  
Black-Jewish Forum, Queens College, March 11, 1987.....87



## AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

### AJC OFFICERS

Theodore Ellenoff, President

Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors

Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council

Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees

Sholom D. Comay, Treasurer

Robert S. Rifkind, Secretary

David F. Squire, Associate Treasurer

Mimi Alperin, Chair, Executive Committee

Ira Silverman, Executive Vice President

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

Richard Rice, Chairman, Commission on International Relations

Miles Jaffe, Retiring Chairman

Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director

David Geller, Director, European Affairs

George E. Gruen, Director, Israel and Middle East Affairs

Sidney Liskofsky, Director, International Organizations and Jacob Blaustein  
Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights

Gary Wolf, Research Analyst, Division of Israel and Middle East Affairs

### OVERSEAS OFFICES

Ronald Kronish, Director, Israel Office, Jerusalem

Sergio Nudelstejer, Director, Mexican and Central American Office, Mexico City

M. Bernard Resnikoff, Director Emeritus, Israel Office, Jerusalem

Ya'acov Pnini, Assistant to the Director, Israel Office, Jerusalem

IAC.MT5  
8/17/88; tp

The American Jewish Committee  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10022-2746

✱ Marc

This summarizes  
the recent arms  
deals.

More material  
is being looked for  
you in S. Africa  
This is your set  
~~Please return them~~  
~~you are finished with it~~

George

MHT

How to

Preliminary  
R.D.

## Israel and South Africa: The issues

1. The latest propaganda effort in the campaign to discredit Israel is the attempt to link Israel to South Africa's apartheid regime. This technique which relies on distortion and exaggeration is a familiar one that has been used to try to malign Israel at the United Nations to deflect attention from the real problems at hand.
2. Israel opposes apartheid. It has both publicly and privately called for the end to apartheid policies. From 1961, when Israel voted to prevent the South African Foreign Minister from presenting South Africa's case for apartheid at the General Assembly to the present, Israel has voted against South African interests at the United Nations, and categorically condemns racism and apartheid. Yet, Israel is concerned for the more than 100,000 Jews living in South Africa and is cognizant of actions that may be taken against the Jewish community there in response to any action the Government of Israel may take.
3. If one truly is concerned about Israel's trade with South Africa, he should pressure the Arab countries to lift their boycott against trade with Israel. Not only do the Arabs refuse to recognize, negotiate or trade with Israel, (with the exception of Egypt) they have threatened other countries who wish to trade with Israel. Because of the boycott, Israel does not have the luxury of choosing its trading partners and in order to remain viable, must sometimes engage in trade with countries whose domestic policies it opposes.
4. On February 20, 1987, neither the United States, France, Germany, Great Britain or Japan supported the U.N. Security Council's proposed sanctions resolution, indicating in part, their resistance to imposing tough measures against Pretoria.
5. South Africa's major commercial trading partners are the United States, European and Asian countries. The United States accounts for approximately 11% of Pretoria's total trade, Britain and West Germany 9% each, and Japan about 10%. Israel's trade amounts to under 1%. Israel ranks 17th among countries receiving South Africa's exports and 23rd among those supplying its imports. (IMF).
6. The functioning of South Africa's military depends on its upgrading of weapons, technology transfer, and transfer of vital components, from oil to computers. France, Great Britain and West Germany are the original suppliers and remain major external contributors to the South African arsenal, providing "add on" technology which often goes unnoticed by the general public.

Since the 1977 United Nations embargo:

\* France sold 316B helicopters and Air to Surface missiles; coproduced 1,400 Eland armored cars and assisted in the technology and/or production of Kukri missiles;

\* Great Britain sold 12 AR-D3 type (aircraft) radar units worth \$64m,

deployed for military purposes; negotiated the sale of 8 BA-748 aircraft, along with maritime reconnaissance equipment, valued at \$78m; In May 1983 contracted for updating the British S247 surveillance system, valued at \$8 m.

\* West Germany sold SA 4 B105 and B117 helicopters in 1985; Its State owned shipyard sold SA blueprints for type 209 submarines; More than 5000 structures for militarized trucks were delivered between 1977-1981; West German-origin equipment is used in the SADF's nuclear-capable 155mm G5 howitzer; West Germany and Pretoria have shared police know-how with the exchange of visits of high-ranking police officials and weapons specialists.

\* Canada sold SA second-hand Bell Jet Ranger 206B helicopters in early 1984.

\* Belgium sold 39 tons of machine guns and French made Mirage components.

7. Many European weapon companies applied for and were awarded military related or dual-use patents from SA, providing design information, know-how and hardware to the SA'n military infrastructure. For example, a Swiss arms conglomerate received a number of patents for incendiary weapons, fuzes and projectiles. Two Italian companies were awarded patents for an "explosive mine with anti-removal device" and a safety device for a gas pump shotgun. A Belgian arms maker received a patent for a fragmentation device embedded with shrapnel-forming metal. French companies received patents for "Military Equipment Comprising a Turret Carrying an External Large Caliber Gun" and a military reconnaissance vehicle. The British and French governments have taken out military-related patents in SA in recent years. The British Defense Ministry received three patents for small arms technology in 1982. The French "Delegue General Pour l'Armement" was awarded a patent for ammunition propellants in 1980.

8. Arab oil trade with South Africa fuels the apartheid military, without which it could not function. South Africa imported \$10b worth of oil from the Persian/Arabian Gulf during the period 1980- 1984, according to information based on the Norway-based Shipping Research Bureau which monitors ships traveling to South Africa. Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait are the main suppliers of this oil.

9. Iraq and Iran in 1985 entered strategic barter arrangements with South Africa worth a net value of nearly \$2 billion. Iran agreed to sell \$750 m in oil to Pretoria in exchange for heavy-caliber howitzers. Iraq's deal with South Africa, valued at \$1 b, involved 155mm howitzers shells produced by South Africa, and was traded for Saudi Arabia originated oil.

10. Beyond the oil and military trade relationship between the Arabs and South Africa, the Arab states account for more than a third of total foreign investment in South Africa, totalling over \$9b.

11. In 1973, the Arabs threatened black African countries to sever their diplomatic ties with Israel. However, four Black African countries re-established formal relations with Israel in the last two years while others have engaged in extensive cooperation including trade and joint agricultural, medical, military and educational programs. Most African governments have realized that the Arabs' promises were empty, and that trade with and assistance from Israel is beneficial.

12. Israel has recently been training black South African leaders in social organizing and economic leadership skills, essential preparation for power-sharing, in the event of a transition from white-rule. More such programs are being planned.

13. Jews in this country have been strong activists in the anti-apartheid movement. Additionally, various Jewish organizations have spoken out against apartheid and divested from SA.



MILITARY TRADE WITH SOUTH AFRICA  
Post 1977 U.N. Embargo

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>TRANSACTION</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
FRANCE	TECHNOLOGY FOR CHEETAH AIRCRAFT	UPDATED MIRAGE THREE	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORT(86).
	2000 TONS OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION.	SOLD IN 1981-82.	LE MONDE 1/14/85. LONDON TIMES 1/10/85.
	SA-316B HELICOPTER.	TWO SOLD IN 1983.	SIPRI YEARBOOK 1985.
	HELPED PRODUCE ELAND ARMORED CARS.		DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORT(86).
	LICENSE TO PRODUCE 60/81MM MORTARS.		DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORT(86).
BRITAIN	BA-748 AIRCRAFT AND MARITIME RECONNAISSANCE EQUIPMENT.	NEGOTIATIONS FOR SALE OF APPROXIMATELY EIGHT IN JUNE 1984.	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE. REPORTS(86).
	AS-12 AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES.	DELIVERED 1978-80.	SIPRI YEARBOOK 1981.
	S247 SURVEILLANCE SYSTEM UPDATE.	UPDATE CONTRACTED IN MAU 1983.	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORTS(86).
	AR-D3-TYPE RADAR UNITS.	COST \$64M. SOLD BY PLESSEY CORP. UNDER CODE NAME "OPERATION RODENT". APRIL, 1981.	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORTS(86).
	BN-2A ISLANDER TRANSPORT.	TWO DELIVERED IN 1984.	SIPRI YEARBOOK 1985.
	EQUIPMENT FOR GUIDED MISSILES, DETONATORS, AND GEARS FOR GUNSIGHTS.	1982-84. THREE BRITISH MEN ON TRIAL FOR SALE.	DAILY TELEGRAPH(BR.) 6/7/85.
	NAVIGATIONAL EQUIP., ENCODING DEVICES, IMAGE INTENSIFIERS, COMPUTERS, TECHNICAL DATA, EXECUTIVE JETS.	COST \$28.3M. 1981-84.	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORT(86).
UNITED STATES	EXPORT LICENSE FOR 2,500 HIGH VOLTAGE BATONS	SOLD TO SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE, APRIL, 1982.	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORT(86).

