



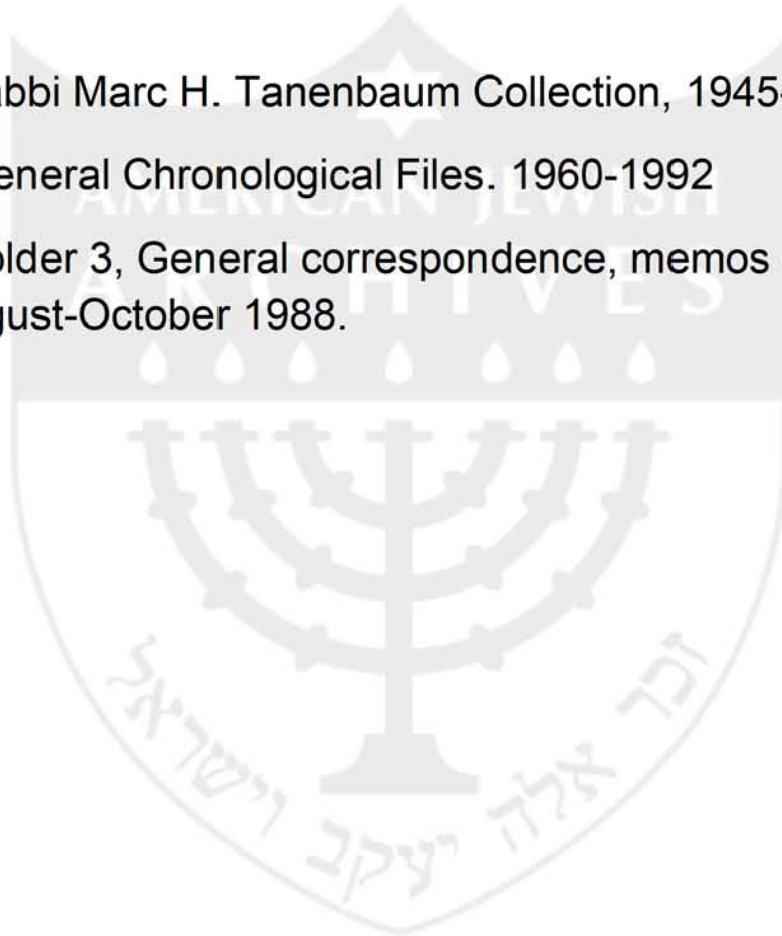
# THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*Preserving American Jewish History*

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

Series F: General Chronological Files. 1960-1992

Box 103, Folder 3, General correspondence, memos & working papers, August-October 1988.



# פקיסטאן - לעומת ו בארה"ב, שמספר תו

קוויט (ערך) הגניף שגורם למחלה הקסלנית איידס מתפשט כמורה התיכון לעיתים קרובות מבלי שאיש יבחין בכך. אוהרה זו השמיד אתמול מומחה ערבי לעיניי בריאת. קאום בהכאני, מנהל מרכז אוור ללחמה במחלת האיידס, שהוקם על ידי אגנת הבריאות העולמי, ציין כי הגניף הגורם את המחלה הקסלנית מתפשט באיור, למרות העובדה שעד כה רוח רק על מספר קטן של מקרים שבהם חלו האנשים באיידס.

מומחים בן לאומיים למחלה הקסלנית ופקיד משרד בריאות מ-21 מדינות מרח תיכונית הניעו לכויית, כדי להשתתף בוועידה שתמשך שלושה ימים. העומת להיפתח היום.

# חואן-קרלוס צעד ב בהלוויית אלמנתו

לא פרסמה הודעה רשמית על מותה • הצעו

מרד (אפי), המלך חואן-קרלוס המלכה סופיה, צעדו אתמול בין אלפי אבלים במסע הלוויה לגרמון סולו דה פרנקו. אלמנתו, על שלשה הדיקטטור של ספרד, פרנסיסקו פרנקו, מסע הלוויה צעד לבית האלמין בעיירה אל פארדו מעון למאריה, בעיירה גיט מסיבוכים, לאחר שלקחה בדלקת ריאות. היא הייתה בת 87 במותה.

ממשלת הסוציאליסטית של ספרד, נתגאלס יומיים לאחר כ לא מסרה כל הודעה רשמית של מות אלמנתו של 1973. העכיר המל השליט הפאשיסטי.

# הטטארים שהוגלו לא יורשו לשוב

ועידה בראשות גרומיקו הודיעה שמאה אלף הטט

בזכרם של אידונו מקישים את הכית. פלשתינים רעולייפנים חטפו את השוודי בן ה-44 הנורווגי בן ה-57 ליר צידון.

שניהם עכרו בצור הסמוכה כמסגרת סוכנות הסעד והתעסוקה לפליטים, המושיטה סיוע ל-280 אלף פלשתיים פלשתיניים בלבנון. מערי אמר כי נציגי "פתח" מקיי מים עתה מגעים כדי להביא לשחרור שני החטופים, ואם הדר

מספר פרטים שגלה כיהנתהם רע איתר את מקום החוקתם של שני העובדים הסקנר ריטויים של סוכנות הסעד והתעסוקה של האו"ם ואורו"א שנתקף פו ביום שישו בדורום לבנון, הוסיף כי הם עשויים להשתחרר בתוך 48 שעות.

אחד מראשי "פתח", אנאר מערי אמר לעיתונאים בצידון כי השוודים יאן סטנינג הנורווגי ויליאם וירגנסן מוואקים באזור "שבשליטת הפלש" היים המפלגות הלבנוניות לרבי

אנור"א מסרה אמר כי הוטיפיה של שני המתאמים של בדורום לבנון הם פלשתינים, הרי רועים בקשריהם עם פתח. עם זאת אמר, כי לחטיפה לא היו מגיעים פו ליטיים. עוד אמר מערי כי חברים של מספר אירגונים פלשתיניים פתחו בחיפושים אחר שני החטופים במחנה הפליטים עין אל-חלווה ועל הגבעות הסמוכות. הוא סיפר כי החטופים נמצאים בכית נטוש ליד

הפרוטוקולים של זקני ציון, טוענים שכל הבעיות ביפן - מירידת הדולר לעומת הין ועד הפלת המטוס הדרום-קוריאני - הן "מוימות יהודיות" • הספרים נמכרו כמיליון עותקים • דייוויד גורמן, פרופסור לספרות יפנית השוואתית באוניברסיטת אילינוי: הספרות האנטישמית אינה קשורה בישראל, אלא נועדה להטיל כתם על היחסים שבין יפן וארה"ב • הערכה: בטוקיו חיות 170 משפחות יהודיות ועד 1,000 יהודים נמצאים ביפן

# גל ספרים אנטישמיים מציף את יפן

האשינגטון (עסט"א) • מן הראוי שות (הודעה יהודי האמריקאי) היה שיהודי ארה"ב יקמו בטוקיו הרב העריך כי בטוקיו חיות בערך מרכז תרבות יהודי, כדי להפיק 170 משפחות יהודיות ולא יותר מידע נגד התרמית השלילית של מ-1000 יהודים נמצאים ביפן היפנים בקרב היפנים, אמר כאן במסעו נתון כלשות. הוא הדגיש כי בסוף השבוע הרב היחיד המכתה הממשלה הועם של יפן אינם ביפן, מלבד שוודים, הרב של מרכז אירעו ביפן מעשים משמעותיים של התרמית השלילית של היפנים כיום אנטישמית.

התרמית השלילית של היפנים היא לאחורונה תיאורו אלטו אמר כי שני נציגים היפנים טענו שיש להפיק 170 משפחות יהודיות ועד 1,000 יהודים נמצאים ביפן. השתתפו בחלק מריני הוועידה, הוא

הסיד כי אחר היועצים המדיניים של השגרירות אמר להם, כי התופעה של "ספרות אנטישמית ביפן לא תאריך ימים".

דייוויד גורמן, פרופסור לספרות יפנית השוואתית באוניברסיטת אילינוי, אמר בוועידה כי הספרות האנטישמית אינה קשורה בישראל, והיא נועדה כמפורש להטיל כתם על היחסים בין יפן וארה"ב וכן על היחסים ביפן ויפן.

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H A R E T Z 8/2/88 "סאנדיי טיימס" הבריטי:

# קדפי שיחד מפלגה שמאלנית בלונדון שתרגל אחר יהודים וציונים בכירים

"מפלגת העובדים המהפכנית", שהתפלגה ב-1985, שוחדה בכמיליון דולר כדי שתמסור מידע על צירי פרלמנט ואנשי עסקים יהודים • עיסקת הריגול שוחד וחממה דאפריל 1976 דולר על

4/87  
למשאבות  
לציוד  
וכפתורים  
סכיני מטבח  
כלים  
ציוד  
שונה  
ליים  
בריסטול  
גלד  
דירות  
בן  
משומשים  
ים ליושר

14.288-28 בימים ע"ג, ה  
מה להצעה של לצרף המאה  
בשעור 10% ממחירי הכולל

בשער 5  
ונת הצעה למכרו 4/87, יש  
לקוח חוד מס' 8 בנמל חיפה.

יום מתאריך קבלת ההודעה  
יצא.  
יכמרו זה אין נמל חיפה  
כל הצעה שהיא.  
ת. בן אליהו  
מנהל הנמל

# Congregation Beth Sholom



Rabbi Harry L. Rosenfeld

August 12, 1988


Dr. Marc Tanenbaum  
c/o American Jewish Congress  
165 East 56th Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Dr. Tanenbaum:

When we met at our synagogue last month, I did not realize that you are the Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Congress. Had I, I would have taken the opportunity to thank you in person for helping arrange our receipt of a "Westminster Synagogue Holocaust Torah". Its presence in our ark has added an extra measure of ru'ach and havanah to our congregation's worship.

I hope you found warmth and a touch with God during your stay in Alaska and at our tefillot. Please give my regards to your wife and please visit again.

B'shalom,

  
Rabbi Harry L. Rosenfeld



Jerusalem, 14 August 1988

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director  
International Relations  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022-2746

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

It is a pity that the Lambeth Conference adopted the Palestine-Israel Resolution which it did. It is a bad resolution indeed even though, as we know, it could have been even worse. Anyway, this leaves us with a whole lot of work to do. I still do not have details about the theological position taken by the Conference towards Judaism and the Jewish people but according to what I gather this too leaves us with a lot of work to do.

I was happy to hear that you are writing a book on "The Vatican, the Jews and Israel". I am already indebted to you for what I have learned from your articles and memoranda on this subject. How much more will I learn from a book written by you.

After studying the matter I now know that in principle Foreign Ministry files, including most of the classified documents, become declassified after 30 years and are opened by the State Archives for scholars. The State Archives is located in the Prime Ministers' Office. If and when you want to use these files I will be happy to make the preparatory contacts for you with the State Archives. "Younger" files are not open for review.

No doubt you are familiar with publications on the subject of your book, however, I would like to make sure that you are aware of the following two Hebrew books :

- 1) הוותיקאן וישראל ד"ר מנדס הוצאת המכון ליחסים בין-לאומיים ע"ש  
ליאונרד דייוויס, האוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים 1983.

(Mimeographed). Despite its name the book also discusses relations with Judaism. An expanded version of this book is to appear in France shortly.

- 2) הוותיקאן, ארץ הקודש והציונות, יצחק מינרבי 1895 - 1925 הוצאת  
יד יצחק בן צבי ירושלים תשמ"ו 1985.



In the forthcoming edition of "Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel" there will be a revised and expanded article on "Vatican" by Sergio Minerbi.

Last but not least I am enclosing photocopies of the front pages of two books: One by Fr. Bruno Hussar. The other includes an article by the same writer. The man is a Dominican Father born to assimilationist Jewish parents in Alexandria, Egypt. His first serious religious exposure was to Catholicism to which he later converted. He is an old man who lives in Jerusalem and has Israeli citizenship. He told me recently a fascinating story of his personal very active involvement in all stages of preparation and formulation of the section on the Jews in Vatican II. I strongly recommend that you meet with him and I am sure you will acquire new information on that critical chapter. If you accept the idea, I will be happy to make the contact.

I will be coming to New York in September for the regular session of the General Assembly, where I will be covering the Special Political Committee. I hope to see you then.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Uri Gordon'.

Dr. Uri Gordon  
Adviser to the Minister

International Jewish Committee

ON

Interreligious Consultations

8/18/88

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Chairman

August 18, 1988

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

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

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Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

MEMORANDUM !

TO:

Rabbi Jack Bemporad - SCA  
Dr. Leon A. Feldman - SCA/IJCIC  
Rabbi Henry D. Michelman - SCA  
Rabbi Wolfe Kelman - RA  
Seymour Reich, Esq. - Bnai Brith  
Israel Singer - WJC  
Elan Steinberg - WJC  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum - AJC  
Rabbi Mordecai Waxman - SCA

FROM:

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, chairman  
Dr. Leon A. Feldman, Consultant

RE M I N D E R - C O N F I R M A T I O N !

There will be a very important meeting of IJCIC to prepare the agenda for the coming season, before we meet formally with all members who represent the constituent agencies.

The agenda will also include decisions concerning the suggested Holocaust Consultation, scheduled for December 1988 or February 1989; and the invitation received by the WCC for IJCIC to send observers/participants to the forthcoming Consultation on "the Church and the Synagogue", to be held in Sweden, October 30-November 4, 1988.

It is urgent that you attend!

~~WEDNESDAY~~  
THURSDAY, AUGUST 24, 1988 at 9.30 a.m.

in the offices of the Synagogue Council  
327 Lexington Avenue (entrance 39th St.)

# International Jewish Committee

ON

## Interreligious Consultations

August 18, 1988

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Chairman

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\*

Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

### MEMORANDUM

TO: Rabbi Henry D. Michelman, SCA  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC  
Seymour Reich, Esq., B.B.  
Israel Singer, WJC

FROM: Leon A. Feldman

RE: Financing of printing costs of volume FIFTEEN YEARS

Several weeks ago, we sent you a memorandum concerning an outstanding bill in the amount of \$ 14,000 for printing costs for the volume FIFTEEN YEARS OF CATHOLIC-JEWISH DIALOGUE 1975-1985 PAPERS.

Each of our constituent agencies have an obligation to share in the expenses in the amount of \$ 3,500.

Too much time has elapsed already since the publication of this volume and no payment has been forthcoming. Dr. G.M. Riegner of Geneva, has indicated that if these obligations are not met by the end of this month, he would be forced to cover the above mentioned costs, in their totality, from his own pocket, which would be unfair to expect.

Dr. Riegner advised me again in a telex, dated August 16, that he is very upset for not having received any response from us to date.

Please give this matter your serious attention.

Thank you for your immediate cooperation.

*International Jewish Committee*  
*ON*  
*Interreligious Consultations*

July 26, 1988

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Chairman  
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AMERICAN SECRETARIAT:  
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327 Lexington Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10016  
Tel.: (212) 686-8670

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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

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P.O.B. 7739  
Jerusalem 91.077, Israel

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

World Jewish Congress  
501 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10022

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Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Mr. Israel Singer - World Jewish Congress  
Rabbi Henry D. Michelman - Synagogue Council  
Seymour Reich, Esq. - B'nai B'rith International  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum - American Jewish Committee

FROM: Leon A. Feldman

RE: Telex from Dr. G. M. Riegner, Geneva

Please note the attached telex communication from Dr. G.M. Riegner regarding the expenses incurred for the printing of the volume FIFTEEN YEARS OF CATHOLIC-JEWISH DIALOGUE: 1970-1985. The costs were approximately \$ 14,000 and our share if half of that amount. Since IJCIC is a partner with the Lateran University we will have to face the obligation as soon as possible.

Dr. Riegner indicates that, unless the account is not settled within the next three to four weeks, he would be forced to advance the funds from his own pocket, because it is impossible to delay settling this bill.

Thank you for your cooperation and immediate attention.



**WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS****CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL****CONGRESO JUDIO MUNDIAL**

|   |   |  |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| 1211 GENÈVE RD<br>1, RUE DE VAREMBÉ<br>CASE POSTALE 101<br>TELEPH. 341325<br>TELEX 280870 | NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016<br>ONE PARK AVENUE<br>TELEPH. 679-0600<br>TELEX 236129 | LONDON W1Y 7DX<br>11, HERTFORD STREET<br>TELEPH. 491-3517<br>TELEX 21033 | 75008 PARIS<br>78, AV. CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES<br>TELEPH. 369.04.63<br>TELEX 650320 | JERUSALEM<br>P. O. B. 4293<br>4, ROTENBERG STREET<br>TELEPH. 636646-636844 |
|---|---|--|--|--|

Geneva, July 20, 1988

To Israel Singer**TELETYPE**

Please convey copies to: Prof. Leon Feldman  
Rabbi Michelman, Synagogue Council  
Mr. Seymour Reich, B'nai B'rith International  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, American Jewish Committee

I have informed all of you through a telex addressed to Leon Feldman on June 9 that I have received a bill from the Rector of the Lateran University, Mgr. Rossanò, informing me that our share in the printing of "Fifteen Years of Catholic-Jewish Dialogue 1970-1985" amounts to approximately \$ 14,400, our share being half of the printing costs. I asked how we were going to proceed with this payment.

Until today I have not heard from any of you. I suggest that the amount be divided into four parts and that each organization will be responsible for one fourth, i.e. \$ 3,600.

I urge you to come to a quick decision and urge also that the amounts be sent to me within the next three or four weeks. I cannot let the Lateran University without reply any longer.

I have told Feldman that if I do not get the money until September 1st, I shall be forced to advance the money from my own pocket, which I consider unfair, but unavoidable.

Regards,

Gerhart M. Riegner

*International Jewish Committee*  
*ON*  
*Interreligious Consultations*

August 18, 1983

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Chairman

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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 Geneve 20, Switzerland  
Tel.: (022) 34 13 25

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

B'nai B'rith  
823 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

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

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Dr. Leon A. Feldman  
Consultant

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rabbi Henry D. Michelman, SCA  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, AJC  
Seymour Reich, Esq., B.B.  
Israel Singer, WJC

FROM: Leon A. Feldman

RE: Financing of printing costs of volume FIFTEEN YEARS

Several weeks ago, we sent you a memorandum concerning an outstanding bill in the amount of \$ 14,000 for printing costs for the volume FIFTEEN YEARS OF CATHOLIC-JEWISH DIALOGUE 1975-1985 PAPERS.

Each of our constituent agencies have an obligation to share in the expenses in the amount of \$ 3,500.

Too much time has elapsed already since the publication of this volume and no payment has been forthcoming. Dr. G.M. Riegner of Geneva, has indicated that if these obligations are not met by the end of this month, he would be forced to cover the above mentioned costs, in their totality, from his own pocket, which would be unfair to expect.

Dr. Riegner advised me again in a telex, dated August 16, that he is very upset for not having received any response from us to date.

Please give this matter your serious attention.

Thank you for your immediate cooperation.

World Council of Churches  
Consultation on the Church and the Jewish People  
Sigtuna, Sweden  
30 October — 4 November 1988

*Tentative Agenda*

Sunday, 30 October

Arrival & informal meetings

Monday, 31 October

8.30 Morning Prayers

9.00 Plenary Session

Roll Call

Welcome by the Swedish Church

Secretary's Report

Moderator's Report

*Discussion*

10.15 Coffee

10.45 Presentation of *The Theology of the Churches and the Jewish People*: Rolf Rendtorff  
Introduction of draft statement on "The Church and the Jewish People": Ted Stylianopoulos

*Discussion*

12.30 Lunch

15.30 Tea

16.00 Plenary Session

Discussion on the draft statement

Appointment of working groups to study and consider revisions of draft statement

Tuesday, 1 November

8.30 Morning Prayers

9.00 Plenary Session

"People and Covenant" — paper by Rolf Rendtorff

Response: Kofi Opoku

Mary Edwardsen

10.15 Coffee

10.45 Plenary discussion on "People and Covenant"

12.30 Lunch

15.30 Tea

16.00 Working Groups meet to consider draft statement in light of "People and Covenant:"

Wednesday, 2 November

8.30 Morning Prayers

9.00 Plenary Session

"People and Land" — paper by Martin Stöhr

Response: Ole Kvarme

Sami Gersiny

10.15 Coffee

10.45 Plenary discussion on "People and Land"

12.30 Lunch

15.30 Tea

16.00 Working Groups meet to consider draft statement in light of "People and Land"

Swedish Church evening

Thursday, 3 November

8.30 Morning Prayers

9.00 Plenary Session

Working Groups report and discussion

10.15 Coffee

10.45 Plenary Session

Discussion, continued

12.30 Lunch

15.30 Tea

16.00 Business Session:

Strategy for statement adoption

Future of CCJP

Evening: Final Drafting of Statement

Friday, 4 November

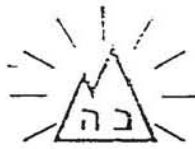
8.30 Morning Prayers

9.00 Plenary Session

Adoption of Statement

12.30 Lunch and Departure





# Centre for the Study of Judaism & Jewish/Christian Relations

Central House, Selly Oak Colleges, Bristol Road, Birmingham B29 6LQ, UK.

Telephone: (021-) 472 4231

Telefax: (021-) 472 3206

Electronic Mail: (Please Enquire)

Our ref: NS/bs

5 August 1988

Lambeth documents enclosed:

1. JEW, CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS: The Way of Dialogue Draft 3.  
This ends with the Resolution accepted by the Plenary Session when it endorsed the document on 3 August 1988.
2. Resolution on Palestine/Israel passed unanimously 4 August 1988.
3. *Jewish Chronicle* article of 5 August 1988 with reactions from Chief Rabbi and myself.

Please note: the "official" texts await publication, but there will be no alteration of substance.

Rabbi Dr Norman Solomon

JEWS, CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS: The Way of Dialogue

1 Whilst dialogue with all faiths is highly desirable we recognize a special relationship between Christianity, Judaism and Islam. All three of these religions see themselves in a special relationship to Abraham, the father of the faithful, the friend of God. Moreover these faiths, which at times have been antagonistic to one another, have a special responsibility for bringing about a fresh, constructive relationship which can contribute to the well-being of the human family, and the peace of the world, particularly in the Middle East. Dialogue is the work of patient love and an expression of the ministry of reconciliation. It involves understanding, affirmation and sharing.

The Way of Understanding

2 The essential condition of any true dialogue is a willingness to listen to the partner; to try to see with their eyes and feel with their heart. For understanding is more than intellectual apprehension. It involves the imagination and results in a sensitivity to the fears and hopes of the other. Understanding another means allowing them to define themselves in their terms rather than ours, and certainly not in terms of our inherited stereotypes. This means that in dialogue we may have to face some strange and even alien understandings of religion, as well as attractive ones.

3 In relation to Judaism this means, first of all recognizing that Judaism is still a living religion, to be respected in its own right. The Judaism of today is not that of any one of the sects of first century Palestine, and certainly not that of the plain text of the Hebrew scriptures. Its definitive works, such as the Mishnah and the Talmud, as well as its current liturgy, were produced by the post-Pharisee rabbis in the same period, the first to fifth centuries, within which the Fathers of the Church were defining the meaning of Christianity. Great care should be taken not to misrepresent Judaism by imputing to it, e.g. the literal implementation of "an eye for an eye," which was repudiated by the rabbis, or the denial of life after death. Judaism is a living and still developing religion, which has shown considerable spiritual and intellectual vitality throughout the medieval and modern periods despite its history of being maligned and persecuted. The Middle Ages saw great Jewish philosophers such as Maimonides, Bible commentators such as Rashi, and the Ibn Ezra, poets and mystics, as well as scientists and lawgivers. Our modern world is inconceivable without the contribution of Jewish thinkers from Spinoza to Buber, scientists such as Freud and Einstein, as well as musicians, artists and others who have helped shape our cultural life; we are, to our loss, less knowledgeable of the creative vitality of such Jewish spiritual movements of recent times as Hassidism and Musar.

- 2 -

Secondly, Judaism is not only a religion, as many Christians understand the word but a people and a civilization. Jews know and define themselves as Jews even when they do not fully share the religious beliefs of Judaism. It is against this background that the religious importance of the land of Israel to the majority of Jews throughout the world needs to be understood.

5 Thirdly, it is necessary for Christians, as well as Jews, to understand the profound changes and potential for good in modern scholarly understanding of the Bible. Modern biblical scholarship is increasingly becoming a joint enterprise between Jews and Christians. Recent Jewish research has shed much light on the complex and varied religious and social situation in Palestine during the first century of the Common Era (i.e. the era common to Jews and Christians). Some Jews have become very aware of Jesus as part of their own history, and their writings have brought home to Christians his Jewishness. Renewed study of Jewish sources by Christian scholars has led them to see first-century Judaism in a new and more positive light, and to recognize that some negative assessments of Judaism in the early Church are far from being the whole story. There were many different groups within Judaism at the time of Jesus and 'the scribes and Pharisees' reported in the New Testament should be seen as part of a wider discussion within Judaism. The New Testament picture of Judaism, written in specific historical conditions, needs to be supplemented by expressions of faith by Jews of the time if first-century Judaism is to be properly understood.

6 We now have a far better appreciation than ever before of first century Judaism, and not least of political factors which led events to take the course they did. The trial and execution of Jesus are now generally recognized to have been brought about to serve the interests of the Roman occupation forces and those Jews who collaborated with them. It was Rome, too, by its destruction of Jerusalem at the end of the Jewish War in 70 CE which forced a reconstruction of Judaism along much narrower and more rigorous lines than had prevailed earlier. And because with the fall of Jerusalem Jewish Christianity was greatly weakened, opposition between Jews and Christians became much more intense.

7 This new understanding of events is leading both Jews and Christians also to look at the way in which Judaism and Christianity came to part company and go their separate ways. Since many of the factors in this split were contingent on specific historical developments, and events need not necessarily have turned out the way they did, there would seem to be no reason why a new understanding should not develop, based on a reconsideration of what originally drove Christianity and Judaism apart.

8 Islam, like Christianity, is a living, world religion. Dialogue with Muslims needs to take into account the fact

that it has taken root in and shaped a wide range of countries and cultures. Contrary to popular opinion, for example, the largest Muslim country in the world is not in the Middle East. It is Indonesia in Southeast Asia. Over the last 14 centuries, Muslims have developed a rich and varied mosaic of cultural patterns, theological schools, mystics and philosophers. Its impact on the development of both Jewish and Christian thought and civilization has been profound. Medieval Jewish thinkers like Maimonides and Ibn Ezra wrote many of their most influential works in Arabic. The philosophy of Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists came to western Europe largely in translations from Arabic, the translators being in many cases Christians living in the Muslim World. If geometry is a Greek word algebra, alchemy and chemistry are Arabic. We call our number system Arabic because the Arabs brought it to us from India. The astrolabe and the architectural arch both came from Muslim scientists. We are sadly unaware of much of Islamic history and thought. So rich and varied is it, that many Muslims are not familiar themselves with some of the thinkers and movements which are historically, geographically or theologically remote from their own experience: just as many Western Christians are unaware of Byzantine Orthodox thought or of the life of the Oriental Churches and vice versa. One of the values of an informed dialogue is that it can help both partners become more aware of some of the riches of their own respective traditions.

9 In understanding Islam it is necessary for Christians to grasp the central place of Islamic law in Muslim life. Islamic Law, shari'ah, is based on the belief that God has, as a gracious act of mercy, revealed to humanity basic guidelines to live both individually and in society. Whereas Christians today tend to think of Christian faith as a personal commitment which can be expressed quite happily in a secular society, many Muslims believe that God has revealed his will on how the whole of society is to be ordered, from details of banking to matters of public health. Although based on the Qur'an, the sources of Islamic law are much wider. The picture becomes even more complex if one attempts to include the Shi'ites who are the majority in Iran. A long development independent from the majority Muslim community (Sunni) has resulted in a very different ethos and theology, making blanket statements about Islam almost impossible when Iranian and other Shi'ite thinkers are taken into account.

10 Islam, no less than Judaism, has suffered from Christian stereotyping. This is especially true of the notion that Islam is a religion committed to spreading its faith by the sword. History belies such a conception. It is true that the communities of the Middle East, North Africa and the northern half of the Indian subcontinent were originally brought under Islamic rule by military expansion. In many cases, however, they were aided by indigenous Jewish and Christian communities suffering under the yoke of the Byzantine Christian Empire. It was the grandfather of John



of Damascus who as mayor, opened the gates of Damascus to the Muslim armies without a fight and Muslims were the first to invite Jews to live again in the holy city of Jerusalem after Christians had forbidden it for centuries. Much of the part of the world which is now predominantly Muslim did not receive its Islam through military conquest. In fact, the majority of the territory won by Islam in its early advance was taken from it by the Mongols, who already numbered Christians among them, including the wife of Genghis Khan. Yet Islam converted its Mongol conquerors and central Asia remains Islamic to this day.

11 In fact, jihād, usually mistranslated "holy war," is a complex notion that needs to be seriously explored by Christians in dialogue with Muslims. The problem for many Christians is with jihād not in the sense of spiritual struggle (the greater jihād) but in the sense of armed struggle (the lesser jihād). Muslim views on the lesser jihād range from those who say it is a constant duty against all non-Muslims to those who argue that it is permissible only in self-defense, with myriad shades of grey in between. Even apart from the legal complexities, however, it is difficult for Christians to understand its place in Islamic thought. The Qur'ān speaks often about zulm (oppression or tyranny) and about fasād fī l'ard (corruption or evil doing in the earth). It speaks of the need for God's people to oppose these things, by armed struggle if necessary. Classical, and especially contemporary, Muslim views about jihād cannot be divorced from an understanding of this aspect of Islamic ethics.

#### The Way of Affirmation.

12 If Christians wish their own faith to be affirmed by others they themselves must be open to the full force of the attraction of the partner in the dialogue and be willing to affirm all they can affirm, not least when it resonates to the Gospel.

13 For Christians, Judaism can never be one religion among others. It has a special bond and affinity with Christianity. Jesus, our Lord and the Christ, was a Jew and the scriptures which informed and guided his life were the books of the Hebrew Bible. These still form part of the Christian scriptures. The God in whom Jesus believed, to whom he totally gave himself, and in whom we believe is "The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob". A right understanding of the relationship with Judaism is, therefore, fundamental to Christianity's own self-understanding.

14 Christians and Jews share one hope, which is for the realisation of God's Kingdom on earth. Together they wait for it, pray for it and prepare for it. This Kingdom is nothing less than human life and society transformed, transfigured and transparent to the glory of God. Christians believe that this glory has already shone in the face of Jesus Christ. In His life, death and resurrection

the Kingdom of God, God's just rule, has already broken into the affairs of this world. Jews are not able to accept this. However, both Jews and Christians share a common frame of reference, in which Christian belief in Jesus Christ is set. For it is as a result of incorporation into Jesus Christ that Christians share the Jewish hope for the coming of God's Kingdom.

15 Christian faith focuses quite naturally on Jesus the Christ and his Church. However, both these realities can and should be seen within the hope for, and the horizon of, the Kingdom of God. The presence and the hope for the Kingdom of God were central to the preaching and mission of Jesus. Moreover, Christians continue to pray daily "thy Kingdom come". Christian faith in Jesus the Christ and his Church have not superceded hope for God's Kingdom. On the contrary, it is through incorporation into Christ through membership of the Christian Church that Christians come to share in the hope for the Kingdom. We believe that if this hope for God's Kingdom was given its central place by both Jews and Christians this would transform their relationship with one another.

16 Christians and Jews share a passionate belief in a God of loving kindness who has called us into relationship with himself. God is faithful and he does not abandon those he calls. We firmly reject any view of Judaism which sees it as a living fossil, superceded by Christianity. As Paul, who believed Jesus to be the Messiah, put it:

God has not rejected the people which he acknowledged of old as his own. (Romans 11:2)

Again, he wrote:

God's choice stands and they are his friends for the sake of the patriarchs. For the gracious gifts of God and his calling are irrevocable. (Romans 11:28-29)

17 However, with some honourable exceptions, as when Jews and Christians lived at peace with one another in the Middle East for many centuries, their relationship has too often been marked by antagonism. Anti-Jewish prejudice promulgated by leaders of the state, and even of the Church, has led to persecution, pogrom and finally, provided the soil in which the evil weed of Nazism was able to take root and spread its poison. The Nazis were driven by a pagan philosophy, which had as its ultimate aim the destruction of Christianity itself. But how did it take hold? Further, although there are, thank God, many examples of Christians who tried to save Jews, the Churches as a whole were characterized by a deafening silence. The systematic extermination of six million Jews and the wiping out of a whole culture must bring about in Christianity a profound and painful re-examination of its relationship with Judaism.

18 Discrimination and persecution of the Jews led to the "teaching of contempt"; the systematic dissemination of anti-Jewish propoganda by Church leaders, teachers and preachers. Through catechism, teaching of school children,

and Christian preaching, the Jewish people have been misrepresented and caricatured. Even the Gospels have been used to malign and denigrate the Jewish people. The biblical call for love toward one's neighbour impels us as Christians to self-examination and repentance for our prejudice and persecution of God's covenant people. In order to combat centuries of anti-Jewish teaching and practice, Christians must develop programmes of teaching, preaching, and common social action which eradicate prejudice and promote dialogue and sharing among the biblical peoples. The Christian response to persecution and holocaust must be that of our Jewish neighbours: Never again!

19 The Second Vatican Council affirmed Islamic monotheism and spoke approvingly of Islamic devotion to Jesus and to Mary, his virgin mother. Islam stands in a particular relationship to Christianity because of its acceptance of Jesus as the promised Messiah of Hebrew scripture. At the same time, however, we note that Muslims do not understand this affirmation to imply a doctrine of the person and work of Christ which would be acceptable to most Christians. Nonetheless this affirmation of Jesus as the fulfillment of the Messianic promise is unique to Christians and Muslims. The same is true of the Islamic affirmation of Jesus as the Word of God, although Islamic Christology does not accept this as implying the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. At the same time, Islam affirms the Hebrew Scriptures and of the special relationship which God had established with the Jewish people "to whom he had show his special favour."

20 On the other hand, it has been the almost unanimous Islamic tradition to reject the crucifixion of Jesus as either historical fact or as theologically significant. The Qur'anic material relating to the crucifixion is highly ambiguous and there is the possibility of theological dialogue with Muslims on the interpretation and significance of the Qur'anic material on Jesus. We need not, however, totally reject the Islamic affirmation of Jesus, even as we challenge it in its rejection of his atoning work upon the cross. It is important to note that the Islamic rejection of the crucifixion is not ultimately based on a rejection of the concept of the suffering of God's righteous prophets. God's power is not perceived in Islam as a magical talisman against unjust suffering and persecution. The Qur'an often refers, as does the NT, to prophets of God which have been killed at various times in Jewish history. It accepts not only the possibility but the fact of prophets' death at the hands of the wicked. Nor can we say that Islam automatically rejects the positive value of suffering for others or in the cause of God. This it affirms strongly and in the Shi'ite tradition the concept of vicarious suffering is of fundamental importance.

21 The Second Vatican Council spoke also of the Islamic struggle to be faithful to the example of Abraham. The Bible, no less than Islamic tradition, traces the descent of

the Arabs, and so of Muhammad, to Abraham through Ishmael. This is important for Muslims in their understanding of the prophetic mission of Muhammad and of their relationship with Judaism and Christianity as religions which also have a special connection with the faith of Abraham. Even though most Muslims today are not Arabs, they feel, like Christians, that they are Children of Abraham by faith because of the message of Muhammad, descendent of Ishmael, son of Abraham.

22 Although Luther had already spoken positively about the faith of Ishmael, few Christians have given much thought to this child of Abraham, about whom the Bible says "God was with the lad and he grew up" (Gen 21:20). Although rejected from the line of the covenant, there is no Biblical evidence that this child, miraculously saved by God in the wilderness, ever abandoned his faith in the God of his father Abraham. The figure of Ishmael is theologically challenging for, although rejected from the covenant, he and his mother were the object of particular and miraculous attention on the part of God. Perhaps we need to challenge the negative assumptions that surround our reaction to this biblical character.

23 Christians also often feel challenged to affirm the devotion which Muslims display towards God in their prayers. This is clear not only in their ritual prayers but in their own personal prayers such as have been gathered together with Christian prayers by Kenneth Cragg, former Anglican Bishop in Cairo in his book Alive to God.

24 Christians may also affirm the sense of fellowship which Muslims often show to each other, regardless of language, race or national origin. They can also affirm early Islamic ideals of religious tolerance. At the same time they would want to challenge Muslims to develop those aspects of their tradition which imply a broader understanding of the unity of all people.

25 Christians would also want to affirm the deep Islamic reliance on the grace and mercy of God. Although often misunderstood and misrepresented by Christian theologians as teaching salvation by works, all schools of Islamic thought are marked by a deep sense of the gratuitous Mercy of God. This mercy cannot be earned by anyone because, in Islamic thought, no one can have any claims against God. All that God gives, he gives not because we deserve it but gratuitously. And yet, Islamic thought does not reject the importance of human cooperation with God in working his revealed will here on earth. In this respect the Qur'an speaks of humanity as God's viceregent (khalifah) on earth, and this line of thought is developed by many Islamic thinkers. Although some forms of popular Islam may seem to have degenerated into legalism and fatalism, the normative Islamic emphasis on grace and human co-operation should always be born in mind.

## The Way of Sharing

26 Dialogue does not require people to relinquish or alter their beliefs before entering into it: on the contrary, genuine dialogue demands that each partner brings to it the fullness of themselves and the tradition in which they stand. As they grow in mutual understanding they will be able to share more and more of what they bring with the other. Inevitably, both partners to the dialogue will be affected and changed by this process, for it is a mutual sharing.

27 Within this sharing there are two main attitudes towards Judaism within Christianity today. There are those Christians whose prayer is that Jews, without giving up their Jewishness, will find their fulfilment in Jesus the Messiah. Indeed some regard it as their particular responsibility to share their faith with Jews. Other Christians, however, are unable to make this prayer. Sometimes the reason is theological. Whilst Jesus called his people to the heart of their religion, he opened the way to God for gentiles; a way which was already open for Jews. For others, the main reason is the holocaust. This lays upon them a divine obligation to help affirm Judaism. Their prayer is that Jews may be faithful to God within their own tradition.

28 Both these approaches, however, share a common concern to be sensitive to Judaism, to reject all proselytising, that is, aggressive and manipulative attempts to convert, and of course, any hint of anti-semitism. Further Jews, Muslims and Christians have a common mission. They share a mission to the world that God's name may be honoured: "Hallowed by your name." They share a common obligation to love God with their whole being and their neighbours as themselves. "Your Kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven." And in the dialogue there will be mutual witness. Through learning from one another each will enter more deeply into their own inheritance. Each will recall the other to God, to trust him more fully and obey him more profoundly. This will be a mutual witness between equal partners.

29 Genuine sharing requires of Christians that they correct all distorted forms of Judaism and Islam as it requires of Jews and Muslims that they correct distorted forms of Christian faith. For Christians this will include careful selection and explanation of Biblical passages, particularly during Holy Week.

30 In this process it is important to remember also the damage that has been done to Christian-Muslim relations by a distorted view of Islam and by outright animosity. Both Jews and Muslims often shared a common fate at the hands of Christians in the Middle Ages and the centuries of warfare known collectively as the Crusades was directed primarily against the Muslims, although both Jews and Eastern Christians shared in the suffering inflicted by the Western

Christian armies as they advanced to and through the Middle East. Christians have upon occasion seen Islam as a Christian heresy and at other times as the mere product of human imagination. Scholars have always stressed the influence of Jewish-Christian monotheism on Islam, for it was born in an area where both Judaism and Christianity were practiced: We should always be careful about how we characterize another person's faith and try to avoid hurtful language. This is especially the case when, as with both Judaism and Islam, the unquestioningly negative characterizations of the past have resulted in much pain and suffering inflicted by Christians in the name of religion or where it has left a legacy of bitterness and division.

31 There is also much in the way of common action that Jews, Christians and Muslims can join in; for example:  
the struggle against racism, apartheid and anti-Semitism  
the work for human rights, particularly the right of people to practice and teach their religion.  
There is a common witness to God and the dignity of human beings in a world always in danger of becoming godless and dehumanized.

32 Understanding and affirming are already ways of sharing. However, if we are truly to share our faith we must not only affirm what we can but share our own deep convictions, even when these appear irreconcilably opposed to our partner's faith and practice. In the case of Islam particularly, Christians must first understand Islam if this witness is to be effective. Islam is a missionary religion, in some ways and in some areas more active and effective in spreading the faith than Christianity. This missionary zeal is not confined to the Middle East but is fervent in Africa, Southeast Asia and is apparent in the intellectual centers of the West. Muslims are often confidently superior to Christians in much the same way that Christians have often been towards Jews. Many Muslims would simply dismiss views which diverge from Islamic faith and practice with the conviction that if their partner only understood Islam they would be a Muslim. Christianity will only get a hearing by informed Muslims when it is clear that the Christian who is speaking understands Islam and yet remains a Christian by choice, not, as it were by default.

33 Many Muslims feel that Islam has superceded Christianity the way many Christians have traditionally felt that Christianity superceded Judaism (a view which the same Muslims would share). Just as Christian polemicists have often seized upon the writings of Jewish scholars to try to undermine the faith of the Jewish community, some Muslim intellectuals and propogandists rejoice when they feel able to use some pronouncement of a Western theologian to undermine Christianity and underscore the truth of Islam. Such pronouncements, tossed off easily in liberal societies, are pounced upon and used to damage small Christian churches in Islamic societies.

34 One pressing concern that Christians will want to share with Muslims is the need for clear, strong safeguards for adherents of minority religions in Muslim societies. Any interpretation of Islamic law that seems to deny basic human rights, including the right of people to practice and teach their own faith, must be challenged. We recognize that here there is positive ground for dialogue because Muslim thinkers of the Middle Ages were among the first to actually incorporate ideas of tolerance and safeguards for minorities within their legal systems; centuries before such ideas were advocated by the European Enlightenment. However, Muslim thinkers of today must be challenged to develop even more positive understandings of the role of minorities in society. In particular, the law of apostasy is undergoing considerable discussion today by Muslim thinkers and jurists and is an area where Christians versed in Islamic law must enter into dialogue with Muslims. In matters such as this the sometimes tiny, struggling churches set in Islamic societies need the support of the wider church.

35 It is quite clear that there can be no genuine understanding, affirmation or sharing with Islam without quite detailed study by at least some experts. In this respect Jewish-Christian dialogue is better served. Most of the important works of traditional and contemporary Jewish thought are available in English, French, Spanish or German translations (if indeed these are not the language of the original). Most of the basic works of traditional Islamic thought have not been translated into these languages and are accessible only to those with a knowledge of Arabic. Even today, although more Muslims are writing in these languages, most of the contemporary intellectual activity within the world of Islam is being conducted in Arabic, Urdu, Persian and Bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia. Valuable work is being done by Christian institutions, in which Anglicans play a part, such as the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations at the Selly Oak Colleges (Birmingham, U.K.), the Henry Martin Institute (Hyderabad, India), the Duncan Black MacDonald Center (Hartford, U.S.A.) and the Christian-Muslim Study Centre (Rawalpindi, Pakistan). There is also the new study center recently established in the Gulf by the Bishop of Cyprus. Such work needs to be extended and supported by the Churches of the Anglican Communion.

Resolution that the Anglican Communion:

Endorses the principles of this paper, Jews, Christians and Muslims: the Way of Dialogue, and encourages the churches of the Anglican Communion to engage in dialogue along these lines;

Sets up an Inter-Faith committee and that this committee, amongst its other work, establishes a common approach to people of other faiths on a Communion wide basis and appoints working parties to draw up more detailed guidelines, on a communion-wide basis, for relationships with Judaism and Islam; *and with other faiths*

*as appropriate*

Initiates talks, wherever possible, on a tripartite basis, involving both Jews and Muslims;

Supports those institutions which are helping Christians towards a more informed understanding of Judaism and Islam.





REF: ABB1 / VERMAN COMMON

RESOLUTION NO:

021-472-5202

LC88724

TITLE/SUBJECT: Palestine/Israel

SUBMITTED FROM: Christianity and the Social Order

TEXT OF PROPOSED RESOLUTION:

This Conference, saddened by the present suffering in the West Bank and Gaza Strip:

- 1 affirms the importance of the Church in the exercise of its prophetic role by standing on the side of the oppressed in their struggle for justice, and by promoting justice, peace and reconciliation for all peoples in the region;
- 2 affirms the existence of the State of Israel and its right to recognised and secure borders, as well as the civic and human rights of all those who live within its borders;
- 3 affirms the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including choice of their own representatives and the establishment of their own state;
- 4 supports the convening of an international conference over Palestine/Israel under the auspices of the UN and based on all the UN resolutions in relation to this conflict, to which all parties of the conflict be invited;
- 5 commits itself to continued prayer for Israelis and Palestinians, for Muslim, Jew and Christian, for the achievement of justice, peace and reconciliation for all.

PROPOSED BY:

*Passed unanimously without  
amendment.*

SECONDED BY:

(Any amendments to the above Resolution must be submitted to the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee not later than 1.00 pm, Tuesday, 2 August 1988.)

*Best wishes,*

*[Signature]*

# Bishops admit Christian role in antisemitism

From DAVID WINNER  
Canterbury

The Chief Rabbi, Lord Jakobovits, has warmly welcomed a resolution on inter-faith relations which the 500 bishops from all over the world attending the Lambeth conference approved on Wednesday.

He said that he hoped it would lead to "a new era in Jewish-Christian relations, centred on what we have in common, as well as on respect for our differences."

He expressed particular gratification at "the acknowledgement of the Jewish roots of their faith, the appreciation that a distortion of Jewish teaching had often led to persecution in the past, acknowledgement of the centrality of Israel in contemporary Jewish life, the rejection of all forms of antisemitism,

and the recognition that religious teaching provided the basis for traditional antisemitism culminating in the Holocaust."

Lord Jakobovits described the "qualified rejection" of evangelism directed at converting Jews as "an advance," but said that the "Jewish community would have welcomed an outright condemnation of all forms of missionary activity."

The resolution, proposed by the Rt Rev Richard Harries, Bishop of Oxford and adviser to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York on inter-faith relations, recommended delegates to "initiate talks, wherever possible, on a tripartite basis with both Jews and Moslems."

A document issued as a background to the resolution said that Christians today were being called into "a fresh, more fruitful relationship with Judaism." There was a common concern

"to be sensitive to Judaism, to reject all proselytising, that is, aggressive and manipulative attempts to convert, and, of course, any hint of antisemitism."

"Genuine sharing," the document added, "requires of Christians that they correct all distorted images of Judaism and Islam."

Even the gospels, the document conceded, "have at times been used to malign and denigrate the Jewish people. Anti-Jewish prejudice promulgated by leaders of church and state has led to persecution, pogrom and finally provided the soil in which the evil of Nazism was able to take root and spread its poison."

Rabbi Dr Norman Solomon, director of the centre for Jewish-Christian relations at Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, and a member of the committee which

drew up the document, described it as "an historic step which is going to provide a basis for our educational work and for working out a constructive definition of the Christian-Jewish relationship."

But he said it was "disappointing that several topics in the draft document had been cut out from the final paper."

The Bishop of Bristol, the Rt Rev Barry Rogerson, said on Wednesday that evangelism would continue and would not be "undermined by dialogue."

A resolution on "Palestine-Israel" was expected to be passed yesterday. It called, *inter alia*, for the establishment of a Palestinian state, while affirming the right of Israel to "recognised and secure borders."

The bishops expressed their sadness at "the present suffering in the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

JORDAN Aug. 12, 1988 (860 words)

**PLO OFFICIAL CONFERS WITH VATICAN ON WEST BANK SITUATION**

By Agostino Bono

VATICAN CITY (NC) — An official of the Palestine Liberation Organization has consulted with the Vatican over the decision of Jordan's King Hussein to cut administrative ties to the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

"After the decision of King Hussein there exists a great need to consult and talk with all responsible parties," said Nemer Hammad, director of the PLO Rome office, after his Aug. 11 meeting with Vatican officials.

The Vatican confirmed the meeting Aug. 12 and stressed its support for homelands for Jews and Palestinians.

It also drew attention to a document issued by the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem strongly criticizing "Israeli repression" in occupied territories. The document asked for direct negotiations between Israel and the PLO for an end to the occupation and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

The Jerusalem document said the PLO is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

In drawing attention to the document the Vatican did not issue its own opinion regarding direct negotiations or the PLO's role.

The Vatican meeting was "very useful for us," said Hammad in an Aug. 12 press statement.

The PLO is "for a Jerusalem and a Palestine open to all believers," he said.

The meeting came several weeks after King Hussein announced Jordan would no longer pay salaries of teachers and other Arab civil servants in the West Bank because the PLO was the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The king's decision was a direct challenge to the PLO to find the money and administrative skills to maintain the Arab infrastructure of the West Bank, which Israel captured from Jordan in 1967.

Father Giovanni D'Ercole, Vatican press spokesman, would not say what was discussed at the Aug. 12 meeting, but confirmed that Hammad visited the Vatican for talks with officials of the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church, which handles relations with governments and political organizations.

"The Holy See has held, for some time, contacts with the interested parties in the Arab-Israeli conflict, particularly on the Palestinian problem," said Father D'Ercole.

The aim is "to encourage as much as possible, attitudes inspired by moderation and realism," the Vatican spokesman said.

Father D'Ercole added that any solution must be based on support for Israeli and Palestinian homelands. He cited a Jan. 17 statement by Pope John Paul II.

"The Holy See supports the right of the Jewish people to have their homeland, but at the same time supports the same right for the Palestinian people," the pope said last Jan. 17.

Father D'Ercole also drew attention to a June report on the Palestinian uprising in Israeli-occupied territories issued by the justice and peace commission of the Jerusalem Patriarchate.

"The document indicates the sensibility and participation of the Catholic churches of the Holy Land in the drama and suffering of the people there," said the Vatican spokesman.

"The special interest of the Vatican in this problem is well-known," he said. But the spokesman added that the patriar

(MORE)

chate's commission is independent of the Vatican's Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace.

Also on Aug. 12, L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican newspaper, and Vatican Radio issued reports on the Jerusalem document and church sources in Rome made a copy of it available to journalists. But neither the Vatican newspaper nor Vatican Radio mentioned the document's support of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The nine-page document assessed the first six months of the Palestinian uprising which began last December.

"The entire unfolding of the uprising has shown that, on the whole, the Palestinian people recognize the PLO as their sole legitimate representative," said the document.

"Israel should accept negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization," it said.

Political negotiations should lead to "mutual recognition, including territorial, the right to self-determination, creation of a Palestinian state," it added.

The document said the PLO is "disposed to negotiation" but Israel remains "negative regarding this possibility."

The Palestinian uprising "is a truly popular movement" and has shown that "a good or sweet military occupation does not exist," the document said.

Palestinians have become more united through the uprising and more aware that they are "occupied and humiliated" by Israel, it added.

"Human rights are constantly violated in the occupied territories," the document said. It cited "violent repression causing injuries, mutilations and deaths," arbitrary arrests, deportations and "a judiciary double standard for Palestinians in occupied territories and Jewish colonist residents."

The uprising, while violent, rejects use of firearms and the violence is "intentionally at a low level," said the document.

Firearms have been rejected because "it is a field where for the moment the Israeli army is unbeatable," it said.

This rejection of firearms "in the face of many military and police provocations" is a "noteworthy thing" by a population "treated as terrorists," it added.

The uprising has "consolidated the ties among Moslem and Christian Palestinians," it said.

"They form a single people and are committed together in a sole national cause," it added.

"Christians and Moslems find themselves together in resistance and in jails," the document said.

The Jerusalem Patriarchate is headed by Palestine-born Patriarch Michel Sabbah, the first Arab to head the Latin-rite patriarchate.

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APR 08/13 1987 HOLOCAUST MUSEUM

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By MARCIA DUNN Associated Press Writer

FOOTDALE, Pa. (AP) — Amid the hills of rural Pennsylvania, where the Holocaust's horrors seem long ago and far away, a Polish parish is converting a church basement into a museum evoking the concentration camp where the "Saint of Auschwitz" died 47 years ago Sunday.

"I lived through the cruelties and atrocities of World War II, and I would like the people in this country to have some idea what transpired," said Stanislaw Dzicb, 55, an engineer from Krakow, Poland.

He and another visitor from Poland are transforming the basement of St. Thomas Roman Catholic Church into a museum made to look and feel like the concentration camp where St. Maximilian Kolbe died.

While honoring all those killed by the Nazis, the museum spotlights the Polish victims, especially Kolbe, a Franciscan friar who volunteered to die so a fellow prisoner at Auschwitz might live.

PHIExec Press (CR) for more :

PHIExecutive News Svc.

The 47-year-old priest, No. 15670 to his Nazi torturers, died by lethal injection on Aug. 14, 1941. He was declared a saint by Pope John Paul II on Oct. 10, 1982. A week later, a shrine to the saint was dedicated in the shadow of St. Thomas, an anchor of this ethnic, former coal mining town 50 miles south of Pittsburgh.

"So often in the United States, people speak of the extermination of 6 million Jews, quite forgetting the extermination of (millions of) Poles," Dzicb said, speaking softly in Polish. Many of the Jews killed by the Nazis were Poles as well.

Busloads of Roman Catholics from Pennsylvania and neighboring states, most of them Polish-Americans, regularly descend on the shrine, a small, stone structure topped with barbed wire and holding the ashes of Holocaust victims.

Many visitors are moved to tears when they hear the church's pastor, the Rev. Lawrence Hoppe, tell of the supreme sacrifice made by the frail, tubercular priest from Zounska Wola, Poland.

Even though it is incomplete, visitors also can visit the museum. Its dedication is planned for Aug. 14, 1989. Unlike the shrine, the museum is meant to reach beyond religion, according to Hoppe.

PHIExec Press (CR) for more :

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"I see the shrine as a place to come and pray, to develop some piety and some closer relationship with God," said Hoppe, 54, who is of Polish descent and translated for his Polish visitors. "The museum I see as more intellectual, academic."

Built in six cubicles lining two walls of the dimly lit basement, the museum is also more brutal to the senses. To lessen the shock, Hoppe and others plan to increase the intensity of the exhibits over time.

"We would not shock the public too much at once, (rather) prepare them, bring people into a theme of suffering, a theme of the terribly horrendous effects of war," said Wacław Rybotycki, 42, an artist and architect at the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow.

It is called the Expo Museum — "expo" meaning to expose the cruelty of the Nazis — and has the blessing of Francis Gajowniczek, 66, the Pole whose life was spared by Kolbe's martyrdom.

Dzicb and Rybotycki, who began planning the museum with Hoppe's predecessor,

arrived last month from Poland.

They brought with them 70 items for a display depicting the life of St. Maximilian and the atrocities at Auschwitz in Poland, the most notorious death camp (AP) for more :  
UPI/Executive News Svc.

concentration camp. They received help in compiling the collection from the National Museum in Krakow, the museum at Auschwitz and the Franciscan community founded by Kolbe in 1927 outside Warsaw.

The displays will include recreations of death-camp cells, photographs, tombstone-shaped plaques, an eternal flame and an oil painting by Rybotycki showing St. Maximilian about to die.

Edith Stein, a Jewish-born Carmelite nun from Poland who died in 1942 in Auschwitz's gas chambers, will be honored, and there will be scenes from the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals.

A stone wall of honor will commemorate U.S. servicemen who liberated the concentration camps.

Despite the despair, the overriding theme of the museum is the struggle between good and evil and love's ultimate triumph over hate.

"You cannot have peace unless you have justice," said Hoppe, who hopes the museum and shrine, through St. Maximilian's example, can help "prevent world war III, world war IV and any future world wars."

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277  
2285 Ocean Avenue, Apt. 1-H  
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11229  
August 28, 1988

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum  
c/o Radio Station W INS  
888 Seventh Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Rabbi:

I applaud your comments today over WINS. Unfortunately, in addition to a press free from government censorship, we need a press that is honest and that is something we, unfortunately, do not have. It is nothing new.

Minutes before I heard your commentary, the station told us that gang warfare in Los Angeles this year has taken 200 lives. Somehow, no one gets excited. Look at all the innocent by-standers - often little children - who are shot in this city in drug wars. No one gets excited. Just look at the Week in Review in today's The New York Times about the plight of refugees in Africa. Several months ago, The Jewish Press printed a letter of mine in which I asked whether a black human being living in the Sudan is less worthy than one living in South Africa. I pointed out that more blacks have been murdered in the southern Sudan in a week than in South Africa in a year. No death is acceptable. But, it is the Moslems of the north murdering the Christians and animists of the south. Do you know who wrote quite a bit about this, many years ago? They call this man a racist. He also kept writing about the Biafrins. He is Rabbi Meir Kahane. I recall several articles of his in The Jewish Press, asking that someone help these people.

This is from the Royal Commission Report under Lord Peel, July 1937:  
"The ugliest element in the picture remains to be noted. Arab nationalism in Palestine has not escaped infection with the foul disease which has so often defiled the cause of nationalism in other lands. Acts of 'terrorism' in various parts of the country have long been in the newspapers...intimidation at the point of a revolver has become a not infrequent feature of Arab politics. Attacks by Arabs on Jews, unhappily, are no new thing. The novelty in the present situation is attacks by Arabs on Arabs. For an Arab to be suspected of a lukewarm adherence to the nationalist cause is to invite a visit from a body of 'gunmen'."

I do not have the figures for the attack on the colony at Tel Hai on February 29, 1920 when Yosef Trumpeldor was murdered, but most were murdered. The pogrom on the Festival of Nebi Mussa, April 1920: 5 Jews murdered, 211 wounded. May 1921 - 47 murdered and 146 wounded. 1929 Hebron, Jerusalem, Safad and Tiberias - 133 murdered, 339 wounded and 6 colonies wiped out. 1936-39 1,791 murdered and 3,288 injured. Kristalnacht, November 2 - 5, 1945 in Cairo, Alexandria and Tripoli (Libya) - 170 murdered, about 500 wounded, shops looted, windows smashed, synagogues destroyed, Sifrei Torah and other religious books burned and desecrated.

From a UN report: "UNRWA: A Brief History, 1950-1982" - that in Gaza "tensions generated at frequent intervals" but somehow Egypt managed to quell the riots, except in February 1955 when the Egyptians had to use "draconian measures" to put down the riots by "refugees and others". The report does not spell out the "draconian measures" nor does it identify "others." And, in Jordan in the mid-fifties when the riots spread from Jordan to Judea and Samaria and 40 people were killed. But, that was ignored because Egypt, Syria and the Saudis were behind the riots.

Just thought these facts would be of interest for your future use.

Sincerely,  
Mrs. Daniel Friedman

*Daniel Friedman*

**THE MILITARY BALANCE  
BETWEEN ISRAEL  
AND THE ARAB STATES**

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

**A Reassessment**

Gary Wolf



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A Reassessment

Gary Wolf



Gary Wolf is a research analyst in the Middle East Affairs Division of the AJC's International Relations Department.



## THE MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES: A REASSESSMENT

by Gary Wolf

### I. Introduction

The Arab-Israeli conflict has been a fact of life in the Middle East for 40 years. Throughout this period, militant Arab states have employed a variety of weapons, tactics, and coalitions in their effort to weaken and undermine Israel. Although absorbing heavy losses, Israel has held firm in the face of this threat.

Yet the recent use of missiles and weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East could foretell an Arab-Israeli war of unprecedented proportions. Although Egypt first used chemical weapons over twenty years ago in the Yemen war, never before have these hideous weapons been used in the region on such a large scale.

One major effect of the combatants' use of chemical warfare and missile attacks on population centers in the Iran-Iraq war has been the regional breaking of international taboos on warfare. This could have dire consequences for Israel. A Syrian chemical attack on an Israeli city, for example, would no longer be a regionally unprecedented act; the same holds true for a missile attack on an urban area. Nor is a future nuclear attack completely unthinkable.

In this report, the current state of the Arab-Israel military balance will be evaluated, in order to assess the threat now facing Israel. Both conventional and non-conventional Arab military capabilities will be examined, followed by a discussion of the strategy Israel has developed to cope with the ominous new threats. Reflections will then be offered as to what can be done to preserve Israel's deterrence and overall security.

This study concerns itself with the threat of all-out war between the Arab states and Israel. Other aspects of the Israeli security dilemma, such as terrorism, are not discussed here, although they certainly constitute a security problem for Israel. What distinguishes interstate war is the totality of the threat that it poses -- the danger of Israel's annihilation.

In addition to chemical warfare and missile proliferation, there are several other reasons for undertaking a reassessment of the military balance between Israel and the Arab world:

1. The Third World Arms Race In June, 1988, Secretary of State George P. Shultz warned that "advanced weapons technology is spreading throughout the globe." Arms transfers to developing countries have reached very high levels; in the five years 1982-86, these

countries imported \$180.3 billion worth of arms.<sup>1</sup>

At the center of this arms explosion stands the Middle East. This region accounted for over 35 percent of the world's arms imports during 1986.<sup>2</sup> Not only do these weapons add to the military instability of the region, they also result in a severe economic drain. The Middle East has the world's highest military spending burden of any region when viewed as a percentage of GNP -- it was estimated to be over 16 percent in 1986.<sup>3</sup>

2. Soviet Influence Of concern to Americans and Israelis alike are the ongoing Soviet efforts at achieving a strategic power base in the Middle East. One of the means for obtaining this objective has been military aid to Arab regimes. Soviet weaponry is found in abundance throughout the region; the USSR supplied 33 percent of all arms going to the Middle East from 1982 to 1986.<sup>4</sup>

3. Territorial Compromise Recent events in the Middle East, most notably the uprising in the West Bank and Gaza, have prompted efforts aimed at renewing the Arab-Israeli peace process. As this process accelerates, demands are increasingly being made for Israeli concessions, be they territorial or other. These demands are partially based, implicitly or explicitly, on varying conceptualizations of the military and strategic balance between Israel and the Arab world.

4. Nuclear Weapons The spectre of atomic warfare in the Middle East is a horrifying possibility. Any development in the region that would facilitate the conduct of nuclear war (such as the proliferation of more advanced delivery systems) must be watched carefully. In the immediate future, however, the use of these weapons is unlikely, due to several factors:

- a) Most observers conclude that none of the Arab countries now possesses atomic weapons. Even Iraq, thought to be the most advanced in this field, has yet to attain a nuclear capability.
- b) The countries of the Middle East are "one-bomb countries"; in other words, each has only one or two major cities, making them extremely vulnerable to nuclear retaliation. Launching a first strike would be excessively risky: only one successful retaliatory strike from the other side would be needed to devastate the heart of the initiator's country.
- c) Israel has followed a policy of pre-emptive attack of nuclear facilities, when it was clear that those facilities were being used for the development of atomic weapons that would threaten Israel's survival.

## II. Overall Arab/Israel Balance

In this section, the aggregate military balance between Israel and the Arab world will be examined. The analysis will be divided into two parts: Israel compared with the Arab countries as a whole; and Israel vis-à-vis the surrounding Arab states. The first section will provide an overview of the array of forces available to the Arab world; the second will focus

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers* (1987).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The actual amount was \$13.12 billion out of a world total of \$36.76 billion.

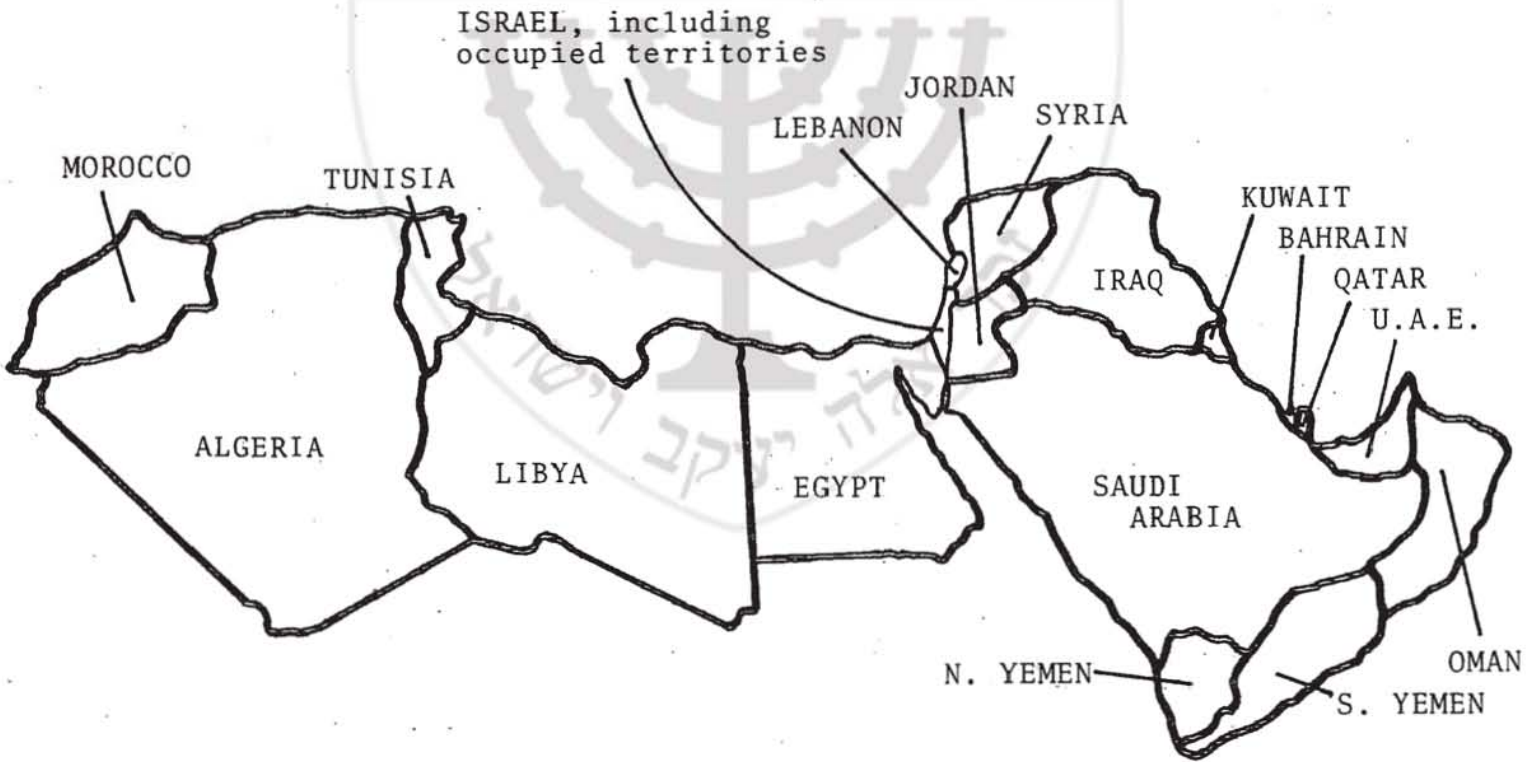
<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. During the same period, the U.S. supplied only 16 percent.

on the actual forces with which Israel would probably have to contend upon the outbreak of conflict.

1. Israel Compared With the Arab World The Arab world<sup>5</sup> clearly presents an overwhelming quantitative challenge to Israel's security. These countries encompass some 3.67 million square miles, with a total population of over 168 million. Spending around \$49 billion annually on arms, together they field armed forces (not including reserves) of over 2.6 million men.<sup>6</sup> These numbers are compared with Israeli figures in the table below:<sup>7</sup>

| <u>Element</u>             | <u>ARAB WORLD</u> | <u>ISRAEL</u> <sup>8</sup> | <u>Israel as % of Arab</u> |
|----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Area (sq. mi.)             | 3,670,000         | 8,300                      | 0.23                       |
| Population                 | 168,000,000       | 4,400,000                  | 2.6                        |
| Annual military spending   | \$49 billion      | under \$4 billion          | 8.1                        |
| Total troops (non-reserve) | 2,600,000         | 141,000                    | 5.4                        |



<sup>5</sup> Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates (U.A.E.), N. Yemen, and S. Yemen. The Sudan is excluded because of its sizable non-Arab population.

<sup>6</sup> These data are taken primarily from *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers*, op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> The figures on Israel are from the International Institute For Strategic Studies (London), *The Military Balance* (1987-88).

<sup>8</sup> Not including the West Bank and Gaza.

2. Israel vis-a-vis the Surrounding Arab States (Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. Iraq is included because of its consistent participation in wars against Israel; Lebanon is excluded because it is not a unified state, and has no national army to speak of.) These Arab states have an area of 1.5 million square miles, a population of 95 million, total non-reserve armed forces of 2 million men, and spend over \$37 billion annually on the military.<sup>9</sup> Thus even when only the Arab states in close proximity are considered, Israel is still far outnumbered.

These countries have considerably expanded their armed forces since 1973. Egypt, Syria, and Jordan had 25 percent more divisions in 1986 than in 1973, with double the number of mechanized divisions.<sup>10</sup> They possessed 60 percent more tanks and twice as many aircraft in 1986 as they had in 1973.

Data for several elements of military strength are shown in the table below:<sup>11</sup>

| <u>Element</u>               | <u>SURROUNDING ARAB STATES</u> | <u>ISRAEL</u>                 | <u>Israel as % of Arab</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Total troops (non-reserve)   | 2,000,000                      | 141,000                       | 7                          |
| Reserve troops               | 1,561,000                      | 504,000                       | 32                         |
| Combat planes                | 1,700                          | 676 (up to 90 are in storage) | 39                         |
| Armed helicopters            | 357                            | 76                            | 21                         |
| Tanks                        | 12,300                         | 3,900                         | 31                         |
| Naval combat vessels*        | 163                            | 29                            | 17                         |
| Artillery guns and mortars** | 10,500                         | 1,100                         | 10.5                       |

\* Not including patrol boats, minesweepers, and landing craft.

\*\*Not including SSM (surface-to-surface) and SAM (surface-to-air) missiles.

The preceding analysis gives us an idea of the aggregate force with which Israel must contend. Yet it is also necessary to examine in detail the force structures of the individual states involved, since there is a significant asymmetry of forces and capabilities within this bloc. Syria, for example, because of its arsenal, behavior, capabilities and geographic position, poses a much greater threat to Israel than does Saudi Arabia.

A detailed examination of each state's forces is necessary as a basis for evaluating the

<sup>9</sup> Data are taken primarily from *The Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> The data in this paragraph are from A. Levran (ed.), *The Middle East Military Balance* (1986). Tel Aviv and Boulder: Jerusalem Post & Westview Press, 1987.

<sup>11</sup> Data for the table taken primarily from *The Military Balance*, op. cit.



qualitative gap between Israel and the Arab states. This gap, usually thought to be in Israel's favor, has been significantly narrowed in the 15 years since the Yom Kippur War. When discussing the qualitative balance, one must bear in mind two separate aspects: quality of technology and quality of manpower and command structures. The former has accounted for most of the progress made by the Arab states. According to Amnon Efrat, an Israeli expert on military affairs, Israel has had to contend with these states' across-the-board entry into the field of modern electronics during the late 1970s and early 80s.<sup>12</sup> New weaponry was introduced that included night scopes (SLS), laser range-finders, scatter mines, cluster bombs and guided munitions, and greatly improved anti-tank missiles.

When it comes to quality of manpower, however, the Arab states still have serious obstacles to overcome. The first is the paucity of skilled manpower, stemming from a weakness in vocational education. Syria, for example, had severe difficulty maintaining a sufficient number of qualified pilots when it began to implement the large-scale expansion of its air force. Second, the Arabs have had difficulty absorbing certain highly complex weapons systems.<sup>13</sup> Third, Arab armies have traditionally suffered from rigid, doctrinaire command structures that leave little room for lower level initiative.

Nevertheless, these problems are slowly being overcome, as the Arab states make the transition from Soviet to Western military hardware and support structures. In addition to supplying what are usually superior weapons, the West shares important tactical knowledge and Western suppliers conduct large-scale training programs with their Arab clients, thus helping to narrow the qualitative gap.<sup>14</sup> Pilots and other personnel are being trained in France, Great Britain, the U.S., and elsewhere. The newly acquired command and organizational methods were tested in the field during the major mobile and offensive exercises conducted in 1986 in Jordan, Egypt, and Syria.<sup>15</sup>

### III. Individual Arab States

#### 1. Syria

Syria currently represents the greatest security threat to Israel. This country has been waging war against Israel, either directly or by proxy, continuously since Israel's War of Independence in 1948. The dictatorial regime of Hafez al-Assad is buttressed to a great extent by its war on Zionism. Assad has made no secret of Syria's desires regarding Israeli territory. As he said in 1974,

Palestine is not only part of the Arab homeland but also a basic part of South Syria. We consider it our right and duty to insist that Palestine should remain a free part of our Arab homeland and of our Arab Syrian country.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Arab Armament in the 80's* (Israel Universities Study Group for Middle Eastern Affairs, 1983).

<sup>13</sup> An example of this problem was the Egyptian difficulty in handling the Phantom F-4 jets (*Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.).

<sup>14</sup> According to a senior Israeli commander, interviewed by K. Kaplan in the *Jerusalem Post*, 6/19/88.

<sup>15</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit. Ironically these changes come at a time when the Soviets have started to produce and sell weapons that are in many respects as advanced as their Western counterparts.

<sup>16</sup> M. Gilbert, *Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. New York: Macmillan, 1974.

Syria is thought by senior Israeli military analysts to be, at the present time, the "only serious potential candidate for war with Israel"; of its nine ground divisions, six are concentrated near the Israeli border in the Golan Heights.<sup>17</sup>

The Soviets maintain close military ties with Syria. Over 2,000 Soviet advisors and technicians are reportedly present there. During the years 1980-85, \$10.3 billion worth of arms were delivered to Syria by the USSR; this is double the figure for the previous five years.<sup>18</sup> At present, the USSR is expanding its naval anchorage at Tartus, Syria, in order to provide full docking facilities for the Soviet Mediterranean fleet.<sup>19</sup>

Between 1973 and 1986, the Syrians carried out a tremendous build-up of military strength. Although economic constraints have forced recent cutbacks, the current number of regular troops represents a 65 percent increase over the 1973 level.<sup>20</sup> To accommodate the expanded number of troops and weapons, the Syrians have overhauled their command system; two new corps headquarters were created in 1985 to facilitate deployment.

| <u>Element</u> <sup>21</sup> | <u>SYRIA</u> | <u>ISRAEL</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Total troops (non-reserve)   | 408,000      | 141,000       |
| Reserve troops               | 272,000      | 504,000       |
| Combat planes                | 600          | 676           |
| Armed helicopters            | 110          | 76            |
| Tanks                        | 4,000        | 3,900         |
| Naval combat vessels         | 37           | 29            |
| Artillery guns and mortars   | 3,500        | 1,100         |

The Syrian navy has also undergone expansion. It now possesses nearly twice the number of naval combat vessels it had in 1982.<sup>22</sup> These vessels include three submarines (Syria had no subs from 1961 to 1986), two frigates, and 32 fast attack craft. The navy also

<sup>17</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> M. N. Krämer, "Soviet Arms Transfers to the Third World." *Problems of Communism*, Sept.-Oct. 1987.

<sup>19</sup> R. Pear in the *New York Times* 8/28/88. According to Rear Admiral William O. Studeman, Director of the National Security Agency, the new facility will "obviate the necessity of frequent naval transits to home ports in the Black Sea. It would permit longer deployments and an overall increased Soviet presence..."

<sup>20</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> Most of the data in the table are from *The Military Balance*, op. cit. Syrian tanks include 1,100 top-of-the-line Soviet T-72s.

<sup>22</sup> AIPAC testimony to the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, 4/27/88.

employs some 17 helicopters equipped for anti-submarine warfare.<sup>23</sup>

The Syrian air force is well stocked with Soviet equipment, including about 120 MiG-23 "Flogger" fighter planes.<sup>24</sup> Syria has recently taken delivery of the advanced MiG-29 fighter, which is roughly equivalent to the American F-15 and F-16. In air defense, the Syrians have greatly expanded and upgraded their surface-to-air missile (SAM) batteries, almost quadrupling their number between 1973 and 1986.<sup>25</sup> Syrian SAMs in Lebanon have succeeded in curtailing Israel's aerial reconnaissance capabilities on that front.

One of the greatest threats to Israel's security is the growing arsenal of Syrian surface-to-surface missiles (SSMs). These weapons could reach Israel's heartland and cause substantial destruction in a matter of minutes (see map on next page). For example, a Scud-B, fired from positions 15 miles behind Syrian lines, could reach Tel-Aviv in slightly over three minutes.

The Syrian SSM arsenal contains three major types of missile: the Frog-7 (actually an "unguided rocket"), the Scud-B, and the SS-21 "Scarab." The Frogs, used back in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, are short-range and relatively inaccurate. The liquid-fuel Scuds, with a range of 175 miles, are accurate, and can be fitted with a chemical warhead. The solid-fuel SS-21s, developed in the mid-1970s, are an advanced and accurate Soviet SSM with a range of 75 miles<sup>26</sup>; they can carry either nuclear, conventional, or chemical warheads. (It is interesting to note that the Syrians received the SS-21 in 1983, even before any of the USSR's Warsaw Pact allies.<sup>27</sup>) The Soviets, however, have thus far refused Syrian requests to purchase the new SS-23 "Spider," which has a range of 500 miles.<sup>28</sup>

Syria could also hit Israel with its "Sepal" (SSC-1B) shore-to-sea coastal defense missiles. With a range of 155 miles, these missiles can reach targets in the Haifa area.<sup>29</sup>

There have been reports that the Syrians have discussed with the Chinese the possibility of acquiring their new "M-9" SSM. This missile, still in the development stage, probably has a range of about 375 miles.<sup>30</sup> The Reagan Administration has made it known that it would view "with deep concern" the sale of these missiles to Syria.<sup>31</sup> Both Syria and China have denied that an M-9 sale is being negotiated.

When SSM's are fitted with chemical warheads, they become an ominous threat. Many observers believe that Syria possesses the most advanced chemical warfare capability in the Arab world, surpassing even Iraq in this field. One of the more frightening types of Syrian

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<sup>23</sup> *The Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit. At least half of these batteries are of the self-propelled variety.

<sup>26</sup> *Washington Post*, 4/5/88. A solid-fuel missile of this type can be prepared for launch in about half the time as those powered by liquid fuel.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

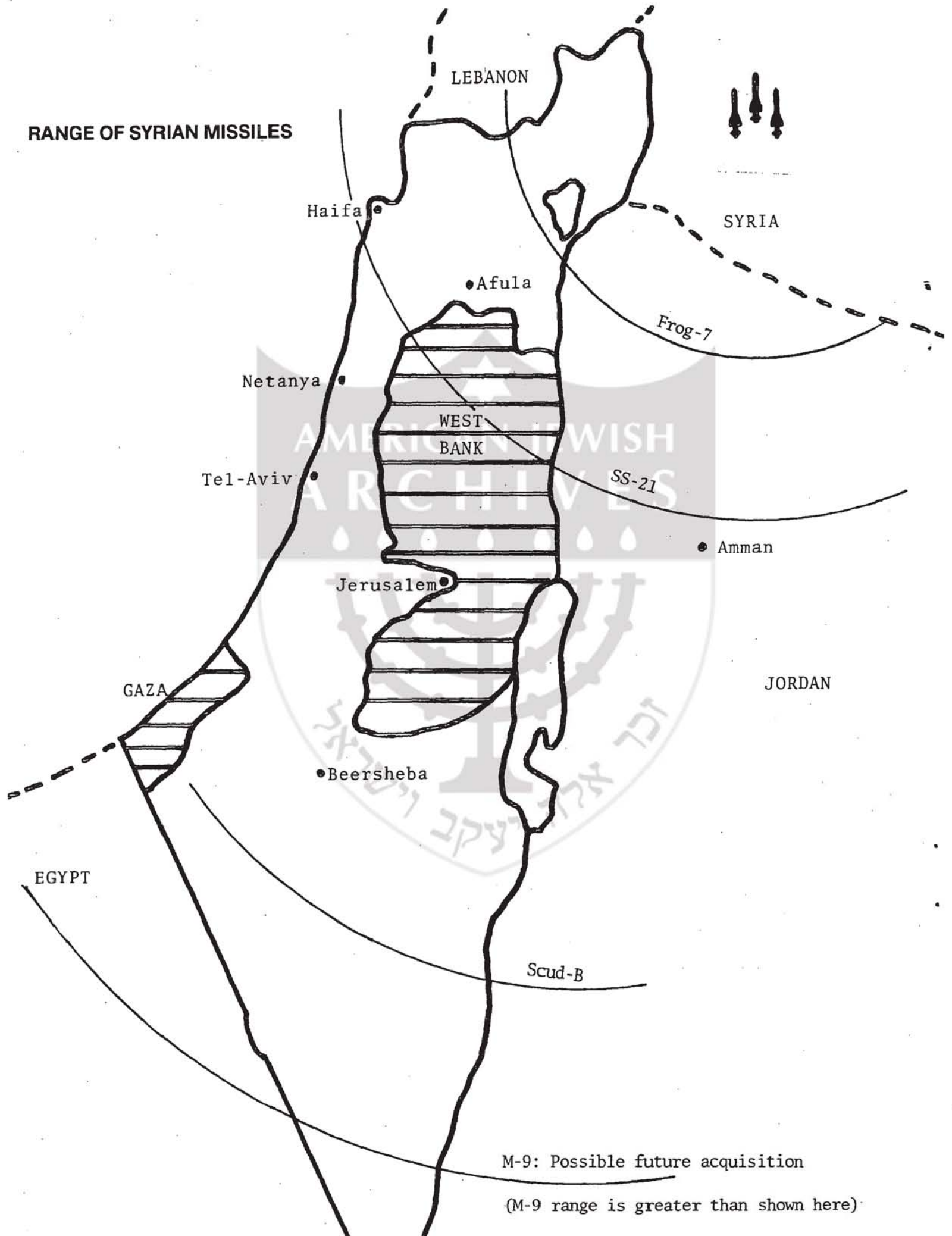
<sup>28</sup> *Economist*, 3/26/88. The SS-23, because of its range, falls into the class of missiles which the Soviets are committed to scrapping in accordance with the recent US-USSR missile treaty.

<sup>29</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>30</sup> D. Ottoway in the *Washington Post*, 6/23/88.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* M-9s stationed in Syria would put certain U.S. military facilities in Turkey within these missiles' range (D. Gold in *Jewish Chronicle*, 6/24/88).

**RANGE OF SYRIAN MISSILES**



M-9: Possible future acquisition

(M-9 range is greater than shown here)

chemical weaponry is nerve gas of the Sarin type. Such weapons, launched on an SSM, could cause severe casualties within an urban area. They could also be used to paralyze Israeli air bases, crippling the Jewish state's capacity to retaliate. Israel has taken steps to prepare its soldiers and civilian population for this contingency, but it is very difficult to prevent substantial casualties in such an attack.

Would Syria use chemical warfare against Israel? Neither side has ever carried out a major aerial attack against the other's civilian population. Yet Assad has never hesitated to use the most vicious means at his disposal for achieving his goals; one need look no further than his infamous massacre of Islamic fundamentalists at Hama, Syria in February, 1982.<sup>32</sup> Though he is a cautious and calculating leader, which tends to mitigate against the inherently risky use of chemical warfare, there is no reason to suppose that he would rule it out should a relatively risk-free opportunity present itself. There has been speculation that Assad might order a chemical attack as part of a comprehensive surprise attack on Israel.

In sum, the Syrian armed forces constitute a major military force in the Middle East. A new missile and chemical warfare capability has been created, with conventional weaponry being consistently upgraded and augmented. In light of these developments, Israel's concern over Syrian military power is well founded.

## 2. Jordan

Jordan is certainly less belligerent toward Israel than Syria; nevertheless, the Hashemite regime has participated in Arab wars against Israel, including the 1967 Six Day War. Furthermore, the Jordanians' acquisition of offensive combat engineering equipment from Britain, together with the observed switch to purely offensive exercises in the mid-1980s, may signify an underlying change in operational doctrine.<sup>33</sup> In addition, four divisions are deployed along the border with Israel. Thus, Jordanian military power is a key factor used in determining Israeli defense policy.

Although it is not a major regional military power, as is Syria, Jordan has taken steps to upgrade and expand its armed forces. Between 1981 and 1985, Jordan imported over \$4 billion worth of arms, during a period in which its GNP amounted to \$17.5 billion--in other words, an annual arms import level equal to about 23 percent of the country's GNP.<sup>34</sup> The quantitative results of this expansion are shown in the table below.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Estimates of civilian casualties range from 10,000 to 30,000. Reporters were not permitted into the city for several months.