	SPERRY UNIVAC 1182 <sup>7</sup> COMPUTER.	SOLD IN DEC. 1981 TO ARMSCOR, THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED ARMAMENTS DEVELOPMENT AND MANUFACTURING CORP.	AFRICA NEWS SERVICE.
	IBM 4341 AND DATA GENERAL MV/8000 COMPUTER.	SOLD TO COMPANIES IN THE BARLOW RAND GROUP WHICH HAS CLOSE TIES WITH ARMSCOR.	AFRICA NEWS SERVICE.
	DATA GENERAL MV/8000 COMPUTER.	SOLD TO NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR TELECOMMUNICATIONS, A BRANCH OF THE STATE-RUN COUNCIL FOR SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH, RESPONSIBLE FOR DEVELOPING DEFENSE COMMUNICATIONS AND RADAR.	AFRICA NEWS SERVICE.
WEST GERMANY	BLUEPRINTS FOR TYPE 209 SUBMARINE.	SOLD BY STATE OWNED SHIPYARD.	DMS INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE, 12/22/86
	BO-105 AND B-117 HELICOPTERS.	FOUR SOLD IN 1985.	SIPRI YEARBOOK 1985.
DENMARK	TRANS-SHIPING POINT FOR DELIVERING SOUTH AFRICAN ARMS.	60 TRIPS RECENTLY MADE. WEAPONS RECEIVED FROM PORTS IN FRANCE, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AND WEST GERMANY.	THE OBSERVER, 4/8/86.
	SHIPPED 6000 TONS OF HELICOPTERS, AMMUNITION, MISSILES, AND WEAPONS.	1978-80. TAKEN FROM PORTS IN BULGARIA, YUGOSLAVIA, ROMANIA, PORTUGAL, FRANCE BELGIUM, AND ITALY.	THE TIMES (BR.), 3/30/84.
BELGIUM	39 TONS OF MACHINE GUNS.	SOLD BY BROKER IN BRUSSELS.	UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE, 12/11/86.
	FRENCH-MADE MIRAGE COMPONENTS.	PROVIDED IN THIRD PARTY ARMS DEAL.	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORTS (86).
SWITZERLAND	20 TONS OF ROCKET LAUNCHING EQUIP.		UNITED NATIONS PRESS RELEASE, 12/11/86.
CANADA	BELL JET RANGER 206B HELICOPTERS (SECOND-HAND).	UNSPECIFIED QUANTITIES SOLD IN 1984.	DMS MARKET INTELLIGENCE REPORT (86).



IRAN	RECEIVED HEAVY-CALIBER HOWITZERS.	BARTER ARRANGEMENT. \$750M IN OIL GIVEN TO SOUTH AFRICA FOR HOWITZERS.	EGYPTIAN MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY(86).
IRAQ	RECEIVED SOUTH AFRICAN ARMS FOR OIL.	1985 DEAL WAS VALUED AT \$1 BILLION.	EUROMONEY TRADE FINANCE REPORT. FEB.,1986.
CHILE	CHILEAN NAVY SHIPBUILDING ORGAN- IZATION(ASMAR) FORMED PARTNERSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN 1983.	ESTABLISHED TO EXPAND SOUTH AFRICAN NAVY.	JANES DEFENSE WEEKLY 7/5/86.



All above countries are signators to the 1977 U.N. arms embargo.

## ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA -- IN PERSPECTIVE

The facts are simple. Israel trades with South Africa. So does almost every other country in the world. Israel's trade, though, represents only a small fraction of South Africa's trade; other countries have vastly greater links.

### TRADE LINKS

The International Monetary Fund puts South Africa's total volume of trade for 1985 at approximately \$300 billion. By far, the Western nations and Japan account for the majority of this trade. The following list shows Israel's position in relation to South Africa's major trading partners.

	Total Volume	Import from S.A.	Exports to S.A.
1. United States	\$3.38 b	\$2.18 b	\$1.20 b
2. Japan	\$3.26 b	\$1.93 b	\$1.33 b
3. West Germany	\$2.77 b	\$1.08 b	\$1.69 b
4. Britain	\$2.56 b	\$1.26 b	\$1.30 b
5. Italy	\$2.10 b	\$1.80 b	\$300 m
6. France	\$1.02 b	\$640 m	\$380 m
7. Belgium	\$530 m	\$350 m	\$180 m
8. Holland	\$360 m	\$160 m	\$200 m
9. Spain	\$300 m	\$210 m	\$ 90 m
10. Switzerland	\$270 m	\$ 70 m	\$200 m
11. Israel	\$230 m	\$170 m	\$ 60 m
12. Denmark	\$220 m	\$160 m	\$ 60 m
13. Sweden	\$160 m	\$ 50 m	\$110 m

Israel's trade with South Africa, thus accounts for a mere 0.7 per cent of South Africa's total trade.

Israeli investment in South Africa is far smaller than that of BLACK AFRICA (\$570m), ASIA (\$400m), and WESTERN EUROPE (\$13,5b). Israel's investments represent 0.1 per cent of all investment in South Africa and 0.01 per cent of its own total investments annually (France's is 7 per cent).

Of the 52 members of the Organization of African Unity, 46 have some commercial links with South Africa. Sixteen per cent of Zambia's imports are from South Africa. Fifteen per

cent of South Africa's trade passes through Mozambique. In all South Africa has 140 trading partners in the world including a number of members of the United Nations Special Commission on Apartheid.

It is argued that Israel bolsters South Africa's defence system. Independent sources such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute show that South Africa's main arms suppliers from 1960 to 1983 were France (29.5 per cent) and "other NATO countries" (25.8 per cent). Israel was not given special mention. SIPRI's 1984 yearbook refers only to France, Germany and Britain as South Africa's arms suppliers. According to other sources, past suppliers included the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria as well (usually through German and Austrian agents).

On the nuclear question, no concrete evidence exists regarding nuclear collaboration between Israel and South Africa. In 1980 the UN Secretary-General declared that "until specific examples of actual nuclear exchanges or transactions are cited as clear evidence of such cooperation, this whole question remains in a state of uncertainty." In the UN's most recent report on South Africa's nuclear capability, (A/Conf.137/CRP.2 -- 15 May 1986), Israel is not mentioned. France, though, has built a nuclear power station near Cape Town while China supplied the enriched uranium.

#### ARAB-SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS

Trade links between South Africa and the Arab world have always been shrouded in secrecy. Recently, however, an anti-Apartheid research group in the Netherlands, the Shipping Research Bureau, has uncovered tremendous amounts of Arab oil being delivered from the Persian Gulf to South Africa. The estimated value of Arab oil going to South Africa annually is \$2 billion. The enclosed list of shipments gives details of 167 deliveries from 1980 to 1984 (valued at \$9.9 billion). In direct violation of the 1979 UN oil embargo, Arab states are literally fueling the Apartheid regime and making a fortune doing it.

Other instances of South African-Arab trade include the following:

1. In January 1985 South African Airways (SAA) inaugurated an "air bridge" from Johannesburg to Jeddah via the Comoros Islands. The weekly service was purportedly established to

facilitate South Africa's small Moslem population for their yearly Hajj to Saudi Arabia. Because the Hajj takes place only once a year, most analysts believe that these flights were established for commercial reasons.