<sup>33</sup> A Levran and 'Major Rami', "Jordanian Army Modernization Plan Detailed"; *Ba Mahane*, 5/25/88 (Cited in F.B.I.S., *Daily Report: Near East & South Asia*, 6/2/88).

<sup>34</sup> *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers*, op. cit.

<sup>35</sup> Most of the data in the table are from *The Military Balance*, op.cit.

| <u>Element</u>                | <u>JORDAN</u> | <u>ISRAEL</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total troops<br>(non-reserve) | 80,000        | 141,000       |
| Reserve troops                | 35,000        | 504,000       |
| Combat planes                 | 109           | 676           |
| Armed helicopters             | 24            | 76            |
| Tanks                         | 1,000         | 3,900         |
| Artillery guns and mortars    | 600           | 1,000         |

Much of the Jordanian effort at improving the military has been aimed at the air force. For instance, a recently concluded agreement with France provides for the modernization of the kingdom's 32 or so existing Mirage F-1's, as well as the sale of 20 new Mirage 2000 DAs at \$23 million each.<sup>36</sup> This supplements the more than 65 older American-made F-5E fighters in the Jordanian arsenal.

Similar efforts went into the upgrading of Jordanian SAM batteries. Recent Soviet deliveries included mobile SA-8s,<sup>37</sup> these supplement the existing 14 batteries of improved Hawk SAMs, which provide a radius of air defense reaching into the Samarian foothills on the western fringe of the Jordan valley.

In the words of two leading Israeli military analysts,

The Jordanian Army, especially the land forces, is considered the most modern and qualitative of all Arab armies. The various land forces have basically completed the reorganization plan outlined as a result of the Yom Kippur War. The main goal of this plan is the construction of a small, armored, and mobile army with great fire power.<sup>38</sup>

By itself, the Jordanian military could not pose a serious challenge to the IDF. Nevertheless, this small yet efficient force could make a decisive contribution to an Arab war coalition. Hopefully, Israel will be able to maintain its tacit state of peaceful coexistence with the Hashemite Kingdom. This of course presupposes that King Hussein will maintain his current pragmatic policy and will be able to suppress any radical Palestinian challenges to his rule, as he did in 1970.

### 3. Iraq

As long as Iraq was bogged down in its war with Iran, the Iraqi forces did not constitute a serious direct threat to Israel. But what will occur now that the war appears to be coming to an end? Will Iraqi units once again be used in a general Arab war against Israel? Will they use their SSMS, which can hit Tel Aviv? These are crucial questions for

<sup>36</sup> *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 2/13/88.

<sup>37</sup> A. Levran and M. Rami, op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

medium- and long-range Israeli strategic planning.

The Iraqi armed forces have tripled in size since 1980;<sup>39</sup> they now probably include 40 divisions with over one million men in active service (see table below<sup>40</sup>). Iraq is now the world's leading arms importer.<sup>41</sup> As a result of the eight-year war with Iran, these forces now constitute an experienced, relatively efficient fighting machine.

| <u>Element</u>                | <u>IRAQ</u> | <u>ISRAEL</u> |
|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Total troops<br>(non-reserve) | 1,000,000   | 141,000       |
| Reserve troops                | 650,000     | 504,000       |
| Combat planes                 | > 500       | 676           |
| Armed helicopters             | 150         | 76            |
| Tanks                         | 4,500       | 3,900         |
| Naval combat vessels          | 22          | 29            |
| Artillery guns and mortars    | 3,500       | 1,100         |

The Iran-Iraq war has seen extensive use of missile warfare. No conflict since World War II has witnessed a broader use of SSMs against population centers. Iraq has used both the SS-21s and the Scud-Bs; the latter were modified to increase their range from the original 175 to 560 miles.<sup>42</sup> Last winter, more than 200 missiles were fired on urban targets in the so-called "War of the Cities"; over 2,000 people were killed.<sup>43</sup>

This war has been one of the most brutal conflicts in recent memory, replete with atrocities such as the use by Iran of children to detonate minefields and attacks by both sides on soldiers and civilians with chemical weapons. This latter phenomenon has particular significance for the Arab-Israeli conflict. As the Israeli foreign ministry has said,

It is essential that the international community not allow such atrocities as the chemical assaults by Iraq to pass without worldwide condemnation. Passivity would only send a dangerous signal to those in the region who might feel that they are, therefore, free to use whatever instruments of violence they choose.<sup>44</sup>

In other words, a dangerous precedent has been set: chemical warfare in the Middle East has been legitimized. Israel must therefore take the threat of such an attack (whether emanating from Syria, Iraq, or another state) even more seriously than before.

<sup>39</sup> AIPAC, op. cit.

<sup>40</sup> Most of the data in the table are from *The Military Balance*, op. cit. Reserve Iraqi troops include the para-military Peoples Army.

<sup>41</sup> AIPAC, op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> D. Ottoway in the *Washington Post*, 5/26/88.

<sup>43</sup> W. R. Doerner in *Time* magazine, 7/4/88.

<sup>44</sup> Israeli foreign ministry, *Chemical Warfare in the Persian Gulf*, 3/29/88.

In the March, 1988 attack on Halabja (where the Iraqis reportedly attacked their own Kurdish civilians, killing some 5,000 and injuring up to 10,000 others), the Iraqis used cyanide vapor, sulphuric mustard gas, and nerve gas. The Iraqi arsenal contains two main types of nerve gas: Sarin and Tabun.<sup>45</sup> Tabun, first developed by the Nazis, is probably the most deadly chemical weapon in the Middle East. Even a tiny dose can cause convulsions, paralysis and death in a very short time. Iraq is now capable of producing four tons per month each of Sarin and Tabun, as well as 60 tons per month of mustard gas.<sup>46</sup> There have also been recent reports that Iraq is developing a germ warfare capability.<sup>47</sup>

In summary, Iraq now has a huge, battle-tested army which is capable of conducting a major war on more than one front. The Iraqi army possesses chemical weapons, and has shown a readiness to use them. SSMs exist in the Iraqi arsenal which could deliver chemical and other warheads to targets in Israel. When the war with Iran finally comes to an end, the government of Saddam Hussein will have the option of using its military might to pursue various strategic objectives in the region -- an eventuality that could possibly entail armed confrontation with Israel.

#### 4. Saudi Arabia

This country has not traditionally been considered a major military power, yet it has conducted a massive build-up during recent years. With a population of only 13.4 million in 1985, the Saudis were ranked fifth in the world in total military expenditures in the same year; in arms imports they were second only to Iraq.<sup>48</sup> Saudi Arabia now spends almost twice as much per soldier as does the U.S. (\$262,000 vs. \$136,000).<sup>49</sup>

The current strength of the Saudi armed forces is shown below.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 2/27/88.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 1/9/88.

<sup>48</sup> *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers*, op. cit. Saudi Arabia's annual defense budget has now reached \$17 billion (S. Gabai in *Ma'ariv*, 7/15/88).

<sup>49</sup> AIPAC, op. cit.

<sup>50</sup> Most of the data in the table are from *The Military Balance*, op. cit.



| <u>Element</u>                | <u>SAUDI ARABIA</u> | <u>ISRAEL</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Total troops<br>(non-reserve) | 75,000              | 141,000       |
| Reserve troops                | (none)              | 504,000       |
| Combat planes                 | 226                 | 676           |
| Armed helicopters             | 20                  | 76            |
| Tanks                         | 550                 | 3,900         |
| Naval combat vessels          | 20                  | 29            |
| Artillery guns and mortars    | 700                 | 1,100         |

The U.S. supplied \$31 billion worth of hardware (such as AWACS planes, F-15s, and missile ships) and other military aid to Saudi Arabia from 1978 to 1987.<sup>51</sup> However, a recent \$450 million arms deal announced by the Administration ran into opposition from a number of Senators, due in part to the recent disclosure of Chinese missile sales to the Saudis. Many observers here were angry that the deal had been kept secret; others were concerned that the missiles might represent a threat to Israel's security.

The Chinese reportedly agreed in summer, 1987 to sell "Dong Feng" (East Wind) missiles to Saudi Arabia. The Dong Feng intermediate range ballistic missile, powered by liquid fuel, has a range of over 1600 miles.<sup>52</sup> Although this 20-year-old model is relatively inaccurate, it can "penetrate virtually any ordinary air defense system."<sup>53</sup> It can be fitted with chemical or nuclear warheads.

Most analysts now agree that the primary Saudi motivation in this \$3-3.5 billion purchase was to acquire a formidable deterrent against Iranian attack. The Saudis sought a massive, visible weapon that would be taken seriously by Iran.<sup>54</sup>

Armed with a conventional warhead, the Dong Feng does not pose a serious threat to Israel's security. According to Major Gen. Avihu Ben Nun, commander of the Israeli air force, if the missile is conventionally armed,

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<sup>51</sup> D. Ottoway in the *Washington Post*, 7/8/88.

<sup>52</sup> D. Ottoway in *Washington Post*, 4/5/88. Because the Dong Feng is powered by liquid fuel, it can take as long as 5 hours to prepare the missile for firing.

<sup>53</sup> *Economist*, 3/26/88.

<sup>54</sup> For example, this is the view held by Mark Kagan, a former Middle East analyst at the U.S. Department of Defense, and currently a military analyst at Jane's Information Group in Washington. He adds that Israel was probably not a significant factor in the Saudi decision to acquire the Dong Feng, rather, Saudi calculations were dominated by their fear of an Iranian threat. To the extent that the Saudis took the Israelis into account when they made the decision to acquire the missiles, says Kagan, a good case can be made that the Saudis believed that the Israelis would "understand" that the missiles would not be directed at them, but rather used as a deterrent against Iran. Apparently, he notes, they miscalculated in their perception of the Israeli perception.

it is just another big bomb. . . The Chinese have 50, so they might sell the Saudis 25. That is just 25 more bombs in the equation. Politically, it is a bigger threat than it is militarily.<sup>55</sup>

With a chemical or nuclear device, however, it could add a substantial offensive weapon to an Arab coalition at war with Israel.

After news of the sale became public, there was speculation that the Israelis might launch a pre-emptive strike on the missile sites.<sup>56</sup> Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, when queried on the likelihood of such a move, noted that "the possibility always exists."<sup>57</sup> Perhaps to assuage both Israeli and American fears, the Saudis have issued assurances that the missiles will not be armed with a nuclear warhead, and have declared their intention to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.<sup>58</sup>

Perhaps due to the stalling of the U.S. arms sale, the Saudis have concluded a colossal deal with Great Britain. The package, which contains virtually no restrictions regarding the use or deployment of the weapons, will total well over \$20 billion. Included in the sale are the multi-role Tornado jet, mine-hunting vessels, helicopters, and the construction of air bases.<sup>59</sup> The Tornado is a plane known for its air-to-ground attack capabilities; within a few years, the Saudis will have acquired (from this and previous deals) about 130 of them.<sup>60</sup> These aircraft will supplement the 60 F-15 and 120 F-5 American-made fighters which are already in use.<sup>61</sup> It is clear that Saudi Arabia is intent on building a major air force that will be comparable to the best in the region.

The Saudi arms build-up has reached such proportions that the armed forces do not have the personnel and resources needed to absorb much of the newly acquired equipment. This fact has led to speculation that the Saudis may wish to participate in a future Arab war against Israel by sending only materiel, and not actual fighting units. Whatever the Saudi motivation, the stockpiling will probably lead to pressure on the desert kingdom to aid any Arab war coalition that may materialize.

##### 5. Egypt

After fighting five wars with Israel in the space of only 25 years, Egypt signed a peace treaty with the Jewish state. The peace has now lasted a decade, and will hopefully continue for many more. Although Israel was required to relinquish control of the Sinai, the demilitarization of this area bestows several strategic benefits on Israel, not least of which is the need to maintain only a small number of troops on the Egyptian border. This allows the IDF to concentrate its forces where they are most needed, particularly on the Golan Heights.

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<sup>55</sup> H. Fierst and S. Bryan, "Israel's Security 1988: Living With Unresolved Problems." *JINSA Security Affairs*, 6/88.

<sup>56</sup> There was also speculation that the Dong Feng's guidance system was developed with the assistance of Israeli scientists. Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin dismissed such reports as groundless (*Washington Post*, 5/24/88).

<sup>57</sup> D. Ottoway in the *Washington Post*, 3/23/88.

<sup>58</sup> *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 5/7/88.

<sup>59</sup> R. Pear in the *New York Times*, 7/11/88.

<sup>60</sup> E. Rosen in *Ma'ariv*, 7/15/88.

<sup>61</sup> K. Kaplan in the *Jerusalem Post*, 7/12/88.

Despite the peace, Egypt is a potential adversary which Israel must consider when it engages in strategic planning, especially for the long term. The current peace is cool at best and possibly headed into a freeze. Should the Egyptians have serious second thoughts about the peace treaty, the ramifications could be very severe.

The Egyptian army has changed dramatically since the Yom Kippur War. There are now less than half the number of infantry divisions, but twice as many armored and mechanized divisions as there were in 1973.<sup>62</sup> "First echelon" U.S.-made M-60 A-3 tanks were added; they now account for over 1/3 of all Egyptian tanks.<sup>63</sup> Total Egyptian strength is summarized in the table below:<sup>64</sup>

| <u>Element</u>             | <u>EGYPT</u> | <u>ISRAEL</u> |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Total troops (non-reserve) | 445,000      | 141,000       |
| Reserve troops             | 604,000      | 504,000       |
| Combat planes              | 441          | 676           |
| Armed helicopters          | 53           | 76            |
| Tanks                      | 2,250        | 3,900         |
| Naval combat vessels       | 83           | 29            |
| Artillery guns and mortars | 2,200        | 1,100         |

The Egyptian air force now possesses over 90 high quality Western aircraft, such as the F-16 C and D and the French-made Mirage 2000.<sup>65</sup> Pilots who fly the aforementioned jets were trained in the U.S. and France, respectively.

A strong emphasis has been placed on improving air defense capability. The old Soviet-supplied SAM-6 batteries were joined by the French Crotale, the U.S. Hawk and Chaparral, and the domestically produced Saqr hand-held surface-to-air missile.<sup>66</sup>

Since 1973, Egypt has developed into a major regional producer of weapons. Much of the financing for production has come from the Persian Gulf states. In 1975, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the U.A.E. founded the Arab Organization for Industrialization (A.O.I.), the parent organization of Egyptian arms manufacturing. While the Gulf states pulled out of the A.O.I. in 1979 in protest over Egypt's relations with Israel, they are now actively seeking to restore their pre-1979 role in the organization.<sup>67</sup> Egyptian products include the

<sup>62</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Most of the data in the table are from *The Military Balance*, op.cit.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. In addition, the Egyptians have "abandoned Soviet air operational doctrine in favor of the Western model."

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> A good indication of the Gulf states' re-entry was the arms fair recently held in the U.A.E., in which Egypt displayed and sold its wares.

"October" class fast attack boat, the Saqr missile, Swingfire anti-tank missiles, the Aero-spatiale Gazelle attack helicopter, and 90 percent of the ammunition needs of the Egyptian army.<sup>68</sup> Egypt is also developing ballistic missiles in three separate programs, including a joint venture with Argentina that will eventually produce a missile with a range of over 500 miles.<sup>69</sup>

The U.S. Government recently approved an unusual plan that would enable the Egyptians to co-produce over 500 top-of-the-line M-1A1 tanks. The tanks will be partially built in the U.S., and then sent to Egypt for final assembly. Egypt has received numerous other weapons systems from the U.S., including the F-16 fighter plane (84 received as of January 1988, with 80 additional ordered).<sup>70</sup> There have also been joint U.S.-Egyptian maneuvers, such as a simulated sea invasion, with the U. S. acting as "invader."

In conclusion, Egypt is a growing regional military power, though not yet on a par with either Israel or Syria. Perhaps most significant is Egyptian arms production, which will no doubt boost both Egypt's military capability as well as its capacity for independent action. For the time being, Egypt stands outside of the Arab rejectionist circle. It is of major importance to Israeli security that this situation continue.

#### IV. The Defense of Israel

##### 1. Recent Changes

From 1974 until the mid-1980s, Israel steadily expanded and upgraded its armed forces. By 1986, Israel possessed double the number of aircraft, tanks, and land divisions that it had at the end of 1973.<sup>71</sup> A peak of sorts was reached in 1984, when Israel spent nearly \$6.5 billion on defense.<sup>72</sup> But since that time, budgetary constraints have necessitated continual spending cuts; Israel has cut military spending by 20 percent over the last two years.<sup>73</sup> According to Jane's Defence Weekly (2/6/88), the 1988-89 budget apportions only \$3.23 billion to the military.

As a result of the spending cuts, Israel has "sidelined dozens of good aircraft,"<sup>74</sup> and Israeli pilots now receive fewer hours of training than do their Jordanian counterparts. At least one mechanized army division has been disbanded, and thousands of professional soldiers laid off because of budgetary constraints.<sup>75</sup>

Yet another aspect of the Israeli military effort that has suffered lately is arms production and export. In 1982, the value of Israel's arms exports peaked at \$390 million (7.4 percent of total Israeli exports in that year).<sup>76</sup> However, Israeli arms manufacturing has declined since that time, due to cuts in defense spending, the ebb in world demand, strong

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<sup>68</sup> *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 4/9/88.

<sup>69</sup> W. S. Carus, *Missiles in the Middle East: A New Threat to Stability*. Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 6/88.

<sup>70</sup> P. Grier in the *Christian Science Monitor*, 1/28/88.

<sup>71</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>72</sup> *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers*, op. cit.

<sup>73</sup> AIPAC, op. cit.

<sup>74</sup> Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, quoted in the *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers*, op. cit.

competition from new producers, and the cancellation of the \$1.9 billion Lavi fighter plane project. During the last couple of years, 10,000 defense industry jobs have been lost.<sup>77</sup>

Other developments in this period have been positive, however. The United States has recognized Israel as a major non-NATO ally. The level of military aid from the U.S. has been maintained<sup>78</sup>, with a new Memorandum of Understanding further consolidating the growing strategic cooperation between the two countries. The latest U.S. arms sale to Israel includes 75 advanced F-16 fighter planes.<sup>79</sup>

Despite the cuts, Israel has continued to seek qualitative enhancement of its military. Older aircraft have been overhauled, an example being the installation of new engines for the country's considerable stock of F-4 Phantoms.<sup>80</sup> In addition to its F-4s and Kfirs, Israel now has about 200 very high quality aircraft. Tanks have been upgraded; the latest generation of the acclaimed Merkava ("chariot") tank is now rolling off the assembly line. The new Mapatz laser-targeted anti-tank missile is superior to the older TOW.

## 2. The Evolution of Israeli Defense Policy

It is both interesting and necessary to review Israeli's development of a coherent, viable defense posture that could fit its almost untenable strategic dilemma. As the story unfolds, we will begin to understand the various constraints, problems, and solutions associated with the country's defense. Only with a proper understanding of these parameters can one purpose to evaluate the military balance, and with its Israel's strategic predicament, as they exist today.

The nature of Israeli demography and geography have necessitated a specific type of defense system, which in turn lends itself to certain advantages and disadvantages in the field. The structure of Israeli defense has burdened Israel with certain built-in vulnerabilities, and serious constraints as to the type of strategy and warfare in which it may engage.

The political nature of the Arab world confronts Israel with a complex set of strategic constraints. In Arab politics there is little in the way of stability; virtually no democracy; assassinations and coups d'état are common; religion and politics are intertwined; and alliances are formed and dissolved with great frequency. In such an unpredictable environment, Israeli strategic planning can assume nothing. This has placed a great amount of strain on the IDF, which always had to plan, equip, and train itself for an abnormally wide range of contingencies.

As we saw earlier, the Israelis are far outnumbered by the Arabs (about 37 to 1). Israel's small standing army could not hope, without further reinforcement, to defend the country against a major attack. Thus an elaborate system of reserve duty was developed early on to provide the armed forces with enough soldiers to overcome the massive inferiority in manpower. In general, the standing army was expected to provide a first line of defense during the initial days of war, until the reserves could be fully mobilized. Today, over 14 percent of the population serve in either the standing army (including conscripts and profes-

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<sup>77</sup> *Jane's Defence Weekly*, 1/9/88

<sup>78</sup> At the level of \$1.8 billion annually; it takes the form of Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credits.

<sup>79</sup> *Congressional Quarterly*, 4/23/88.

<sup>80</sup> The data in this paragraph are from the *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

sional soldiers) or the reserves.<sup>81</sup>

This reserve framework has often been dubbed "a nation in arms."<sup>82</sup> Although it has served to bind the society together, the system has placed a heavy burden on Israeli society, measured in economic and social terms. It also contains a built-in strategic deficiency: while enough military manpower can be mobilized to fight a short war, any protracted conflict would place an unbearable financial and social strain on the country. There is another related constraint that must be factored into the strategic equation: both Israel and the Arabs know that because of Israel's limited manpower, size and resources, it cannot conquer and hold large chunks of Arab territory.

Not only was the new state of Israel deficient in manpower, it was faced with vulnerable borders as well (see map on next page). Dwarfed in size by the Arab states, Israeli military planners had to contend with a long, oddly shaped country, at some points only 9 miles wide. In addition, both the Jordanian and Syrian armies controlled high ground (the Golan Heights and the Samarian hills) that overlooked the Israeli heartland and other critical targets.

This marked disadvantage was partially overcome by employing the concept of "area defense." Area defense, roughly stated, is the speedy transformation of a civilian settlement into a military emplacement in the event of war. This provided Israel, albeit artificially, with the "strategic depth" it otherwise lacked; in other words, this system would "thicken" a narrow expanse of territory, thus providing the country with obstacles to invasion that normally derive from a wider tract of open land. In using area defense, Israel hoped that these settlements would absorb the first blow of an enemy attack, giving the reserves time to mobilize, and enabling crack IDF units to be preserved for counterattack.

Soon after Israel's independence, it was realized that even reliance on area defense and on the reserves was a relatively risky policy. Waiting passively for an Arab onslaught would expose the population to unwarranted danger, not only from surprise attack; but also from the disruption resulting from a prolonged mobilization of the reserves. To deal with this situation, Israel developed a strategy of pre-emptive strikes that would respond to a *casus belli*, a hostile enemy action that constitutes an act of war. A pre-emptive strike, in addition to denying the Arabs the initiative at the outset of hostilities, would also serve to carry the war onto enemy territory, thus preventing the potentially catastrophic conduct of the war within Israel's borders. Pre-emption was employed successfully at the opening of the Six Day War, when Israel was faced with imminent Arab invasion.

As the Israeli defense structure and strategic doctrine developed, it became clear that efforts would have to be concentrated on three aspects of the military: armor, intelligence and air power. Armor is important because it is the form of warfare most suited to the aging soldiers of reserve units. It also has the advantage of concentrating a great amount of firepower into highly mobile units needing fewer personnel than, say, an infantry unit.

Intelligence is critical because of Israel's vulnerability to surprise attack, and to the large asymmetry in men, hardware, and territory. Put simply, Israel can hardly afford serious mistakes. This point was made abundantly clear at the outset of the Yom Kippur War, when largely due to an intelligence failure the IDF was unprepared for the Arab armies' surprise attack.

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<sup>81</sup> *The Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>82</sup> For example, see D. Horowitz, "Strategic Limitations of 'A Nation in Arms'"; *Armed Forces and Society*, 13 (2), Winter 1987.

PRE-1967 ISRAEL

LEBANON

SYRIA

Haifa

6 mi. Afula

Netanya 9 mi.

Tel-Aviv 11 miles

5 mi. Jerusalem

Gaza

10 mi. Beersheba

Dead Sea

JORDAN

EGYPT



Since control of the skies is a prerequisite for any successful pre-emptive strike, Israel has placed a tremendous emphasis on maintaining air superiority over the Arab states. This task is quite difficult, as any conceivable Arab coalition could easily muster a much greater number of planes. Until recently, the Israelis have compensated for their quantitative inferiority by maintaining superior hardware, training, planning, and support services. But this qualitative edge has been slipping of late, as the Arab states improve and expand their air power as well as their SAM capability. Consider Jordan, for example. Its primary combat plane has been the Northrup F-5E, which is inferior to the Israelis' F-16. But this qualitative advantage will be somewhat eroded when Jordan takes delivery of the new Mirage 2000 fighter planes.<sup>83</sup>

Pre-emption, *casus belli* and area defense were considered less crucial in the post-1967 era, when Israel suddenly became endowed with new territory. Such laxity was dealt a serious blow by the events of the Yom Kippur War, which, inter alia, showed that even the strategic depth provided by the occupied territories was a poor substitute for initiative in the early stages of an Arab-Israeli war.

Rebuilding Israel's defense infrastructure and strategic doctrine in the wake of that war presented a variety of challenges. The IDF had quickly to bring its units up to pre-1973 strength, in order to deter a new Arab campaign, and to boost Israel's bargaining position in the post-war disengagement negotiations. Since many regular and reserve units were kept mobilized and at the front for months after the war, the IDF filled the manpower gap at rear-line bases by assigning new roles to its female conscripts. Women began to serve as instructors in all-male combat units, and in a variety of other functions that support these units.

The post-1973 era also saw the return of area defense (though not always applauded by all members of the defense establishment) and of a "vigorous reliance" on *casus belli*.<sup>84</sup> According to Middle East specialist Avner Yaniv, both the Sinai and Golan disengagement agreements in the wake of the Yom Kippur War in effect represented "a tacit recognition that certain specified changes by either side in the military status quo would constitute sufficient cause for the other side to resort to force."<sup>85</sup> The *casus belli* resurgence culminated in the 1981 announcement by then-Defense Minister Ariel Sharon of seven specific hostile actions that Israel would henceforth consider to be acts of war.

The pre-emption philosophy has received added impetus in recent years due to the threat of nuclear, biological, and chemical warfare. As one military analyst has written, "Israel is acutely vulnerable to mass destruction weapons."<sup>86</sup> Since there is no foolproof defense

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<sup>83</sup> Former Israeli air force deputy commander Y. Somekh has pointed out that an important benefit of clear Israeli air superiority vis-à-vis Jordan has been that "Israel has been able to minimize her deployment of ground forces at the Jordan front, on the assumption that her air force could hold back any threatening Jordanian movement until reserves were called up or other ground forces transferred." ("Supply of F-16 Aircraft to Jordan: The Military Ramifications for Israel." *Middle East Review*, Fall/Winter 1982-83). For the time being, the Israeli advantage is in effect: F-5Es still make up about two-thirds of the Jordanian air force.

<sup>84</sup> A. Yaniv, *Deterrence Without the Bomb: The Politics of Israeli Strategy*. Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1987.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> A. Haselkorn, "Arab-Israeli Conflict: Implications of Mass Destruction Weapons." *Global Affairs*, Winter 1988.



against these weapons, and the Arabs know that Israel cannot tolerate any significant number of casualties, a "balance of terror" is not a preferable option. Rather, Israel has found it necessary to act before an Arab state could launch a successful first strike; thus the 1981 Israeli bombing of the Osirak nuclear facility in Iraq.

IDF operational doctrine also underwent profound changes in the post-1973 era. Diverse units became connected through the gradual implementation of *HaKrav HaMeshulav* (the integrated combat team), which facilitated coordinated operations among different types of forces (armor, infantry, air force, etc.). In addition, the IDF concentrated on the development of a "long-arm" capability that would enable it to hit targets far beyond the borders of Israel. The long-arm would provide the necessary tools for pre-emptive strikes, and could also be used to attack an expeditionary force en route to Israel.

Israel also had to adapt to the so-called "revolution" in electronic warfare. This revolution has manifested itself primarily in the fields of Precision-Guided Munitions (PGMs) and C<sup>3</sup>I (Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence) systems. In the battlefield of the future, "the art of practical fire-power concentration will be largely replaced by the art of rapid target acquisition."<sup>87</sup> Israel has done its utmost to integrate PGMs and C<sup>3</sup>I systems into its armed forces; it is also manufacturing much of the relevant hardware itself.

### 3. Countering the SSM Threat

The IDF has managed to provide a workable solution to all of the challenges it has faced thus far. Although the threat of Arab surface-to-surface missiles (SSMs) and non-conventional weaponry looms large, the IDF has responded. According to Israeli Chief of Staff Lt. Gen Dan Shomron:

. . . the moment such weapons [advanced SSMs] exist and when, for example, they are equipped with chemical warheads, the damage can definitely be enormous. Our answers . . . will be in various spheres: offensively, in terms of our ability to strike at the missiles and their launchers; second, in terms of the endurance of the civilian population and the ability to minimize the damage to the rearguard; third, in terms of our ability to develop means capable of intercepting surface-to-surface missiles in flight from their launching point to the target.<sup>88</sup>

Israel is developing, with American support, an "anti-tactical ballistic missile" (ATBM) that is capable of intercepting incoming SSMs. The Arrow missile ("Chetz" in Hebrew), which grew out of Strategic Defense Initiative research, will cost a total of \$160 million to develop.<sup>89</sup> The U.S., in a Memorandum of Understanding signed with Israel in June, 1988, committed itself to funding 80 percent of the project.<sup>90</sup>

The Israelis have also developed a formidable SSM of their own, the Jericho. Speculation in professional journals pegs the Jericho's range at around 500 miles, with an "improved"

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<sup>87</sup> Z. Lanir, "The Qualitative Factor in the Israeli-Arab Arms Race of the Late 1980's." *IDF Journal*, 3(1), Fall 1985.

<sup>88</sup> As heard on Israeli radio, 6/20/88. Reported in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Near East and South Asia*, 6/21/88.

<sup>89</sup> D. Ottoway in the *Washington Post*, 6/29/88.

<sup>90</sup> E. Sciolino in the *New York Times*, 6/30/88.

version supposedly reaching as far as 870 miles.<sup>91</sup> In addition, Israel has developed a new air-to-ground missile, code-named "Purple Fist," whose electromagnetic homing system is designed for attacking SAM installations.<sup>92</sup>

To augment these new weapons, the air force is assuming a greater role in the elimination of enemy missile sites. If, in a future war, it will be necessary for Israel to launch a pre-emptive strike at Syrian SSM emplacements, most of the work would be done by the air force. Unfortunately, this would limit its ground support function, as such planes will be less able to serve as "flying artillery."

#### 4. The Syrian Front

Even when considered in isolation from other Arab states, Syria poses a considerable military threat to Israel. Although Assad may some day be able to achieve his goal of "strategic parity" with Israel, he has yet to acquire it. Nevertheless, Syria may have reached the point where it believes that a military engagement with Israel may be politically profitable. Some Israeli military experts believe that the Syrian army has achieved strategic parity with IDF forces allocated to the Syrian front, although not with the IDF as a whole.<sup>93</sup> According to Moshe Maoz, an expert on Syria at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Syria is now capable of launching its own "blitzkrieg" attack to conquer a large portion of the Golan Heights. If successful, such a move would give Syria a significant strategic edge over Israel.<sup>94</sup>

It is important to remember that the Assad regime will move militarily against Israel if it perceives the moment to be auspicious. According to Yair Evron, a specialist on the Israel-Syrian strategic relationship, the Syrian calculus of the costs and benefits of a military action is based on three factors: assessment of the military balance, the Soviet commitment to the Assad regime, and the shifting tides of inter-Arab relations.<sup>95</sup> Note that the enemy's (Israel's) resolve, a key factor in any deterrence equation, is already assumed here. As recently as the 1981 SAM missile crisis, Israel demonstrated its readiness to fight against Syria when it perceived its basic security interests were being threatened. Israeli resolve was again effectively communicated during the Israeli/Syrian air war over Lebanon in June of 1982, when over 80 Syrian planes were shot down, with almost no Israeli losses.

There have been indications over the past several years that the Kremlin is pushing Syria to take a more moderate stance toward Israel. At a Moscow state dinner for Assad in April, 1987, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, after noting Israel's need for "peace and a secure existence," declared that "changes in relations with Israel are conceivable only in the mainstream of the process of settlement in the Middle East."<sup>96</sup> Since that time, however, the basic tenor of Syrian policy on Israel has not changed, and the Soviet commitment to Syria continues to be firm.

In conclusion, as long as Syria must act alone against Israel, and Assad feels strategic

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<sup>91</sup> Yosef Harif in *Ma'ariv*, 7/1/88.

<sup>92</sup> *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit.

<sup>93</sup> D. Sade in *Yediot Aharonot*, 5/30/88. Cited in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Near East & South Asia*, 6/2/88.

<sup>94</sup> E. Fletcher, "Syria's Military Might Has Grown." *Jewish Week*, 5/27/88.

<sup>95</sup> *War and Intervention in Lebanon: The Israeli-Syrian Deterrence Dialogue*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1987.

<sup>96</sup> C. Bohlen in the *Washington Post*, 5/1/87.

parity has not been reached, he will probably not initiate a new round of hostilities. However, this state of affairs might well change if Syria's continued military build-up is accompanied by a desire in the Arab world for a new military campaign against Israel.

### 5. The West Bank

One of the most important questions relating to the Arab-Israel conflict is the salience of the West Bank to Israel's security. For the majority in Israel, the advisability of withdrawal from parts of this area is contingent upon the security risk inherent in such an action.

There is no doubt that deployment of the army throughout the West Bank's 2,100 square miles improves Israel's ability to withstand invasion. The border with Jordan, which was long and unwieldy before 1967, has been shortened considerably. Jordanian units used to look down on Israel's coastal plain from the high ground of the Samarian hills. Today, these same hills provide radar stations that add four critical minutes to the warning time Israel has to respond to air attack from the east.<sup>97</sup> The Jordan River provides a first line of defense against armored attack, and the West Bank's central ridge has steep foothills which can be crossed by vehicles only through a series of deeply cut ravines ("wadis").

Shortly after the Six Day War, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff conducted an investigation into the "minimum territory" Israel would need to control on the West Bank in order to adequately defend itself. The report concluded that

from a strictly military point of view, Israel would require the retention of some captured territory in order to provide militarily defensible borders. . . as a minimum, Israel would need a defense line generally along the axis Bardala-Tubas-Nablus-Bira-Jerusalem and then to the northern part of the Dead Sea.<sup>98</sup>

In other words, Israel would have to retain over half the area of the West Bank.

The Allon Plan of 1967, which influenced Israeli government policy for a decade, was based on the concept of territorial compromise. The plan advocated Israeli withdrawal from heavily populated Arab areas of the West Bank, along with the continuation of full Israeli control of virtually the entire Jordan Valley, thus leaving intact a defense wall against invasion from the east. Although no longer under official consideration, the Allon Plan demonstrated that it may be possible to safeguard Israel's security while lessening the extent of occupation.

Recently, some experts have cast doubt on either the necessity of parts of the area for Israeli security, and/or on the wisdom of holding this security asset in light of the costs of continued occupation. A group of around 150 retired Israeli colonels and generals have formed the Council for Peace and Security, which calls on the Israeli public to be ready for territorial compromise in the West Bank and Gaza. Brigadier General Ephraim Sneh, former head of the Civil Administration of the occupied territories, has suggested that the problem of early warning might be solved by other means, such as AWACS planes.

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<sup>97</sup> Assuming exclusive reliance on ground stations. From A. Shalev, *Kav Hagana beYehuda veShomron*. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz HaMeuchad, 1982.

<sup>98</sup> S. M. Averick and S. J. Rosen, *The Importance of the "West Bank" and Gaza to Israel's Security* (AIPAC, 1985).

Another group of senior reserve officers, seeking to counterbalance the Council, has formed an organization entitled "Officers and Academics for Security and Peace." They do not advocate full, indefinite Israeli control of the entire West Bank, but rather warn the public that "a *significant* concession on these territories represents a serious danger to Israel"<sup>99</sup> (emphasis ours). If the entire area would be relinquished, they say, "the security balance will be upset and hasten the next war."<sup>100</sup>

It is important to bear in mind that Israel's security needs on the West Bank also depend on the nature of the regime in Amman, and its intentions toward Israel. A formalized and sincere peace between the two countries could ease Israel's defense burden in the West Bank. Conversely, the continued *de jure* state of war between Israel and Jordan compels Israel to seek and develop every possible defensive advantage from its control of the area.

## 6. Summary

In its 40 years of modern statehood, Israel has had to be very creative and unorthodox in its search for security. By employing such methods as "a nation in arms" and pre-emptive attack, the vast asymmetry in manpower, land, and resources was overcome. Strategic disadvantages were also surmounted by concentrating efforts in certain aspects of the military (such as air power) and by maintaining qualitative superiority, both human and technological. Arab SSMs and Syrian military advances now pose the most serious threat to Israel's qualitative edge. *For the time being* Israel seems capable of forestalling or, at worst, repelling any major military campaign against it.

## V. Summary and Policy Recommendations

Israel today faces a still generally hostile Arab world that possesses an overwhelming quantitative advantage and poses a growing qualitative challenge. Even as a nation in arms, Israel cannot hope to match the numbers or resources of the Arab world, which dwarfs it in size, population, and financial power. The gap between Israel and the surrounding Arab states is not much more encouraging. The question is, now that the technological gap is being closed, can Israel maintain an advantage solely through superior manpower?

Israel, far from being a "superpower" which can easily crush any opponent or combination thereof, is actually a small state which must relentlessly pursue every creative option open to it in order to preserve its survival. One of these creative options has been the evolution of a strategic doctrine based on pre-emption. Theory has been put into practice on several occasions, with positive results. It is not clear whether pre-emption can successfully deal with actual chemical or nuclear attack, or conventional missile attacks on urban areas. Perhaps the new Arrow missile and similar defensive weaponry will provide a strong deterrent and a workable defensive system.

Israeli deterrence must be aimed first and foremost at Syria. This country, with its belligerent stance and its expanded arsenal of state-of-the-art Soviet weaponry, is the most likely to launch a strike at Israel's heartland. Syria is also most likely to serve as the force pushing for a new Arab war coalition. Given the shifting tide of inter-Arab politics, such an occurrence is a definite possibility. The possession of modern, well-equipped armies may convince Arab leaders that a new round against Israel is a workable option.

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<sup>99</sup> K. Kaplan in the *Jerusalem Post*, 9/3/83.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

In light of the findings of this paper, we would make the following policy recommendations to any other group or individual concerned with Israel's security:

- 1) Emphasize to the American public the overwhelming asymmetry of land, resources, population, and armed forces in the Arabs' favor. It is important to counteract the widespread myth of an enormous, omnipotent Israel, dwarfing and cowering the powerless Arab states.
- 2) Support U.S. military aid to Israel in general, with particular attention to critical projects such as the Arrow ATBM. U.S. aid and strategic cooperation with Israel are crucial for providing Israel with the weapons necessary for deterrence and defense against Arab attack. What has saved Israel from destruction in the past is its qualitative edge. Joint U.S.-Israeli research, production, and maneuvers can help to maintain that edge.
- 3) Oppose sales of sophisticated arms to the rejectionist Arab countries that would boost their offensive capability vis-a-vis Israel. This includes both hard-line states like Syria, as well as so-called "moderate" states such as Saudi Arabia. The latter still does not recognize Israel, continues to fund both Syria and the PLO, and has participated in almost all wars against Israel. A high price, in terms of safeguards for Israel's security and cooperation with the U.S., should be exacted before the U.S. sells advanced equipment to these states.

Tighter discipline among the Western powers will be necessary in order to avoid caving in to Arab manipulation. The Arab states, most visibly Saudi Arabia, have proven themselves quite adept at exploiting the lack of Western coordination concerning the proliferation of advanced offensive weaponry in the Middle East.

- 4) The Administration and Congress should be supported in their opposition to the proliferation of Chinese missiles in the Middle East.<sup>101</sup> In July, the Senate passed a resolution criticizing Chinese missile sales, declaring that "if these sales and policies are not discontinued, the United States should reassess its relations with the People's Republic of China and re-examine agreements or contemplated agreements provided for arms and technology transfers to the People's Republic of China."<sup>102</sup>

In April, 1987, the U.S. concluded an agreement with Japan and five major Western powers to control the export of missiles with ranges over 190 miles. Such anti-proliferation action should be expanded, with an eye towards bringing in the USSR and China. The ongoing talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union aimed at limiting sales of missiles to the Middle East are a step in the right direction. Furthermore, since Syria is experiencing a foreign currency shortage, and the Chinese generally demand cash up front, pressure should be brought to bear on the Gulf states to desist from funding Syrian purchase of the SSMs.

- 5) Bring to world attention the inhuman and intolerable use of chemical warfare in

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<sup>101</sup> The U.S. has "placed an embargo on sales of lethal chemical raw materials to Syria." *Middle East Military Balance*, op. cit. It has also taken the same action against sales to Iran and Iraq. *New York Times*, 7/28/88.

<sup>102</sup> Beijing responded to the Senate resolution by calling it "a big joke" (*Near East Report*, 8/15/88).

the Iraq-Iran war. In addition to prompting the condemnation such acts deserve, this publicity would also serve to highlight the fact that chemical warfare is used in the Middle East, thus showing that Israel's fear of attack is quite realistic.

6) Make known the AJC's support of territorial compromise in the West Bank. When approaching this most complex issue, one must bear in mind the following two points:

a) The AJC has consistently opposed demands for unilateral, unconditional Israeli withdrawal. The extent of any withdrawal must be determined during negotiations, and not as a pre-condition for the commencement of negotiations.

b) Territorial concessions by Israel would result from an extremely delicate and intricate calculus. While we know that some withdrawal is feasible from the security standpoint, we cannot specify its extent. This point must be addressed and negotiated by the proper Israeli governmental authorities.

The Jewish state has been subject to the threat of invasion ever since the armies of five Arab countries launched their attack on the nascent State of Israel in 1948. Israel has held fast, at times emerging with astounding military victories.

Yet at the present time, Israel faces new challenges resulting from the tremendous build-up of Arab arsenals. SSMs, advanced jets, chemical weapons, electronics, new command methods and the massive number of troops now available to the Arab states, may result in a feeling of military prowess and a concomitant revival of the "military option" aimed at eliminating Israel.

Friends of Israel need not panic; the IDF has not ceased to search for solutions to the serious strategic dilemmas it faces. Yet it is necessary to be aware of the gravity of the situation, to realize that Israel might someday have to repel yet another coalition of Arab states, actively seeking its destruction.

*The author wishes to thank Eve Jacobson for her help with the researching and editing of this report. Ms. Jacobson, a graduate student at Columbia University's School of International Affairs, is currently an intern with the AJC's International Relations Department.*

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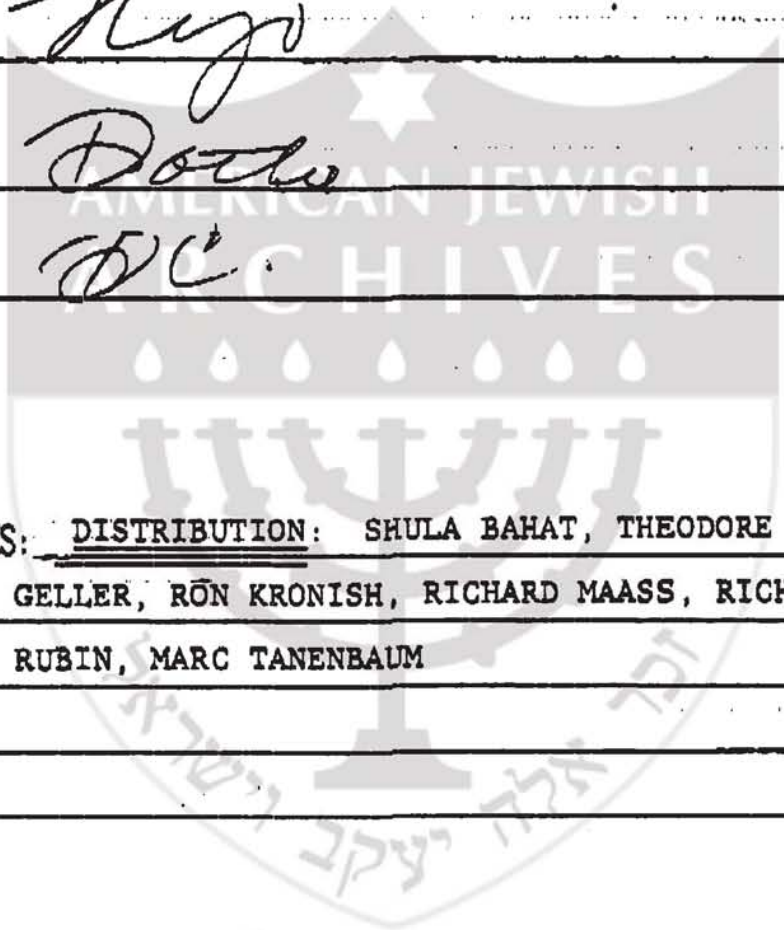
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**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** August 31, 1988  
**to** Ira Silverman  
**from** David Harris  
**subject** RECENT SOVIET JEWRY DEVELOPMENTS

An informal discussion today with a well-informed State Department source revealed the following interesting points:

(1) The rise in the July emigration rate to 1,639 was initially herald in some press accounts as the highest monthly rate in years. If one considers, however, that 320 of the emigrants departing with Israel visas were, in fact, Pentecostals, the actual Jewish rate for July was lower than the June figure. The final August figure will not be available for another day or two but does not appear to represent an increase.

(2) There has been a substantial increase in the number of requests for Israeli affidavits. Estimates range in the tens of thousands. The State Department is now awaiting a more precise figure. What is not immediately understood is the gap between the number of vyzov requests and the number of people leaving. There have been no reports of mass refusals, therefore it is possible that Jews feel safe requesting the affidavit even if they have not finally made up their minds about emigration but want to have the document available, and/or require several months' lead time before submitting an exit application, and/or are being refused in larger numbers than we know of but are not reporting this information to those activists who would normally collect the data.

(3) The State Department is continuing to press the Kremlin on the number and severity of emigration curbs, i.e. secrecy, parental assent, etc.

(4) Despite the recently amended Israeli vyzov which indicates that the Israeli visa will be issued in Bucharest, reports from Moscow indicate that Soviet Jews continue to present this vyzov to the Dutch Embassy in Moscow, receive Israeli visas, and depart the country via Vienna.

(5) Israel is vigorously continuing its efforts to introduce a new emigration procedure, but there is no hint of any change in the Soviet (or Dutch) attitude on Freedom of choice. Apparently, the Israelis have sought to step up the pressure on the Dutch and may have even threatened to seek a replacement to represent Israeli interests. If so, the only country that comes to my mind

that might conceivably be willing to fulfill the desired Israeli role is Romania, but all of this in the realm of speculation, nothing more. A month ago, Prime Minister Shamir wrote to Secretary Shultz urging U.S. support for the Israeli plan to bring more Soviet Jews to Israel.

(6) The direct track to the U.S. continues to be an object of much attention in the U.S. Government. It appears that there will be a three-pronged strategy. First, the U.S. will seek to admit as immigrants rather than refugees as many Soviet applicants as possible. Second, the use of refugee status will be tightened. As of a few weeks ago, two I.N.S. officers have temporarily been sent to Moscow to review each pending case. 90% of the Armenian cases have been approved as refugees; 100% of the Jewish cases. The expectation is that the screening process will continue past the current deadline of October 1st, at which time the process will become more stringent for the Armenians. Third, those not admitted as refugees will likely be admitted under the parole program, at least in the short and medium term. The net effect of this effort will be to reduce federal expenditures and cut refugee numbers for Armenians.

(7) What if Soviet Jewish emigration should increase dramatically? Would the U.S. be prepared to allot additional numbers and find supplemental money to accommodate the influx, or would the U.S. generate pressure on the emigrants to proceed to Israel? My informant indicated that, with one notable exception, the involved senior officials at State believe the U.S. would respond generously.

(8) While the final FY89 refugee numbers are still under negotiation in the government, the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs did apparently accept our proposed figure of 18,000 for Soviet Jews and forwarded that recommendation. However, as the total ceiling is likely to be pared to as low as 68,000 from the N.G.O.-requested figure of nearly 100,000, it is expected that all regional figures will be cut proportionally. The Soviet Jewish figure may be 13,000. By the way, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow felt that the original 18,000 figure for Soviet Jews for FY89 was a "conservative" estimate. (If that proves correct, then we will almost surely once again have to invoke the emergency provisions of the 1980 Refugee Act and request additional numbers -- and funding -- to accommodate those beyond the likely 13,000 ceiling.)

(9) Shultz and Shevardnadze will be meeting in Washington on September 22 and 23. There are no current plans for another Reagan-Gorbachev summit, though there has been some speculation that Gorbachev might come to New York, this fall to address the U.N. General Assembly. If so, a summit meeting would be almost certain.

(10) A major flap is emerging between the Helsinki Commission and the State Department over the U.S. position at the Vienna Review Conference of the Helsinki Final Act. Congressman Dante Fascell has written to Shultz to suggest that the State Department has weakened its negotiating position at Vienna in a rush to conclude the conference. In the letter, Fascell said that the U.S. had

established four criteria for ending the meeting -- release of Soviet political prisoners; a significant increase in emigration; reunification of divided spouse; continued "unjamming" of Western radio broadcasts -- and was now seeking to ignore these yardsticks in order to agree on a final document. The State Department's view is that these four criteria were intended as guidelines for judging Soviet performance, including whether to agree to a human rights conference in Moscow, but were never meant as rigid standards that would determine if the U.S. could agree to end the Vienna meeting. According to my source, if Fascell should not back down, a serious confrontation could arise here, not to speak of tension with U.S. allies who felt they had U.S. support to seek an end to the meeting before the New Year.

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September 2, 1988

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Page Two  
September 2, 1988

We very much appreciate your cooperation in assisting CBS  
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Sincerely,



Andrew J. Siegel  
Broadcast Counsel

Mr. Marc H. Tannenbaum  
Director of International Relations  
American Jewish Committee  
Foreign Affairs Commission  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022

Enclosure

cc Mr. Andrew Tisch



6330I

July 1988

INFORMATION CONCERNING COMPANIES AND ORGANIZATIONS WITH WHICH LOEWS DIRECTORS AND OFFICERS ARE AFFILIATED

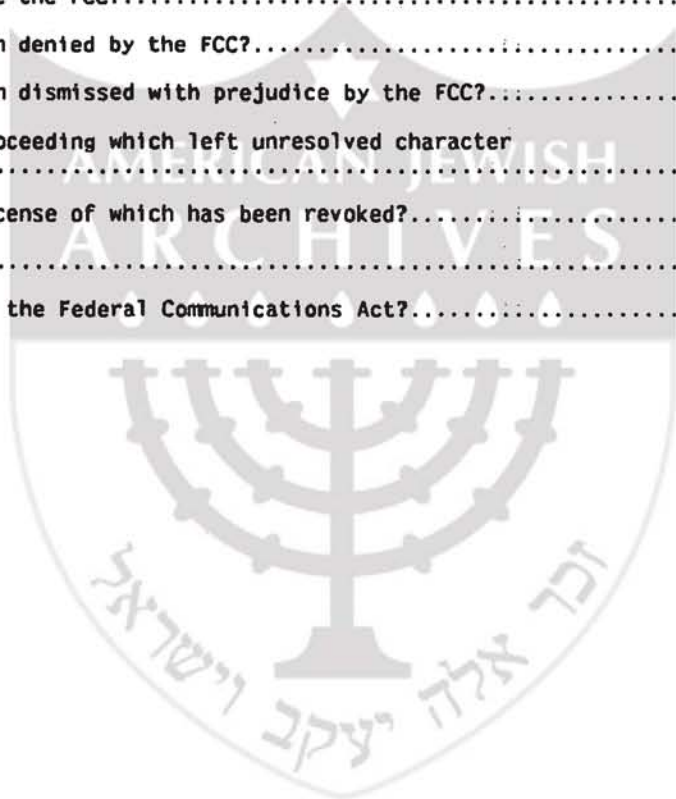
1. Please answer the following questions, YES or NO, with respect to your company or organization (including majority owned subsidiaries). Except as specifically indicated, this information is required from the later of July 1, 1978 or the date on which the Loews officer or director became affiliated with your company or organization to the present.
- (a) Has your company or corporation or organization, ever had a station license revoked by order or decree of any Federal Court?..... \_\_\_\_\_
  - (b) Has it been determined (whether or not in a final decision), that your company or organization:
    - (i) violated the provisions of the Communications Act or any FCC rule or policy?..... \_\_\_\_\_
    - (ii) lacked candor with or made false representations to the FCC?..... \_\_\_\_\_
    - (iii) made fraudulent representations to any other government unit?..... \_\_\_\_\_
    - (iv) committed criminal fraud or any other crime (other than a traffic violation or a minor offense)?..... \_\_\_\_\_
    - (v) violated any federal, state, territorial or local antitrust laws or laws prohibiting restraint of trade, or of using unfair methods of competition, relating to the broadcast industry?..... \_\_\_\_\_
    - (vi) violated any law concerning discrimination?..... \_\_\_\_\_
  - (c) Is there now pending in any court or administrative body any action concerning your company or organization which involves any matters referred to in subparagraphs (i)-(v) of this question 1?..... \_\_\_\_\_

\* See NOTE 1 on page 3.

2. IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED YES to any portion of question 1, please furnish on a separate sheet full information concerning the entities and matters involved, including, if any court or administrative proceeding is involved, the caption of the matter, the name of the court or administrative body, the date the proceeding was commenced, a brief summary of the facts, and the date and nature of any disposition or the current status thereof.

3. Please answer the following questions YES or NO. Does your organization have, or has it had, any direct or indirect interest in (stock\*, general or limited partnership) or connection with:

- (a) any AM, FM or television broadcast station (including any non-commercial educational station) or television translator station?..... \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) any application pending before the FCC?..... \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) any application which has been denied by the FCC?..... \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) any application which has been dismissed with prejudice by the FCC?..... \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) any application in any FCC proceeding which left unresolved character issues against the applicant?..... \_\_\_\_\_
- (f) any broadcast station, the license of which has been revoked?..... \_\_\_\_\_
- (g) any cable system?..... \_\_\_\_\_
- (h) any common carrier subject to the Federal Communications Act?..... \_\_\_\_\_



\* See NOTE 2 on page 3.



(i) any enterprise which distributes television programs for non-network exhibition?..... \_\_\_\_\_

(j) any enterprise involved in the publication of a daily newspaper?..... \_\_\_\_\_

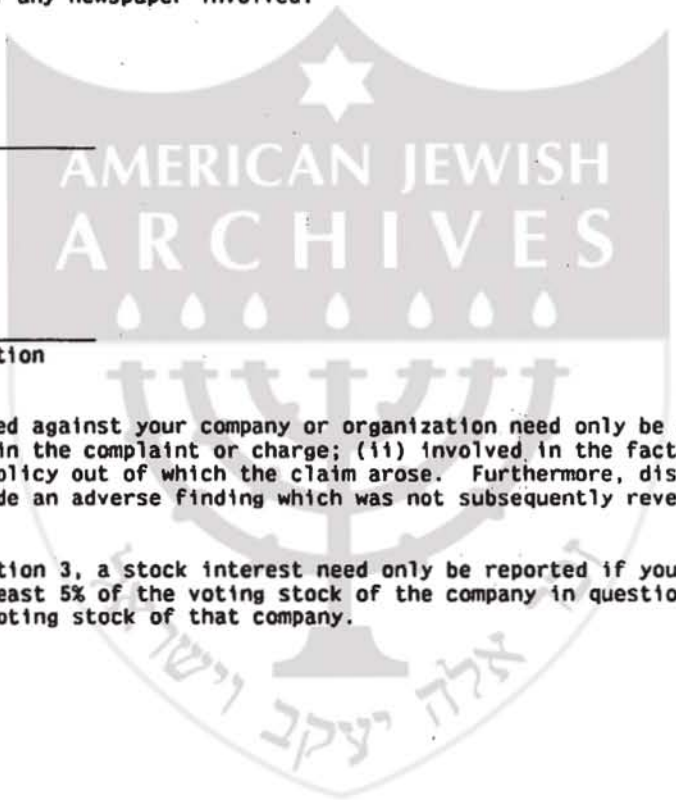
If any of the foregoing answers is YES, please set forth on a separate sheet the nature of the interest or connection; the dates; and, as pertinent, the call letters and location of any communication facility involved, a description of any application involved, the name and location of any cable system or common carrier involved, and the name and city of publication of any newspaper involved.

Submitted on behalf of

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name of Company or Organization

By \_\_\_\_\_  
Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Position in Company or Organization



NOTE 1. Discrimination claims filed against your company or organization need only be reported if the Loews director or officer was (i) named in the complaint or charge; (ii) involved in the facts giving rise to the charge; or (iii) involved in forming the policy out of which the claim arose. Furthermore, discrimination claims are only reportable if a court or agency made an adverse finding which was not subsequently reversed and that finding is not subject to de novo review.

NOTE 2. For purposes of this question 3, a stock interest need only be reported if your company or organization owns or has the right to vote at least 5% of the voting stock of the company in question and if no one single holder owns more than 50% of the voting stock of that company.

GORDON, U  
Anglican Church  
→ MHT - FU



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022-2746  
212 751-4000 / FAX: 212 319-0975

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September 7, 1988

Dr. Uri Gordon  
Adviser to the Minister  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Uri,

I appreciate very much your thoughtful and warmly responsive letter of August 14.

I share your mixed reaction to the Lambeth Conference. But, I agree, that it could have been worse, given the presence of Arab and third world bishops who work from the inside.

When you come to New York in September, let us arrange to meet and review that entire situation. We may be able to develop some approach from our good relationship with our American Anglican friends. I am meeting with one of them this week, and we will see what develops.

I deeply appreciate your kind suggestions on research for my book on the Vatican. As of now, it appears I will be in Israel from February 2nd to the 10th or 11th for an AJC leadership institute.

It would be most helpful if I could begin then to have access to the available declassified Foreign Ministry files on Vatican-Israeli relations.

I would be grateful if you would pave the way for me.

I have know Bruno Hussar over many years, and I will certainly seek him out.

With every good wish, for a Shanah Tovah U'Metukah!

Cordially,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations

MHT:RPR



Jerusalem, 14 August 1988

Rabbi Marc H. Tenenbaum, Director  
International Relations  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022-2746

Dear Rabbi Tenenbaum,

It is a pity that the Lambeth Conference adopted the Palestine-Israel Resolution which it did. It is a bad resolution indeed even though, as we know, it could have been even worse. Anyway, this leaves us with a whole lot of work to do. I still do not have details about the theological position taken by the Conference towards Judaism and the Jewish people but according to what I gather this too leaves us with a lot of work to do.

I was happy to hear that you are writing a book on "The Vatican, the Jews and Israel". I am already indebted to you for what I have learned from your articles and memoranda on this subject. How much more will I learn from a book written by you.

After studying the matter I now know that in principle Foreign Ministry files, including most of the classified documents, become declassified after 30 years and are opened by the State Archives for scholars. The State Archives is located in the Prime Ministers' Office. If and when you want to use these files I will be happy to make the preparatory contacts for you with the State Archives. "Younger" files are not open for review.

No doubt you are familiar with publications on the subject of your book, however, I would like to make sure that you are aware of the following two Hebrew books :

- 1) הוותיקאן וישראל ד"ר מנדס הרצאת המכון לחסדים בין-לאומיים ע"ש  
ליאונרד דיוויס, האוניברסיטה העברית, ירושלים 1983.

(Mimeographed). Despite its name the book also discusses relations with Judaism. An expanded version of this book is to appear in France shortly.

- 2) הוותיקאן, ארץ הקודש והציונות, יצחק מינרבי, 1895 - 1925 הרצאת  
יד יצחק בן צבי ירושלים תשמ"ו 1985.



In the forthcoming edition of "Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel" there will be a revised and expanded article on "Vatican" by Sergio Minerbi.

Last but not least I am enclosing photocopies of the front pages of two books: One by Fr. Bruno Hussar. The other includes an article by the same writer. The man is a Dominican Father born to assimilationist Jewish parents in Alexandria, Egypt. His first serious religious exposure was to Catholicism to which he later converted. He is an old man who lives in Jerusalem and has Israeli citizenship. He told me recently a fascinating story of his personal very active involvement in all stages of preparation and formulation of the section on the Jews in Vatican II. I strongly recommend that you meet with him and I am sure you will acquire new information on that critical chapter. If you accept the idea, I will be happy to make the contact.

I will be coming to New York in September for the regular session of the General Assembly, where I will be covering the Special Political Committee. I hope to see you then.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Uri Gordon  
Adviser to the Minister



**The American Jewish Committee**

**ARCHIVES**

**Summary of Selected  
Programs and Budget**

Presentation to  
Large City Budgeting Conference

September 8, 1988

זכור אלה יעקב וישראל



**The American Jewish  
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations  
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New York, New York 10022-2746  
212 751-4000 / FAX: 212 319-0975

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August 12, 1988

Mr. Alan H. Molod  
Chairman  
Large City Budgeting Conference  
730 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003

Dear Alan:

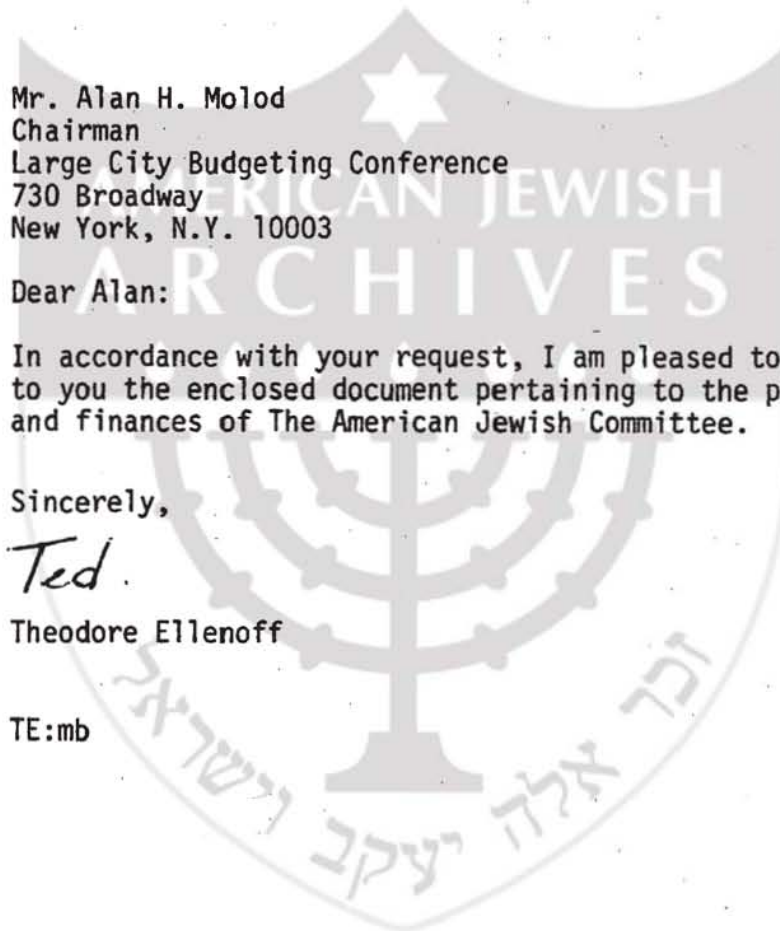
In accordance with your request, I am pleased to submit to you the enclosed document pertaining to the program and finances of The American Jewish Committee.

Sincerely,

*Ted.*

Theodore Ellenoff

TE:mb



## OVERVIEW OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE PROGRAMS

(JULY 1987 - JUNE 1988)

In response to LCBC's query, the program priorities which The American Jewish Committee has singled out for special attention during the past year are designed to fulfill the Committee's permanent commitments to combat anti-Semitism and to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews wherever they may live. Such activities include building understanding and support for Israel through programs of public interpretation on Mideast issues and representations on policy questions to U.S. government officials; advancing American Jewish-Israeli relations; promoting human rights concepts; combatting bigotry and discrimination; reducing intergroup tensions; and enriching the quality of Jewish life by strengthening Jewish identity and increasing understanding of Jewish history and heritage. Most of AJC's programs are not new, but their present forms reflect new trends and developments, as well as, in some instances, new emphases. As an example, the AJCommittee is embarking on a systematic exploration of the various elements involved in developing, training and utilizing Jewish leadership for the benefit of the total community. In this connection, AJC plans to hold community-wide regional consultations in major cities across the country.

Ongoing American Jewish Committee efforts involve not only the individual departments charged with specific activities but also interdepartmental efforts, including the work of special AJC centers and institutes such as The Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights, The Nathan Appleman Institute for the Advancement of Christian-Jewish Understanding, The William Petschek National Jewish Family Center, The Ruth U. Samuels Institute for Interreligious Programs in International Relations, The Skirball Institute on American Values, The Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations; and supporting departments such as Public Relations and Interpretation, Information and Research Services and the Blaustein Library. AJC's Washington Representative works closely with members of Congress and the Administration to interpret to them AJC's point of view on issues of concern to Jews. Our Leadership and Board Services Department is responsible for leadership development. The Community Services Department supervises the regional, area and chapter offices which initiate local programs in cooperation with our sister organizations, Federations and CRCs. The chapters serve as delivery systems and laboratories for national programs.

Many of our national activities are carried on in cooperation with Jewish communal umbrella organizations, such as NJCRAC, CRCs, and Federations. In some instances, where special coordination is deemed necessary and appropriate on behalf of the Jewish community, the three community relations agencies -- American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League -- voluntarily and mutually agree upon individual assignments that allow each of the agencies to operate in those areas which best utilize their special abilities and strengths.

As a national community relations organization, our entire program to benefit Jewish interests is designed to help maintain a general climate in which Jews can live in dignity and security. This requires ongoing relationships with non-Jewish groups. Building alliances for Jews with other groups in our society demands a considerable amount of agency resources. Such alliances underlie many of the agency's successful activities on behalf of Jewish concerns described later in this report.

## COMBATTING ANTI-SEMITISM AND EXTREMISM

Together with other Americans who share our concerns about preserving the democratic process, AJC seeks to reduce the impact of anti-Semitic, anti-democratic groups and individuals, and to isolate and counteract such groups wherever possible.

AJC was an active proponent of the "Hate-Crimes" Act, which provides federal criminal penalties for bias-motivated crimes. At the request of the U.S. Congress, AJC prepared a legal memorandum on the legislation, which was quoted extensively in the House Judiciary Committee's report on the bill. AJC has also been an active proponent of the "Hate Crimes" Statistics Act, which would require the Justice Department to gather information on such crimes. That bill, recently passed in the U.S. House of Representatives, is awaiting action in the U.S. Senate.

Using poll indicators and other attitudinal survey tools, The American Jewish Committee conducts regular assessments of attitudes about Jews and Israel. The polls have consistently shown that anti-Semitism is not on the upsurge, although there are still pockets of anti-Jewish feeling. The results of the latest poll, taken in the wake of the Palestinian uprising, indicate that Israel is seen in a somewhat less favorable light by the American public. Still, there has not been an appreciable increase in pro-Arab sentiment on the part of Americans; a strong plurality continue to sympathize with Israel in the Middle East conflict. As for American Jews, the American public's positive perception of them remains unchanged.

Combating extremism and overt anti-Semitism, despite the positive poll indicators, still requires constant vigilism. The American Jewish Committee was the first organization to expose the extremist groups who were preying on the fears of economically distressed farmers and spreading vicious lies alleging that Jews were at the root of the economic crisis on the farms. Our work to counter the hate mongers involved enlisting the aid of farm groups, labor and Christian religious leadership. In February 1988, AJC cosponsored with 13 organizations from these groups a conference on the rural crisis and anti-Semitic extremism, which was held at Hebrew Union College.

Bigotry among our youth is a growing concern. In April 1988, responding to the need expressed by campus administrators for training in school programs to reduce prejudice, AJC held a consultation and workshop for deans, college administrators and students activists at which applicants had to be turned away. We now sponsor workshops on over 70 U.S. campuses, primarily aimed at improving Black-Jewish relations.

As a further aid to the Jewish community, in 1987, AJC published Responding to Anti-Semitic Incidents: Guidelines for Jewish Communal Leaders. It is an adaptation of a publication originally prepared by AJC's Portland Chapter.

In order to help create a climate in which bigotry cannot take root or flourish, we engage in ongoing programs with Christian religious bodies and other groups to promote intergroup harmony and to bring about positive change in teachings about Jews and Judaism in Christian textbooks.

## ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

AJC continues its priority efforts to interpret events in the Middle East and Israel's position to U.S. government officials, other influentials -- particularly Christian religious leaders-- and the American public. This was particularly challenging in the past year because of the



Marc Tannenbaum

memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** August 22, 1988  
**to** Program Staff  
**from** Phyllis Sherman  
**subject** AJC Program Report (and Budget)

Attached is AJC's Program and Budget submission to LCBC. While the document is responsive to the specific needs of LCBC, it provides a comprehensive overview of AJC program that is not at present otherwise available.



*Phyllis Sherman*

88-900

widespread condemnation of Israel for its actions during the Arab uprising in the West Bank and Gaza.

In coordination with the Presidents Conference and AIPAC, our national leaders and Washington Representative maintain liaison with officials in the White House, the State Department and the Congress, conveying to them our views on U.S. Mideast policies. AJC's opinions are often sought by ranking government officials. In 1987-88 AJC leadership expressed to the highest U.S. officials its support for aid to Israel and the closing of the PLO office in Washington, D.C. and its concern about the sale of arms to Arab countries.

For many years, one of AJC's top priorities has been our nationwide activities to supply reliable information to the communications media. In order to put the events in the Gaza and West Bank into perspective and to interpret other aspects of the Middle East conflict, we met with editorial boards of major newspapers and provided a constant flow of background material geared not only to the media but also to government and UN officials, Christian influentials, ethnic leaders, Jewish leadership and CRCs. Examples of recent AJC educational materials are: Continuing Turmoil on the West Bank and Gaza: Responses to the Current Crisis, Underlying Issues and Potential Solutions (which has become a standard work in the educational arsenal of American Jewish organizations); Israel A Democratic, Pluralist Society: The Status of Israel's Non-Jewish Minorities; The PLO and the Palestinian Uprising: Their Tactics and Declared Objectives; The Recent Disturbances on the West Bank and Gaza: Questions and Answers; Arab Generosity to the Palestinians; The Mubarak Awad Case; The Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987: An Update on the Controversy Surrounding Efforts to Close Down PLO Offices in the U.S.; The Current Status of the Arab-Israel Peace Process; and The Arab Summit in Amman: A Qualified Success for King Hussein, Egypt and Pragmatism.

AJC's Israel office provides timely analyses of the Israeli political scene, of the mood in Israel and the views being expressed there. Media specialists attend frequent AJC conferences and briefings by top-level Israeli government spokespersons and others on major issues.

To provide Israelis with information about American Jewish life, we maintain a library on Americana in our Jerusalem office which serves Israeli government officials, journalists, academicians and students. The Hebrew quarterly Tefutsot Israel provides a selection of major articles, studies and commentaries on issues affecting contemporary Jewish life in the Diaspora. The office also publishes weekly summaries of the Israel press and special developments in Israel, which are widely distributed in the U.S.

Through AJC's Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations (IAJIR), as well as a special task force that was appointed for the 1987-88 program year, we have added emphasis to the traditional AJC effort to enhance dialogue and mutual understanding between American Jews and Israelis. The IAJIR studies the relationship between American Jews and Israel, identifying areas of tension and delineating opportunities for more effective interaction between them, with the view toward recommending appropriate courses of action. In its sixth year, the Institute has undertaken over 40 individual projects and has already issued over 20 studies and other analytic publications. Some examples of its projects are its monthly bulletin on contemporary American Jewish life, which is regularly featured in the Israeli media; the Israeli visitors program, now in its sixth year, which brings selected young Israeli leaders to the U.S. to learn firsthand about American Jewry; and a new program which brings young American Jews to Israel to help them get to know Israel and Israelis in a manner not usually provided in existing programs.

Now in its nineteenth year, the annual Academicians Seminar in Israel, conducted by AJC in cooperation with The Hebrew University, provides a cadre of informed and involved young

college faculty who serve as advocates for Israel on their campuses and in the communities. AJC also sponsors other leadership missions to Israel through our national office and chapters.

Our activities also reach out to special audiences: the international human rights and UN community, the business community, organized labor and, in particular, religious and ethnic groups with whom AJC has a special relationship. AJC's Interreligious Affairs Department has as one of its primary objectives combatting anti-Israel forces within the various church bodies. In 1988 AJC's interventions helped to modify anti-Israel resolutions by the General Convention of the United Methodist Church and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). For example, references to a linkage between Israel and South Africa were removed from both statements and the call by the Presbyterians for a cutoff of all economic aid to Israel was prevented. AJC's staff was widely quoted in the press during these conventions, notably in The New York Times.

On another front, AJC continues to attempt to combat the unremitting Arab and Soviet onslaught against Israel in the United Nations and other international fora. AJC's multipronged program of counteraction helped to draw public attention to the abuses of the UN by Arab and communist forces, to expose the blatant Arab propaganda, and to mount a diplomatic counteroffensive within the UN.

## ON THE WORLD SCENE: PROTECTING THE SECURITY OF JEWS OVERSEAS

### The Soviet Union

The plight of Soviet Jews has commanded AJC attention for decades. The U.S.-U.S.S.R. "detente" and glasnost have afforded some progress in recent months. Several prominent Jewish refuseniks have been released and the general emigration of Soviet Jews has increased significantly

over the very low figures of 1982-86, but there is still a cloud of uncertainty about the fate of the thousands of Jews left behind who seek to emigrate. AJC staff and lay leaders play key roles in shaping Jewish communal strategy in cooperation with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. AJC's Washington Representative, at the request of Jewish leadership, coordinated the landmark national mobilization for Soviet Jewry in Washington, D.C. (December 1987). We also secured endorsements for the mobilization from Christian religious leaders and from leaders of the Black, Hispanic, Asian and white ethnic communities.

In addition to our consultations with the U.S. State Department and other officials here to develop new policies and strategies to influence the Soviet government, AJC has initiated a series of top-level leadership visits to Western European heads of state and embassy officials to bring the facts to their attention and to enlist their aid. In recent months, these visits have stressed particularly the need for a "two-track system" for exit from the U.S.S.R. and adequate admission opportunities for Soviet Jews who wish to come to the U.S. Visits to foreign consulates by AJC chapters also stress the cause of Soviet Jewry. In addition, AJC conducts trips to the Soviet Union for AJC chapter leaders.

AJC has mounted a major program to inform influentials and the media about the status of Soviet Jewry. In 1987-88 AJC papers on Soviet Jewry and Soviet policy include: The Controversy over Refugee Status of Soviet Jewish Emigres, The Meaning of Gorbachev's Reforms, and The USSR and Israel: A New Chapter?. To shed light on the growing debate over Israel's actions to stem the "dropout problem" and increase Soviet Jewish aliyah, AJC

has just published Soviet Jewish Emigration: The Controversy over Destination. The document provides an historical perspective; an examination of recent developments; a survey of legal provisions in the U.S., Israel and the Soviet Union; and an analysis of future prospects.

AJC believes that rallying Christian support in the cause of Soviet Jewry is of utmost importance. A central role in this effort is played by the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, now in its

sixteenth year. The group was organized by The American Jewish Committee with the assistance of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. Local affiliates have been organized in cities around the country. They have undertaken a variety of programs to dramatize the plight of Soviet Jews and to enlist support for their cause in such cities as Chicago, New York, Boston, Los Angeles, Atlanta, St. Louis and Seattle.

### Jews in Arab Countries

The rise of Muslim fundamentalism and Arab extremism continues to imperil Jews in Syria, Lebanon, Iran and Yemen and to endanger those Jews remaining in other Muslim lands. The American Jewish Committee closely monitors their status and remains alert to situations that may call for assistance from the American Jewish community and interventions on their behalf with our government and other friendly governments.

The Jews of Syria, while not participating in the politics of the country, have increasingly become victimized by the reversion of the regime to past patterns of brutality and, in addition, suffer special discrimination as Jews. We work closely with the Syrian Jewish community in the U.S. to bring attention to the plight of their brethren still in Syria. Representations on their behalf were made by AJC national officers and our Washington Representative. We have also given assistance to Iranian Jews seeking political asylum.

AJC helped to organize the World Organization of Jews from Arab countries (WOJAC) and played a vital role in the planning and organization of the Third International Conference of WOJAC held in Washington in October 1987. The conference helped to draw attention to the hardships encountered by Jews in Arab and Muslim countries which have been largely overlooked by the world community, as has the substantial effort by Israel to absorb many of them. In addition, AJC provides office space to, and works closely with, the North American Conference on Ethiopian Jewry.

In 1987-88 AJC published the following backgrounders which help to document the dangers facing those Jews remaining in these areas: The Other Refugees: Impact of Nationalism, Anti-Zionism, and the Arab-Israel Conflict on the Jews of the Arab World; The Forgotten Victims of the Arab-Israel Conflict; The Jews in Arab Lands; Update on Jews in Arab Lands; The Resurgence of Islam and the Jewish Communities of the Middle East and North Africa.

We continue to be alert to subtle and overt changes in the conditions of Jews in Arab lands and will respond swiftly in defense of these endangered Jewish communities.

### Europe

AJC has augmented its programs in Europe, building on the successful AJC effort in Germany (described below in establishing excellent relationships with high government officials). Representations have been made during the year to governments in France, Spain, Italy and

England on behalf of Israel, Soviet Jews, and Jews throughout the world. These activities are coordinated with local Jewish communities.

AJC provides materials and resources to European Jewish communities and helps to keep the Jewish communities here and abroad apprised of any rise in anti-Jewish incidents and expressions in Europe.

The AJC exchange-visits program for young American and German leaders has been carried on for almost seven years. Cosponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of West Germany, the program has sought to create better understanding by young German leaders of Jews and Jewish concerns and to help American Jews understand the culture and the institutions of the new Germany. The young Germans selected for the program are expected to be future leaders of Germany.

Since 1983 annual AJC Chapter Leadership Missions have met with top officials in the German government, as well as German religious leaders, to continue wide-ranging discussions related to the U.S.- German relationships, the Middle East and teaching about Jews and the Holocaust in German schools. In cooperation with the government of West Germany we are engaged in a major study of the treatment of Diaspora Jewry in German high school textbooks. Twelve West German states are participating in this program. AJC's 1983 delegation was the first Jewish group to visit the East German Jewish community and to meet with East German officials. As a result of the missions, the small Jewish community in East Germany, for the first time in decades, was provided with a rabbi in residence.

In light of the international furor over the Kurt Waldheim election and the exploitation of anti-Semitism in the Austrian political campaigns, we have been involved in substantial conversations with the Austrian government aimed at stimulating Austrian cultural, educational and political figures to face Austria's involvement in the Nazi Holocaust, and its long and dangerous tradition of anti-Semitism. A detailed program has been worked out with Austrian officials, including: a proposed seminar in Vienna on "Confronting Anti-Semitism in Austria"; a series of secular and religious textbook studies, based on our U.S. and German experiences; and exchange visits, based on the German models with the Adenauer and Ebert Foundations.

### Promoting Human Rights

The AJC continues to vigorously promote international human rights. AJC activity focuses on affirmation of our traditional policy of opposition to human rights violations whether they come from the left or the right, on the development and clarification of new norms, on the promotion of basic human rights pacts and their implementation, and on issues of special Jewish concern in this sphere. Many of these activities are carried on through our Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights and by our representation in other human rights organizations, legal associations and NGOs.

The study of the relationship between religious concepts and human rights, particularly the role of this interplay in contemporary church-state or interreligious conflicts is a central focus of the Blaustein Institute's current work. The JBI is preparing an authoritative legal guide to the interpretation and application of the 1981 UN Declaration on Religious Freedom. In connection with the project, three consultations will be held, one in New York, the second at the Inter-American Institute in Costa Rica, and the third at the Strasbourg Institute in France.

As an example of its programs to advance human rights education, the Blaustein Institute, in

cooperation with the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights in Costa Rica, has undertaken an international effort to further human rights education in Latin America.

### Latin America

The exposure and counteraction of anti-Semitism and the basic violations of human rights in Latin America require AJC's consistent attention and intervention where possible. Heightened concerns about the safety and stability of certain Jewish communities in South America and Central America led AJC to send leadership delegations on missions to Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, and Costa Rica in order to cement avenues of cooperation with the local Jewish communities and to assess the general situation.

In meetings with the presidents of these countries and other political and government officials representing both the U.S. and the South and Central American nations, AJC has expressed its concerns about violations of human rights and civil liberties and pointed out the strong links between American Jews and the communities in Latin America. AJC's National and Latin American specialists monitor the dangerous increase in anti-Semitic literature originating in the Latin American nations and the possible links with Arab money and Arab information bureaus, including PLO-disseminated material. To influence public opinion, AJC prepares background memoranda for the general and Spanish-language media and other interested parties on Latin American issues.

## THE QUALITY OF JEWISH LIFE

### Jewish Unity

Recognizing the potentially explosive implications of growing divisiveness in Jewish religious life over such issues as intermarriage, conversion, divorce, and the legitimacy of Jewish pluralism, AJC has made the promotion of Jewish unity in America a priority program. Applying our human relations skills, we organized a Jewish Religious Dialogue, bringing together national lay leaders of Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist Judaism. These frank exchanges have resulted in statements promoting Jewish unity (without conformity) which were used widely by rabbis in High Holy Day sermons and which received broad media attention. A national conference held in December 1987, cosponsored by AJC, The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership (CLAL) and the Graduate School of the City College of New York, explored historical models of schism, as well as unity, and religious strategies for dealing with them. Public education materials were prepared, published and disseminated by AJC, including Unity and Polarization in Judaism Today and Conversion to Judaism.

Most importantly, AJC has spurred communities across the country -- Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Kansas City, Phoenix, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and Westchester, N.Y. -- to initiate dialogues among lay leaders within the various movements of Jewish religious life. A special institute was held by AJC in June 1988, bringing together key individuals from the various dialogue groups, most of which have been functioning for two years. The local dialogues serve as public education forums, as advocates of Jewish religious unity and pluralism, as study groups to break down interpersonal stereotypes and prejudices, and as an address within the Jewish community in which intra-Jewish communal conflicts may be discussed and hopefully resolved.

## The Jewish Family and Jewish Education

Animated by the conviction that the survival and strength of the American Jewish community depends on the health of its families, AJC's William Petschek National Jewish Family Center, now in its eighth year, has undertaken a long-range effort to stimulate research about the family and to aid in the development of Jewish community programs and public policy on the family. Through its regular Newsletter, the Center serves as a clearinghouse for materials on trends and programs related to the family. In addition, the Center has produced a series of studies and publications designed to help Jewish communal groups to evaluate the impact of their programs on the family. A comprehensive statement on family policy was issued by AJC in 1987. It and relevant background and policy papers serve to guide AJC policy and program and to inform general Jewish communal discussion on family policy.

The Jewish community is understandably concerned about an intermarriage rate that hovers around 40 percent. In order to enhance understanding about the impact of such marriages on the future of the Jewish community, AJC has sponsored and published extensive research on intermarried couples.

Based on the belief that Jewish values clarify our understanding of contemporary issues and reinforce our capacity to deal effectively with them, AJC has published a series of major papers dealing with Jewish perspectives on moral and social issues such as criminal violence, freedom of expression, the ethics of power, and universalism and Jewish particularism. In July 1988, to help clarify the debate over the future of the Jewish community in the U.S., AJC published Basic Trends in American Jewish Demography by U. O. Schmelz and Sergio Della Pergola of The Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

AJC's efforts related to Jewish education are in the areas of research policy advocacy and consciousness raising. Some examples are: cosponsorship with the Association for Jewish Studies of an assessment of the impact of Jewish studies courses on Jewish College students. Shabbat Delight, a kit for young children, was issued by AJC to help them learn the rituals and meaning of the Sabbath. It was developed for use by families, synagogues, pre-schools and kindergartens.

AJC chapters have conducted conferences and seminars in cooperation with Federations, centers and synagogues on family issues, Jewish education, and other issues of internal Jewish concern.

All of these programs and publications are intended to yield greater understanding of the factors which promote Jewish identity and those which hinder it. This insight is intended to be of assistance to Jewish communal agencies and professionals in developing policies and programs.