2. South Africa, which has no diplomatic relations with Arab states, is reported also to be quietly using a firm in Harar, Ethiopia, to export fruit to Arab markets, particularly to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

3. In April 1985, a Cape-to-Cairo road haulage service was introduced extending Quicktrans, a Botswana concern, African onland trucking network to Dar-es-Salaam and Cairo. Quicktrans serves seven African nations going from the Cape in South Africa, up to Cairo, through Malawi, Zaire, Zambia and Tanzania.

4. Despite pretensions of boycotting South Africa, both Iran and Iraq have entered strategic barter arrangements with South Africa, the net value of which total nearly \$2 billion.

According to a January 1986 report by the Egyptian Middle East News Agency, Iran agreed to sell \$750 million in crude oil to South Africa in exchange for heavy caliber howitzers of the same value.

Also in late 1985, Iraq entered a similar oil-for-weapons deal with South Africa, valued at \$1 billion. The Iraqi deal was first reported by the British monthly Euromoney Trade Finance Report in February 1986 and in the May 1986 Shipping Research Bureau newsletter.

The bulk of the Iraqi deal, according to British financial sources, involves .70 mm howitzer shells produced by the South African arms industry. Although the bullets are being supplied to Iraq, the oil in the barter deal is not from Iraqi wells, but rather from Saudi Arabia.

Ralph Cwerman  
Research, UN Mission

APPENDIX V

SELECTED PATENTS AWARDED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN PATENT OFFICE

<u>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>AWARD DATE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>APPLICANT/INVENTOR</u>
Belgium	4/14/83	A fragmentation explosive device	PRB (subsidiary of Belgian Defence Industries)/Michel Renson
Fed. Rep. Germany	11/1/82	A driving means for a heliostat	Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm Heinrich Schäfer and Karl-Heinz Ott
France	4/14/81	Device for mechanical and electrical coupling of loads, particularly military loads	Thomson-Brandt Jean Pierre Rouget and Edmond Roustant
France	6/4/81	Military Equipment Comprising a Turret Carrying an External Large Caliber Gun	Hispano-Suiza Raoul Henri Dumez
France	4/8/81	Device and method of transporting and dropping a plurality of charges in a novel container and container equipped with such a device (applicable to a "military load")	Thomson-Brandt Roger Crepin
France	7/9/82	Submarine periscope	Société d'Optique, Precision Electronique et Mechanique (SOPELEM) Jacques Ragain and Marc Prevost
France	4/8/81	Safety device for dropping a charge suspended from an aircraft and load equipped with such a device (particularly "applicable to the transportation and dropping of military loads.")	Thomson-Brandt Noel Fulchiron and Bernard Naillon
France	3/20/80	An armoured vehicle (applies to military vehicles for liaison or reconnaissance purposes)	Creusot-Loire Jean Giraud Richard Laigneau
France	3/11/80	Propellant Charges of ammunition with or without metal casing	Etat Français Delegee general pour l'armement Christian Cannavo and Henri Gens
Israel	7/19/82	Bomb disposal device	EBD International Yaakov Yerushalmi

⊕ NARMIC = National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex

<u>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>AWARD DATE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>APPLICANT/INVENTOR</u>
Israel	9/7/82	Apparatus for sensing and locating vibrations	Israel Aircraft Industries
Italy	6/25/80	Explosive Mine with anti-removal device	Valsella S.p.A. Pio Lauro
Italy	8/28/82	Safety device for the trigger mechanism of a shot-gun of the gas pump type	Luigi Franchi S.p.A. Leonardo Ottolini
Singapore	9/82	Numerous patents for gas-powered automatic gun components (sear actuator, drum magazine, bolt assembly, etc.)	Chartered Industries of Singapore. Leroy James Sullivan and Robert Lloyd Waterfield
Switzerland	8/6/82	Incendiary composition containing a metallic fuel formed of the group IVB of the periodic table of elements	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Eduard Daume and Jürg Sarbach
Switzerland	6/25/82	Safety apparatus for spinning projectile fuze	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Robert Apotheloz
Switzerland	11/4/82	Impact fuze with flight time-dependent detonation delay	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Klaus Muenzel
Switzerland	6/28/82	Assembly formed by a projectile and the means for launching this projectile	Valinor S.A. Robert Bornand
Switzerland	3/28/83	Connection arrangement for sabot projectile	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Rudolf Rossman
Switzerland	3/28/83	Method to attach ballistic hood to projectile	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Rudolf Rossman and Jacques Mariaux
Switzerland	3/28/83	Projectile design	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Rudolf Rossman
Switzerland	2/21/83	Shattering or explosive incendiary projectile	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Paul Cahannes, Eduard Daume and Jürg Sar
Switzerland	2/21/83	Spinning projectile fuze safety apparatus	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Rudolf Rossman and Paul Cahannes

<u>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</u>	<u>AWARD DATE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>APPLICANT/INVENTOR</u>
Switzerland	3/22/83	Dummy ammunition	Oerlikon-Bührle A.G. Franz Moser
U.K.	5/6/81	Radar Signal Simulator	Marconi Co. Ltd./Michael John Burrows
U.K.	10/18/82	Firearms with rotary magazines	Sec. State for Defence, Her Majesty's Govt. Norman Brint and Jack Comley
U.K.	6/2/82	Actuating mechanisms for small arms	Sec. State for Defence, Her Majesty's Govt. Norman Brint and Jack Comley
U.K.	10/18/82	Firearms with re-chargeable magazine	Sec. State for Defence, U.K. Govt. Norman Brint and Leon Williams
U.S.	8/6/82	Telescopic gun sight	Daniel Shepherd

Source: Patent Journal/Patentjoernaal, various issues, 1980 - 1983. Published by the Patent Office, Pretoria.



# FPA Foreign Policy Preview

A preview of events—elections, legislation, negotiations, diplomatic visits—that will shape the foreign policy news in the coming month.

Vol. 3, No. 3

APRIL

3/1/1987

## South Africa, arms and Israel

On April 1 the State Department is required to file a report with President Reagan on nations that sell arms to the Republic of South Africa. The report is mandated by Congress under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act passed in October 1986. Although the legislation does not require any presidential action, the report is to be designed "with a view toward ending military assistance" to those countries who sell arms to South Africa. Israel is certain to find itself in the center of any controversy resulting from the report. Israel is not the only nation that supplies arms to the South African government, but it does receive a large amount of military assistance from the United States. It is unlikely that the report would cause the United States to cut off the flow of arms to Israel, but there is sure to be increasing pressure on the Israeli government to discontinue its policy of quietly trading arms and goods with South Africa while publicly condemning apartheid.

## Pinochet: chilly reception for Pope?

Pope John Paul II will visit Chile April 1-6. Despite the lifting of the state of siege in January, relations between the government and the Roman Catholic Church have been strained since the state of siege was declared last September, following an assassination attempt on the life of General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. In the crackdown, several Roman Catholic churches were raided and three French priests were expelled from the country. Chile has 6.7 million Catholics (89.5 percent of the population).

## Reagan-Mulroney summit

On April 5-6, President Reagan will visit Canada for the annual U.S.-Canadian summit. The meeting will give the President and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney the opportunity to discuss a range of issues of both bilateral and global significance. The bilateral agenda will be headed by continuing Canadian concern over the problem of acid rain, and should also include a review of U.S.-Canadian trade relations, which have been rocky in spite of ongoing free-trade talks. Internationally, the discussions will probably include preliminary consultation on the upcoming June economic summit in Venice. Political pundits in Canada have suggested that Mulroney hopes the meeting with the President will bolster his popularity following a series of scandals that have beleaguered his administration. These include allegations of unsavory business deals involving members of his administration.



# Israelis Reassess Supplying Arms To South Africa

## Policy Struggle Covers All Commercial Links

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Jan. 28 — Under pressure from both the United States Congress and American Jews, Israel is reassessing its arms and trade relationship with South Africa, Israeli officials and foreign policy experts say.

Whether that reassessment will end up with Israel's adopting sanctions against South Africa, however, will depend on the outcome of a struggle now taking place in the policy-making establishment.

The most pressing factor is the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, passed by Congress on Oct. 2, 1986, which decreed that by April 1, 1987, the President must receive a report from the State Department that will outline other nations' arms sales to South Africa "with a view toward ending military assistance with countries engaged in that trade."