## **INTERRELIGIOUS AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS: PLURALISM**

A hallmark of AJC has long been its specialized work in the field of intergroup relations--the strengthening of ties to groups of other faiths and races and the reduction of tensions when fundamental differences arise. In the past 20 years, there have been marked changes in relations among America's racial, religious and ethnic groups, some of them positive and some of them troubling. To help guide AJC actions in this field in the coming decades, AJC has launched a systematic assessment of the state of intergroup relations in America with the view toward developing policy and program which will be of use not only to AJC but to the Jewish community in general.

### Furthering Jewish-Christian Understanding

Furthering Jewish-Christian understanding and combatting anti-Semitism rooted in Christian teachings have been aims of The American Jewish Committee for decades. AJC's educational institutes and colloquia with Christian leaders have helped to interpret Israel, encourage Christian support for Soviet Jewry and promote better understanding of Judaism, the Holocaust and the Jewish contribution to America.

The tensions among Catholics and Jews caused by Pope John Paul II's meetings with Kurt Waldheim have threatened to undo decades of progress and improved relations between the two groups since Vatican Council II. AJC has been clear in its condemnation of these affronts to Jewish sensibilities, but at the same time it has been mindful of the historic achievements of the past 20 years, as has been amply demonstrated by the friendly interventions by the leaders in the Catholic Church in America. We have played a major role during the summer of 1987 and since then in developing American Jewish response to the Pope and overall strategy with respect to Catholic-Jewish relations.

Our staff and lay leadership have frequently been used by the national and local media to interpret to the American public the Jewish anguish over the papal audiences with Kurt Waldheim. To help put the incidents into perspective and to further inform the Jewish community about Catholic-Jewish relations, we have issued a kit of materials, Resources for Catholic-Jewish Relations, for both Christians and Jews.

In cooperation with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, AJC is developing teaching materials on the Holocaust for parochial schools, Catholic colleges and universities, and seminaries. Joint Catholic-Jewish Academic Task Forces will form an Advisory Board for the Holocaust education project; the proposed teaching materials will be tested in two Catholic communities -- St. Louis and Orange County, California.

A special priority and a unique AJC program is its work with Evangelicals. AJC has established ongoing relationships with its key leadership. Through a multipronged program, we work to reinforce such positive values as Evangelical support for Israel and the separation of church and state and to diminish the substantial problems which also exist in the relationship. The volume, A Time to Speak, edited by AJC's Interreligious Affairs Director and Professor Marvin Wilson of Gordon College, published in late 1987, has been a focus of Jewish-Evangelical meetings, e.g., in Miami in 1987 and in 1988 at Gordon College.

AJC continues its interfaith activities with mainline Protestant groups. National and regional conferences are held in the U.S. with major Christian groups, by AJC's Nathan Appleman Institute for Advancement of Christian-Jewish Understanding. These conferences deal with church teachings about Jews and Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations in general. AJC acted as consultant to the World Council of Churches (WCC), the Presbyterian Church (USA) and the Episcopal General Convention in preparation of their statements on Christian-Jewish relations and on the Middle East.

Through its Women of Faith (WOF) program, initiated in 1979, the AJC brings together Roman Catholic, mainline Protestant, Evangelical, Greek Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish women to help overcome sexism, racism and religious bigotry. In 1987, WOF published a volume, Women of Faith in Dialogue, which is being used in religious and women's studies programs across the country.



As part of our interfaith coalitional activities, AJC has played a founding role in the creation of the AIDS National Interfaith Network (ANIN), a coalition of religious organizations and individuals who are working to address the AIDS crisis through service, support, education and advocacy. AJC's involvement with this effort resulted from its sponsorship of the National Interreligious Consultation on AIDS, held in September 1987. The Consultation was attended by 75 religious leaders from across the country.

### Textbook Studies

AJC's pioneer work on the treatment of Jews and Judaism in Christian textbooks has been well documented. In our textbook work with Christians we have often pointed out the real need for Jewish self-study of their attitudes toward Christians and Christianity. AJC released a study in 1987 by Samuel Weintraub of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which describes what is being taught about Christians, Christianity and Christian-Jewish relations in America's leading rabbinical schools. It is an important aid in our dialogues with Christian theologians and educators who have often called upon us to examine how Jewish educators view Christianity.

### Ethnic Identity and Diplomacy

AJC's Institute for American Pluralism (formerly the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity) engages in a broad program of action-research and experiments in multiethnic coalition building -- utilizing a social agenda which speaks to the concerns of ethnic groups in such a way as to help forge cooperation among Jews, white ethnics, Blacks, the Asian community, and Spanish-speaking groups. The Institute -- through such units as its Center on Ethnicity, Human Behavior and Communications, and the Illinois Consultation on Ethnicity and Education -- has organized consultations, built coalitions, and prepared and disseminated publications, working papers, and films that have received nationwide attention.

The Institute for American Pluralism celebrated its 20th anniversary by convening with Fordham University the 2nd National Consultation on Ethnic America, June 22-24, 1988. The first consultation in 1968 has been credited with framing what has come to be known as the "new ethnicity" and the "new pluralism." Leading practitioners and scholars gathered in June 1988 to assess twenty years of work in the area of ethnicity in America and to develop new strategies to help achieve an American ethnic pluralism that will support healthy group identity and legitimate group needs, while at the same time promoting good intergroup relations and the common interest. The proceedings and programmatic recommendations of the consultation will be published in January 1989 by the Institute.

AJC's program of "ethnic diplomacy" includes dialogues with Americans who are leaders in the Hispanic, Greek, Chinese, Japanese and Indo-Chinese communities. We have also stepped up our work the Italian-American community. These strengthened relationships have resulted in their greater awareness and understanding of Jewish concerns.

The Polish American-Jewish American Task Force, initiated by The American Jewish Committee, is now in its seventh year of dialogue. The two groups work together to change the attitudes and behavior of each community toward the other. They have joined forces to protest repression in Poland and the Polish government's campaign of anti-Semitism, as well as on refugee issues. They have also dealt with core issues in which Jews and non-Jews have been at loggerheads.

## Black-Jewish Relations

The intensive media attention to the problems between Blacks and Jews has unfortunately beclouded the positive relationships between the two groups that existed in the past and that still exist today, including our joint vigorous action to achieve passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act.

AJC's efforts in this area have been twofold: on the one hand, to protect Jewish interests, and, on the other, to maintain positive relationships where they may exist. During the past year, AJC chapters in Portland, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., among others, have engaged in a variety of programs with Black leaders, especially in the wake of the Jesse Jackson campaign, to reinforce shared interests.

AJC has intensified its work within Black churches since they have been the wellspring from which almost all Black leadership has emerged. Conferences were held with Black church leaders to inventory issues on which Blacks and Jews may work together, as well as those on which we may disagree. An unique vehicle for this work is the National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish relations which was formally established in October 1984 at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center in Atlanta. A meeting of the Task Force will be held in Racine, Wisconsin in October 1988.

## **AMERICAN PUBLIC POLICY**

The AJC remains convinced that Jews are more secure in a stable democratic society in which all have equal opportunity. Religious, cultural and ethnic pluralism has been the keystone of an open democratic society. Moreover, Jews increasingly have real interests in U.S. domestic policy that need to be protected.

We continue to work, with all like-minded Americans, to revitalize support for religious and cultural pluralism, to counter threats to the separation of church and state, and to reject rhetoric which appeals to vigilantism and a dehumanizing of those who differ from us. We therefore emphasize programming aimed at strengthening democratic institutions and American core values; supporting civil rights legislation, effective public education and needed social programs; promoting effective non-quota affirmative action programs; and advocating policies to keep this nation open to immigrants and refugees. Many of these activities are carried on in cooperation with our sister community relations organizations and the NJCRAC.

## Election '88

AJC has placed special emphasis on programs related to "Election Year 1988." It has geared up to play a significant role among non-partisan groups concerned with the conduct of electoral campaigns on the national and local scenes. One of our primary foci has been to stress the need for discussion of a broad agenda by the candidates. Toward that end, AJC surveyed all of the presidential candidates on important national and international issues and published the findings in two seminal publications, Presidential Election '88: The Candidates on the Issues and a companion analytical piece. The publications and accompanying press conference, which featured discussion of the survey's implications for the Jewish vote by top officials of both parties, received significant coverage in the Anglo-Jewish and general press. The material was widely shared with Jewish communal organizations and public policy influentials. AJC also submitted detailed testimony on a wide range of issues to Democratic

and Republican platform committees and was one of the few Jewish organizations to maintain an active presence at both conventions.

AJC chapters, notably in New York, Miami, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Atlanta have taken the lead in coalition-building efforts in their communities, setting up local CONDUCTs (Committee on Decent and Unbiased Campaign Tactics), to minimize intergroup tensions that may arise out of the campaigns and to promote fair campaign practices that are free from bigotry. To assist them in furthering these programs, AJC held a special training conference for lay leaders in 1988.

At the national advocacy level, AJC has played a highly active and visible role in supporting proposed Congressional campaign reform legislation and legislation to facilitate voter registration.

### The Bicentennial and Religious Freedom

The constitutional principle of church-state separation is under attack today as never before in the United States. There are a large number of cases now in the courts. AJC has filed legal briefs in several of them and has played a leading role in Congressional negotiations to safeguard church-state separation in the Act for Better Child Care Service.

Countering these threats to the preservation of the separation of church and state and religious pluralism in America has called upon many of AJC's resources in the past year-- including our legal expertise, intergroup relations skills, coalition-building experience-- nationally and in our chapters -- and long-standing relationships with non-Jewish segments of the country, well-honed opinion molding and media techniques, and our adroitness on the Washington scene. We established a special role for ourselves in the overall Jewish community's efforts by working to mobilize support outside of the Jewish community, especially among Christian groups, nationally and locally.

Training workshops were conducted to help AJC chapters and other community organizations cope with church-state problems and to develop ongoing coalitions. This was carried out in conjunction with an extensive AJC educational campaign celebrating the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution (1987-88). In order to highlight the importance of the separation principle of the Constitution to religious freedom, AJC has issued four companion pamphlets: Constitutional Pluralism: Conflicting Interpretations of the Founders' Intentions by the constitutional scholar, Michael Kammen; Preserving the Constitution by Senator Daniel J. Evans; Religious Liberty and Church-State Separation; and Jews, the Constitution and Religious Freedom. We also issued Religious Rights and Freedoms, What They Mean for Jews. Our chapters in Pittsburgh, Seattle and Philadelphia, among others, have cosponsored (with local universities) community-wide interfaith conferences on religious liberty.

### Civil Rights and Affirmative Action

The American Jewish Committee, in cooperation with ADL and AJCongress, continues to monitor closely developments to help ensure that affirmative action programs do not result in the application of quotas or in reverse discrimination. We continue to promote non-quota affirmative action programs in education and employment which provide Jews, disadvantaged minorities and women with equal opportunities commensurate with their abilities.

We have maintained our commitment to general civil rights concerns, working with other groups to achieve passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act. We have joined in a brief

amicus curiae urging the United States Supreme Court not to overturn its prior interpretation of the Civil Rights Act of 1966 as affording a civil cause of action for certain private acts of discrimination. We are also submitting a brief amicus curiae in support of quotas utilized by a New York community to apportion housing on a racial basis for the explicit purpose of preserving integrated housing.

### Social Welfare

The debate over social welfare policy in the U.S. has now entered a new phase. At issue are not only the best methods for structuring and operating programs for the poor but whether the system of assistance as we know it should exist at all. The American Jewish Committee believes that the Jewish community should be involved in this fundamental discussion. In light of this, the American Jewish Committee urged comprehensive welfare reform and supported the Senate Family Security Act of 1988 and the House Family Reform Act as important steps toward the urgently needed overhaul of our welfare system. AJC is working with the Congressional conference committee in developing final legislation that reflects the soundest features of both the House and Senate approaches. We were actively involved in the legislative debate on welfare reform, testifying before the Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy of the Senate Committee on Finance and expressing our views through other communications to members of Congress. AJC has also testified to the House Subcommittee on Human Resources, and the Committee on Education and Labor in support of the proposed Act for Better Child Care Service, commonly known as the ABC bill.

### Women's Issues

Women's concerns have been given greater emphasis in the last year, focusing on such issues as pay equity, the feminization of poverty, the status of Jewish elderly women, and Jewish women on the way up -- executive women. These studies will point to a series of recommendations on public policy which will benefit Jewish women as well as non-Jewish women. Responding to a wave of bigotry which focused on Jewish women, in 1987 AJC held a consultation to denounce the vicious humor about the so-called "Jewish American Princess," labeling it anti-Semitic and misogynic. The consultation, and AJC materials associated with it, attracted a great deal of media attention that spurred community actions to help eliminate the stereotype.

### Education

AJC continues its coalitional and other efforts to promote quality education, defuse intergroup tensions around education issues, and develop nonsectarian values education programs in the schools. A special emphasis has been the issue of language policy in our schools. A series of conferences has been held in 1987-88 to help educate the Jewish and general community about the implications of language issues and the sensitivities about them.

### Immigration

The American Jewish Committee has long maintained a primary interest in U.S. immigration and refugee policies, advocating a generous and fair immigration policy for our country. The increase in numbers of immigrants in the United States has raised public concern and stimulated sharp debate about national policy on this issue.

The AJC took the lead in bringing together a multiethnic coalition which pressed for strong family unification provisions in immigration legislation. We were the only Jewish organization to give testimony in the House and Senate on the measures and continued to provide leadership in the Jewish community on immigration issues. We opposed the guest worker provisions, supported legalization of undocumented immigrants now living here, and pressed for adequate attention to due process of law. Immigration legislation is particularly significant in terms of Jewish refugee situations, e.g., as with respect to Soviet Jews. We engaged in joint action with the Indochina Resource Action Center and the Congressional Black Caucus seeking higher levels of admissions to the U.S. for Soviet Jews, Indo-Chinese, and refugees from Africa.

AJC focuses not only on immigration policy -- on how many people come in -- but also on acculturation -- their relation to American society after entry. This year, AJC put together a task force of experts from diverse disciplines to produce a study and set of policy recommendations on immigrants and the schools. The Task Force's report will be completed in the fall of 1988. It follows the AJC publication, The Newest Americans, which deals with the economic, intergroup relations, language, and social service impacts of new immigrants and ways to improve their integration into mainstream society so as to enrich American society.

### Energy

Since the Arab oil embargo in the 1970s, AJC has supported U.S. energy policies to help reduce our country's dependence on OPEC oil and practices. Recent escalation of that dependence, coupled with a lack of U.S. action to counter the rising flow of Persian Gulf oil into the U.S., have caused AJC to renew its efforts in this regard, particularly in helping to inform the Jewish community of the growing dangers to America's security and Jewish interests.

In 1987-88 leaders of the AJC's Energy Committee and staff testified before committees of Congress, the departments of Energy and Interior and other agencies in support of an oil-import tax, the maintenance of adequate U.S. oil reserves, the preservation of fuel-economy standards for automobiles and similar measures affecting U.S. energy policy. The AJC also serves as a resource for Jewish community groups around the country concerned with this issue.

## **OTHER ACTIVITIES THAT AUGMENT AJC'S PROGRAMS**

### Publications

In addition to our regular publications Commentary, Present Tense and The American Jewish Year Book, AJC produced and distributed to political and religious influentials, the media, and Jewish leaders, etc., two million pieces of literature covering nearly 250 titles on the wide range of AJC programming. AJC is an important source of pertinent information which is widely utilized by CRCs and Federations. Our studies, backgrounders, fact sheets and analyses, prepared by our knowledgeable staff, constitute a major service to the Jewish community.

## Media

As part of its work to have minority opinion and subjects of Jewish concern aired on the media, AJC produces a number of programs which utilize AJC lay leaders and staff. Some examples are: "Jewish Viewpoint," "Present Tense," syndicated radio interview series highlighting matters of Jewish concern and content; radio commentaries, aired on WINS in New York and stations across the country, and "With Liberty and Justice for All," radio spots on civil rights and civil liberties. Our media work directed to the large Spanish-speaking communities in the nation is expanding.

## The Blaustein Library

AJC's Blaustein Library is a unique specialized collection available to -- and greatly valued by -- scholars and researchers. It contains a large private selection of anti-Semitic literature, from the Nazi era and from current sources.

## William E. Wiener Oral History Library

The William E. Wiener Oral History Library, which will soon celebrate its twentieth anniversary, preserves the memoirs of Jews from every stratum of society whose lives help to document the American Jewish experience in the twentieth century. The Library is now developing two major collections: the first is an update of its memoirs of Jews in the Civil Rights movement; the second records the involvement of the American Jewish community in the rescue of Soviet Jewry from the 50s to the October 1987 Washington Rally for Soviet Jewry.

The Library's catalogue -- Volume II just published -- lists more than 2000 memoirs which are a major research resource for biographers, doctoral students, historians and journalists. The Library is also used by Jewish organizations and community councils as a model for establishing similar programs nationwide. The Wiener Oral History Library was invited recently by the president of The New York Public Library to house its collection at The New York Public Library. Consideration is being given to the request.

## **AJC CHAPTERS**

The network of informed and active AJC members organized in chapters and units in more than 600 U.S. communities is vital to the implementation of AJC programs. The work of AJC chapters has been cited throughout this report.

Program Text by  
Phyllis Sherman

88-900

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS

FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1986/87 - 1988/89

|  | 1986/87<br>ACTUAL | 1987/88<br>BUDGET | 1987/88<br>ESTIMATE | 1988/89<br>BUDGET |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| <b>INCOME</b>  |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| <b>PUBLIC SUPPORT</b>  |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| Federations  | 1,321,500         | 1,400,000         | 1,314,800           | 1,400,000         |
| National   | 6,035,800         | 6,150,000         | 6,190,200           | 6,600,000         |
| New York   | 6,102,000         | 6,100,000         | 6,196,200           | 6,300,000         |
| Chicago  | 1,251,100         | 1,300,000         | 1,175,800           | 1,400,000         |
| Special Projects   | 880,600           | 780,000           | 857,800             | 812,500           |
| <b>Total Campaign</b>  | <b>15,591,000</b> | <b>15,730,000</b> | <b>15,734,800</b>   | <b>16,512,500</b> |
| Membership Dues  | 1,314,200         | 1,400,000         | 1,210,000           | 1,250,000         |
| Legacies & Bequests  | 136,100           | 100,000           | 92,000              | 100,000           |
| <b>TOTAL PUBLIC SUPPORT</b>  | <b>17,041,300</b> | <b>17,230,000</b> | <b>17,036,800</b>   | <b>17,862,500</b> |
| <b>REVENUE</b>   |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| Commentary   | 1,103,400         | 1,150,000         | 1,008,400           | 1,085,000         |
| Sale of Other Publications   | 266,300           | 354,000           | 244,800             | 334,000           |
| Rent Income  | 450,000           | 450,000           | 139,400             | 470,000           |
| Investment Income*   | 96,700            | 84,000            | 105,000             | 84,000            |
| Net Gain (Loss) on Sale of Investments*                            | 99,200            | -                 | 94,000              | -                 |
| Other  | 206,900           | 168,500           | 190,300             | 149,000           |
| <b>TOTAL REVENUE</b>   | <b>2,222,500</b>  | <b>2,206,500</b>  | <b>1,781,900</b>    | <b>2,122,000</b>  |
| <b>TOTAL PUBLIC SUPPORT AND REVENUE*</b>                           | <b>19,263,800</b> | <b>19,436,500</b> | <b>18,818,700</b>   | <b>19,984,500</b> |
| <b>EXPENSES</b>  |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| <b>PROGRAM SERVICES</b>  |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| National Affairs   | 1,735,200         | 1,667,000         | 1,763,600           | 1,709,300         |
| Interreligious Affairs   | 601,500           | 619,500           | 607,300             | 546,400           |
| International Relations  | 2,946,500         | 2,819,400         | 3,049,700           | 2,840,300         |
| Leadership & Community Services                                    | 6,105,200         | 6,405,200         | 6,314,000           | 6,687,700         |
| Jewish Communal Affairs  | 613,700           | 624,000           | 590,800             | 610,100           |
| Commentary   | 1,410,000         | 1,483,900         | 1,469,700           | 1,494,500         |
| Public Education, Information & Research                           | 1,962,300         | 2,069,900         | 1,975,200           | 2,090,500         |
| <b>TOTAL PROGRAM SERVICES</b>                                      | <b>15,374,400</b> | <b>15,688,900</b> | <b>15,770,300</b>   | <b>15,978,800</b> |
| <b>SUPPORTING SERVICES</b>   |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| Management & General   | 1,303,600         | 1,230,900         | 1,397,300           | 1,268,400         |
| Fund Raising   | 2,337,800         | 2,516,700         | 2,369,400           | 2,737,300         |
| <b>TOTAL SUPPORT SERVICES</b>                                      | <b>3,641,400</b>  | <b>3,747,600</b>  | <b>3,766,700</b>    | <b>4,005,700</b>  |
| <b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>  | <b>19,015,800</b> | <b>19,436,500</b> | <b>19,537,000</b>   | <b>19,984,500</b> |
| *Excludes Donor Restricted Endowment Principal & Investment Income | 931,000           | 450,000           | 841,100             | 500,000           |

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES & CURRENT FUND BALANCES

JUNE 30, 1987 & 1988

|  | <u>JUNE 30, 1987</u> | <u>PRELIMINARY<br/>JUNE 30, 1988</u> |
|--|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>ASSETS</b>  |                      |                                      |
| Cash   | 203,500              | 935,500                              |
| Investments  | 3,717,000            | 2,766,200                            |
| Pledges Receivable (Net)                                 | 3,339,800            | 3,459,800                            |
| Accounts Receivable                                      | 659,300              | 505,000                              |
| Other  | 171,500              | 225,100                              |
| <b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>                                      | <b>8,091,100</b>     | <b>7,891,600</b>                     |
| <b>LIABILITIES &amp; CURRENT FUNDS BALANCES</b>          |                      |                                      |
| Accounts Payable   | 2,772,100            | 3,062,600                            |
| Deferred Income  | 1,004,100            | 1,128,700                            |
| Appropriation for Special Retirement                     | 1,804,000            | 1,797,500                            |
| Fund Balances - Restricted by Donor                      | 1,833,800            | 1,765,100                            |
| - Unrestricted   | 677,100              | 137,700                              |
| <b>TOTAL LIABILITIES &amp; CURRENT<br/>FUND BALANCES</b> | <b>8,091,100</b>     | <b>7,891,600</b>                     |
| <b>LAND, BUILDING &amp; EQUIPMENT FUND BALANCE</b>       | <b>1,541,600</b>     | <b>1,940,100</b>                     |
| <b>DONOR RESTRICTED ENDOWMENT FUND BALANCE</b>           | <b>7,075,600</b>     | <b>7,467,400</b>                     |

(8/88)



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
LEADERSHIP & COMMUNITY SERVICES DEPARTMENT  
FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1986/87 - 1988/89

|                               | 1986/87<br>ACTUAL | 1987/88<br>BUDGET | 1987/88<br>ESTIMATE | 1988/89<br>BUDGET |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Central Staff                 | 960,900           | 1,033,100         | 983,700             | 1,135,300         |
| Atlanta                       | 189,800           | 192,500           | 208,800             | 217,300           |
| Baltimore                     | 80,400            | 84,000            | 84,800              | 91,600            |
| Boston                        | 220,200           | 249,300           | 244,400             | 270,500           |
| Chicago                       | 474,900           | 534,900           | 535,200             | 493,700           |
| Cincinnati                    | 100,000           | 98,400            | 99,200              | 107,300           |
| Cleveland                     | 162,700           | 166,500           | 169,900             | 181,300           |
| Dallas                        | 215,000           | 198,700           | 178,200             | 199,900           |
| Denver                        | 97,300            | 100,000           | 107,900             | 110,700           |
| Detroit                       | 118,500           | 132,400           | 122,700             | 132,800           |
| Houston                       | 178,400           | 176,900           | 174,600             | 188,900           |
| Long Island                   | 79,300            | 86,000            | 85,700              | 91,600            |
| Los Angeles                   | 475,600           | 535,300           | 549,200             | 573,900           |
| Miami                         | 270,400           | 271,000           | 280,700             | 295,600           |
| New Jersey                    | 198,400           | 218,800           | 208,500             | 231,300           |
| New York                      | 316,100           | 341,400           | 317,600             | 377,900           |
| Orange County                 | 116,600           | 158,000           | 161,200             | 175,700           |
| Philadelphia                  | 362,200           | 342,200           | 348,000             | 328,000           |
| Phoenix                       | 69,100            | 102,000           | 95,300              | 113,300           |
| Pittsburgh                    | 135,900           | 111,200           | 119,300             | 119,300           |
| Portland                      | 66,500            | 67,400            | 68,100              | -0-               |
| San Diego                     | 88,900            | 100,500           | 101,900             | 114,800           |
| St. Louis                     | 175,100           | 180,700           | 182,200             | 186,500           |
| San Francisco                 | 178,000           | 189,900           | 184,900             | 210,300           |
| Seattle                       | 96,000            | 96,400            | 96,200              | 100,800           |
| Washington, D.C.              | 188,700           | 195,000           | 210,900             | 224,200           |
| Westchester                   | 201,700           | 152,700           | 145,300             | 145,200           |
| <b>TOTALS</b>                 | <b>5,816,600</b>  | <b>6,115,200</b>  | <b>6,064,400</b>    | <b>6,417,700</b>  |
| Add: Chapter Program Expenses | 288,600           | 290,000           | 249,600             | 270,000           |
| <b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>         | <b>6,105,200</b>  | <b>6,405,200</b>  | <b>6,314,000</b>    | <b>6,687,700</b>  |

(8/88)

AJ Comm-C

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
 ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCE  
 FOR THE FISCAL YEARS 1986/87 & 1987/88

|                         | CAMPAIGN<br>PLEDGES<br>----- | CAMPAIGN<br>EXPENSES<br>----- | PERCENTAGE<br>COST OF<br>CAMPAIGN<br>----- |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| <u>1986/87 ACTUAL</u>   |                              |                               |  |
| Federations             | 1,321,500                    | 102,300                       | 7.7%                                       |
| National                | 6,035,800                    | 921,800                       | 15.3%                                      |
| New York                | 6,102,000                    | 949,700                       | 15.6%                                      |
| Chicago                 | 1,251,100                    | 230,600                       | 18.4%                                      |
| Special Projects        | 880,600                      | 133,400                       | 15.1%                                      |
| TOTAL CAMPAIGN          | -----<br>15,591,000<br>===== | -----<br>2,337,800<br>=====   | -----<br>15.0%<br>=====                    |
| <u>1987/88 ESTIMATE</u> |                              |                               |  |
| Federations             | 1,314,800                    | 101,200                       | 7.7%                                       |
| National                | 6,190,200                    | 949,500                       | 15.3%                                      |
| New York                | 6,196,200                    | 971,300                       | 15.7%                                      |
| Chicago                 | 1,175,800                    | 217,000                       | 18.5%                                      |
| Special Projects        | 857,800                      | 130,400                       | 15.2%                                      |
| TOTAL CAMPAIGN          | -----<br>15,734,800<br>===== | -----<br>2,369,400<br>=====   | -----<br>15.0%<br>=====                    |

(8/88)

AJ Comm-D

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY  
10 East 40th Street, Suite 907  
New York, New York 10016

SOVIET JEWS: CURRENT PRIORITY ISSUES

The following points represent priority issues to be resolved in seeking a redress of those abuses affecting the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union:

- Emigration of all refuseniks, with priority to the three former Prisoners of Conscience (Vladimir Kislik, Evgeny Lein and Roald Zelichonok) and their families, and those waiting 12 years or more.
- Systematic, substantial and sustained emigration involving new applicants.
- Establishment of a reasonable time limitation for use of the "State Security" denial of exit visas based on General Secretary Gorbachev's remarks, in October 1985, that those waiting "five to ten years . . . eventually . . . get it and leave."
- Recognition of Hebrew as the official language of the Jewish minority, the registration of Hebrew teachers and study groups (Ulpanim), and the availability of Hebrew language materials.
- Broadening opportunity for freedom of Jewish religious and cultural practices, as well as the opportunity for Soviet Jews to form associations with Jews in the USSR and in other countries.
- Elimination of all forms of official and public anti-Semitism and action, in accordance with Soviet law, against the neo-fascist, xenophobic, and anti-Jewish groups which are proliferating (re: Pamyat), as well as the disbanding of the official Anti-Zionist Committee.

ADOPTED: September 16, 1988



September 19, 1988

*Memo*

TO: NJCRAC and CJF Member Agencies

FROM: Don Lefton, Chair, and Rae Ginsburg, Vice Chair  
NJCRAC International CommissionRE: **REPORT ON OBSERVANCE OF NIGHT OF MURDERED POETS YAHRZEIT;  
COMMUNITY PROGRAM EXCHANGE ON AFFIXING OF MEMORIAL PLAQUES  
AND OTHER COMMEMORATIVE ACTIVITIES**

We are pleased to send you this report of the results of the NJCRAC summer activity for the 36th anniversary of the Night of the Murdered Poets, August 12, the date in 1952 when 24 Soviet Jewish writers and other cultural figures were murdered in a single night and Soviet Jewish culture extinguished.

The effort with the communities had three elements:

\* A broad appeal to the Soviet Union for the rehabilitation of the writers, in which NJCRAC enlisted Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel. The Wiesel telegram to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev received widespread coverage, including a page-two story in the New York Times, and by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and other Jewish media.

\* NJCRAC enlisted communities to affix memorial plaques at sites of Jewish and/or cultural significance. Locations chosen included synagogues and Jewish community centers. The more unusual sites included the Carnegie Public Library in Pittsburgh and the National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia.

In this first year of the program, nineteen communities joined the effort, with one, Northern New Jersey, setting up three plaques in its community. Many CRC executives and leaders from communities which did not order plaques have expressed interest in joining the effort next year after viewing the plaque displayed in the NJCRAC office. The program was developed in consultation with a committee of CRC directors in June.

\* The publication of an op-ed piece by NJCRAC's Director of International Concerns, Abraham J. Bayer, in a number of Jewish newspapers across the country.

The enclosed Program Exchange, produced by Harvey Paretzky of the NJCRAC staff, reports on these activities and on other programs, including a demonstration in front of the Soviet Consulate in San Francisco and a memorial service in New York conducted by the Workmen's Circle and the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews (which also sponsored a demonstration in front of New York's City Hall).

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COMMEMORATION OF 36TH YAHRZEIT

"NIGHT OF THE MURDERED POETS"

August 12, 1952 -- August 12, 1988

NJCRAC SOVIET JEWRY PROGRAM EXCHANGE

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New Haven  
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Tie-In to Adoption Program in Kansas City

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council  
443 Park Avenue South New York, NY 10016

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1 2123994485 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 07-29 1250P EST

COPY

THE ELIE WIESEL FOUNDATION L WU  
666 FIFTH AVE 11TH FLOOR  
NEW YORK NY 10103

THIS IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

FRB TDMT NEW YORK NY 07-29 1250P EST  
INT MIKHAIL S GORBACHEV, GENERAL SECRETARY  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION  
STARAYA PLOSHCHAD, 4  
MOSCOW103132 (SOVIET UNION)

DEAR GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV:

YOU HAVE HAD THE COURAGE TO DO SO MUCH FOR SO MANY IN RECENT YEARS,  
AND SO I APPEAL TO YOU ON BEHALF OF A VERY SPECIAL GROUP OF PEOPLE:  
SOVIET JEWISH INTELLECTUALS UNJUSTLY EXECUTED UNDER STALIN BETWEEN  
1948 AND 1953.

IT IS A STRANGE BUT UNDENIABLE FACT THAT THESE POETS, WRITERS,  
ARTISTS AND SCIENTISTS LIVED AS COMMUNISTS, ALTHOUGH THEY DIED AS  
JEWS: DOVID BERGELSON, ITZIK FEFFER, DOVID HOFSHTEIN, LEIB KOVITKO,  
SOLOMON LOZOVSKY, PERETZ MARKISH, YITZHAK NUSINOV, SHMUEL PERSOV,  
ELIAHU SPIZAK, BENJAMIN ZUSKI, SHLOMO MIKHOELS, DER NISTER, YEHEZKEL  
DOBRUSHIN, IZI KHARIS, SHLOMO BILDV, NOKHUM LEVIN, AND DOV BER  
SLUTSKI.

THEY WERE INNOCENT OF STALIN'S ACCUSATIONS. YOU KNOW THAT EVERYBODY  
KNOWS THAT. IT WOULD BE A MEASURE OF GENEROSITY AND JUSTICE ON YOUR  
PART IF YOU WERE TO PROCLAIM THEIR OFFICIAL REHABILITATION ON AUGUST  
12, 1988, THE 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF 29 JEWISH WRITERS  
EXECUTED IN THE CELLARS OF THE NKVD AS THE RESULT OF A DIRECT ORDER  
FROM STALIN. HISTORY WOULD BE THANKFUL, MR. GENERAL SECRETARY, AND SO  
WOULD JEWS AND NON-JEWS WORLDWIDE.

ELIE WIESEL  
1986 NOBEL PEACE LAUREATE  
200 EAST 64 ST  
NEW YORK NY 10023 USA

COL 4 MOSCOW103132 1948 1953, 12, 1988, 36TH 24 1986 200 64 1

12:48 EST

HGMCOMP

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL-FREE PHONE NO.

## Elie Wiesel Asks Gorbachev To Clear 24 Jewish Martyrs

Elie Wiesel, winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize, sent a telegram yesterday to Mikhail S. Gorbachev asking the Soviet leader to clear the names of 24 Soviet Jewish writers and other cultural figures who were killed under orders from Stalin 36 years ago this month.

"They were innocent of Stalin's accusations," Mr. Wiesel wrote. "You know that. Everybody knows that. It would be a measure of generosity and justice on your part if you were to proclaim their official rehabilitation on Aug. 12, 1988."

The 24, including poets, artists and scientists, had been charged with being "rebels" and "agents of American imperialism" who wanted to separate the Crimea from the Soviet Union to "establish their own bourgeois national Zionist republic." They were executed in Moscow on Aug. 12, 1952.

"You have had the courage to do so much for so many in recent years," Mr. Wiesel said in his appeal to Mr. Gorbachev. "History would be thankful, Mr. General Secretary, and so would Jews and non-Jews worldwide."

Restore slain poets' honor.  
Wiesel asks Gorbachev



AUGUST 8, 1988

DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

### WIESEL ASKS GORBACHEV TO CLEAR NAMES OF MURDERED YIDDISH POETS

NEW YORK, Aug. 7 (JTA) -- Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel has called upon Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to clear the names of 24 Soviet Jewish writers and cultural figures murdered on a single night, Aug. 12, 1952.

The group, known collectively as the "murdered Yiddish poets" because of the preponderance of Yiddish poets among them, has never been totally accounted for, and their story has become legend among Jews of diverse political and cultural bent.

In a telegram to the Kremlin, Wiesel requested that Gorbachev follow up on the recent rehabilitation of top Communists killed in the 1930s, during the purges of Josef Stalin, with a gesture toward the dictator's Jewish victims.

"You have had the courage to do so much for so many in recent years," Wiesel wrote the Soviet leader. "and so I appeal to you on behalf of a very special group of people: Soviet Jewish intellectuals unjustly executed under Stalin between 1948 and 1953."

Wiesel's appeal was part of an effort being coordinated by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, which will erect

## Moscow Asked to Clear Murdered Poets' Names

NEW YORK (JTA) -- Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel has called upon Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to clear the names of 24 Soviet Jewish writers and cultural figures murdered on a single night, Aug. 12, 1952. The group, known collectively as the "murdered Yiddish poets" because of the preponderance of Yiddish writers among them, has never been totally accounted for, and its story... "It is a strange but undeniable fact that these poets, writers, artists and scientists lived as Communists, although they did not know it. They were part of Stalin's account of the past. You know that, everybody knows that. It would be a measure of generosity and justice on your part if you were to proclaim their official rehabilitation on Aug. 12, 1988, the 36th anniversary of the death of 24 Jewish..."

bronze plaques dedicated to these murdered Soviet Jews in 19 American cities on Aug. 12.

"Through the dedication of these plaques, we're asking the Soviet authorities to make amends for the past injustices done to Soviet Jews as individuals and as a people," explained Michael Pelavin of Flint, Mich., who is chairman of NJCRAC.

NJCRAC will also dedicate a plaque in its New York offices and a second plaque will be brought to Israel during a NJCRAC mission in October, to be presented to relatives of several of the murdered poets who live there.

The plaques include the names of 10 Jewish cultural figures known to be among those murdered in the cellar of Lubianka Prison on Aug. 12, 1952: Dovid Bergelson, Itzik Feffer, Dovid Hofshstein, Leib Kvitko, Solomon Lozovsky, Peretz Markish, Yitzhak Nusinov, Shmuel Persov, Eliahu Spivak and Benjamin Zuskin.

Also listed are 16 others murdered during the "Black Years" for Soviet Jewry, 1948-53: Shlomo Bilov, Yechezkiel Dobrushin, Benjamin Gotiansky, Zerach Greenberg, Nahum Levin, Shlomo Mikhoels, Der Nister (Pinchas Kaganovitch), Leib Rabkin, Boris Shimshelevich, Dov Ber Slutzki, Alexander Sodariski, Anna Stelmach, David Tzaike, Meir Yosefovitch, Gregory Zashitz and Mira Zhelzanova.

St. Louis Jewish Light August 17, 1988

## Wiesel calls on Gorbachev to clear names of poets



Elie Wiesel

NEW YORK — Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel has called upon Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to clear the names of 24 Soviet Jewish writers and cultural figures murdered in a single night, Aug. 12, 1952.

Wiesel's appeal is part of an effort coordinated by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

(NJCRAC) which included the erection of bronze plaques dedicated to the memories of the writers in nearly 20 cities to mark the 36th anniversary of what has come to be known as the Night of the Murdered Poets.

In a telegram to the Kremlin, Wiesel has requested that Soviet leader Gorbachev follow the recent rehabilitation of top Communists killed during the purges by Joseph Stalin in the 1930s with a gesture towards the Soviet dictator's Jewish victims.

"They were innocent of Stalin's accusations," Wiesel wrote. "You know that; everybody knows that. It would be a measure of generosity and justice on your part if you were to proclaim their official rehabilitation on the 36th anniversary of the death of 24 Jewish writers executed in the cellars of the NKVD (the predecessor to the KGB) as the result of a direct order from Stalin. History

would be thankful, Mr. General Secretary, and so would Jews and non-Jews worldwide."

The effort comes as Soviet Jews continue to suffer from difficulties in creating indigenous cultural expressions, despite the openings created by Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost*. In addition, thousands of Soviet Jews are still separated from their families in Israel and the United States, despite recent increases in emigration.

"Through the dedication of these plaques, we're asking the Soviet authorities to make amends for the past injustices done to Soviet Jews as individuals and as a people. They also can do much more to help today's Soviet Jewish cultural and religious activists lead their people to full Jewish lives, including make aliyah to Israel," said Michael A. Pelavin, chairman of NJCRAC.

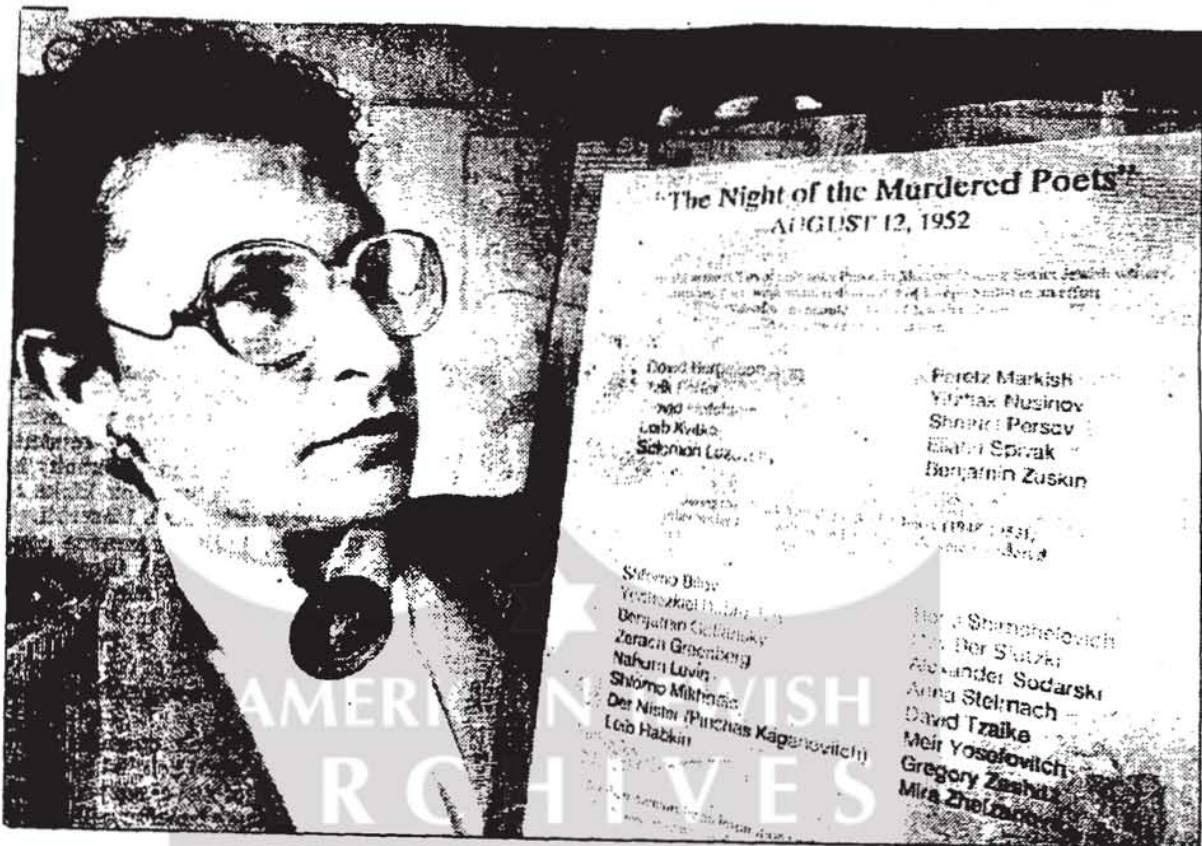
"These plaques will serve as a continuing reminder to all who read them that Soviet Jews still suffer great inequities, as well as

a lasting memorial to the murdered poets. The plaques demonstrate the nature of the struggle by Soviet Jews and the sacrifices many have endured," Pelavin added.

A plaque was dedicated in the offices of NJCRAC in New York, and a second plaque will be brought to Israel by a NJCRAC delegation on a mission in October and presented to the relatives of several of the murdered poets who have emigrated to Israel.

The plaques list the names of the 10 Yiddish writers killed on Aug. 12 whose identities are known (the other 14 who were known to have been killed have never been identified), along with 16 other Jewish cultural figures murdered between 1948 and 1953, a period termed the "Black Years" for Soviet Jews. The text adds: "May their memories be an inspiration to the two million Jews of the Soviet Union who continue to yearn for Zion, despite Soviet suppression of Jewish cultural life."





RON MOSCATI/Bufallo News

**REMEMBERING THE EXECUTIONS** — Shelley Hirshberg, chairman of the Soviet Jewry Task Force of the Jewish Federation, studies the names of the 24 Soviet Jewish writers, actors, scholars and poets executed Aug. 12, 1952, by

the Soviet government. Their bodies never were recovered. A special ceremony was held Friday in the Jewish Center Delaware Building to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the "Night of the Murdered Poets."

# Murdered poets are memorialized

By HARLAN C. ABBEY

On the 36th anniversary of their deaths by firing squads in the cellars of Moscow's Lubianka Prison, 24 Jewish poets, writers, academics and physicians were memorialized with the dedication of plaques in their memory.

The ceremonies held at the Downtown Jewish Center on Aug. 12, and in 18 other American cities the same day, were led by two of Buffalo's most noted literary and artistic figures, U/B faculty members Dr. Leslie Fielder, professor of English, and Saul Elkin, professor of drama.

Elkin read three poems in Yiddish and Fielder provided the English translation.

The works were by David Hofshateyn, one of the murdered poets; Shmuel Halkin, imprisoned during the late 1940's and '50's and Izy Charik, who died in a labor camp in the late 1930's. Elkin, who began his acting

career as a child on the Yiddish stage, noted that two of those whose names appear on the plaque, Shlomo Mikhoets and Itzik Feffer, both came to America to raise funds for Russian relief during World War II.

"I heard Mikhoets read from *King Lear* in Yiddish," he recalled, "and I believe both of them also appeared in Buffalo during their tour."

Chairprson, Shelley Hirshberg emphasized: "Anti-Semitism has deep roots in the USSR. Many Soviet Jews feel fragile, vulnerable and frightened.

"We also heard first hand from Refusniks the fear of a more open display of anti-Semitism as a result of Glasnost.

"We should all be ever-vigilant in our monitoring of any and all anti-Semitic activities that would threaten the lives and well-being of our fellow Jews in the USSR."

Elkin and Fiedler were introduced by Emily Tall, professor of Russian at U/B and a member of

BUFFALO JEWISH REVIEW August 19, 1988

the Jewish Federation's Soviet Jewry Task Force, chaired by Ms. Hirshberg.

The poem read, perhaps the most timely today, was Halkin's "Deep The Holes, Ruddy the Clay," which ends:

"Some day good times will reach our gate,

Better fortune will be our fate,  
All our woes will then dis-

appear,

A new youth will arise here.  
The children then will play  
make noise,

At the martyrs' burial place,  
By the pits so deep and sated,  
So our grief won't be abated.  
Deep the holes, muddy the clay.  
Once my home stood by that way."



Dr. Leslie Fielder (left) and Saul Elkin with the plaque in memory of the 24 Jewish poets and intellectuals, which was dedicated Aug. 12 at the Delaware Jewish Center.

# Does 'Glasnost' Mean Russia Will Acknowledge Murdered Poets?

By EDITH SOBEL

Dr. Victor Bordon, co-chairman of the Soviet Jewry Committee of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Northern New Jersey, unveiled a plaque on Thursday, Aug. 11, at the YM-YWHA in Wayne, in memory of the 24 leading Yiddish writers, actors and poets executed by the Soviet government 36 years ago — August 12, 1952.

One of the primary reasons for stressing the anniversary this particular year, is the hope that now, in an atmosphere of *glasnost*, the victims could be cleared of the crimes against the USSR of which they were accused.

In an attempt to make amends for the abuses and crimes of the past, the Soviet Union has acknowledged that many of Stalin's victims were wrongfully accused and executed. In fact, it has been reported that the name and reputation of Leon Trotsky will ultimately be vindicated.

What happened 36 years ago? The event is cited on the plaque:

*"The Night of the Murdered Poets", August 12, 1952*

*On that night in the cellars of Lubyanka Prison in Moscow leading Soviet Jewish writers, artists and poets were murdered on order of Joseph Stalin in an effort to destroy any manifestation of Jewish culture.*

*Among those murdered were: David Bergelson, Itzik Feffer, David Hofshstein, Leib Kvitko, Solomon Lozsky, Peretz Markish, Yitzhak Nusinov, Shmuel Persov, Eliahu Spivak and Benjamin Zuskin.*

*During the "Black Years" for Soviet Jewry (1948-1953), other Soviet Jewish writers and intellectuals were murdered.*

*Among them were: Shlomo Bilov, Yechzekiel Dobrushin, Benjamin Gofiansky, Zerach Greenberg, Nahum Levin, Shlomo Mikhoels, Der Nister (Pinchas Kaganovitch), Leib Rabkin, Boris Shimshelovich, Dov Ber Slutzki, Alexander Sodarski, Anna Stelmach, David Tzaike, Meir Yosefovitch, Gregory Zashitz, and Mira Zhelezanova.*

*May their memory be an inspiration to the two million Jews of the Soviet Union who continue to yearn for Zion, despite suppression of Jewish cultural life.*

*Plaque dedicated by the Jewish Community Relations Council of Northern New Jersey, August 12, 1988 - 29 Av 5748*

The truth of the matter was that rather than being the "enemies of the USSR, agents of American imperialism,

would be a measure of generosity and justice on your part if you were to proclaim their official rehabilitation on Aug. 12, 1988, the 36th anniversary of the death of 24 Jewish writers, executed in the cellars of the NKVD as the result of a direct order from Stalin."

He concluded with these words: "History would be thankful, Mr. General Secretary, and so would Jews and non-Jews worldwide."

## Placement of the Plaque

The presentation was made to YM-YWHA personnel, Mark Shore, executive director, Donna Rosen, executive vice-president, and Joseph Walkowitz, treasurer. It will be placed in the Goldman Judaica Library which contains many volumes by these authors as well as other Yiddish and Russian authors and poets.

cities, and publishing houses with dozens of titles annually in editions reaching millions. Yiddish was the language of the Jewish minority.

By the late 40's Stalin systematically dismantled Jewish culture, and by 1948 there was only one school of higher learning remaining. It was closed later that same year. The theaters were no longer eligible for support, and the glorious tradition of the Yiddish State Theater in Moscow came to a grinding halt.

By 1948, the campaign to crush Jewish life intensified. Solomon Mikhoels, the great actor, was lured to Minsk and found decapitated. Yiddish newspaper writers and editors were imprisoned and never heard from again. By 1949, it was estimated that there were 431 Yiddish intellectuals imprisoned in the Gulag.

## 36th Anniversary Memorialized

bourgeois nationalist zionists and rebels, who sought by armed rebellion to separate the Crimea from the Soviet Union," they were guilty simply of being Jews.

"You have had the courage to do so much for so many in recent years, said Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel in a passionate telegram appeal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, "that I appeal to you on behalf of a very special group of people: Soviet Intellectuals unjustly executed under Stalin between 1948 and 1953.

"It is a strange but undeniable fact that these poets, writers and artists and scientists lived as communists, although they died as Jews... They were innocent of Stalin's accusation! You know that—everybody knows that," Wiesel added. "It

The plaques, which will hopefully serve as a continuing reminder to all who read them that Soviet Jews still suffer great inequities, have been placed in more than 17 cultural and community centers through the coordinated effort of the Jewish Community Relations Councils and the local Federations throughout the U.S.A.

One of the plaques will also be brought to Israel by a NICRC delegation on a mission in October and presented to the relatives of several of the murdered poets who have emigrated to Israel.

## The Demise of Jewish Culture

In 1917 there were 11 daily Yiddish newspapers, over 60 weeklies and other journals, thriving and celebrated Yiddish theaters with performances in various

## The Infamous Date

But the most audacious attack took place on August 12, 1952. Renowned Jewish academics, physicians, poets and writers went on trial as "rebels." On July 18, all but one had received the verdict of death; only one, a woman, was sent to prison.

On that fateful day in August, the death sentences were carried out in the cellars of Moscow's Lubyanka Prison. The executions were never acknowledged nor were the bodies ever recovered.

Ten years after, during the Khrushchev years, some of the writers' wives were sent a slip of paper, with no explanation, simply informing them of their husbands' "liquidation."

Continued from previous page

After the death of Stalin, the executions were halted. So was Yiddish culture.

As of 1988, although there has been no Jewish education, it is reputed that 250,000 Russian Jews still speak Yiddish; but there is, in all of Russia, only one Yiddish weekly newspaper. A handful of Yiddish classics are published annually, and, as Yosef Kerler, a Yiddish poet, lamented prior to his departure for Israel, "I am a Yiddish poet, but I am utterly superfluous in the Soviet Union."

Gorbachev has insituted *glasnost*, but for Jews little has changed. Not one Jewish

school has been permitted for over 40 years; fewer than a handful of students attend the Moscow yeshiva (which has yet to graduate one rabbi).

However, because of pride in Israel, there is an intense desire for Jewish culture. Refusemiks form underground classes in private apartments to learn Hebrew and await - impatiently - the right to study their heritage and culture, as guaranteed by the Helsinki Accords signed by the Soviets in 1975.

The truth of the matter is, that as of August 24, 1988, the USSR still fails to allow the basic cultural and religious institutions essential to ethnic survival for Soviet Jews.

(Prepared with material from NJCRAC)

## Never Forget

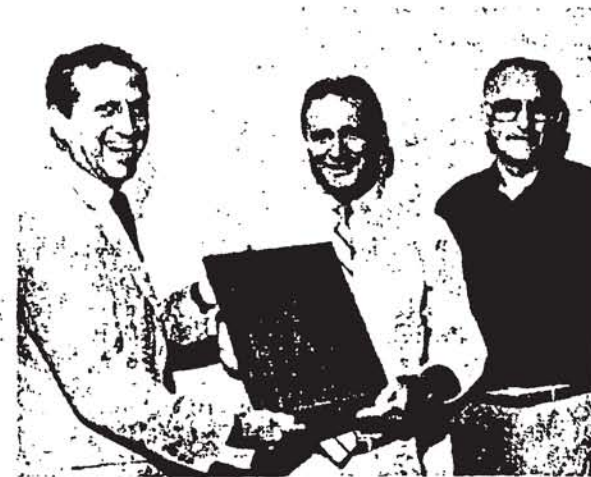
Two additional plaques were presented by the Jewish Community Relations Council of Northern New Jersey (JCRC). One will be placed at the Jewish Community Center (JCC) on the Palisades, in Tenafly; the other will be located at the YM-YWHA in Washington Township.



**TO REMEMBER:** Dr. Victor Borden, left, co-chairman of the Soviet Jewry Committee, JCRC, with Elaine Abrams, board



**TO REMEMBER A DATE IN INFAMY:** Dr. Victor Borden, left, co-chairman of the Soviet Jewry Committee of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Northern New Jersey, presenting the commemorative plaque to Joe Walkowitz, Donna Rosen and Mark Shore: treasurer, executive vice presi-



**PROUD DISPLAY:** William Weiss, co-chairman, JCRC Soviet Jewry Committee, left, with Reuven Merker, board

Lakeland

# TODAY

'An independently edited member of Suburban Newspapers of Northern New Jersey'

25 cents Wednesday, August 17, 1988

## 'Night of Murdered Poets' is recalled with tribute



REMEMBERING A SACRIFICE — Dr. Victor Borden, left, co-chairman of the Soviet Jewry Committee of the JCRC of Northern New Jersey presents a plaque on Aug. 11 to Wayne YM-YWHA board members Joseph Walkowitz, treasurer; Barbara Rosen, executive vice-president; and Mark Shore, executive director; commemorating the "Night of the Murdered Poets" to be displayed in the Y's library. (TODAY photo by Ed Hanlon)

WAYNE — Remember the heroes of yesterday and celebrate the heroes of today.

Marcia Rapp, associate director of the Jewish Federation of Northern New Jersey, said that was the purpose of the Aug. 11 dedication of a plaque to be displayed in the Charles Goldman Judaica Library of the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Association of North Jersey (YM-YWHA) on Pike Drive.

The plaque lists the names of 12 of the Jewish writers, poets, and artists who were executed on Aug. 12, 1952, on what has become known as "The Night of the Murdered Poets."

The plaque reads: "On that night in the cellars of Lubyanka Prison in Moscow, leading Soviet Jewish writers, artists, and poets were murdered on order of Joseph Stalin in an effort to destroy any manifestation of Jewish culture."

At least twice as many individuals than listed were killed that night, but records of their identities have been lost.

In addition, the plaque lists 16 other leading Jewish intellectuals who died at the hands of the Stalin regime between 1948 and 1953, during the "Black Years" of Soviet Jewry.

The plaque was presented to trustees of the YM-YWHA by Dr. Victor Borden, co-chairman of the Soviet Jewry Committee of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Northern New Jersey. On Aug. 12, similar plaques were dedicated at the YM-YWHA in Washington Township and the JCC Center on the Palisades in Englewood.

The dedication was followed by a reading by Y treasurer Joseph Walkowitz of a poem titled "I Am a Jew" by Soviet Jew I. Feffer which Walkowitz translated himself, and a performance of Hebrew songs by the "Israeli Scout Caravan," a singing group made up of Israeli boy and girl scouts.

"It went very well," said Rapp of the ceremony. "Over 500 people attended, 50 of which were Soviet Jews we've helped resettle in this area."

Rapp continued, "It was of special significance to the older audience members, since as children they read many of the works of the writers and poets that we were commemorating."

When asked what such a celebration meant to Jews, Rapp said, "It means we haven't forgotten the Jews who gave up their lives for their religion and culture and how important it is for all of us to continue treasuring that heritage. It's something we should never forget."

Rapp concluded by calling Jews who remain in the Soviet Union "the heroes of today."

"They keep practicing their religion and culture faithfully despite government oppression," she said.

# JEWISH EXPONENT

VOL. 184, NO. 7 / PHILADELPHIA, PA. / 29 AV 5748 / AUGUST 12, 1988 / 85 CENTS

JEWISH EXPONENT

AUGUST 12, 1988

## LOCAL NEWS

### In the era of 'glasnost,' a strong plea for the murdered poets of the USSR

Staff and Wire Report

A plaque bearing the names of 10 Soviet Yiddish writers killed by the Stalin regime during the infamous "Night of the Murdered Poets" of Aug. 12, 1952, was expected to be presented by the Soviet Jewry Council of the Jewish Community Relations Council to the National Museum of American Jewish History at a ceremony yesterday at the museum on Independence Mall.

Similar plaques will also be dedicated in 17 other cities, including Cherry Hill, through the efforts of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council and its local affiliates.

Bari Minnick, director of the Soviet Jewry Council of Philadelphia's JCRC, said that although this year is not a significant anniversary of the event — in which a total of 24 poets, writers, artists and scientists were killed — activists hope that now, in an atmosphere of *glasnost*, the victims could be cleared of the crimes they were accused of committing against the USSR.

In conjunction with the plaque dedications, Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel has called upon Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to follow up on the recent rehabilitation of top Communists killed during the purges of Josef Stalin in the 1930s with a gesture toward the Soviet dictator's Jewish victims.

"You have had the courage to do so much for so many in recent years," Wiesel wrote Gorbachev in a telegram, "and so I appeal to you on behalf of a very special group of people: Soviet Jewish intellectuals unjustly executed under Stalin between 1948 and 1953.

"They were innocent of Stalin's accusations. You know that; everybody knows that," Wiesel wrote. "It would be a measure of generosity and justice on your part if you were to proclaim their official rehabilitation on Aug. 12, 1988, the 36th anniversary of the death of 24 Jewish writers."

The slain writers and artists have never been totally accounted for or fully identified.

The plaques also list the names of 16 other Jewish cultural figures murdered between 1948 to 1953.

According to Sarita Gocial, who serves as an outreach



Bari Minnick displays a plaque in memory of slain Soviet poets and intellectuals. Photo by Scott Weiner

liaison to local Jewish organizations for the Soviet Jewry Council and who was to present the plaque here, the gesture also will serve as "a reminder that there are still Jews in Russia that cannot leave."

Sally Gross, acting director of the museum, said that after the plaque is dedicated, it will be displayed in the museum's exhibit entitled, "A Century of Ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to Present," which opens Oct. 23.

One of the plaques will also be taken to Israel during a NJCRAC mission in October, to be presented to relatives of several of the murdered poets who live there.

Locally, the Workmen's Circle Cultural Center, 6515 Bustleton Ave., is commemorating the slain writers at a ceremony today at 1 p.m. ■

Staff writer Steve Feldman and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency contributed to this report.

[end]

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**Pittsburgh Conference on Soviet Jewry**  
234 McKee Place • Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213 • (412) 681-8000

1987 - 1988

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July 5, 1988

Mr. Robert Cronenberger, Director  
Carnegie Public Library  
4400 Forbes Avenue  
Pittsburgh, PA 15213

Dear Mr. Cronenberger:

August 12, 1988 will mark the 36th anniversary of the murder of 24 Soviet Jewish poets and writers, a crime which was the climax of Stalin's campaign to destroy Soviet/Jewish culture during the Black Years 1948-1953.

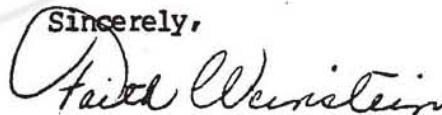
A memorial plaque to commemorate the memories of the murders has been designed to be placed in a cultural centers across the United States to mark the anniversary of the August 12, 1952 murders of 24 Soviet/Jewish poets and writers.

Our Community Relations Director, Dr. Edie Naveh, and I thought that perhaps the Carnegie Library would be the significant cultural institution to house this memorial plaque in our city. I am enclosing factual information regarding August 12th as well as a copy of the text which will appear on the plaque.

After you have had a chance to read over this material, perhaps we can meet along with Dr. Naveh to discuss this further. Please don't hesitate to call me at 681-8000 if you need more information.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Faith Weinstein  
Coordinator

/pjm

Enclosures

cc: Dr. Edie Naveh

SEE OVER



**A** DEDICATING a plaque marking the 36th anniversary of the "Night of the Murdered Poets" was Mayor Sophie Masloff, left, Robert Cronberger, director of the Carnegie Library, and June Schulberg, chairperson, Pittsburgh Conference on Soviet Jewry. The plaque, which was dedicated at Carnegie Public Library, marks the anniversary of the executions of leading Jewish writers, artists and intellectuals in Lubyanka Prison under then-Soviet leader Josef Stalin. The Mayor was joined by the executive committee members of the Pittsburgh Conference on Soviet Jewry in the dedication ceremony.

## Plaque to honor 24 murdered Soviet poets

Mayor Sophie Masloff and executive committee members of the Pittsburgh Conference on Soviet Jewry dedicated a memorial plaque this past Tuesday at the Carnegie Public Library.

The plaque marks the 36th anniversary of the "Night of the Murdered Poets" when leading Jewish writers, artists and intellectuals were executed in the cellars of Lubyanka Prison under Stalin's orders.



## Memorial Plaque Dedicated To Murdered Soviet Poets

(Special to the Ledger)

BLOOMFIELD — On Aug. 12, the 36th anniversary of the "Night of the Murdered Poets," at a special service at Beth Hillel Synagogue, 160 Wintonbury Avenue, a plaque was dedicated for the Charter Oak Temple Cultural Center, according to Marshal Elovich, Center president, and Davis B. Fox, Center executive director.

The plaque memorializes the 245 Soviet writers, actors, intellectuals, and poets who were executed by the Soviet government. This plaque recalls the martyrs, while at the same time calling attention to the continuing frustration of Soviet Jews' desires to learn about their heritage and culture, the two spokesmen explained.

The plaque will hang in the

Charter Oak Temple Cultural Center, a visual and performing arts center housed in what was the first synagogue constructed in Connecticut in 1876. The plaque reads: "On that night in the cellars of Lubyanka Prison in Moscow 10 Soviet Jewish writers, artists and poets were murdered on order of Joseph Stalin. They were: David Bergelson, Itzik Feffer, Dovid Hofshstein, Leib Kvitko, Solomon Lozovsky, Peter Markish, Yitzhak Nusinov, Shmuel Persov, Eliahu Spivak, Benjamin Zuskin. During the 'Black Years' for Soviet Jewry (1948-1953), other Soviet Jewish writers and intellectuals were murdered, among them: Shlomo Bilov, Yeschezkiel Dobrushin, Benjamin Gotiansky, Zerach Greenberg, Shlomo Mikhoels, Der

Nister (Pinchas Kaganovitch), Leib Rabkin, Mira Shelzanova, Anna Stelmach, David Tzaike, Meir Yosefovitch, Gregory Zashitz. May they be an inspiration to the two million Jews of the Soviet Union who continue to yearn for Zion."

The murder of 24 Soviet Jewish poets and writers was the climax of Stalin's campaign to destroy Soviet Jewish culture during the black years of 1948-1953, the spokesmen stated. August 12, 1952 marks the most brutal expression of Soviet policy to destroy Jewish cultural life. Those Jewish artists murdered by Stalin strived to nurture a vibrant Yiddish cultural life which was for many Soviet Jews the only means of Jewish identity after the 1917 Revolution, they added.



**FEDERATION STAFF AND EX-REFUSENIK** — Prior to the memorial service for the Night of the Murdered Poets, Lev Shapiro, former Refusenik, spoke to community leaders and staff of the Greater Hartford Jewish Federation. Shown (from left) are Liz Kriwitsky, Edith Catler, Shirley Wachtel, and Naomi Shenkman, all members of the Soviet Jewry Task Force of the Community Relations Council; Susan Stopelman, Judi Gillman, and Ethan Felson, Federation staff; Marge Moskowitz, also of the Soviet Jewry Task Force, and Mr. Shapiro.

# Murdered Poets

By ABRAHAM J. BAYER  
Editorial

On Aug. 12, 1952, 24 leading Yiddish writers, actors and poets were executed by the Soviet Government. This was the ultimate in Stalin's quest to eradicate Jewish culture and Jewish life in the Soviet Union. Despite Glasnost, Soviet policy has never veered from this goal.

Just after the Revolution, numerous Jewish cultural institutions flourished, supposedly protected by the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, signed by Lenin in 1917. There were 11 daily Yiddish newspapers, over 60 weeklies and other Yiddish theaters in various cities, and houses with dozens of Yiddish students reaching into millions reaching into millions.

In the late 1940s, Stalin began to systematically dismantle Jewish culture. By 1949, only one Yiddish theater remained, and it was closed later that year because it was "self-supporting" with only Jewish group theaters "eligible for support." The Yiddish State Theater in Moscow, not being considered a minority group theater, had its subsidies withheld, thus ending the glorious tradition of the Jewish theater in Russia.

The campaign to crush Jewish life and culture became more brutal in 1948 as many writers and poets simply disappeared. These began the "Black Years." Solomon Mikhoels, the great actor and community leader, was lured to Moscow and found decapitated in what was later reported as an "auto accident." Writers and editors of the last Yiddish newspaper, *Elizavetinsk*, and the publishing house *Ukrayna* (Ukraine) were imprisoned, never to be heard from again.

The trial which resulted in the Night of the Murdered Poets began on July 11, 1952. Among the 24 accused were renowned Jewish academics, physicians, and leading Jewish poets and writers in the USSR. They were charged with being "rebels," "agents of American imperialism" who wanted to separate themselves from the Soviet Union to establish their own "great national Zionist republic."

The verdict was announced July 15. Twenty-four received the death penalty, only one, a woman, was sentenced to a long prison term. On Aug. 12, the death sentences were carried out in the cellars of Moscow's Lubyanka Prison, but their executioners were not acknowledged for years and their bodies never recovered. Only a decade later, during the Khrushchev "thaw," some of the writers were sent a slip of paper telling of their husbands' "liquidation" with no explanation other than it had been done "under a bad time."

After Stalin's death, the executions were halted. But without school generations of Soviet Jewish children have grown up ignorant of their Yiddish and Hebrew heritage. The USSR still has one of the largest Yiddish speaking populations in the world, the language permitted for over 40 years. The recognition of the Jewish minority grew since Ribbentrop's visit to the USSR in 1933.

Despite the new policies of glasnost, the Jewish minority has not regained the recognition it once had. The USSR still has one of the largest Yiddish speaking populations in the world, the language permitted for over 40 years. The recognition of the Jewish minority grew since Ribbentrop's visit to the USSR in 1933.

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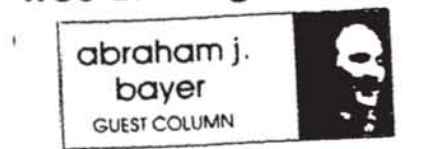
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## COMMENTARY

### Jewish culture not free under glasnost



abraham j. bayer  
GUEST COLUMN

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## Commentary

### Night of Murdered Poets and message of Glasnost

By ABRAHAM J. BAYER

Director of International Concerns, N.J.C.  
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### Jewish News

Volume 11, Number 17, July 22, 1988

Subscription Office: 80 Greenwich Ave., East Orange, N.J. 07011  
 Telephone: (201) 376-2000

Editor: Abraham J. Bayer  
 Editor in Chief: Joseph J. Berman  
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## JEWISH TIMES

COMMENT

### The Night of the Murdered Poets

ABRAHAM J. BAYER

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## Aug. 12, 1952 - The Night of the Murdered Yiddish Writers

By ABRAHAM J. BAYER

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## Editorial

### No glasnost for Jews then or now

By ABRAHAM J. BAYER

Special to the Voice  
 PACT SECRET

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Director of International Concerns for the Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

 **National  
Conference  
on  
Soviet  
Jewry**

# NEWS RELEASE

CONTACT: Deborah/Jerry Strober  
(212) 679-6122

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"REHABILITATE MURDERED JEWISH POETS AND END CULTURAL  
AND RELIGIOUS REPRESSION IN NAME OF 'GLASNOST'"  
NCSJ CHAIRMAN DEMANDS OF GORBACHEV

NEW YORK -- August 12, 1988. . . "If 'glasnost' is to be believed, then General Secretary Gorbachev must rehabilitate the twenty-four Jewish poets murdered in one of the worst excesses of the Stalin era, and must end the current repression of Jewish religious and cultural rights in the Soviet Union," Morris B. Abram, Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ) stated today, the thirty-sixth anniversary of The Night Of The Murdered Poets.

Noting that "While Jews are no longer shot in the back in the Soviet Union in order to accommodate a madman's paranoia and expression of overt anti-Semitism," Mr. Abram stated that "The Soviet Government pursues Jewish cultural annihilation, even in the era of purported 'glasnost,' by routinely repressing basic human rights, as guaranteed in the Helsinki Accords and other international agreements to which the Soviet Union is a signatory, including the right to leave one's country and to enjoy religious and cultural freedom."

Mr. Abram called upon all organizations which plan to commemorate The Night Of The Murdered Poets to join the NCSJ in demanding that the Soviet Union rehabilitate the murdered Jewish intellectuals and institute religious and cultural freedom for the Soviet Union's nearly two-million Jews.

National Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, New York 10016 (212) 679-6122  
Washington Office: 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-8114



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# Community Memorial for 'Night of the Murdered Poets'

Three generations of area Jews will mark the 36th anniversary of "The Night of the Murdered Poets" at a ceremony on Thursday, Aug. 11 at 1 p.m. at the Jewish Community Center, 5125 Montrose Rd. in Rockville.

The ceremony will memorialize the 24 leading Jewish writers, intellectuals and actors who were executed on Aug. 12, 1952, as part of Joseph Stalin's campaign to eliminate all forms of Jewish culture in the USSR.

An especially prepared yahrzeit memorial to those Jewish culture giants who were murdered in 1952 will be dedicated at one of our community's central institutions of Jewish culture, the Jewish Community Center in Rockville. Community and public officials will join with JCC seniors and campers, along with teachers recently returned from visits with relatives, to participate in the program, which seeks to dramatize the survival of Jewish culture despite the efforts of tyrants, and the commitment of our community to work in solidarity with Soviet Jewry's struggle for emigration and cultural rights.

Communities across the United States will observe this special yahrzeit by erecting memorials at sites of Jewish culture. Accordingly, the Soviet Jewry Committee of the Jewish Community Council and the Jewish Community Center have jointly undertaken to sponsor the effort at the Center.

After the Communist revolution, Jewish cultural institutions flourished, supposedly protected by the "Declaration of Rights of the Peo-

ple" in 1918. By 1948, only one school of higher learning remained, and it was closed later that year. In 1949, all theaters were decreed to become "self-supporting," with only "minority group" theaters eligible for support. The Yiddish State Theater in Moscow, not being considered a minority group theater, had its subsidies withheld, thus ending the glorious tradition of the Jewish theater in Russia.

The campaign to crush Jewish life and culture became more brutal in 1948 as many writers and poets simply disappeared. Thus began the "Black Years" - Solomon Mikhoels, the actor and community leader, was lured to Minsk and found decapitated in what was later reported as an "auto accident." Writers and editors of the last Yiddish newspaper, "Einkhert" (unity) and the publishing house "Ezra" (truth) were imprisoned, never to be heard from again. In the winter of 1948-49, an estimated 431 artists, writers and musicians disappeared into the Gulag. Stalin's plan culminated in the "liquidation" of 24 of the most prominent Jewish writers on August 12, 1952, in the basement of Lubyanka Prison in Moscow.

Despite the advent of the new policies of "glasnost" (openness) instituted by Party chairman Mikhail Gorbachev, today little has changed for the cultural and religious lives of Soviet Jews. Not one Jewish school has been permitted for over 40 years, not in Yiddish, the recognized language of the Jewish minority, nor in Hebrew, since biblical times the language of the Jewish people.

ten tolerated—and a Jewish library has been opened in one private apartment, a "museum" in another. But Soviet Jews continue to resist the right to study one's heritage and culture, as guaranteed by the Helsinki Accords signed by the Soviets in 1975. The USSR still fails to allow the basic cultural and religious institutions essential to ethnic survival for Soviet Jews.

The "Night of the Murdered Poets" memorial seeks at once to mark the tragic events of history and to express community solidarity in the campaign for full cultural and emigration rights for Soviet Jews.

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AUGUST 12, 1952

36 years

## PROGRAM

1. DR. B. FROMER, VICE CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR YIDDISH CULTURE, "אמריקה פאר די יודן"
  2. M. STRYGLER, EDITOR, THE JEWISH FORWARD, "פארקערטע פאר אונדז"
  3. SUZANNE THORNE, RECITATIONS
  4. CH. L. SHNEIDERMAN, YIDDISH WRITER
  5. ROSA KURTZ, ACTRESS OF THE PAST MOSCOW YIDDISH STATE THEATRE, "רומ קורץ, געבן אפטייטע פון סאטקעווער יודישן סלובא-בלאטער"
  6. ADRIENNE COOPER, SONGS
  7. J. MLOTEK, NATIONAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR, THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE, "פאר אונדז, געבן אפטייטע פון סאטקעווער יודישן סלובא-בלאטער"
- at the Workmen's Circle Center  
45 East 33 Street, NY  
6 P.M.

ARRANGED BY THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR YIDDISH CULTURE; THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE; FORWARD ASSOCIATION; I.L. PERETZ YIDDISH WRITERS UNION; ZRUBOVEL-GOLDMAN-TYBERG CIRCLE, POALEI ZION.

## Join Prominent Jewish Cultural Leaders IN MEMORY of the 24 SOVIET JEWISH WRITERS MURDERED IN MOSCOW 36 YEARS AGO

ON THE STEPS OF NEW YORK'S CITY HALL  
FRIDAY, AUGUST 12, 1988, AT 12 O'CLOCK NOON  
IN THE PROGRAM: MESSAGE BY LYMAN BUCKLINER, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO GOVERNOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS  
DECLARATION BY HAYDO SCHWARTZ  
SPEAKERS: ARON DUBNOFF, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR YIDDISH CULTURE; SHELLON ENGEL, PRESIDENT, FORWARD ASSOCIATION; HANNAH WEISS, PRESIDENT, YIDDISH WRITERS UNION; MARGARITA POLONSKAYA, ARTISTIC PROGRAM; EMIL SOROVETS AND MARGARITA POLONSKAYA



### COMMEMORATION OF THE NIGHT OF THE MURDERED POETS PROGRAM

"I AM A JEW" ..... Hersh Feller (1900-1952)  
To Be Read By ..... Thelma Myerson & Naomi Sheinkman

"LET MY PEOPLE GO" ..... David Markish (1918 - )  
To Be Read By ..... Marvin Cutler

DEDICATION OF PLAQUE  
to be placed at Charter Oak Temple Cultural Center  
Marvin Cutler, Chair, Soviet Jewry Task Force  
Mollie Bernstein, Chair, Gallery & Cultural Committee  
Charter Oak Temple Cultural Center

MESSAGE ..... former Refusenik Lev Shapiro  
Remarks ..... Rabbi Philip Luzowski

Chag Nishchal will follow

Friday, August 12, 1988  
Beth Hillel Synagogue  
160 W. Main Street  
Branford, CT

Co-Sponsored by  
Beth Hillel Synagogue  
and  
The Soviet Jewish Task Force of the Greater Hartford Jewish Federation  
Community Relations Council

## The Jewish Horizon

Central New Jersey's Premier Jewish Community Publication

## Tribute To Commemorate Murdered Poets Anniversary

"The young have forgotten you and the hour of our life, your darkly murdered us is no longer heard. These us, by Soviet Jewry writer in Grade, were composed after the eve of August 12, "The Night of the Murdered Poets," that night, 24 leading Jewish writers, and intellectuals in figures were executed in eminent of Moscow's notorious ibanke Prison. These us were in fact, the cul of a calculated ram eradicate Jewish life in at Union.

Community Center of Central New Jersey, 1391 Martine Avenue, Scotch Plains, NJ. The program will be marked by musical performances and dramatic readings from the poems and writings of these 24 artists. The emphasis of the program will be on the significance of 1952 struggle—a description of current conditions will be reported by recently returned visitors to the Soviet Union.

of memorial plaques in cultural centers across the US will mark the yahrzeit of the August 12, 1952 murders and will be a reminder that the struggle for freedom continues. The last words of David Bergel, one of the 24, were reported to be "Earth, oh earth, do not cover my blood!" (in August 11 the 36th anniversary of his execution, the Central New Jersey community will head his fervent plea.

For further information, contact  
Lori Ting Shull at the Federation  
351 5660

and Jewish Action Commission. The Jewish community will hold a 1952 anniversary on Thursday, August 11 at the Jewish



**chicago conference on soviet jewry**  
 jewish community relations council of the  
 jewish united fund of metropolitan chicago

one south franklin street, chicago, illinois 60606 telephone (312) 444-2881

Conference Chairman  
 Richard J. Rice

Honorary Chairman  
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Publicity Director  
 Richard J. Zelin

PR Director  
 Peggy Stroup

July 27, 1988

TO: CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY  
 FROM: RICHARD J. RICE, CHAIRMAN

Ever since the Bolshevik revolution, the Soviet Union has deliberately and ruthlessly pursued a policy of forced assimilation toward the Jews. Through terror and other means, the Soviets have attempted to cut off Soviet Jews from their religious and cultural roots and to stamp out Jewish consciousness. One of the most egregious examples of this happened thirty-six years ago this August. Known as the "Night of the Murdered Poets," this was when the Soviets brutally executed twenty-four Jewish poets, writers and scientists in the basement of the notorious Lubyanka Prison.

In an effort to draw attention to the anniversary of this tragic event--an event from which Soviet Jewish cultural life has never recovered--the Conference will hold a demonstration at the Auditorium Theater (corner of Wabash and Congress Streets) on Wednesday, August 10th, when the Soviet Georgian State Dance Company comes to Chicago. We will meet at 7 P.M., one hour before the performance begins. This visit provides us a unique opportunity to get across the point that despite glasnost, Soviet Jews are still not able to learn about their religion, culture and language. The Soviets continue to suppress the development of any kind of meaningful Jewish cultural life.

The success of the demonstration depends on the participation of you and your organization! We look forward to your joining us to show your commitment to the cause of freedom for Soviet Jews.

Please call Richard Zelin at 444-2881 and let us know that we can count on you.

RJR-vc

Affiliated with the National Conference on Soviet Jewry  
 Member of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

Advertisement placed in Playbill for the Hollywood Bowl and other theaters for month of August.



**In Memorium**  
**The Night of the Murdered Poets**  
**August 12, 1952**

Despite *glasnost*, Soviet Jews are still unable to express their cultural and religious tradition.



**COMMISSION ON SOVIET JEWRY**  
 Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles  
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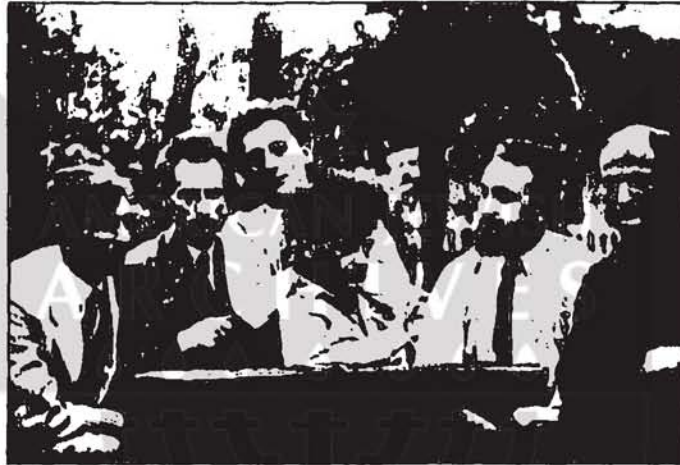
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# NIGHT OF THE MURDERED POETS

On the night of August 12, 1952, twenty-four leading Jewish poets, writers, and intellectuals were executed in the basement of Moscow's notorious Lubyanka prison.

Thirty-six years later, Soviet Jews continue to suffer cultural and religious oppression, and are still denied the right to emigrate.



On August 11, 1988, we will honor the memory of these executed writers. The program will include readings from the works of the murdered poets by prominent Bay Area authors.

**REMEMBRANCE**  
**Thursday, August 11, 1988**  
**7:30 P.M.**

**SOVIET CONSULATE**  
**2790 Green Street at Baker San Francisco, California**

Co-sponsored by:

Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews (415) 585-1400

Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin and Sonoma Counties (415) 957-1551

Interreligious Task Force for Soviet Jews

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# 'Murdered poets' mentality still haunts Soviet Jews

Next Friday, Aug. 12, will mark the 36th anniversary of the "Night of the Murdered Poets." This moment in history, when 24 Soviet Jewish poets and writers were killed, marks a crime that was the climax of Joseph Stalin's campaign to destroy Soviet Jewish culture.

Despite the openings permitted by *glasnost*, it continues to be difficult, if not impossible, for Soviet Jews to create indigenous cultural expression.

Recent efforts to create a Jewish library and museum in individuals' apartments in Moscow underscore the craving of Soviet Jews for such opportunities.

According to Mark H. Gilgus, chairman of the Soviet Jewry Committee of the Jewish Community Relations Bureau, it is appropriate to call attention to the fate of the murdered poets and take this occasion to emphasize local efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

Gilgus suggested that the anniversary be commemorated by "adopting" a Soviet Jewish refugee family through the JCRB.

Other activities include writing to senators and representatives and to Soviet officials, reminding them of the oppression of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union.

Gilgus added that while the numbers allowed to emigrate have increased and there have been modest gestures by the Soviet government in allowing private individuals to open a library and "museum" in their apartments, little has changed for the cultural and religious lives of Soviet Jews.

Not one Jewish school has been permitted for more than 40 years, not in Yiddish or Hebrew.

Other, much smaller ethnic and national, groups have a wide network of cultural and educational institutions conducted in their own language.

Refuseniks have made repeated attempts to elicit recognition of Hebrew from the Soviet government, but to no avail.

Unofficial seminars and classes in Hebrew have proliferated in cramped apartments and are toler-

ated by the government, although with surveillance and KGB harassment. While the arrests of Hebrew teachers have stopped, the government continues to refuse to recognize the legitimacy of teaching the modern language of Hebrew.

Meanwhile, Judy Hellman, associate executive director of the JCRB, noted the number of Soviet adoptions continues to increase.

Locally, Dee Byrd adopted the Andrei Zubkov family of Moscow. Zubkov is a computer programmer whose parents also live in Moscow. He has been refused permission to emigrate because of his alleged "secrecy of father." This marks the third Soviet family which Byrd has adopted. Her first two families have since received permission to leave the Soviet Union.

The Jewish Community Center's Senior Adult Department has adopted the Grigory Stanislavsky family of the Moldavian Republic. Stanislavsky, 68, is a pensioner as is his wife, Malka, 67. No reason was stated for their not being granted exit visas.

Sharri Barker of Louisburg, Kan., has adopted the Irina Schegoleva family of Moscow. Schegoleva

is a barber who studied economics, and is the parent of a young son. No reason was given for the family's being denied exit visas. In nearby Wichita, the Mid-Kansas Jewish Federation has adopted the Isaac Levin family and Avraham Gutkin of Moscow, and the Boris Leites family of Leningrad. According to the JCRB, that makes them the only organization to adopt as many as three families.

Levin and his wife are both metallurgical engineers. They are the parents of a teen-age daughter. "No reunification of families" was given as the reason for their being denied permission to emigrate.

Gutkin, a widower, is a retired professor of physics. No reason was stated for his being denied permission to leave the Soviet Union.

Leites, a radio and electronic engineer, and his wife, a teacher of physics and math, were not given a reason for being unable to leave the country.

Hellman also noted that people of all ages are taking an interest in the plight of Soviet Jewry. For example, six area youngsters are twinning their

Continued on page 23

## Soviet

Continued from page 9

Bar and Bat Mitzvah ceremonies with their counterparts in the Soviet Union who are denied this privilege.

Andy Grad is twinning his Bar Mitzvah with Michail Priven of Mosk Oblast, Jason Rose with Maxim Yankelevich of Leningrad, Kevin Spiegel with Nisim Anisimov of Derbent, and Scott Rosenthal with Yuri Yuriev of Leningrad.