### Minority Seeking Change

The struggle in Israel pits a tiny minority of Israeli officials and intellectuals who want to see Israel not only sever or reduce its trade, cultural and military relations with South Africa but also take a leading role in the fight against apartheid. This group is led by Yossi Beilin, the political director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry; Amnon Rubinstein, the Minister of Communications, and some scholars, including the political theorist Shlomo Avineri.

Against them is a majority of the bureaucracy that wants to maintain the status quo in Israel-South Africa relations, or perhaps adopt a few token reductions, and to make the already secret relationship even more secret. This group is led by Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, one of the staunchest advocates of Israel-South Africa relations, and includes Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and former Defense Ministers Ezer Weizman, Moshe Arens and Ariel Sharon, as well as virtually all the other Likud ministers in the Government and most of the Labor Party ones as well.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres

seems to be straddling the issue, arguing that "Israel is not going to lead a policy" against South Africa, but will follow whatever line is set by the United States and Western Europe.

For years, Israel's policy toward South Africa was one of deliberate ambiguity — publicly condemning apartheid, while privately maintaining a pragmatic and mutually beneficial array of commercial and military ties.

This approach, Israeli officials note, is no different from that of most Western nations and perfectly reflects the contradictory impulses in Israel: On the one hand there is an abhorrence of the racism of the South African Government, but on the other hand there is a concern for South African Jews, an often subliminal identification by Israelis with the beleaguered and surrounded Pretoria Government and a "realpolitik" attitude that Israel has too few friends in the world to be choosy about its partners in trade and arms sales.

The exact nature of Israel's military relationship with South Africa is a well-kept secret. But military officials say it is extensive enough to involve hundreds, if not thousands, of jobs in Israeli military industries and several hundred million dollars in earnings. With unemployment in Israel on the rise, particularly in military and high-tech industries, long-term arm sales are prized by Israel today.

### Variety of Arms Sold

According to press reports, Israel in the last 15 years has sold South Africa a variety of military equipment, including light weapons and communications gear and, more important, technology-data packages containing the designs for several major Israeli weapons systems, which were subsequently assembled by South Africa's own military industry. These reportedly include the Saar-class missile boats, the Gabriel sea-to-sea missile and avionics electronic countermeasures for South Africa's new Cheetah fighter-bomber.

In addition, American military sources say Israel recently helped South Africa develop a KC-135-type surveillance aircraft and air-to-air refueling abilities for the South African Air Force. Israel and South Africa are also rumored to have cooperated in developing nuclear weapons technology, although this has been denied by both nations.

Israel's actual commercial trade with South Africa is tiny, particularly compared with that of the United States or Western Europe. In 1985, the last year in which official figures are available, Israel imported about \$100 million worth of goods from South Africa, mostly coal and other metals, and exported about \$44 million, or about 1 percent of Israel's total exports.

Beyond trade, however, the Tel Aviv daily Maariv reported that South Africans, mostly Jews, have been allowed to invest "tens of millions of dollars" in Israel in recent years, as a result of agreements between the two Governments. This has been an important source of new funds for Israeli industry

and construction.

What has prompted Israel to reconsider these relations is the new wind blowing in from the United States.

"Until South Africa became the focus of discussion in the United States, it was not a live issue here," Professor Avineri said. "Now, Israeli politicians realize that there is a price to be paid for the status quo."

If the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research, which is preparing the report for the April 1 deadline set by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, finds that Israel is selling arms to South Africa, that could, technically, result in an end to Israel's \$1.8 billion in military aid from the United States.

Even though such a result seems unlikely, Israeli officials know that they simply cannot flout the Congress, particularly since a parade of American Jewish groups, including the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, the so-called Israel lobby, have been trooping through Israeli Government offices for the last year letting officials know that they are falling out of step with the pro-sanctions mood of the American public.

### 'Not Penetrated All Echelons'

"American Jews are trying to convince us to do something regarding South Africa, that's for sure," said Mr. Beilin, of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. "And even if this has not penetrated all the echelons of government here, I believe that the leadership of Israel got the message."

Harry Wall, director of the Israel office of the American Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said, "Although the Israel-South Africa relationship has been greatly exaggerated, we have tried to sensitize the Israeli Government not to ignore the depth of feeling that exists on this issue in the U.S."

Despite these pressures, the hard-liners in the Israeli Government are urging a go-slow approach. Defense Minister Rabin reportedly visited Pretoria a few weeks ago to spell this out to the South Africans. The trip was prompted, according to an Israeli military source, by some veiled threats issued by the South Africans to Israel that they might "tell all" if Jerusalem decided to sever contacts.

The Israeli hard-liners are suggesting that Israel should, and can, try to reach an understanding with the Reagan Administration that would at least allow Israel to carry through existing contracts with South Africa — particularly since hundreds of jobs in Israel might be at stake — while at the same time lowering the profile of the relationship as much as possible.

These hard-liners, their Israeli opponents say, are oblivious to the fact that while Israel criticizes West Germany and France for selling arms to Saudi Arabia just to save jobs in their own countries, that is exactly the argument Israelis are using regarding South Africa.

# Israel Reassessing Arms Trade With South Africa

## Shamir Plans U.S. Visit

In any event, Mr. Rabin has been clearly signaling Mr. Beilin that if he would just keep quiet, something might be arranged with the United States. The subject is expected to be high on Prime Minister Shamir's agenda for his visit to Washington in late February.

"This group just doesn't want to accept that there is an American deadline," said Akiva Eldar, diplomatic correspondent for the Haaretz newspaper. "They want to have their cake and eat it too. They have not learned anything from Irangate — that you don't play games with the Congress."

One of the arguments often introduced by the hard-liners is that they cannot impose sanctions on South Africa or sever ties because it could harm the 120,000 Jews and 10,000 Israeli expatriates, living in South Africa. But Israeli experts on South African Jewry insist that this is largely a pretext and that in fact better ties between Israel and South African blacks might be a lot more beneficial for South African Jews in the long run.

"Just because Israeli sanctions against South Africa might make some Jews there uncomfortable is no reason for us to overlook our self-interest or moral concerns," said Gideon Shimoni, an Israeli historian of South African Jewry. "More importantly, it is not like the South African Jewish community is monolithically against sanctions. Many of them are leading critics of the South African Government and would like to see faster change and are embarrassed by Israel's pragmatic approach."

## Lonely Fight in Bureaucracy

For the time being, though, Mr. Beilin and Mr. Rubinstein are fighting a lonely fight in the Israeli bureaucracy. They say they have no illusions that they will be able, for now, to persuade the Government to cut off the military relationship and to adopt a moral leadership position in the fight against apartheid.

They are instead concentrating on persuading Israeli officials and private citizens not to travel to South Africa and hoping to get the Cabinet at least to adopt some symbolic sanctions that would put Israel solidly within the Western consensus and begin to break the image of Israel and South Africa as sister countries.

Their attitude, said Dan Sagir, an expert on South Africa for the daily Haaretz, is that "if the West is going to be hypocritical, and impose sanctions while selling arms, then let Israel should at least be hypocritical too and impose some symbolic sanctions."

## Tide of History Is Cited

The Israeli advocates of taking a public stand against South Africa also argue that in "realpolitik" terms Israel, by maintaining the ties with Pretoria, is going against the tide of history and one day will pay for it.

In an effort to create an alternative model, a group of private Israeli citizens has been bringing to Israel groups of black South African church, labor and educational leaders, mostly from Soweto township, for monthlong workshops on economic and community development. The program is being underwritten by donations from American Jews and held in cooperation with the Israel Afro-Asian Institute and the Histadrut Labor Federation.

### Talking Points on South Africa

- \* Israel's defense relations with South Africa are being exaggerated:
- \* They are less than those of Britain, France or Germany;
- \* They account for only a small portion of South Africa's defense;
- \* Israel's relationship with South Africa did not emerge in isolation--it was part of a the general Western strategy to secure the Cape of Good Hope sea route and protect the West's access to strategic minerals in South Africa;
- \* South Africa's major commerical trading partners are the United States, Britain, West Germany and Japan.
- \* A major reason Israel is forced to trade with countries such as South Africa, whose policies it rejects, is due to the Arabs' refusal, with the exception of Egypt, to trade with Israel, their neighbor. The Arabs also blackmail other countries who trade with Israel. Israel, for its sheer survival, must trade with those who agree to trade with it.
- \* Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain profit handsomely from the approximately \$3 billion annual trade in "secret" oil sales, fueling the South African military.
- \* Israel is committed to living up to the same standard as the other democratic allies of the United States in its dealings with South Africa.
- \* Israel should not be made the scapegoat.

# Has Congress Doomed Israel's Affair With South Africa?

By Yossi Melman and Dan Raviv

**T**EL AVIV—For more than a decade, officials of the Israeli government have been shuttling back and forth between here and South Africa, forging a relationship that outsiders have dubbed "The Unnatural Alliance." Israel is seen by admirers as a democracy with a moral purpose: saving the Jewish people from their historical and modern oppressors. South Africa, on the other hand, is seen almost universally as an oppressive state denying civil rights to the majority of its people.

Now, however, the tide may be running in the other direction, against this unusual alliance. In late December or early January, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin also made a trip to South Africa. But this visit was different: it was the first since 1974 aimed at reducing the links between the two nations.

The abrupt policy shift was forced on Israel by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, passed by Congress last year despite President Reagan's objections. Section 508 of the act, described by Israeli officials as "a potential time-bomb set to explode in April," requires the president to report to Congress "on the extent to which the international embargo on the sale and exports of arms and military technology to South Africa is being violated."

The law instructs the president to identify "those countries engaged in such sale or export, with a view to terminating United States military assistance to those countries."

Without U.S. military aid, valued at \$1.3 billion this year, Israel could soon be defenseless, destitute or both. The imposition of American sanctions has, therefore, triggered not only anger in the White House but considerable nervousness among Israel's top officials. At the same time, Israeli sources say, if Israel is forced to cancel all military contracts immediately, the cost to its military industry would be \$400-\$500 million over the next several years.

Israel's trade with South Africa in 1985 is estimated to have totaled \$225 million—comprising Israeli exports to South Africa valued at \$65 million and imports from South Africa of \$160 million worth of goods including precious stones. Estimates for 1986 are about \$300 million.

The diamonds Israelis cut for export and much of the coal Israel burns come from South Africa, but the most sensitive transactions between the two countries are in the area of weapons development and their "strategic" relationship, a euphemism for the military cooperation that began in earnest in 1974, soon after the Yom Kippur War.

The diamonds Israelis cut for export and much of the coal Israel burns come from South Africa, but the most sensitive transactions between the two countries are in the area of weapons development and their "strategic" relationship, a euphemism for the military cooperation that began in earnest in 1974, soon after the Yom Kippur War.

The now controversial alliance was almost inevitable when, in 1973, two dozen black African nations reacted to the Yom Kippur War—and the pressure of Arab oil wealth—by severing their relations with Israel. After working throughout the 1950s and '60s to establish good relations with black Africa while holding South Africa at arm's length, a sense of diplomatic isolation was keenly felt in Jerusalem, aggravated by events such as PLO leader Yassir Arafat's triumphant appearance at the United Nations. The Israelis could not help noticing that they shared a predicament with the South Africans.

Israelis who visited Pretoria in 1975 recall being told by an official there: "You are a minority in your region, and so are we. You are surrounded by millions of enemies, and so are we. The Arabs want to throw you into

the sea, and the blacks want to throw us out of Africa. You have won in the past, and you will win again, because you have no alternative. The same is true for us."

Israel elevated its consulate in Pretoria to full embassy status in early 1974, and a secret visit was arranged for then defense minister Moshe Dayan and Gen. Chaim Herzog, who was head of military intelligence and now is Israel's president.

Commercial trade quickly increased, and after the U.N. General Assembly voted that Zionism is a form of racism, South Africa displayed political solidarity with Israel by posting an ambassador in Tel Aviv for the first time in November 1975.

**T**he new defense minister, Shimon Peres, visited South Africa, again secretly, in early 1976 and invited Prime Minister John Vorster to make an official visit to Israel in April. The visit and Vorster's talks with then prime minister Rabin were considered a huge success, and before leaving Tel Aviv he signed a series of commercial and military agreements.

A separate document calling for cooperation in science and technology is the basis for the two nations' pooling of resources in nuclear research. Israeli nuclear physicists and technicians regularly visit South Africa. It is widely suspected that a joint test of a nuclear bomb was conducted over the South Atlantic in September of 1979, although both nations deny it, and South Africa is known to supply the uranium needed by Israel's civilian and military facilities, including the so-called "bomb factory" under the Dimona reactor in the Negev Desert.

Vorster also launched a program of South African investment in the Israeli arms industry. One of the first projects was the strengthening of the armor on the South African de-

Black African  
break relation  
from Israel  
to relate  
to

(continued)

fense force's tanks and personnel carriers—work carried out by Iskoor, a company in Kiryat Gat, near Tel Aviv, set up as a partnership between Israel's Koor Industries and the South African steel corporation. Israeli scientists are said to have provided a formula for the toughest steel in military use anywhere. The steel is then made in South Africa and turned into armor in Israel.

Typically, military cooperation has rarely taken the form of direct provision of Israeli arms to South Africa, but instead a pooling of knowledge. Faced with arms embargos, both nations chose to manufacture their own. Israel has had a startling success in producing aircraft, military electronics, tanks and small arms, occasionally based on plans purchased or purloined abroad. Israel is also given credit for helping to make South Africa's weapons manufacturer, Armscor, a success.

The two nations jointly produce a light-weight helicopter called the "Scorpion," which is suitable for light military transport.

The South African military has been helped even more by a uniquely successful Israeli product: the remotely piloted vehicle (RPV), also known as a drone aircraft. Unmanned but directed by a complex combination of cameras, radio links and computers, RPV's were used with lethal effect by the Israelis to pinpoint Syrian missile sites during Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI) sold "Scout" drones to South Africa for reconnaissance against guerrillas in neighboring countries, and officials in Pretoria and Jerusalem were embarrassed when a Scout—with its IAI markings—was shot down and recovered by guerrillas in Mozambique in 1983.

Vorster also proposed naval cooperation, specifically joint development of a new submarine. Israel is not satisfied with its underwater fleet of three British-made submarines, and European intelligence analysts have noted a major expansion of the naval dockyards in Simonstown, South Africa. Opposition politicians in Johannesburg have suggested that the two nations are hoping to build nuclear-powered submarines at Simonstown.

After the commander of the shipyard, Commodore Dieter Gerhardt, and his wife, Ruth, were arrested in South Africa in 1983 and charged with spying for the Soviet Union, it was alleged during their trial that they had caused immense damage to—among other things—relations between South Africa and Israel. This allegation was not publicly explained, but the commodore was sentenced to life imprisonment and his wife to 10 years in prison.

The typical agreement between military manufacturers includes South African money for the start-up of a new weapon's production in Israel, with the South African company later receiving a license to produce the same item. Uzi submachine guns and Galil rifles are made in South Africa by arrangement with Israel military industries.

South Africa has purchased three Reshet missile-firing boats from the manufacturer in Haifa and received a license to build nine more at the Sandock Austral shipyard in Durban. The South African navy gave the boats a different name, Minister, and they are armed with Scorpion missiles, which are made under license from Israel Aircraft Industries, manufacturer of the identical Gabriel missiles.

Israel also helped South Africa obtain American-built 155 mm howitzer cannon by re-exporting them after purchasing them from the Space Research Corp. in the U.S. British publications said State Department and Central Intelligence Agency officials arranged the indirect delivery, said to include plans for manufacturing the huge howitzer.

During a 1980 visit by then defense minister Ezer Weizman South Africa agreed to finance development of the avionics for Israel's Kfir fighter, and this is believed to have led to South Africa's new Cheeta jet fighter, unveiled late last year.

Israeli experts have gone to South Africa to advise on the coordination of army, air force and naval units in the fight against black guerrillas. The Economist magazine said that in the early 1980s there were up to 20 Israelis helping South African counter-terrorism forces.