Melanie Talb is sharing her Bat Mitzvah with Inna Lazutin of Moscow, and Lauren Atlas is twinning hers with Ekaterina Grinberg of Odessa.

In Topeka, Jason Alloy is sharing his ceremony with Aleksey Achildrev of Uzbek, and Joshua Gutovitz is twinning his Bar Mitzvah with Nisim Anisimov of Derbent.

Some good news was received by people locally, whose adopted families have received permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Ben and Jeanette Feigenbaum, Lynn Sousley, and Jerry Medo and Doris Yonker heard the good news recently by way of Hellman.

The Jewish Community Center staff was informed that the Vladimir Aleksandrovich Gorodnitsky

family were at last given permission to leave the Soviet Union.

In addition, the Boris Goldman family, adopted by the Temple Emanu-El Sisterhood of Wichita, has received permission to emigrate.

In other news, Kansas state Rep. Barbara P. Allen recently wrote to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev of behalf of Grigory Gimpelson of Leningrad.

Her letter, in part, stated, "As a result of your new policy of *glasnost*, I hope you will assist Mr. Gimpelson in his desire to leave the Soviet Union so that he may be with his wife and son in the United States.

"Mr. Gimpelson has been denied permission to emigrate on the basis of state secrets. However, the 'state secrets' work he was involved with is now published material.

"I have a special concern for the welfare of Mr. Gimpelson, as do many other people from the state of Kansas, and strongly believe he should be allowed to be reunited with his family in New York."

For information on adopting a family, contact Judy Hellman, JCRB associate executive director, at 421-5808.

(Information for this article was contributed by the Jewish Community Relations Bureau and compiled by Community Editor Mark Belingloph.)

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faded and/or illegible



MEMO

from *Abraham J. Bayer*

Director, International Commission

September 19, 1988

TO: CRCs and Federations

You may have missed the attached two pieces on Soviet Jewry during the summer torpor. The analysis in the New York Times on the state of anti-Semitism and the tremors felt by Soviet Jews reflects a growing number of reports from emigrants, travelers and diplomats. However, while prejudice against Jews seems to be a fixture on the Soviet landscape, the fears of widespread violence against Jews have, thankfully, not been borne out to date. The conditions described in the article must be carefully monitored.

The articles from the Israel Scene, an Israeli magazine published by the World Zionist Organization, is an excellent overview of conditions for Jews in the Soviet Union in the last few years, especially in the recent period when there is so much confusion about progress under Glasnost and Perestroika.

Best wishes for a year of health and peace.

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National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council  
443 Park Avenue South New York, N.Y. 10016  
212-684-6950

# For Moscow Jews, Fear Of Prejudice Is Stirring

By ESTHER B. FEIN  
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Aug. 4 — There is a sense of fear among Jews in Moscow these days, a disquieting feeling that the changes taking place in Soviet society, changes that seem to encourage more openness and tolerance, are somehow stimulating the anti-Semitism that has deep historical roots in this country.

Moscow Jews point to several incidents as evidence that their fear is well founded. The most blatant and often-cited concerns a smattering of crude leaflets around the city this spring that called for "death to Jews" and warnings that the celebration of the millennium of Christianity in this country, which took place in June, would be marked by violence and pogroms.

The millennium festivities passed without incident. But no sooner had the month of church celebrations ended, when members of an ultranationalist group began publicly denouncing Jews at weekly meetings in a Leningrad park, according to letters in the latest issue of Moscow News and conversations with Leningrad Jews.

Together, such events have left Jews here feeling fragile and vulnerable and frightened that this new period in Soviet history will mean trouble.

"Anti-Semitism here is an old illness, an ancient illness," said Yuli Kasharovsky, a Moscow Jew who for 17 years has been denied permission to emigrate. "But before, it was fears we nur-

**A feeling of unease that change can foster anti-Semitism.**

tured among ourselves. What is new for us is this talk, the fact that it is so acceptable to speak about anti-Semitism. We have to ask ourselves, "What does this mean?"

The question is a complicated and difficult one, Jews here acknowledge. For while evidence of current anti-Semitism is visible — in Soviet literature and the press, in graveyards where Jewish tombstones have been overturned and at public meetings where speakers receive anti-Jewish notes from the audience — it is essentially not very different from the old kind of anti-Semitism.

What appears to have raised fear and concern is that the Soviet Union is beginning a new chapter in its history. And although the catch-phrase of this new era is glasnost, or openness, Jews point out that, historically, changes in Soviet society and leadership have resulted in increased anti-Semitism.

"Newness usually means hope to most people," said Gennadi Resnikof, who has been refused permission to emigrate for nine years. "But the revolution, Stalin, even Brezhnev, has taught us that if there is a new era here, and things don't get better, especially economically, somehow Jews get blamed and Jews suffer. And so we wait and we are frightened."

## Anti-Semitism in Leningrad

Most recently that fear has been prompted by a weekly meeting of the nationalist group, Pamyat, or Memory, in a Leningrad park. Two readers wrote to Moscow News horrified by the display of anti-Semitism there.

A letter this week, signed by Valery Voskoboinkov, said that one member of the group, which was formed to promote Russian historical treasures but which also has a strong undercurrent of extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism, called for "the immediate deportation of the Jews."

One Leningrad Jew, who has observed the Pamyat gatherings, said the police stationed there have allowed the speakers to proceed unharassed.

But the incident that everyone agrees coalesced the growing fear was the spring rumor of pogroms and the leaflets that appeared around the same time. The leaflets, handwritten and glued to the wall of a club where a new Jewish group was scheduled to stage its introductory meeting, were startling in their simplicity and venom.

## Panic Among the Educated

"How long can we tolerate the dirty Jews who have penetrated our society?" it said. "Russia is for Russians." It was signed "death to Yids," but the author's name was never learned.

"There was a sudden panic among highly educated, denationalized Jews," said Mikhail Chlenov, an ethnographer. "In a moment, behind the assimilated, educated Jew there was the persecuted Jew of the ghetto."

Prejudice against Jews in Russia has deep historic roots. Under the Czars, Jews were forced to live in the Pale of Settlement, the poorest areas in western Russia and what is now eastern Poland, and were victims of a series of violent attacks, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, that often occurred with the connivance of the authorities.

Jews were prominent among the leaders of the 1917 revolution, but their very involvement led to accusations of a Bolshevik-Jewish conspiracy. Although anti-Semitism subsided for a while in the late 1920's, it grew under Stalin and lasted well beyond him.

Jews struggled to gain admission to universities, and were often denied jobs and promotions. Extremely talented Jews have sometimes managed to penetrate the discrimination, and the arts and sciences are populated with those Jews who succeeded.

But many Jews, discriminated against and harassed for practicing their religion, have often sought to emigrate. Their applications have usually led to dismissals from work, years of waiting and an increase in harassment.

Anti-Semitism is officially condemned here, but Soviet Jews have long felt that anti-Jewish sentiments were tacitly encouraged by the Government's campaign against Zionism.

With history as a warning, Jews here say they have been particularly sensitive to any signs of anti-Semitism in a period of candor encouraged by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

## Much Anecdotal Proof

While it is difficult to quantify recent incidents of anti-Semitism, and to compare them to other periods, Soviet Jews and Western human rights monitors say that aside from the continuation of past patterns, such as discrimination in education and employment, there is much anecdotal proof of significant, current anti-Semitism.

At a recent poetry reading, Andrei Voznesensky took written questions from the audience. Most were about the new atmosphere here. Others shocked him: "All of you are Jews or sold out to Jews," one note read. Another said, simply, "We will kill you."

Mr. Voznesensky, who is not Jewish but had recently published a poem about the vandalism of Jewish graves, read aloud the unsigned notes and demanded that their authors identify themselves. His challenge was met with silence.

"You don't need to look very far here to find examples of anti-Semitism," said Tankrid Golenpolsky, director of book fair exchanges between the United States and Soviet Union. "But in the past it would be more hush, hush, now it seems to be more in the open."

The increasing candor with which Russians can now comment on their society has also led to a small but noteworthy appearance of articles in the press condemning anti-Semitism.

An article in a recent issue of the magazine Ogonyok traces the history of and discredits "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a fraudulent tract first printed in Russia in 1905 purporting to be a Jewish plan for world domination.

The Government newspaper Izvestia recently reprimanded Pamyat, the group with a strong undercurrent of extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism. The critique was echoed in other publications, such as Literaturnaya Gazeta, Moscow News and Ogonyok.

Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union has almost always been shrouded in anonymity or euphemism. Under Stalin, it was hidden under the guise of anti-cosmopolitanism and in the Brezhnev years, as anti-intellectualism and anti-Zionism.

Lately, there has been a resurgence of nationalist groups, like Pamyat, which encourage "a purer Russian culture." Pamyat claims tens of thousands of followers, most low-ranking bureaucrats and workers.

"Democracy and glasnost are a delicate balance," Mr. Resnikof said. "We fear very strongly it will tip in the wrong direction and we, once again, will be its victim. So far, there has been no convincing evidence otherwise."



COVER STORY

Soviet Jewry demonstration for emigration to Israel:  
 "Let Us Go Home" – a unique photo in that it was printed in the Soviet press

# The Jews of the Soviet Union: Trying to Live – or Leave – in Peace

by Deborah Lipson

**S**hortly after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the new country's first diplomatic representative to the USSR, Golda Meir, arrived in the Soviet capital. Despite its attitude towards its Jewish population, the USSR had voted in favor of the partition of Palestine at the United Nations in 1947. It also gave the nascent State of Israel arms, probably seeing it as holding out the promise of a socialist outpost in the Middle East. Even in 1948, after the terror and repression of the 1930's, and the systematic destruction of Jewish culture under Stalin – who was still the Soviet leader when Golda Meir arrived – Moscow's Jews spontaneously gathered outside the city's synagogue to welcome

Israel's representative. There could surely have been no clearer statement of the fact that Jewish spirit and identity within the USSR had not been wholly destroyed.

Now, some 40 years later, the Jews of the Soviet Union are still a suppressed minority, subject to discrimination, unable openly to express their Jewish identity, have access to or teach their children their Jewish heritage. While they are the most oppressed minority within the USSR, they are equally denied the right freely to repatriate to Israel should they wish to do so.

The struggle since the late 1960's by a comparatively small percentage of Soviet Jews to realize this right has attracted attention worldwide. Leaders of the campaign – Yosef Begun, Vladimir Slepak,

Ida Nudel and, of course, Natan Sharansky, became household names whose cases were discussed by world leaders at the highest level of superpower meetings. The arrival of these people in Israel made international news. The situation of Soviet Jewry in general, however, and the struggle by some of them to leave the USSR, are rarely covered by the international media.

Throughout the centuries during which Jews lived under the tsars, they were subjected to continuous pressures – strict segregation, sharp discrimination, fiscal exploitation and contemptuous treatment – aimed at forcing them to abandon their heritage, traditions and faith, and completely to submerge themselves within the



A celebration in a forest outside Moscow

religion and culture of the majority. The antisemitism of the Soviet Union is not a new phenomenon.

Dreams of Zion, of dying and living in the ancient Promised Land have long played a part in the yearnings of Russian Jewry. Spurred into action by increasingly virulent antisemitism and by the political ideas of socialism and Zionism, Russian Jews made up the first two waves of *aliya* (immigration to Eretz Israel) in the last two decades of the 19th century and in the years immediately after the Russian Revolution and the First World War.

Many Jews welcomed the revolution of 1917, and indeed, there were a significant number of Jews among the Bolshevik leadership which took control of the country after the 1917 October Revolution. One need only think of Trotsky, the leader of the Red Army and one of the most important Bolshevik leaders.

However, antisemitism continued to manifest itself. A solution to the problem of Jewish nationalism was sought with the creation, in 1927, of an autonomous Jewish region in the Soviet Far East. Birobidzhan still exists today, but only a small minority of its population is Jewish, and few Soviet Jews would consider it their homeland.

Under Stalin, a policy of the destruction of Jewish culture within the USSR was systematically followed from the late 1930's onwards. Jewish schools were closed, synagogues turned to other use, and other aspects of a free Jewish culture rigidly suppressed. Countless numbers of Jews were among the millions of Soviet citizens arrested under Stalin and sent to prison camps in Siberia for being an "enemy of the people." Many Soviet

Jews in the western parts of the country died during the Nazi occupation, some in the ghettos and camps, others in massacres initiated by the Germans but supported enthusiastically by the local population. The massacre at Babi Yar near Kiev is perhaps the most famous, but it was by no means unique.

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**From the first day of school, when each child must stand up before the whole class and say to what nationality he belongs, Soviet Jewish children learn that they are different.**

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According to the Russian census of 1897, there were then a little over five million Jews living within the Russian empire (including the Pale of Settlement): a little over four percent of the total population. This figure may not be accurate; similarly, modern estimates of the Soviet Jewish population are disputed. The most recent Soviet census of 1979 quoted the Jewish population of the USSR as 1.8 million, and it is generally expected that the next census in January 1990 will see this figure reduced to 1.6 million. As such, Soviet Jews constitute the 16th largest nationality within the USSR.

The 1979 figure included as Jews all Soviet citizens who have "Jewish"

appearing as their nationality on their internal passport. It does not include those people who, by bribery, have succeeded in having a different nationality written in, or the children of mixed marriages who chose to adopt the nationality of the non-Jewish parent. (At the age of 16, Soviet children receive their own passports and can choose to have the nationality of either parent – if they differ – recorded as their nationality.) Some unofficial estimates, therefore, have put the total Jewish population of the USSR as high as three million. Wherever the true figure lies between 1.6 and three million, the Jews of the Soviet Union constitute one-sixth of the total world Jewish population, and the third largest concentration of Jews in one country, after the United States and Israel.

The majority of the Soviet Jewish population are Ashkenazi in origin. Thirty-nine percent of the Jewish population live in the Russian republic, primarily in and around Moscow and Leningrad, 35 percent in the Ukraine, with smaller populations in Belorussia and Moldavia, as well as in the Baltic republics of Latvia and Lithuania. There are also Jews in the central Asian republics of the USSR, notably Uzbekistan; these are the Bukharan Jews, oriental in origin. Finally there are the Jews of Georgia and the mountain Jews of Azerbaijan.

The extreme suppression and persecution of the Stalinist era has passed, but Soviet Jews are still not wholly free – neither to live there as Jews nor to leave – and they are the victims of discrimination in education and employment. Certain branches of Soviet administration, notably the diplomatic service, are effectively barred to Jews. While Soviet officials will point to the high percentage of higher education received by the Jews of the USSR in comparison to other nationalities, the Jews themselves repeatedly complain of overt and covert discrimination. Even under Mikhail Gorbachev, and in the era of his much-vaunted policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (rebuilding), Jews are not wholly equal to other Soviet citizens. Furthermore, paradoxically for a multi-racial country, the USSR is very chauvinist. Moreover, there has been an alarming growth over the past year in the activities of a number of ultra-nationalist neo-Nazi groups whose doctrines are clearly antisemitic.

From the first day of school, when each child must stand up before the whole class and say to what nationality he belongs, Soviet Jewish children learn that they are different. Even those whose parents have no positive Jewish identity become immediately aware that the word "Jew" sounds different in every sense from "Russian," or "Ukrainian." As the child goes through the school system, he or she will be obliged to study Marxism-Leninism, the history of Communism,

and to learn that Israel is an aggressor, and a country which oppresses its Arab minority. This attitude is reflected throughout the Soviet media.

From the age of 16, the child will receive his own passport on which, if he is Jewish, the fact will be clearly recorded for all to see in the "accursed fifth point," as many Soviet Jews refer to it. The student may then have difficulty being accepted to the better high schools and to university. The most prestigious institutes of higher education have, in recent years, been closed to Jews.

Similar problems are likely to be experienced as the Jewish graduate joins the work force. While there are a number of leading Jewish scientists and engineers, Soviet Jews repeat again and again that the higher up the ladder they go, the harder it is for them to gain promotion. One young arrival in Israel recently noted that when he graduated university and was looking for a job, the director of one organization said that he was prepared to accept any graduate good or bad - but not a Jew. Good housing is also more difficult to obtain for a Jew than a non-Jew.

The Soviet press regularly contains, in addition to anti-Israel propaganda, articles which criticize Soviet Jews. A report of a crime might make it clear that one of the criminals was a Jew by mentioning his name - an obviously Jewish one - even if the names of other people are not given in full. The activities of Soviet Jews who have applied to leave and who are involved in learning and teaching Jewish culture and heritage, are also often criticized in the press. Refuseniks have been referred to as U.S. agents, as anti-Soviet and Zionist conspirators; their desire to leave is a particular target of attack. Some of these articles remain general, others refer to individuals by name.

The average Soviet Jew, who has never thought of leaving the country, is far removed from such attacks. However, in addition to the discrimination which he is likely to experience, he will know little of Judaism, or of the cultural wealth of Jewish life which once flourished in Russia, and he will find few traces of this culture today. There are no newspapers, books or periodicals published in the Soviet Union about Jewish history and culture in Russian - the mother tongue of the majority of Soviet Jews - and nothing in Hebrew. There are few works of literature by Soviet Jewish writers available in any language, and while there is a Jewish chamber theater, officially based in Birobidzhan but in effect working from Moscow, its tours of the USSR are limited so that most Soviet Jews have no access to it at all. There are no Soviet radio or television programs on Jewish topics.

There is no official Jewish library and no museum to display exhibits documenting the history of the Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union. Few monu-



Holding a Holocaust memorial service in the Jewish section of a Leningrad cemetery

ments erected to the victims of the Second World War contain any reference to the Jewish victims. Little is ever said or written about the mass murders of Jews carried out by the Nazis, nor acknowledgement given to the Soviet Jewish effort made to defeat the Nazis.

The lack of facilities for leading a religious Jewish life within the country is acute. Religious articles are not readily available, nor is kosher food, and prayer books and Bibles in Hebrew, Russian or other languages spoken by Soviet Jews are in very short supply. There is a serious deficiency of properly ordained religious leaders, of Jewish study rooms, of *mikvaot* (ritual baths) or space for Jewish burial.

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### Most Jews still know virtually nothing about Jewish history and have little identity with Judaism or with Israel...

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If the rebuilding of Soviet society which Mikhail Gorbachev talks about so much has meant anything, it is that unofficial attempts to create aspects of a Jewish culture within the USSR have not been actively suppressed. An unofficial Museum of Soviet Jewish Culture was opened in a private home last January. It contains memorabilia, examples of religious artefacts, and paintings and other examples of Jewish art collected from Soviet Jews throughout the country. The museum is currently closed while the

organizers hope to obtain more suitable premises and official recognition.

The Soviet capital also now has an unofficial Jewish library, opened in September 1987. The collection of some 500 books in Hebrew, Russian, Yiddish and English is open to the public to read on the premises twice a week. There have also been moves (unsuccessful so far) to open Jewish restaurants in Moscow and Leningrad, while Leningrad Jews have been pressing the authorities to provide them with premises for a club to be devoted to Jewish music.

Moscow Jews particularly involved in developing a free Jewish culture within the USSR, have also recently established an Association for Jewish Culture. It is being jointly organized by the two "camps" of Soviet Jewry activists. On the one hand are those who believe that Soviet Jews must repatriate to Israel, and who see the development of a Jewish culture within the USSR as a way to increase repatriation. This group is led by Yuli Kosharovsky, the most veteran active refusenik still denied permission to leave - he first applied in 1971. On the other hand are those Soviet Jews who do not wish to leave the Soviet Union, but wish to express their Jewish identity and be free to learn about their heritage within the USSR.

Soviet Jews, especially those who have applied to leave, have for many years organized communal celebrations of Jewish and modern Israeli festivals. They hold seminars on Israel, on various aspects of Judaism, of Jewish culture and history, and some of them study and teach Hebrew. At times these seminars have been allowed to carry on without harass-



Yuli Kosharovskiy: now 17 years in refusal

ment while at other times, they have been disrupted, and their participants detained by the militia or the KGB. They have also organized kindergartens for their children and other activities to allow them to mix with fellow refuseniks.

These attempts may suggest that there is a blossoming of cultural and religious life within the USSR, but they are unofficial, subject to interference and harassment by the authorities, and can only affect a small number of refuseniks and an even smaller percentage of the Jewish population of the country. Most Jews still know nothing or virtually nothing about Jewish history, have little identity with Judaism, or with Israel as their national homeland, and have, if at all, only a scant knowledge of Jewish religious observance.

As a result of the discrimination and the deficiencies in being able to express their Judaism freely, some Soviet Jews have turned to emigration, and have called to the west to recognize their plight and to help them. They have taught themselves of the country to which they yearn to repatriate, and fought for their right to leave for Israel.

## SOVIET JEWS LOOK OUTWARD

Israel has always been actively concerned about the free movement of Soviet Jews, and in her first meeting with Soviet officials after her arrival in Moscow, Golda Meir raised the question of Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel.

During the last years of Stalin's regime, between 1948 and 1953, a very limited emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel within the context of family reunification was

permitted. While only 18 exit permits were issued during that entire five-year period, under Nikita Khrushchev - from 1954 to 1964 - 2,418 Jews received exit visas.

Under Stalin, people had been scared to apply, even though many had thought for years of emigration, but under Khrushchev, and particularly after his denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Soviet

## **They remain caught in the formless world of refusal, unable to appeal the refusal issued to them and equally unable to leave.**

Communist Party Congress in 1956, people began to hope that the possibility of emigration existed. With the accession to power of Leonid Brezhnev in 1964, a significant shift began in Soviet policy towards Jewish emigration to Israel, expressed in official statements by high-ranking Soviet personalities. From 1965 till the outbreak of the Six-Day War in June 1967, 4,498 Soviet Jews received exit permits for Israel.

In many ways, the turning point in the entire emigration movement among Soviet Jews was the Six-Day War. Israel's military successes aroused pride and a sense of national belonging in the most dramatic way. "I remember the feeling of despair before the outbreak of the war, when we heard on *Kol Israel* in Russian that the Straits of Tiran had been blocked," says Lev Elbert, then 19 and living in Kiev. "There was a sense of hopelessness that the State of Israel was going to be

destroyed. It was impossible to believe that Israel could score the kind of victory that it did. The average Soviet Jew learned of Israel's victory both from the Soviet press and word of mouth. The Soviet papers criticized Israel, but they could not hide the truth of Israel's victory."

While the outbreak of the war stopped emigration completely, and resulted in the Soviet Union breaking off diplomatic relations with Israel, limited emigration was resumed in 1968, and 231 Soviet Jews left for Israel. The figure rose to 3,033 in 1969, and dropped to only 999 in 1970. Then, in 1971, there was a dramatic rise when over 12,000 Soviet Jews left for Israel. It was not until 1981 that the annual figure fell below 10,000, and it then fell drastically again; in 1984, less than 900 Soviet Jews arrived in the west.

Throughout the 1970's, the awareness in the west of the plight of Soviet Jews grew. Petitions were sent to the Israeli government and to the United Nations, among which one of the best-known was from 18 religious Jewish families in Tbilisi. "We ask you to help us leave for Israel," they wrote in 1969, explaining that their desire was based simply on the fact that "all our prayers are connected to Israel."

More dramatic moves followed, notably the Leningrad hijacking of 1970 in which a group of Jews from the city attempted to hijack a plane and fly it to freedom. Those involved were arrested, tried and sentenced, amid considerable international media attention (see box).

Applying to leave for Israel has always required considerable courage. Having acquired the necessary affidavit from Israel - inviting the would-be emigrant to reunite with his family - he must then obtain documents from his place of employment, house committee and so on. The forms to be filled in at OVIR (the department of the Soviet ministry of the interior dealing with visas and registration) have always been long and complex, though they have been simplified recently. Often, acquiring a signed statement from one's place of work leads to dismissal or to the situation being made so unpleasant that many people find it easier to resign. Finding other work can be very difficult, yet unemployed people can be arrested for parasitism; many Soviet Jews who have applied to leave have been forced to take on menial jobs. Their children may be expelled from university, or not accepted at all. They are outcast from Soviet society.

Soviet Jews who choose to be active in refusenik life - who study Hebrew, learn about Jewish history, teach their children of Judaism, participate in demonstrations - have always risked further harassment, detention and even arrest and imprisonment on charges ranging from "malicious hooliganism" to "defamation of the



Soviet state and social system." They may be followed, their telephone often tapped, their mail intercepted.

While some are granted exit visas without any difficulty, others are refused on a variety of pretexts. The Soviet authorities have never recognized the right of Soviet Jews to repatriate to Israel freely, and have insisted that their emigration only be allowed within the context of family reunification. While at times they have not strictly enforced the regulation that an applicant must have a first-degree relative in Israel, sometimes they have refused to consider applications from anyone who could not prove first-degree kinship.

A main stumbling block to the emigration of many Jews has often been the claim that they have had access to classified information, and that therefore their departure might compromise state security. In many cases this reason for refusal has been imposed on people who never needed security clearance. In other instances, the people may once have known state secrets, but they have been separated from their work for so many years that the secrets can no longer be pertinent. Nonetheless, they continue to be issued with refusals on these grounds in a seemingly wholly arbitrary fashion – in some cases over 15 years after they first applied to leave, and over 20 or more years since they last worked in a secret establishment. They are unable to find out how long the restriction will remain in force against them, but remain caught in the formless world of refusal, unable to appeal the refusal issued to them and equally unable to leave.

Recently, a third problem has come to the fore as an obstacle in the path of many Soviet Jews who would like to leave. That is the need to obtain a signed statement from close family remaining in the USSR that the emigrants have no outstanding present or future financial or other material claim against them. Often their parents, scared of anything to do with emigration, refuse to sign, and there is no legal mechanism which obliges them to do so.

As of March 1988, 9,200 Soviet Jews, among 2,500 families, were known to have been refused exit visas at some time and still to be in the USSR, though in some cases they have not continued to apply. Of this, 415 families have been in refusal for ten years or more (though this number is now diminishing rapidly), and 1,900 families have been in refusal for between five and ten years. Many of the well-known names in refusenik circles – one cannot talk about a community, either of refuseniks nor less of Soviet Jews in general – have received permission and left within the past year.

"But we are not talking about a group without leaders," stresses a senior Israeli official involved in Soviet Jewry. "A



Father and son in front of the Israeli booth at the Moscow Book Fair

growing number of people are involved in some kind of Jewish activity. As soon as there are people, there will be leaders and followers: new leaders are coming up. Many of those now active have become religious, and others are looking for some form of self-identification. This is true not only of Jews. People are becoming disenchanted with Communism, many no longer believe in the standard phrases, and among both Jews and non-Jews, young people are turning to religion instead."

Not all the people who have applied to leave are known in the west, and it is estimated that the true refusenik population of the Soviet Union is about two to three times higher than the recognized figure of 9,000.

"We can only speculate how many more would like to apply but are currently unable to for family reasons, or are too scared to submit their documents," maintains the Israeli official. "If the emigration process were made easier, or there were less risks involved in applying and more chance of receiving a positive reply,

the emigration figure could be as high as 60,000 a year."

As long as there are still Soviet Jews seeking to leave, the issue is likely to be raised by western politicians. Soviet leaders will be faced with demonstrations of protest when they travel abroad, and organizations and individuals will continue to campaign for Soviet Jews. To quote an Israeli official again: "The situation of Soviet Jews is still connected to relations between the USSR and the rest of the world. The worldwide movement for Soviet Jewry can be satisfied that the problem now bothers Soviet officials throughout the world. The success of this movement must be judged not only by figures, but also by the fact that the Soviets see it as an important obstacle, and one with which they are confronted everywhere. As long as the Soviets continue to play with human fates, the campaign cannot relax: neither Israel nor the rest of the free world can be pacified by the increase in emigration during the past year."



A Russian child in a Jerusalem absorption center

## TO ISRAEL OR NOT TO ISRAEL

In the early 1970's, all the Soviet Jews who left the USSR on visas for Israel actually settled in this country. However, by the late 1970's, well over 50 percent of those Soviet Jews who left ostensibly for Israel chose to make their homes elsewhere in the west — primarily in the United States. This percentage has continued to rise, so that the figure of those arriving in the west who do not settle in Israel now normally accounts for over 70 percent of the total monthly emigration figure, and at times, even passes 80 percent. What began as a movement of repatriation to their homeland among Soviet Jews with a Zionist orientation and a desire to express their Judaism freely, has become a movement of emigration — to a freer life, normally to a higher standard of living and, at an alarming rate, to assimilation in the diaspora of the west.

Soviet attitudes to this trend have often been difficult to gauge. There have been many involved in the struggle for Soviet Jews in the west who have argued that the dramatic fall in the emigration figure in the early 1980's over the peak year of 1979 (when over 51,000 Soviet Jews left the USSR) was to some extent the result of Soviet anger that so many were not settling in Israel having declared their intention to do so. Others have countered this by insisting that the decline in the emigration figure was the result of the breakdown in detente and in superpower relations when Ronald Reagan became the American president following the years of comparative friendliness under Presi-

dent Jimmy Carter and General-Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

Attitudes in the west to the phenomenon of *neshira* (drop-out) have also varied. The Israel government and some organizations working in Israel and elsewhere on behalf of Soviet Jewry have consistently argued that the struggle is for the right of all Jews in the USSR to repatriate to the ancestral homeland should they wish to do so. The movement began as such within the USSR, and this is, according to them, the only legitimate direction in which it can continue. They

**“The worldwide movement for Soviet Jewry can be satisfied that the problem now bothers Soviet officials throughout the world.”**

are not demanding that all Soviet Jews repatriate to Israel, nor that all those who leave the USSR come to Israel. They simply maintain that all those who leave on invitations from, and entry visas to Israel are morally obliged to use the visas and come here — even if they later leave.

Other organizations and individuals have argued that the prime concern should be saving Soviet Jews from discrimination and oppression in the USSR, while considerations of where they choose to settle are of secondary importance.

Soviet Jews connected to the emigration movement, both those still in the USSR and those who have already left,

are also divided in their attitudes to this issue. Some are highly critical of those Soviet Jews who have requested an invitation from Israel and have been granted an entry visa but who switch direction in Vienna. Aaron Moonblit, who arrived in Israel from Kishinev in 1987, after nine years in refusal, argues: “Activists for the right of repatriation to Israel risk a lot: they have fought the Soviet authorities for the right to emigrate to their homeland. While everyone is born as a free individual, and only he can decide for himself how and where he wants to live, those Jews who do not want to come to Israel should find their own way out.”

Aliya activists have called on the Israel government to seek a repatriation agreement with the USSR, and to try and initiate direct flights from Moscow to Tel Aviv, or flights via Bucharest where the facilities for going elsewhere other than Israel do not exist as they do in Vienna — the current transit point for emigrants from the Soviet Union. The Israel government has also urged the U.S. administration to cancel the refugee status which emigrants from the USSR generally receive on arriving in the west.

“Those Jews who do not want to come to Israel can stay in the Soviet Union,” says Lev Elbert, a former Prisoner for Zion who first applied for his exit visa in 1976, and finally arrived in Israel in 1987. His brother Mikhail, who was also active in promoting Jewish cultural and religious life in their home town of Kiev, disagrees: “Direct flights are not the answer. Israel is a free country; those who do not want to come here will demonstrate when they arrive. People can't be coerced; they should come of their own volition. And we have to encourage that volition.”

Mikhail Elbert's comment touches on one of the most frequently-offered reasons for the high drop-out rate. In addition to Soviet anti-Israel propaganda, letters received from former Soviet Jews who have already emigrated to Israel often contain reports of difficulties in integrating into Israeli society, and this deters future emigrants from coming here. At the same time, the United States has an image within the USSR as the capitalist center of the world where the streets are metaphorically, if not literally, paved with gold, and where everything is possible. These two factors, combined with the fact that most Soviet Jews have no positive Jewish identity, knowledge of their past or Zionist orientation, but simply maintain a desire to escape discrimination for a freer life and higher material standard of living, accounts for the high drop-out rate.

Over the past year, it has become easier for Soviet Jews to apply to leave to reunite with family not living in Israel, even if family members are Soviet Jews who left on visas for Israel but settled elsewhere. At the same time, the Israeli

government has increasingly sought to stem the drop-out rate. For the past few months, affidavits sent from Israel inviting Soviet Jews to reunite with their family have included a note to the effect that entry visas to Israel will be issued at the Israeli embassy in Bucharest rather than at the Dutch embassy in Moscow – which represents Israel's interests in the Soviet Union.

During the recent superpower summit meeting in Moscow, the issue of Soviet Jewish emigration and, more generally of the Soviet human rights record, again found itself in the international headlines. President Reagan met with dissidents and refuseniks while in Moscow, despite Soviet displeasure, and General-Secretary Gorbachev criticized what he termed U.S. "sermonizing" about what he sees as his country's internal affairs. Both sides made their positions clear though it is difficult to say what, if any, progress was made on the question.

Yet despite the welcome renewal of worldwide attention – which had faded considerably since the arrival of the most well-known refuseniks in Israel – the future for Soviet Jews, both those who desire to leave and those who wish to stay but live freely as Jews, may be regarded as uncertain at best. ■



Victor Brailovsky and Natan Sharansky greet each other upon Brailovsky's arrival in Jerusalem, 1987

## SOVIET JEWRY ORGANIZATIONS – SOMETIMES IN CONFLICT

More than 20 Israeli organizations work on behalf of Soviet Jews. Most of the smaller groups have a narrow focus, ranging from providing support services to Russian women living in Israel to translating religious study materials into Russian for use in the Soviet Union, Israel and elsewhere.

Some of the organizations work together on joint projects, and a new organization headed by Natan Sharansky has set unity among the myriad forces as a prime goal.

The Israel Public Council for Soviet Jewry, funded by the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government, is the official body charged with promoting public awareness and spearheading the campaign for allowing Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel (see *Israel Scene*, June 1988).

Headed by Chaim Chesler, the Public Council was established in 1970 after the abortive attempt by a group of Soviet Jews and non-Jews to hijack an airplane out of the Soviet Union. The plot failed and its participants drew stiff punishment, but for the first time, world attention was focused on the plight of Soviet Jews.

The Public Council's primary objective is to defend the right of Soviet Jews to be repatriated to Israel, their historic homeland. It also seeks to promote strong ties

between Israelis and Jews in the Soviet Union, and to campaign for improved Jewish welfare in the Soviet Union.

It is governed by a 400-member general assembly, comprised of representatives of volunteer organizations, former refuseniks, and politicians from all parts of the spectrum. The general assembly meets infrequently, but a management committee and presidium, comprised of 30 members, meet more often. With an eye toward fostering unity, all of the groups that work on behalf of Soviet Jews are represented on the Public Council's governing bodies.

Five years ago, in the fall of 1983, a small group of immigrants from the Soviet Union established the Soviet Jewry Information Center. Motivated by what they saw as the deteriorating state of Soviet Jews and public apathy in Israel, they sought to inject vitality and a sense of urgency into efforts on behalf of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

They decided to establish a new body with the goal of putting the plight of Soviet Jews high on the Israeli public agenda. In contrast to the Public Council's call for repatriation, the Information Center stresses the urgency of rescuing Jews from the Soviet Union. While it wants Jews to choose Israel as their new home, the Information Center's spokesperson, Yuri Shtern, says, "We

have to achieve freedom for these people. Israel must find positive ways to fight the drop-out phenomenon."

The Public Council's director of education and publicity, Shmuel Ben-Tzvi, stresses that his organization favors freedom of movement for all people, but adds that, "This is not our struggle. We cannot turn the Zionist movement into a migration movement."

Differences of opinion over the drop-out phenomenon and tactics in the campaign to heighten public concern for Soviet Jews unfortunately prevent the two largest Israeli organizations from joining forces. Each of them works closely, however, with many of the other groups. These include the Lubavitch-backed "Shamir," which sponsors subsidized housing in Jerusalem, runs a high-tech research center that employs Soviet *olim* and offers religious study to observant immigrants. At the other end of the religious spectrum, the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism offers courses, lectures and social services for new immigrants from the Soviet Union. According to Stuart Saffer, the Movement's Russian community worker, these programs are the first encounter most Soviet Jews have had with a middle ground between Orthodoxy and secular Judaism.

Carl Schrag

## THE LIFE IN A DAY OF

# Elana Dubianskaya



**Elena Dubianskaya**, 41, teacher, photographed by **Tamar Shalit** at Beit Millman, Ramat Aviv, where she lives with her husband, Ernst Khasin, a metallurgical engineer, daughter Inna (19½), and their wire-haired dachshund Sandy (8); she talked to **Judy Cooper-Weill**.

“I was 12 years in refusal. It was the Six-Day War in 1967 which aroused my theoretical interest in Israel but I still could not imagine going there. When a friend applied to leave in 1971, I was shocked. But four years later, after attending refusenik seminars and studying Israeli history and Jewish culture, I decided. I applied in 1976. Our apartment was searched and my mother suffered a heart attack.

For a long time I had been aware of the special life of Jews in the Soviet Union. They marry non-Jews, take Russian surnames and Russian nationality – all with state encouragement. Parents such as mine, born in a *shtetl*, distanced their children from Judaism and Yiddish so that assimilation would be easier. My mother had both my brothers secretly circumcised. My father went to *heder* but found no university place. During the revolution he came to Moscow and in the civil war he joined the Red Army. He was a member of the Communist party and became a judge at the municipal court. He was 40 in World War II but he volunteered to fight. He was wounded and taken to a German camp in Byelorussia; the family had no word of him. Mother had to support three children and her invalid sister-in-law. When the Soviets took all the POW's to a labor camp, he was still listed as missing. People who went to war were simply expected to die, not return. All the Jews in that labor camp perished but my father, who didn't look Jewish, was saved by other nationalities, something he never forgot.

Mother found out where he was when he got an old woman at the *banya* (shower) to send a note to her. The man who had taken father's position at the court was too terrified to help. My mother traveled 400 kilometers to the camp but they denied that father was there. So she sat on the floor of the Moscow courthouse with my brothers and sister until that colleague agreed to make inquiries and she got a permit to visit. It was 1945. She rented a tiny room near the camp and lived there for several months; he even came there sometimes. When the camp was closed, the prisoners were dispersed. Mother got father's Russian friends to obtain his release. But he could not find work and even we, as children of a former prisoner of the Germans, could not study at prestigious universities. He used to weep at night. He became a “black”

builder and was grateful to the man who helped him get that job.

It wasn't till 1955, the tenth anniversary of the end of the war, that the army offered father his rehabilitation. He refused: it was too late. In 1961, at the Black Sea, on his first-ever vacation with mother, he fell ill and remained paralyzed till his death 20 years later. Mother got 28 rubles a month (now 34) after he died. She is 82 and lives in a tiny apartment, sharing one room with my invalid aunt; my sister and her husband live in the other.

When I applied to leave the USSR, my elder brother cut off relations with me. We only made up just before he died. I was refused an exit permit (I had already quit my “ideological” post teaching modern Soviet history and political economy) because relatives knew state secrets. Who? That was also a secret. I became a typist. As a refusenik, my English improved. Thirteen of us founded a movement: Jewish Women Against Refusal (JWAR). By 1979 we were 100 women, all wanting to go to Israel. As KGB provocations and trials of Jewish activists increased, we could only act individually. I was summoned to Lubyanka prison and warned to cease “anti-Soviet” activity. But my husband, who was fired from his research institute when Inna applied to emigrate, said they would only destroy me if I stopped. After the deaths, within six months, of my brother and father, I asked for a reconsideration of my case. I got another refusal, with no explanation. I was arrested periodically and we once spent five days under house arrest.

When Inna at 18 asked me to agree that she go, I thought I might never see her again. In December, 1987, the OVIR office suddenly called my mother-in-law to say we could leave. This did not include Inna but the next day they agreed she could go too. We were on one western leader's list of names just before the arms-limitation ceremony in Washington. I was twice lucky. Many well-known refuseniks have left the Soviet Union but the situation of those, unknown, who remain is very bad. The struggle must continue. I personally know of 300 families who are waiting. Three women are among JWAR veterans: Judith Lurie, Inna Yoffe and Victoria Gorelikova Khassina. They went on a hunger strike prior to the June summit between Reagan and Gorbachev.

My husband and I just spent a month in Britain, invited by the Exodus group, to drum up support among the Jewish community. Now we attend ulpan every morning. Mastering Hebrew is our immediate goal, and then we must find an apartment, hopefully in Tel Aviv, and Inna will go to nursing school. We have lost so many years, we have to find new professions. I cannot yet feel normal.”

# Jewish Students in the USSR: A Dynamic Force

by Yosef I. Abramowitz

**A** year ago Dima Schwarzman, then a 22-year old electronics student, and Anna Lurie, a student at the Oil and Gas Institute, 20, were married in Moscow. Both came from prominent refusenik families. Today they are two of the leaders of the most dynamic Jewish force in the Soviet Union – an organized group of young Jewish refuseniks.

The evolution of Jewish student leadership in the Soviet Union is significant. The strategy of the Soviet Union under Mikhael Gorbachev has been to release the leaders of the Soviet Jewry movement in the hopes that the leadership vacuum would deflate the movement. Yet that vacuum is quickly being filled by a new generation of young refuseniks, asserting a new and bold style of leadership. Perhaps their most daring move has been to seek direct affiliation with the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS), thus making them the only organized Soviet Jewish group with direct outside representation.

This group of student-age refuseniks, has quickly shown vitality and a commitment to action. Hosting regular educational seminars attracting 60 young people a month, they participated in the demonstration outside the Supreme Soviet by the Lenin Library in Moscow for several consecutive days prior to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in June.

Perhaps one of the most telling indications of the level of their activism is the fact that Anna and Dima Schwarzman were able to meet with U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Moscow along with other refusenik leaders during the summit.

The group was originally formed in April 1987 as a group of second-generation refuseniks. As the children of long-term refuseniks, they sought to explore ways of emigrating to Israel independently of their parents. Many of the original leaders of the student group have since been allowed to emigrate to Israel, and are active here on behalf of their fellow students.

The mandate of the student group has since expanded to include all young Jewish refuseniks. Yet why should a Jewish student group exist in the USSR in the

first place?

The needs of Jewish students in the USSR are unique, and students felt they needed an organized forum for support and for action. In a statement released by the student leaders in March 1988, they stated that "our parents have been denied the right to leave for Israel and, absurd as it may seem, we have 'inherited' the reasons for our parents being denied exit visas." Because they are Jews and young refuseniks, these students are often denied educational opportunities in the USSR. Having been denied entrance to university, the men are then subject to the Soviet military draft.