"Israel is pressed between the hammer and the anvil," one government official told us, using the Hebrew equivalents of a rock and a hard place. If Israel becomes a leading opponent of the South African authorities, he said, it risks losing a valuable economic and military link. There is even concern that the Jews of South Africa could suffer at the hands of Afrikaner ruling circles suspected to have "Nazi-style leanings."

Tension and fear in Israel's halls of power have produced a sharp conflict between rival officials, although everyone who truly counts seems to favor the preservation of the Jerusalem-Pretoria link. Some influential voices, however, have taken what they consider a moral stand—their detractors label it "moralistic"—calling for Israel to take a place at the forefront of Western nations fighting apartheid by imposing broad political, economic and military sanctions. The director-general of the foreign ministry, Yossi Beilin, leads the moralistic group and insists that Israel must not be the last Western nation to align itself against South Africa.

Beilin would face a hopelessly uphill struggle to change Israeli policy, were it not for the congressional sanctions move, because all the senior government ministers are united in favoring links with South Africa: Foreign Minister Peres, who is Beilin's boss; Rabin, like Peres a Labor Party activist; their Likud Party rivals Prime Minister Shamir and Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, and Weizman. All five men have had long careers in defense and intelligence, and they are well aware of the military benefits reaped from the friendship with Pretoria.

Shamir told reporters in Washington last week that Israel has no intention of altering its policy toward South Africa. "We keep our commitments," Shamir said.

As a result of the consensus at the top, debate on the issue is not encouraged. The unwillingness to have any public debate on the links with South Africa extends to Israel's press, whose editors are urged by government officials to "stay away from this sensitive matter of national interest." The respected Central Bureau of Statistics does not publish full details of the trade and commerce between Israel and South Africa.

Discussion in the Knesset, Israel's parliament, has been limited. Simcha Dinitz, former ambassador to Washington and the chairman of a Knesset subcommittee that oversees this area, speaks of the "deproliferation" of Israel's presence in South Africa. In other words, the special relationship between the two nations—particularly in what is called "strategic affairs"—will continue, but in a much less visible manner and with less direct involvement of the military so as not to clash with the will of Congress.

Defense Minister Rabin is said by well placed sources to have explained, in Pretoria recently, that the alliance can continue but much more quietly. Rabin may not have used the word, but officials again speak of "deproliferation."

While Rabin explores new, unspecified channels for cooperation with Pretoria, many longstanding arrangements are being dismantled in light of the U.S. sanctions decision. Israel has already reduced the number of its experts in South Africa to a bare minimum and plans to bring almost all of them home. No new agreements are being signed, officials say, in the defense field.

The Israelis argue that their ties with South Africa should be seen in the light of having to maintain contact with the 130,000 Jews in the country, most said to favor reform or abolition of apartheid. Good relations between the governments have led to special rights for Jewish South Africans to export capital to Israel and invest there. The most pessimistic assessment in Jerusalem is that angering Pretoria could eventually lead to the Jews being singled out as scapegoats if and when violence becomes uncontrollable.

The accusation that angers the Israelis is of hypocrisy. "That is unprecedented hypocrisy," Israel's Ambassador to the U.N. Benjamin Netanyahu says. He says he has evidence of half a dozen European countries, including Britain, France, Sweden and Netherlands that indirectly ship arms to South Africa and information on oil deliveries to South African ports from Saudi Arabia, Iran, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman.

The South African link is, however, not nearly as important as the defense and economic aid from the U.S. Foreign Minister Peres has said that Israel will stand with the West on this issue, "but since we are not a superpower it is not our duty to be first to set the example."

*Yossi Melman, diplomatic correspondent of the Israel paper Davar, is the Israeli correspondent for Jane's Defense Weekly; Dan Raviv is a London-based reporter with CBS News.*

**SOUTH AFRICA SUPPLIERS**

AERITALIA  
AMENDOLA ITALY  
MACCHI AM.3CM BOSBOKS UTILITY/LIAISON AIRCRAFT

AEROSPATIALE  
MARIQJANE FRANCE  
SA-330 AND SA-341 HELICOPTERS

ARMSCOR  
SOUTH AFRICA  
VARIETY OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT, INCLUDING MISSILES AND ORDNANCE

ATLAS AIRCRAFT  
TRANSVAAL SOUTH AFRICA  
ATLAS C4M KUDU UTILITY/LIAISON AIRCRAFT; ATLAS AM-3  
UTILITY/LIAISON AIRCRAFT; ATLAS MB-326 TRAINER  
AIRCRAFT; ATLAS MIRAGE III FIGHTER/ ATTACK AIRCRAFT;  
ATLAS MIRAGE F-1AZ FIGHTER/ATTACK AIRCRAFT

AVIONS MARCEL DASSAULT-BREGUET AVIATION  
SAINT CLOUD FRANCE  
MIRAGE G-1CZ FIGHTER/ATTACK AIRCRAFT; MIRAGE III  
FIGHTER/ATTACK AIRCRAFT.

BARLOW RAND ELECTRONICS  
PREFORIA SOUTH AFRICA  
ELECTRONICS EQUIPMENT

BEECH AIRCRAFT  
MICHITA KS  
U-25/C-12A CARGO TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT

CHERBOURG YARDS  
FRANCE  
AGOSTA CLASS SUBMARINES

DUBIGEON-NORMANDIE  
NATES-CHANTENAY FRANCE  
SUBMARINES

ENGINS MATRA  
VELIZY-VILLACOUBLAY FRANCE  
CROTALE SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES R.550 AIR-TO-AIR  
MISSILES

FN  
HERSTAL BELGIUM  
RIFLES AND MACHINE GUNS

GEC TELECOMMUNICATIONS  
COVENTRY UNITED KINGDOM  
COMPUTERIZED ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT

HAIFA SHIPYARD  
ISRAEL  
MISSILE BOATS

HAWKER SIDDELEY  
KINGSTON UNITED KINGDOM  
HS-125 CARGO/TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CORP.  
PREFORIA SOUTH AFRICA  
MICROCHIPS

ISRAEL AIRCRAFT INDUSTRIES  
TEL AVIV ISRAEL  
GABRIEL SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES

LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT  
MARIETTA GA  
C-130 SPARES

MARCONI COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM  
MIDDLESEX ENGLAND  
COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS

NATIONAL PROCESS INDUSTRIES  
JOHANNESBURG SOUTH AFRICA  
EXPLOSIVES

OLIN  
MINCHESTER DIVISION  
MINCHESTER CT  
RIFLES AND AMMUNITION

PIAGGIO  
GENOVA ITALY  
P-166 CARGO/TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT

PLESSEY RADAR  
SURREY UK  
AR-33-TYPE RADAR UNITS

SANDHOCK AUSTRAL  
DURBAN SOUTH AFRICA  
PATROL BOATS

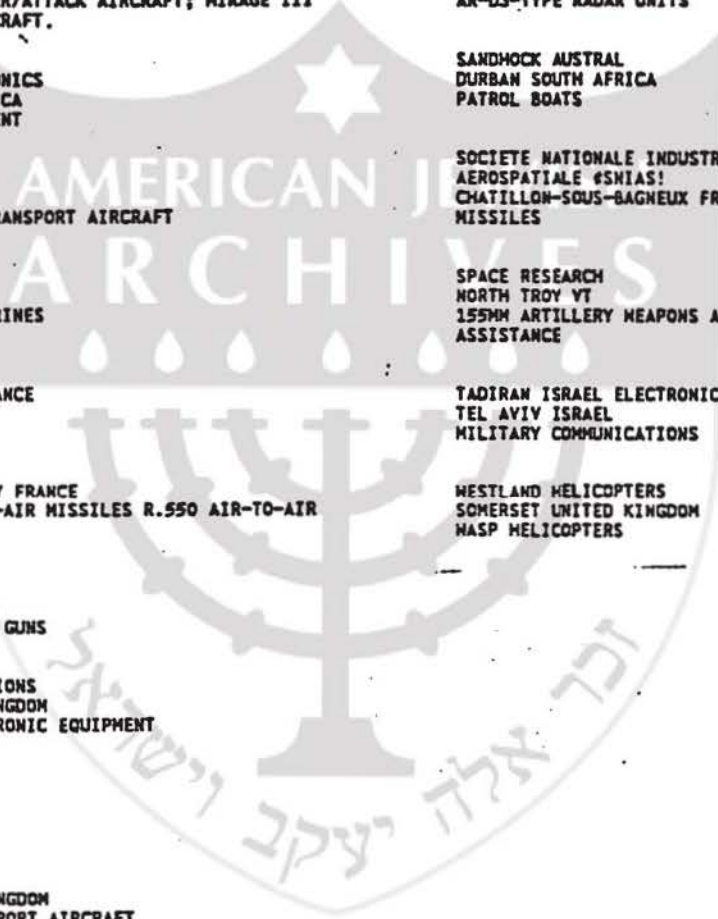
SOCIETE NATIONALE INDUSTRIELLE  
AEROSPATIALE #SHIAS!  
CHATILLON-SOUS-BAGNEUX FRANCE  
MISSILES

SPACE RESEARCH  
NORTH TROY VT  
155MM ARTILLERY WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION; TECHNICAL  
ASSISTANCE

TADIRAN ISRAEL ELECTRONICS INDUSTRIES LTD.  
TEL AVIV ISRAEL  
MILITARY COMMUNICATIONS

WESTLAND HELICOPTERS  
SOMERSET UNITED KINGDOM  
WASP HELICOPTERS

1986



(C) DMS Inc. 1986

**DMS** MARKET  
INTELLIGENCE REPORT®  
MIDDLE EAST/AFRICA

# South Africa

199

## Exports

## Imports, fob

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
<i>Millions of U.S. Dollars</i>														
<b>IFS World Total</b> .....	12,875	18,397	25,680	20,859	17,727	18,608	17,348	7,302	8,384	10,320	21,019	17,000	14,828	14,838
<b>DOTS World Total</b> .....001	12,852	18,397	25,684	20,853	17,647	18,612	17,377	7,218	8,362	10,327	21,015	17,028	14,844	14,909
<b>Industrial Countries</b> .....110	8,887	9,007	10,585	9,229	7,765	8,277	7,499	6,819	7,478	11,814	14,211	11,703	10,229	11,293
United States.....111	1,559	1,679	2,126	1,745	1,220	1,578	1,458	1,131	1,478	2,537	3,021	2,484	2,217	2,375
Canada.....156	130	203	266	233	123	107	117	86	116	180	247	178	139	166
Australia.....193	61	88	111	105	82	93	118	78	78	128	189	170	165	188
Japan.....158	876	1,129	1,551	1,591	1,533	1,391	1,335	947	863	1,869	2,245	1,711	1,709	1,834
New Zealand.....196	5	9	10	12	25	11	8	7	8	11	21	17	16	15
Austria.....122	18	18	30	17	15	18	15	39	55	72	115	71	71	73
Belgium.....124	297	404	411	353	347	314	287	132	160	224	286	217	211	240
Denmark.....128	29	77	109	135	159	110	89	25	30	56	66	63	60	70
Finland.....172	1	3	3	7	3	3	8	29	32	54	59	68	78	98
France.....132	318	418	524	529	415	339	385	547	659	703	1,018	708	656	668
Germany.....134	767	1,085	1,029	885	785	679	676	1,466	1,555	2,399	2,680	2,503	2,006	2,338
Iceland.....176	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Ireland.....178	64	78	66	58	48	53	48	13	25	27	40	44	60	48
Italy.....136	227	408	489	435	344	357	442	264	298	567	724	569	462	525
Netherlands.....138	230	253	310	269	255	315	413	172	188	254	287	236	219	271
Norway.....142	20	25	27	22	35	23	31	39	65	115	80	67	81	105
Spain.....184	111	131	123	104	106	106	109	55	65	82	124	101	80	120
Sweden.....144	19	24	24	30	24	28	28	91	121	186	204	172	145	205
Switzerland.....146	533	1,834	1,597	1,340	947	1,556	1,171	183	216	308	358	286	259	265
United Kingdom.....112	1,401	1,147	1,779	1,360	1,300	1,199	742	1,200	1,491	2,242	2,467	2,029	1,695	1,660
<b>Developing Countries</b> .....200	1,509	1,996	2,659	2,211	1,808	1,715	1,680	819	781	1,093	1,293	1,032	1,218	1,215
Africa.....805	615	878	1,412	1,188	834	717	618	282	304	371	362	305	290	284
Africa not specified.....799	615	879	1,412	1,186	834	717	618	282	304	371	362	305	290	284
Asia.....505	552	576	680	584	494	631	666	213	303	480	588	437	446	494
Hong Kong.....532	174	220	290	193	112	210	318	47	70	131	200	155	137	155
Korea.....542	27	75	74	100	116	158	169	17	19	33	53	47	57	56
Macao.....546	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	1	1
Maldives.....556	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Nauru.....836	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
New Caledonia.....839	2	4	3	3	1	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Papua New Guinea.....853	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1
Sri Lanka.....524	15	13	20	20	16	15	15	14	17	17	19	14	15	21
Asia not specified.....598	324	263	294	267	250	246	161	136	196	278	295	220	236	260
Oceania not spec.....892	1	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Europe.....170	113	132	102	82	87	107	135	23	27	34	46	32	37	45
Cyprus.....423	....	....	1	....	1	1	1	....	....	....	2	....	....	....
Greece.....174	28	50	40	21	27	41	34	2	5	4	7	6	4	5
Hungary.....944	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
Malta.....181	2	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1
Portugal.....182	56	68	38	27	35	30	29	12	17	26	32	22	29	38
Romania.....968	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Turkey.....186	10	13	24	35	33	35	71	1	5	3	4	3	4	3
Europe not specified.....834	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....
Middle East.....405	67	117	95	73	140	141	129	28	34	62	80	68	65	83
Israel.....436	67	117	95	73	140	141	129	28	34	62	80	68	65	83
Western Hemisphere.....205	182	284	370	288	234	120	114	67	84	166	238	183	380	310
Argentina.....213	17	30	54	33	22	13	13	11	12	16	18	20	171	113
Bolivia.....218	1	4	3	3	2	2	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Brazil.....223	90	133	171	71	77	18	35	87	58	100	131	112	148	139
Chile.....228	5	17	27	31	12	16	18	8	6	10	20	24	21	30
Colombia.....233	4	17	12	11	9	7	9	....	1	1	1	2	3	....
Dominican Republic.....243	2	2	5	3	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Ecuador.....248	6	21	24	14	11	6	5	....	1	1	1	....	1	....
El Salvador.....253	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Guatemala.....258	2	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1
Haiti.....263	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Honduras.....268	....	1	....	....	1	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Mexico.....273	11	17	13	13	14	3	6	2	2	4	3	2	4	4
Netherlands Antilles.....353	....	2	1	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Nicaragua.....278	1	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Panama.....283	2	7	....	....	1	1	....	....	1	2	1	....	1	....
Paraguay.....288	....	1	....	....	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	4	3
Peru.....293	8	13	21	20	12	12	9	5	3	14	43	12	15	3
Uruguay.....298	3	8	5	4	3	4	3	2	3	10	11	8	5	9
Venezuela.....299	10	18	34	79	68	36	14	....	1	2	....	....	....	1
America not spec.....393	1	2	....	1	1	1	....	2	3	4	10	9	6	7
<b>U.S.S.R., Eastern Europe, etc.</b> .....910	8	28	23	25	15	23	12	9	22	39	54	60	23	19
Czechoslovakia.....934	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....
Eastern Germany.....938	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....
Poland.....964	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	....	....
U.S.S.R.....974	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....
U.S.S.R., etc. not specified.....978	....	26	23	25	15	23	12	....	22	39	54	60	23	19
<b>Special categories</b> .....899	4,571	7,233	12,203	9,164	7,895	8,426	8,078	33	28	5,240	5,200	4,011	2,850	2,196

UPDATE: ARAB OIL TO SOUTH AFRICA

(Preliminary Findings based on recent reports of the Shipping Research Bureau and Lloyds Voyage Records)

\* During the period 1980 - 1984 South Africa imported \$10 billion worth of oil from the Persian/Arabian Gulf.

\* Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait and Iran are the main suppliers of this oil. This is in direct violation of the 1979 UN embargo on oil shipments to South Africa.

\* From 1980 - 1984, 167 oil tankers either sailed directly from the Arabian Gulf to South Africa, or upon their unloading of oil in South Africa ports, returned directly to the Persian Gulf.

\* These shipments represent 38.2 million metric tons of Arabian crude oil or 251.2 million barrels. This oil is valued at \$9.9 billion.

\* The ship data and dates of call in South Africa have been compiled from the Netherlands based Shipping Research Bureau, and cross-referenced with Lloyds Voyage Records.

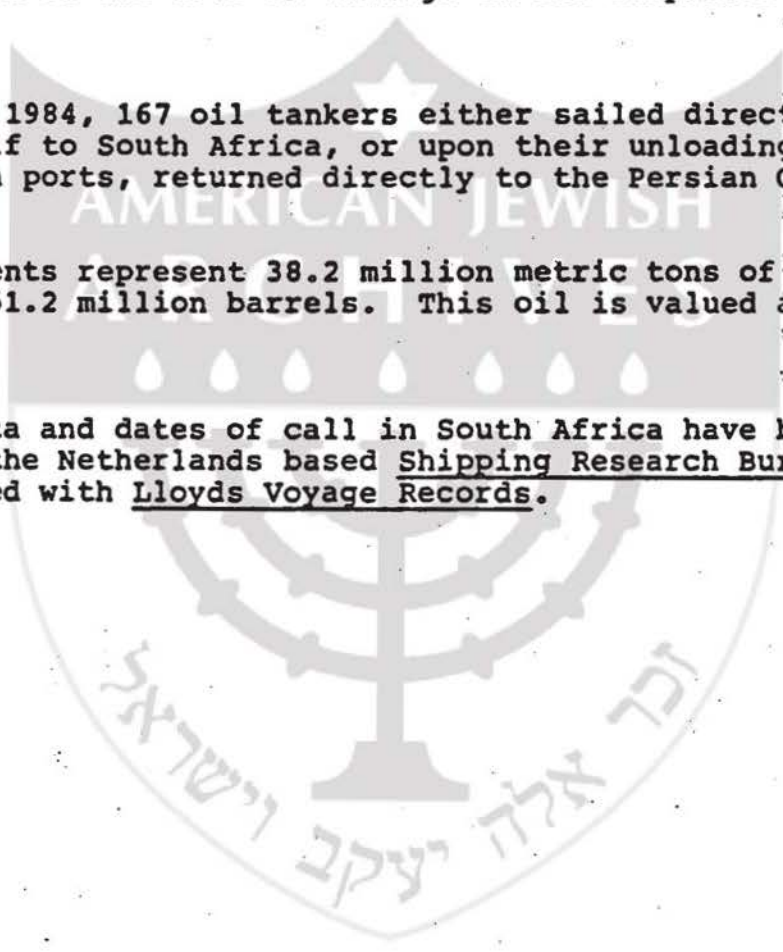




Table 10.4. South African sources of arms production technology

Weapon system	Type of technology	Origin	Start of design work	Start of production
<i>Aircraft</i>				
Impala 1	Licence	Italy	1966	1966
Impala 2	Add-on engineering	Italy/SA	(1974)	(1974)
C-4M Kudu	Add-on engineering	Italy/SA	(1973)	1975
Mirage F-1	Assembly/licence	France	1971	(1972)
Mirage F-1C	Licence	France	1971	(1972)
<i>Armour and artillery</i>				
AML 60/90	Licence	France	1962	(1966)
Eland 60/90	Add-on engineering	France/SA	1970	(1973)
Eland 20	Add-on engineering	France/SA	(1980)	(1981)
Ratel 20	Add-on engineering	Belgium/SA	(1975)	(1975)
Ratel 60	Add-on engineering	Belgium/SA	(1980)	(1981)
Ratel 90	Add-on engineering	Belgium/SA	(1980)	(1981)
Ratel Log	Add-on engineering	Belgium/SA	(1981)	(1982)
Sahre	Indigenous	SA	(1980)	Not produced
Casspir	Add-up engineering	SA/FRG	(1974)	(1975)
Hippo	Add-up engineering	SA	(1974)	(1976)
Buffel	Add-up engineering	SA/FRG	(1977)	1978
Samit-100 APC	Add-up engineering	SA/FRG	(1980)	(1982)
G-5 155-mm	Add-on engineering	Canada/SA	(1976)	(1979)
G-6 155-mm	Add-on engineering	Canada/SA	(1979)	(1985)
<i>Missiles</i>				
Whiplash	Foreign experts	SA/FRG	(1964)	Not produced
V-3A	Add-on engineering	France/SA	(1971)	(1975)
Kukri	Add-on engineering	France/SA	(1978)	(1979)
<i>Ships</i>				
P-1558 Type	(Indigenous)	SA	(1974)	(1975)
Reshel Class	Licence	Israel	1975	1978
<i>Selected ordnance</i>				
R1 rifle	Licence	Belgium	(1961)	(1961)
Uzi SMG	Licence	Belgium/Israel	(1955)	(1955)
MG4	Licence	USA	(1962)	(1964)
60/81-mm mortar	Licence	France	(1963)	(1963)
MPS SMG	Indigenous	SA	(1970)	Not produced
Mamba pistol	Indigenous	SA	(1975)	(1976)
R4 rifle	Add-on engineering	Israel	(1977)	(1977)
R5 carbine	Add-on engineering	Israel	(1977)	(1978)
<i>Selected other items</i>				
Valkiri	Add-up engineering	SA	(1976)	(1979)
Samit 20/SW100 truck	Add-on engineering	(FRG)/SA	(1975)	(1977)
Eyne RPV	(Indigenous)	SA	(1972)	(Produced)

Source: SIPRI.

208

## Arms production in the Third World

The attempt to follow the prescribed path to self-sufficiency in arms production was made, but the efforts to move from licensed production to indigenous production failed. Instead, beginning in the early 1970s, a different approach was taken: technology in hand, or accessible, was adapted to South African demands. The means of acquiring technology had to shift as the voluntary embargo tightened—from licence taking, to co-operation with individual companies or governments willing to risk international condemnation, and clandestine means. Because of the interpretation of the embargo as basically referring to end-products of a lethal nature only, it was relatively easy to get components from primary sources throughout the period. Another source of technology was the multinational companies in South Africa.

There was, in fact, no shortage of designs, blueprints, components and models despite the 1963 embargo. Beginning around the early 1970s, the South African arms industry was capable of integrating these into production projects. Two different models of such integration can be distinguished. One is called 'add-on engineering'. It refers to the adaptation of an existing weapon system to specific needs by changing components, adding features or taking them away, and trying to incorporate as many 'home-built' parts as possible. Examples of this kind of engineering are the Impala 2 aircraft, based on the Aeromach MB-326K but with a slightly different wing, different armaments and electronics, or the Eland, which is distinguished from the AML-60/90 by a different engine, more space in the front and different tyres.

The second type of engineering is called 'add-up'. The basic source of technology is not one specific system in production elsewhere, but rather components available from a number of outside sources that are then put together into a system not available elsewhere. This requires the availability of the major components and more technical capability than add-on engineering. Components were available, as was some amount of skill. Add-up was successful for lightly armoured and non-armoured vehicles and for the Valkiri, but not much else (see table 10.4).

A clear shift is discernible from assembly/licence to add-on/add-up engineering after the 1963 embargo. There was no such engineering before 1963, very little in the rest of the 1960s and a great deal in the 1970s.

No new licences have been acquired since 1977. Add-on engineering is the prevalent South African method, and the more demanding add-up engineering does not seem to have increased. The South African arms industry is concentrating on what it can do. At the same time, attempts are made to shift the frontiers of the continuing technological dependence, for instance, from the import of motors to some parts for motors (Atlantis).

In effect, arms embargoes have not had much effect on South African actual military capabilities. They did put a strain on resources, though, both financially and in the form of engineers, scientists and skilled workers. There are no official estimates of these costs, but a recurrent theme of all White Papers on Defence and Armaments Supply since the early 1970s has been that