Another factor which separates the students from other Jews wishing to leave the Soviet Union is their fervent commitment to Zionism and aliya [immigration to Israel]. In their statement of purpose, they write: "We consider Israel to be our national and historical motherland." They have requested Israeli citizenship and state, in no uncertain terms, that "we are ready to make aliya to Israel."

In addition to the student group in Moscow, WUJS is in contact with a new group in Leningrad called "Aliya 88" which was formed to promote Jewish student aliya. The official Hebrew ulpan in Baku has also written to WUJS re-

questing Hebrew books and information about affiliation.

In a recent phone conversation from the pioneering Student and Academic Campaign for Soviet Jewry (SACSJ) office in London, Galina Pilmenshtein, 22, of Moscow expressed exhilaration over receiving hundreds of Valentine's Day cards from students in London.

"I'm so lucky," she shouted into the phone. "I have so many friends in the student world. Continue to do everything for us. Don't worry. We will not be hurt. Power is in your hands. Do everything to help us."

As Galina was opening her Valentine's Day cards, the Schwarzmans celebrated their first wedding anniversary with their first child, Daniel, a third generation refusenik. Dima and Anna are refusing to register their child's birth in the USSR; they are requesting an Israeli birth certificate instead.

As the Jewish student movement in the USSR continues to grow, it is incumbent upon the international family of Jewish students to embrace them and to actively campaign for their release. ■

*Yosef I. Abramowitz is chairperson of the World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS).*



Second-generation refuseniks: Dima and Anna Schwarzman

# ARTS



Jan Reichwarger's "Cat Playing," 1984

## Artists from Russia

by Angela Levine

**D**uring the last two decades, a significant number of well-trained young artists, not all of them Jewish, have immigrated to Israel from the Soviet Union. They have come, in part, to search for a flexible environment within which to freely develop their individual talents which had previously been constrained within the blinkered framework of Social Realism – the only art style, even today, officially sanctioned by the Soviet state.

In the mid-1970's, some of these newly-arrived artists banded together to protest Israeli artists' close identification with international art trends. In particular, they condemned the "decadent" conceptual art then in fashion; the product, they stated, of "men unable to hold a pencil in their hands." Instead, the Leviathan

group, as they called themselves (after the name of the biblical whale), advocated a distinctive Jewish art as Boris Shatz of Bezalel had wanted at the beginning of the century – an art of primitive images whose content would merge Jewish folklore, hassidic symbols and biblical sources.

**What other features do Russian-born Israeli artists have in common? Have changes taken place in the form and content of their art due to cultural uprooting?**

In addition, seeking mystical experiences which would bind their lives to the geographical and spiritual character of this country, the "Leviathans" went out into nature to organize dramatic "happenings." In one, for example, which took place at the Dead Sea in 1982, the leader of the group, Mikhail Grobman (in Israel since 1971), donned an all-enveloping white robe, draped his body against a rock, arms outspread like wings and proclaimed himself as the Angel of Death.

Not surprisingly, many other Russian-

born Israeli artists found that they had little in common with the Leviathan ideology. Yet curator Moti Omer, in catalogue notes to the exhibition "Transformations" (Tel Aviv University, 1984) stresses that the emotional exultation of nature is a feature that distinguishes the work of many Russian-born artists, not just the Leviathan group.

What other features do Russian-born Israeli artists have in common? Is their art, even after ten or 15 years in this country, still marked, in some respect, with evidence of a common educational background and experience? Have changes taken place in the form and content of their art due to cultural uprooting?

Given the brief format of this survey, these questions can only be considered within the works of two prominent artists, fully integrated today within the local art scene: painter Jan Reichwarger and sculptress Tanya Preminger.

Both Reichwarger (born in Kiev, 1942) and Preminger (born in southern Russia, 1944) are the products of the Russian state education system: each studied for seven years at high schools specializing in art, and then attended art academies in Moscow. On arrival in Israel in the early 1970's, both artists taught at the Avni Institute of Art in Tel Aviv. Today, Reichwarger gives private instruction, while Preminger teaches sculpture at Tel

Aviv's French Wizo High School. Similarities between the two artists' careers end here. Unlike Preminger's art which has undergone a complete transformation since she arrived in Israel, Reichwarger's artistic and philosophical compass was already set and fixed in Russia prior to his emigration.

At the age of 23, already considered a rising star among his contemporaries, Reichwarger had the good fortune and talent to be accepted as a student of Vladimir Weisburg, one of Moscow's great painters (whose works were shown at the Tel Aviv Museum in 1979, some five years before his death). Under his artistic and spiritual guidance, Reichwarger embarked on an ongoing search, which still continues, to establish an independent identity through the formal qualities of color, structure and composition rather than content of a narrative or psychological nature.

Today, Reichwarger paints portraits (of his family and friends), landscapes and still-life, turning to European rather than Russian masters for inspiration. He lays down large flat areas of softly applied color, defining forms and contours which appear simultaneously to approach and recede against the surrounding background. Detail is acutely observed and relayed: an old lady sitting in the sun; cats playing with an old bucket. Without doubt, the dazzling brightness of the Mediterranean sun has affected the tenor of Reichwarger's painting. Bodies appear weightless and transparent, and the still heat of a summer's day floods his canvases in great washes of shadow and light.



Tanya Preminger: "Matryoska," 1987

To appreciate the complete transformation that has taken place in Tanya Preminger's sculpture during 15 years in Israel, one must compare the character of her work in Russia with what she has produced in Israel in recent years. Commissions for public statutory and a design for a wall-frieze for a state shipbuilding factory (from photographs in the artist's possession) show her working (1970-72) in a sturdy and conventional Social Realist style. But from her first show in Israel (1978) – a series of wood-carvings of the human form – she demonstrates a speedy progressive reduction towards abstract depiction.

In her most recent exhibition (Herzliya Museum, 1988) earth and stone works predominate, whose monumental forms and materials are similar in character to that of a prominent group of kibbutz artists (Dahlia Meeri, Naom Rabinovitz and others). However, unlike this group whose works express social/military tensions, Preminger's sculpture is primarily decorative in intent. She applies feathers, flowers, balloons and coins as ornament, painting strips of her sculpture with bright red paint.

The artist deliberately uses the color red for its associations with popular Russian folk-art. The root of the Slavonic word for "red," she explains, is the same as that for the word "beautiful." A series of 1987 sculptures carved from tree-trunks have a similar ethnic origin: a mermaid formed from seashells stuck on a bark of wood; a giant child's whistle and variations of the Matryoska (doll within doll) Russian folk symbol. ■

# ISRAEL Scene

## EDITORIAL

■ The supreme irony of *glasnost* from a Zionist point of view is that as the number of Jews leaving the Soviet Union grows, the drop-out rate – *neshira* – gets larger and larger. Israeli immigration officials in Vienna have estimated that the present rate of over 80 percent could reach virtually 100 percent in the foreseeable future. Why this is so is not fully within our control. Contributing factors include the tensions in Israel as a result of the situation in the territories: many Russian Jews so anxiously seeking peace of mind and security wrongly perceive this country as being on a near-war footing.

Other, no less tangible factors, include family reunion and a frank longing for the ease

and comforts of the west. Another factor is undoubtedly the trials and tribulations of aliya itself. The process of absorption into Israeli life, job and house hunting, coping with the bureaucracy, contending with a dozen government, municipal, official and semi-official bodies is enough to wear down the most determined and Zionistically-motivated immigrant – even those tempered by years in Russian refusal.

We can do little to compete with the fleshpots of Brooklyn's Brighton Beach – nor can we pretend that the situation in the territories is different from what it is. But we *can* do one thing – not just for immigrants from the Soviet Union, but for all immigrants, and in fact, for

ourselves too. That is to bring about a radical shake-up in the absorption procedures: eliminate duplication, improve attitudes, cut out senseless bureaucracy and the soul-destroying runaround from office to office, from clerk to clerk.

At the same time, however, we must ask ourselves a key question: what are Israel's responsibilities as a state to those who choose to live elsewhere? It is the privilege of anyone – Soviet Jews no less than others – to forge their own destiny and decide not to cast in their lot with those of us who live in Israel. But is it really then our task and our responsibility to aid those people in exchanging one diaspora for another?

A. W.

**American Edition:** *Israel Scene* is published monthly except January/February and September/October for \$18.00 per year by the World Zionist Organization, American Section, Inc. 515 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. Second-class postage paid at New York and additional mailing office.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 23, 1988  
to George Gruen  
from Andrew Baker  
subject Middle East Institute

cc: Eugene DuBow  
David Harris  
Ron Kronish  
Geri Rozanski  
Mark Tanenbaum

I attended the Middle East Institute's Annual Conference today and thought you might be interested in a brief summary of the session on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, with Mubarak Awad, Stuart Eizenstat, Thomas Friedman and Rita Hauser.

Mubarak Awad opened by saying, "to understand the intifadah is to understand the Palestinians today." According to Awad, Palestinians are now saying "loud and clear" that they accept "a two state solution." He asserts that the Palestinians should say to Israel that, "It is the 1967 borders [we accept]. It is not a 'first step', but it stops there." He went on to add that the Palestinians' "~~accomplishment~~" was in "understanding the Israelis and their fear." He emphasized that "self-determination for us means statehood." While his message was warmly received by this audience, his somewhat awkward presentation and difficulty with English left some obvious partisans wishing it were better.

Stuart Eizenstat read from prepared remarks and chose his words carefully. Addressing the title of the conference, "A Middle East Agenda for the Next Administration," he said that the first order of business for a new administration would be to assure Israel of its "special relationship." He felt that emphasis should be placed on the "strategic partnership" and recommended the creation of a U.S.-Israel Council, chaired by the U.S. Secretary of State and the Israeli Foreign Minister and meeting at least every six months. He thought the U.S. ought to consider prepositioning arms and equipment in Israel, with the understanding that, in emergencies, Israel would be able to use them. Eizenstat also felt the U.S. could use its influence to prevent additional arms sales from China, the Soviet Union, Argentina and Brazil into the region. With regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he felt a new president would move slowly and gradually, appointing a special negotiator/envoy with greater status than an Assistant Secretary of State, but he warned against efforts to impose any comprehensive plan, such as the recent Schultz initiative. The U.S., he insisted, should not

recognize any "self-declared" Palestinian state. The means are clearly stated by which the P.L.O. or others can earn U.S. contacts--repudiation of terror and acceptance of Israel--and he does not think it is too much to ask. In concluding, Eizenstat said that he thought U.S. efforts would be best spent to help identify and nurture a Palestinian peace partner. As might have been expected, he received the coolest reception of the panelists.

Tom Friedman described the popular American attitude to the conflict as a sort of "plague on all your houses," and did not think, in the aftermath of the U.S. Marines' experience in Lebanon, that there was much interest in aggressive U.S. involvement. He said the U.S. can be a wonderful "obstetrician for peace", but the two parties need to get pregnant first. He did suggest three positive qualities that America can bring to the Middle East conflict. First, America has a "naive optimism" that, while some cynics discount it, is positive and appreciated in the Middle East. Middle East peoples see history as "cyclical", doomed to repeat, while Americans say that it is linear and solutions are possible.

Friedman said that the second quality America should bring (and it has so far fallen short) is firmness. If you are to bring peace in the Middle East, you need to be an "optimistic son of a bitch" or a "bastard for peace," he said. He emphasized that both Jews and Arabs come from a mercantile culture and they expect there to be "a price for everything" and a "price for not doing things," too. When Schultz visits Israeli and Arab leaders, "they expect him to put their hands on the table, pull out a hammer and smash them." When he doesn't do anything, says Friedman, they don't take him seriously. He likened Schultz to a tourist who has not learned the culture of the region and, when visiting the shuk in Jerusalem, pays the retail price. In Friedman's analysis, if the United States is to succeed in bringing the two parties together it must assure certain things from the outset. The Palestinians must be assured that, at the end of the process, they will have a right to independence. And the Israelis must be assured that, at the end of the process their security will not be threatened, which, at a minimum, means a demilitarized Palestinian state. Both parties, he emphasized in closing, need a form of "behavioral therapy"--any peace process must incorporate a gradual and ongoing set of living experiences between the two peoples.

Rita Hauser opened by taking issue with Eizenstat's view and said that, "events will compel a new administration to deal immediately" with the Israeli-Palestinian crisis. She said that the declaration of a Palestinian state is a "given", and the only think that remains is "what words will accompany it." Hauser explained the legal principle of "substantial performance" to suggest how the U.S. ought to respond. In law, where 100% compliance may not occur, the ability to show "substantial

compliance" may be considered sufficient. She felt the U.S. could read more into the speech of Arafat at Strasbourg and into future declarations that would permit a new administration "flexibility to recognize the P.L.O. and push it further." In contrast to Eizenstat she said, "I do not think the first order of business of a new administration ought to be to reassure Israel"; a remark which drew sustained applause. In closing, she predicted that the Israeli elections in November would go "by a whisper" to Labor and took comfort in her belief that "most Israelis" now recognize that, "Palestinian nationalism has been born and cannot be suppressed." She certainly seemed, in my eyes, to be the audience's favorite.

A question (from cards submitted to the moderator) and answer session offered more of the same.

Best regards.



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

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DATE Sept. 22, 1988

NO. OF PAGES 5 (NOT INCLUDING COVER)

TO: see below

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FROM: Dottie

LOCATION: DC

SPECIAL REMARKS: Bobat Heller, Rubin, Silverman,  
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VIA FAX

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

Date September 22, 1988  
to See below  
from David Harris  
subject SOVIET JEWRY UPDATE

According to my hitherto reliable State Department sources:

1) Re the drop-out issue, there has been no change in the exit procedure. Despite the revised Israeli vyzov, the Dutch continue to issue Israeli visas in Moscow and Soviet Jews continue to exit via Vienna, with only a trickle choosing to proceed via Bucharest. Tensions between the Israelis and Dutch remain high, and there are unconfirmed rumors that the Israelis have threatened to seek another country to represent their interests in Moscow. Indeed, there is a report that the Israeli team now in Moscow, for whatever reason, has moved out of the Dutch Embassy and is working from the Hotel Ukraina.

The drop-out question came up yet again at Friday's meeting between Morris Abram and George Shultz. Shultz reiterated his well-known position on the issue and asked Morris and the other members of his delegation to "get the Israelis off my back." More on Morris's reaction to the meeting can be found in the enclosed letter sent by Morris to the Secretary after the meeting.

1988 emigration figures through mid-September are also enclosed.

2) Of the 3,000 Soviets whose U.S. processing was temporarily suspended by the U.S. government in early July because of the absence of funds for processing, approximately one-half are now in the U.S., including some 900 who arrived in the past week. They flew directly from Moscow to the U.S., rather than via Rome, the usual transit point for these "TCPs." The U.S. government even waived the affidavit of support which is normally required in advance of arrival in the U.S. With \$6 million additional dollars available to the State Department for refugee processing for these 3,000 Soviets, thanks to recent Congressional action, the processing can be expedited. While most are Armenians, some are Jews.

After October 1st, we might expect some changes in refugee processing by the U.S. from Moscow. Fewer Armenians are likely

to qualify as refugees; more will be admitted under the immigration categories, parole authority, or even the creation of a special immigrant category for those "immigrants judged to be in the interests of the U.S. Government."

Still, the allocation for Soviet Union and East Europe for FY 89 -- 24,500 -- may not prove sufficient, even though fewer Armenians will come in under this category and fewer Poles as well. But September's Jewish emigration figure (with an undetermined number of Pentacostalists included) may reach 2,300. Annualized, of course, that could mean 25,000+ if our luck holds.

In such a case, we will have to return for additional numbers under the emergency provisions for the 1980 Refugee Act, as well as supplemental dollars, though there is one senior State Department official who is suggesting that those Soviet Jews seeking entry beyond the FY 89 ceiling be directed to Israel. This view does not now have broader State Department support.

3) Significantly, the State Department is now actively considering the previously unthinkable: whether, in seeking to conclude the Vienna Review Conference of the Helsinki Final Act, to agree to a follow-up meeting on "human dimension" (read human rights) in Moscow. Whereas the odds of holding such a meeting were practically non-existent six months ago, today, I am told, they are as high as 35-40% and increasing.

When the Soviets originally floated the idea of such a Moscow meeting, the West established four demands: (a) a significant increase in Soviet emigration; (b) an end to the jamming of Western radio broadcasts; (c) release of the political prisoners; and (d) resolution of the outstanding divided family cases on the State Department's list.

The State Department believes that substantial progress has already occurred in each of these four areas, to wit:

(a) About a year ago, some of us began to notice a new State Department formulation for measuring Soviet Jewish emigration. Rather than using the peak 1979 figure as its guideline for Soviet performance, they chose instead to refer to the "average annual figure in the 1970s, or roughly 25,000." If 2,000+ Soviet Jews per month are to be leaving, not to speak of even more ethnic Germans to West Germany and numerous Armenians, then the first condition may soon be essentially fulfilled.

(b) Jamming has, with the exception of Radio Liberty, I believe, all but ended. (Kol Yisrael is not included as Israel is not one of the 35 member-nations of the Helsinki process.)

(c) The number of political prisoners continues to decline. Only four Helsinki monitors remain in prison. The State Department estimates that roughly 50 prisoners remain in labor camps and another 50 in psychiatric hospitals. In addition, it estimates that perhaps another 150 prisoners who were charged

estimates that perhaps another 150 prisoners who were charged with non-political crimes are actually political prisoners, hence a total of no more than 250 outstanding cases.

(d) 50 divided family cases remain on State Department lists.

There is not, at least not yet, consensus within the U.S. Government and in the Helsinki Commission on acceding to the Soviet request, but no one is discounting the chances either. The Soviets have reportedly indicated a keen desire to host such a post-Vienna meeting and may be willing to move further in each of the four above-cited categories to get it. That would still leave many questions to be negotiated, including the key issue of access by Western advocacy groups to a Moscow-based meeting. The British, Canadians and Dutch continue to have reservations about such a Moscow meeting; the other Western countries apparently less so, with the exception of the French who fall somewhere in between.

DAH:dw

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enclosures

# National Conference on Soviet Jewry



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September 16, 1988

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The Honorable George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
United States Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

First, many thanks for the fruitful discussion at your meeting this morning with representatives of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

I shall like to pick up on some suggestions that were made at that meeting in reference to the exit of Jews from the Soviet Union.

Reiterating: The Jewish community is fully committed to freedom of choice but believes that that choice should be made in the U.S.S.R. without abusing the Israeli visa. To that end the community supports the flight plan through Romania, until that visa can be exercised in the normal way by flights from the Soviet Union directly to Israel.

We all know that the Soviets are on record since 1987 that they will respect applications by Soviet Jews for American visas (as they do in the case of other nationalities.) However, the Soviets do not appear to be living up to this pledge and we have urged (and you thought it a good policy,) that the U.S. publicly and privately push the U.S.S.R. to treat invitations to Soviet Jews from the U.S. in the same way as they now treat invitations from Israel.

We are concerned about rumors emanating from the Department which imply a limit on the number of Soviet Jews whose visas to the U.S. could be processed. Any such eventuality would, of course, impair freedom of choice, contrary to your wishes and those of the Jewish community.

We cannot understand any policy which gives Soviet Jews unlimited access to the U.S. provided they drop out in Vienna, while restricting the numbers who make the honorable choice in the Soviet Union without the infliction of any abuse on the Israeli visa.

We thank you again for the opportunity to have candid discussions with you.

Sincerely,

*Morris B. Abram*

Morris B. Abram, Chairman

dictated but not read

A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

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September 26, 1988

The Honorable George Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat, apparently may seek a United States visa for the purpose of attending and addressing the United Nations General Assembly, as well as speaking to the National Press Club. We urge you to exercise your authority and right to deny any request for such visa.

Section 6 of P.L. 80-357 reserves for the Secretary of State the complete authority to "control the entrance of aliens" to the (U.N.) Headquarters District in such a manner as to "safeguard its own security." Both the Departments of State and Justice have affirmed the right of the United States to deny visas to persons seeking to enter the Headquarters District of the United Nations under Section 212(a), paragraphs 27 and 29 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

In January 1986 State Department spokesman Charles Redman reiterated U.S. policy on this matter: "We will as a matter of principle exclude individuals who personally advocate terrorism or who we believe have participated in or supported terrorist activities."

And in May 1986, when members of the Senate wrote to you concerning a possible Arafat request for a visa, you responded, "... I have no desire to see Arafat in the United States. Should he apply for a visa, his applications will receive my most severe scrutiny, including a thorough review of all the legal and other factors and circumstances pertinent to his application.... We share a common desire that Arafat should not come to the United States."

Arafat's PLO has claimed responsibility for a host of terrorist activities in which numerous innocent persons, including many Americans, were killed. As recently as May, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, in testimony before Congressional committees, stated that the State Department was aware that Arafat, "may have personally approved a series of terrorist attacks against American citizens and facilities abroad...."

Arafat should be denied access to our country until he and the PLO renounce terrorism as a tool of foreign policy. Before he is admitted into our country, Arafat and the PLO must accept the same reasonable requirements that the United States has consistently demanded in order to have dealings with them:

- formal recognition of Israel's rights to exist;
- acceptance of UN Resolutions 242 and 338; and
- elimination from the PLO Charter of the call for the destruction of Israel.

The United States confers no diplomatic immunity on the PLO or its United Nations "Observer Mission." We must continue our policy of denying admission to our country those, including Arafat, who profess terrorism as a tool of foreign policy.

As a matter of law and policy, we urge you to deny Yasser Arafat permission to enter the United States. We look forward to hearing from you as to your decision on this important issue.

Sincerely,



THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1988

Dear Senator DeConcini:

Thank you for your letter of September 26, co-signed by fifty of your Senate colleagues, concerning the possibility that Yasir Arafat may seek a visa to enter the United States for the purpose of addressing the United Nations General Assembly and the National Press Club.

Like you, I have no desire whatever to see Arafat in the United States. The basic judgment on this issue reflected in my letter of May 29, 1986 to Senator Lautenberg (from which you quote in the fourth paragraph of your letter) remains in effect. So far we have received no application from Arafat, nor any firm indication that he intends to seek a visa for the purposes you mention. Should we receive such an application, I can assure you that I will apply severe scrutiny to it in the light of applicable law and regulations and other circumstances pertinent at the time.

Sincerely yours,



George P. Shultz

The Honorable  
Dennis DeConcini,  
United States Senate.

Malcolm Henlund

&

Elizabeth Holtzman

will also be in studio  
at 770 Lex.

Possible to show at 4:45? (make-up)  
Book will be part of this so the  
earlier you show - the earlier you  
leave - should be finished by.

תודה



Thanks

Haira



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*je*

Date: September 29, 1988

To: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

This is to confirm your interview with DIRECT FROM ISRAEL hosts  
Stacy Krone & Mike Jarmiss  
regarding Jewish community and Israel.

Date of interview: Sept. 29, 1988

Time of interview: 5:00pm 4:45PM

Place of interview: CONTECH STUDIOS 770 Lexington Ave  
at 61st Street

Please let me know if there is anything else I can do.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Hanna*

Hanna Just  
Coordinator of  
Broadcast Relations

HJ:ir

*ans. 5pm Sunday Oct. 2  
over channel 31  
WNYC-TV*



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September 29, 1988

Mr. Eugene Winnik  
McIntosh & Otis, Inc.  
310 Madison Avenue, Ste. 607  
New York, NY 10017

Dear Gene,

I enjoyed being with you, Lord George Weidenfeld, and John Herman on September 22nd. I thought it was a good and productive meeting.

The proposal for a two-book contract is appealing, provided that enough of an advance is made to enable me to research and write both books.

We are clear about the "Vatican, Jews and Israel" book, and both George and John have read my precis of that work and appear to be generally satisfied with the direction it would take.

The second book would be, as agreed, on "The Story of Jewish-Christian Relations." I am enclosing a brief and quick outline of how I see that shaping up as of now. It does not represent sustained reflection, but provides a feel of the material to be covered.

Maybe the best way for George, John, and yourself to grasp what I would be trying to do in the second book would be for you to read the enclosed two papers. Both are dated, but on re-reading them, I think they provide something of a conceptual framework for organizing this story.

I would plan to go much beyond the material contained in these papers, and certainly would need to update it with information about significant developments in Jewish-Christian relations that have taken place in the 1970s and 1980s.

Mr. Eugene Winnik  
Page Two

September 29, 1988

I hasten to do it in this way because George and John will be out of the country next week, and I would like if at all possible to tie up the two-book package as soon as feasible.

Talk to you later today.

With appreciation!

Cordially,

Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations



MHT:RPR

Enclosures



OCT 10 1988

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** October 5, 1988

**to** George Gruen

**from** Ron Kronish

**subject**

1. Attached is the additional material which came in from Hanoach Smith. Use it in good health.
2. Good luck on getting the new computer! I hope you get it soon.
3. I'll try to keep you posted on the elections if I have anything special to report. And, I will try to send you my assessment of what is happening, just before and after election night.

Regards,

*Ron*

cc: Yaacov Pnini  
M. Bernard Resnikoff

Marc Tanenbaum

memorandum

[start]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible



SMITH RESEARCH CENTER

Sept. 28, 1988

To: George Gruen

From: Hanoch Smith

Subject: Additions to Report of Sept. 9, 1988

---

As per our telephone conversation, I am adding an additional section, starting on p.6 after top paragraph ending... on the larger issues."

#### C. The Leadership Issue

Both Labor and the Likud are led by veteran leaders with experience as Prime Minister. Yitzhak Shamir, clearly not a charismatic leader in the tradition of Menachem Begin, nevertheless led the Likud to a reasonable result in the 1984 elections - a virtual stand-off with the Labor Alignment. Shimon Peres, on the other hand, has led Labor in all four Knesset elections since 1977 and his party has not, thus far, come up with any results that could be called a victory. His period as Prime Minister, 1984-1986, was characterized by personal popularity and government success in the eyes of the public. But his popularity fell during the period of the Shamir primacy.

During the present campaign, neither top candidate enjoys a strong advantage over the other. In general, on a personal basis, Peres is thought to be the better qualified person to be Prime Minister by a small plurality. But when the party picture is added - and people vote party and not candidate - there is a stand-off. Similarly, when the four top leaders of each of these two parties are compared, the voting population gives no preference to either grouping. The leadership issue, it therefore appears, will not be decisive in these elections.

#### IV. Election Prospects

At the end of September, twenty-eight different lists, including all parties in the outgoing Knesseth, filed to compete in the November elections.

As the deadline for filing approached, there was a sudden splintering in the religious camp. Instead of five parties, all of which entered the Knesseth in 1984, this time there were eight religious lists competing; even the existing parties split. The National Religious Party (Mafdal) added part of Morasha, but seemed to lose a bit to Meimad. Another important orthodox party, Agudat Israel, at the last moment added the Pagi faction of Morasha to its list; but two new orthodox (Haredi) factions were formed, partly of deserters from Agudat Israel. The second Haredi party, Shass suffered a similar fate: two factions also split off - one on a personality basis and one on a communal basis

(Yeminites). In sum, there were six ultra-orthodox lists, the Mafdal and the moderate-leaning Meimad.

The religious parties, it should be stressed, because the leftist and rightist camps have roughly equal support, have the balance of political power in Israel. Indeed, their political power has increased despite less voter support- because of this balance. Since 1977, the religious parties have-one is tempted to say, religiously,-supported Likud-led governments. In the present campaign, Shimon Peres has made special efforts to get an understanding with orthodox parties which would enable him to set up a Labor-led coalition should the opportunity present itself.

(Continue from p.6 "The intifada undoubtedly.....")



[end]

Original documents  
faded and/or illegible



Marc Panenbrou

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CONFIDENTIAL

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date**           October 5, 1988  
**to**                Ira Silverman/Marc Tanenbaum  
**from**             David Harris  
**subject**         SOVIET JEWRY UPDATE III

From a usually reliable State Department source:

(1) Consideration of a human rights conference in Moscow continues at the State Department, though, at the moment, agreement on such a meeting, if were to come at all, likely would not occur until after Election Day. The odds against such a meeting are about 70-30, but are shifting towards U.S. agreement. Again reviewing the four criteria, the official noted: (a) emigration is continuing to increase and thus is not likely to prove a serious stumbling block in negotiations; (b) the only radio stations still jammed and of concern to the U.S. are Radio Liberty and Kol Yisrael, but the U.S. in the final analysis will not make a major issue of either; (c) the release of political prisoners remains the principal hurdle. Approximately 200 names remain on U.S. lists. Only three Helsinki Monitors remain in prison, though the Soviets insists this soon will be reduced to one. There is some disagreement within the State Department about how strongly to press those cases that the U.S. considers political but that were sentenced in the Soviet Union under criminal articles; and (d) progress has occurred in the area of resolving divided family cases and only 30-35 remain on the U.S. list.

The British among the Western nations are most strongly opposed to a Moscow human rights meeting; the U.S., Canadians and Dutch share a similar viewpoint; the French are interested in protecting Paris as the site of a future Helsinki meeting; and the other Western countries are prepared to deal now with the Soviets.

The Soviets badly want the meeting. Shevardnadze raised the issue in his recent talks with Shultz.

(2) Re refugee numbers for FY 89, the State Department, over the objection of the Bureau of European Affairs, has broken down the Soviet and East European allotment into 14,000 for the USSR and 8,500 for Eastern Europe. The Bureau had wanted the numbers lumped together in the hope of permitting more numbers

to go to Soviet refugees. The total, 22,500, is 2,000 less than the Secretary mentioned in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Apparently, as I just learned from another source, these 2,000 will remain assigned to the Soviet Union but will be available under private sponsorship schemes only.

It is increasingly clear to a few knowledgeable State Department officials that a major crisis in numbers and dollars is looming if the present Soviet emigration rate continues at current, much less increased levels. The State Department hopes to channel as many people as possible through immigrant categories, parole as a stopgap measure, private sponsorship and a special immigration category for those immigrants who are of special interest to the U.S. Government. Secretary Shultz reportedly has indicated that he will not take additional monies from his strapped State Department budget to cope with numbers beyond the agreed refugee ceiling.

Note: It is important that AJC begin to give careful consideration to these issues now. The likelihood is that we will be able to return to the Administration and Congress for additional numbers during the course of the year, invoking the emergency provisions of the 1980 Refugee Act as we did this past year, though we ought not underestimate the potential opposition of Senator Simpson and possibly others. The bigger challenge will be the funding question. Will we be able to secure supplemental Federal funds? It will not be easy.

It is also clear that there will be a major effort on the part of the Government to shift more of the fiscal responsibility onto the shoulders of the Jewish community. I gather that the major federation leaders, together with HIAS and JDC leadership, will be discussing the growing financial burden they are carrying as a result of increased Soviet Jewish immigration at the upcoming Council of Jewish Federations General Assembly. This federal funding question will be another important financial question they, and the entire American Jewish community, may yet have to face during this fiscal year.

(3) During the Shultz-Shevardnadze talks, the Secretary urged that Moscow permit emigrants to leave for their desired country of destination. Accordingly, Shultz asked that the Soviets respect U.S. affidavits from any relatives just as the Soviet now choose to do with Israeli affidavits. Shevardnadze reportedly responded that it would not prove a problem as they were planning to drop the first-degree requirement anyway. It should be pointed out that while such a step would truly be welcome it has not yet happened.



cc: Shula Bahat                      David Geller                      Richard Maass      Gary Rubin  
    Theodore Ellenoff              Ron Kronish                      Richard Rice        M. Yarmon



David Harris

10/3/88

Marc,

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed exchange of correspondence between Morris Abram, chair of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and Pamela Cohen, president of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, on the "drop-out" question.



encl.



**The American Jewish  
Committee**

**OFFICE OF THE WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE,**

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-2000



# National Conference on Soviet Jewry

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

July 22, 1988

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Ms. Pamela B. Cohen  
President  
Union of Councils for Soviet Jews  
1819 H Street, N.W., Suite 410  
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Pam:

I have just received your memo dated June 12 and the paper "On the Issue of Direct Flights to Israel," which your cover memo indicates was distributed widely, including to 65 congressional staff members. I find it hard to contain my reaction, and am appalled by the content and language.

As a signatory to the joint statement of June 8 on "direct flights and the two-track system," you were fully apprised of the community's process and, indeed, a participant in that process. It is distressing that you would join in deliberations, concur in their conclusions and then abuse the inherent trust and responsibility by publicly distorting the community's position, without consideration of the damage to the Soviet Jewry movement, to Israel or to the relationships you profess to want.

We find it incomprehensible that an American Jewish organization would accuse the government of Israel of "coercing Soviet Jews," and of attempting to "dictate to or kidnap" them. Further, to suggest that the Israeli government wishes to "deny Soviet Jews their basic right to free emigration" is a baseless and libelous charge. Such language is not only offensive but also raises fundamental questions regarding the motivation and goals of the Union of Councils. Certainly, it is the Soviet Union who denies free emigration to its citizens, and it is Israel which has led and made possible the fight for emigration of Soviet Jews.

Instead of criticizing Israel for that nation's attempt to preserve the integrity of its visa and protect the rights of Soviet Jews, those interested in the well-being of Soviet Jews should work for the implementation of the two-track system that will allow Jews wishing to return to their historic homeland to do so by way of Bucharest, and those who wish to be reunited with their families in the West to receive visas from the appropriate nations. Freedom of choice, as the Union of Councils well knows, is ultimately exercised by the Soviet Jews themselves while still in the USSR.

The gratuitous assertion that Jewish leaders in the diaspora should "return to their long-held commitment to human rights" is as insulting as it is blatantly false. There is no literary license that can justify such arrogance and intemperance of language.

-over-

*A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations*

National Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-6122 • Telecopier: (212) 686-1193 • Telex: 237311 NCSJ  
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One cannot begin to assess the mischief and damage of such a document, especially at this time when Israel is under attack in the very quarters to which this irresponsible statement was distributed. Had it come from any other source the Union would have been in the forefront of those condemning it. Is the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews not bound to any standards of honesty, decency and responsibility? Do the affiliated organizations and advisors endorse these views? How is it that the Union of Councils can lend its name to a document endorsed by all segments of the community and then take the opposite position? Is this the basis for a relationship of trust and confidence that you assert you desire? Does the Union of Councils truly want to be included in the councils of the community or is it merely interested in opportunism and confrontation?

I want your response.

Sincerely,



Morris B. Abram  
Chairman, National Conference on Soviet Jewry

Chairman, Conference of Presidents  
of Major American Jewish Organizations

MBA:rk





# UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS

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August 15, 1988

Mr. Morris Abram  
Chairman  
National Conference on Soviet Jewry  
Conference of Presidents of Major  
American Jewish Organizations  
10 East 40th Street Suite 907  
New York, New York 10016

Dear Morris:

As the largest independent grassroots activist organization in the world devoted exclusively to Soviet Jewry, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews is accountable to its members and to the Soviet Jews themselves. It's commitment to truth in its dealings with sister organizations and the public is absolute. Your attack warrants a response only because of the broad circulation you have given it.

The question at issue concerns a basic principle -- freedom of choice -- that the UCSJ, the vast majority of Soviet Jews, distinguished olim such as Natan Sharansky, Secretary of State Shultz, virtually every signatory of the Helsinki Final Act, and many American and Israeli Jews support. The issue deserves open and respectful discussion.

Nobody doubts that the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate freely is denied by the Soviet Union. But it is also the case that all Soviet Jews who are allowed to leave can now go to Vienna and there exercise a free choice of ultimate destination -- a right we hold belongs to each and every individual Jew regardless of our strong desire and hope that they will choose Israel.

As a practical matter, in the absence of the additional guarantees, described below, that we advocate, and which you oppose, the "direct flight" plan will foreclose free choice to hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews, i.e., those Jews who now hold invitations (visovs) from distant relatives in Israel and who wish to go directly to the States as refugees, or to other Western countries. To us, freedom of choice is indivisible; it must apply to all Soviet Jews, not just to some. This is the point on which you and we differ. And we have advocated our

position consistently, and on the high ground of principle, without attacking you, your organization, or the State of Israel. A copy of our summary of the issue, published recently in our Refusenik Update, is enclosed.

It may well be that, in the course of years, the currently insufficient proposal for a second track based on U.S. invitations can be instituted and regularized as a substitute for Israeli invitations so as to return Jews to the state of free choice they now have in Vienna. For the present, however, those Jews will be presented with the choice of going to Israel or remaining in the Soviet Union. This is an unacceptable consequence of Israel's plan to protect its visa. By so characterizing this evident consequence, we have provoked your ire, as we did a year ago on the identical issue. So be it.

It must be understood that when we agreed to sign the unity statement on direct flights, we made it clear that while we endorsed it as far as it went, our position extends well beyond it. You should be aware of this. Our National Director, Micah Naftalin, made this clear to Jerry at the time, in writing and by phone (see enclosed). Our position has never varied. We do not argue that Israel should abandon the direct flight plan. We do argue that, as a consequence of the plan, the State Department must negotiate with the Soviets to permit any Jew granted permission to emigrate, regardless of the source of his or her invitation, to travel to Vienna, as is now permitted, if they choose not to go to Israel via Bucharest. It is possible for them to do so without receiving an Israeli visa. This would be the subject of US-USSR negotiations. The Israelis have no role to play in this respect. Given a number of existing conditions, e.g., limitations of U.S. Embassy staff in Moscow, more restrictive Soviet eligibility requirements for invitations from the U.S., and a massive extant reservoir of Jewish applications based on Israeli visovs, it is wholly specious to assert, as you do, that the direct flight plan offers freedom of choice to all Jews comparable to what they are now entitled to.

What makes this so emotional an issue among Jews is the evident and understandable differences in priorities that exist between officials of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and those Soviet Jews who seek not only rescue but also the right to emigrate to the United States and other Western countries. Those officials have made it clear they do not attach priority to devoting resources to assist Jews to emigrate "from one diaspora to another." But Soviet Jews have a right to question American leaders who, from the safety of our democracy, insist that any Soviet Jew should be denied the freedom of choice that we and our forebears have enjoyed.



UCSJ leaders, no less than all other Zionists, are extremely mindful of Israel's great need for Soviet Jewish emigration. But, the right of individual Jews must have equal standing with the needs and wishes of governments. American Jews bristle at the notion that it is their obligation as Jews to make aliyah. Soviet Jews are entitled to equal respect.

In many forums you have spoken to the effect that Soviet Jewry is exclusively an aliyah movement, not a rescue or human rights movement, and that Soviet Jewish aspirations to emigrate to the United States have more to do with "better refrigerators" than escape from anti-Semitism. It is your right to hold this essentially paternalistic view, which, at once, denigrates the human right and need to improve the quality of life and discounts anti-Semitism as a significant motivation for emigration. But do not assert it in the guise of freedom of choice or the principles of Helsinki. And do not assert it in the name of the Soviet Jewry movement for whom you are not the exclusive voice.

It is doubtful that you speak, on this question, for American Jewry because, obviously, there are many voices holding a range of views on this matter. It is clear that your position is in conflict with that of our government, as Secretary Shultz has recently made clear to you. And it is indisputable that your priorities are in direct opposition to the stated hopes, aspirations, and rights of tens of thousands of Soviet Jews, as evidenced by the choices Jews now make on arrival in Vienna. Your defense of direct flights is entirely appropriate. Your numerous attempts to stifle our parallel advocacy of freedom of choice for all Soviet Jews exceeds the bounds of reasonable discourse.

I recently returned from 10 days of consultation in Leningrad and Moscow with several hundred Refuseniks including virtually all leaders of our movement there. In more than fifty separate meetings, I never once raised or politicized the issue of direct flights. My purpose was to discuss with the parties directly affected the needs of the movement and the strategies best calculated to increase the level of rescue, emigration and Jewish culture.

In virtually every meeting, however, I heard the anxiety of Soviet Jews over the implications of restricting freedom of choice. And I heard these concerns from many of those who, themselves, are committed to making aliyah but are nonetheless respectful of the rights of others. They are concerned that a single track, even with the limited alternative for those few Jews who, possessing U.S. invitations, are eligible for U.S. visas, will result in diminished, not increased, emigration.



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Their concern is shared by many Sovietologists, human rights activists and government officials who deal with these issues. These are serious and weighty concerns that must not be ignored.

While in the Soviet Union, we found universal respect and gratitude to the UCSJ among Refuseniks and activist leaders because of our willingness to make the strongest case in their behalf, to set the highest level of principle from which compromise inevitably must flow. Thus, Refusenik leaders are gratified that the UCSJ argued for a quid pro quo when the State Department relaxed oil and gas drilling technology restrictions; that we successfully opposed the ABA agreement with the Association of Soviet Lawyers; that we introduced the concept of economic linkage into the message of the December 6 demonstration in Washington; that we made it clear that this is not the time to discount by half the 50,000 - 60,000 annual emigration trigger for Jackson-Vanik; that we supported an effort to criticize banks who make untied, cash loans at concessionary rates to bolster the Soviet economy without gaining an advantage in Jewish emigration; that we supported the Durenberger Amendment to the Trade Act this week that would block the Commerce Department's lifting of long-imposed import restrictions for Soviet furs in contravention of the principles of Jackson-Vanik.

You and I speak for different constituencies. Even though you and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry did not advocate these positions, our respective voices should and could be seen as complementary in a pluralistic world. However, as long as you insist on monolithic policy making on behalf of Soviet Jews, I can only assure you of continued frustration, of the type evidenced by your intemperate and destructive letter.

Soviet Jews are entitled to their own voice when discussions concerning their vital interests and lives are taking place. Throughout our 20-year history, the UCSJ has developed its actions and policies with a deep commitment to the need for accountability to those Soviet Jews -- the activists, the Prisoners of Conscience, the leaders -- who put their lives on the line every day. The leadership of other American Jewish organizations are entitled to their priorities and policies. And, with full recognition of their orientation, they deserve full respect. But do not represent their interests as being invariably congruent with the best interests of Soviet Jews. They are not.

Finally, it must be said that the UCSJ's commitment to the principles of human rights and the individual's freedom of choice in no way lessens our abiding hope and belief that Soviet Jews should be encouraged to make aliyah. We share Israel's despair at the relatively low proportion of Jews choosing Israel even as



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we celebrate the miracle of the Jewish renaissance movement that has been able to rise above 70 years of state-sponsored anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist propaganda and cultural genocide.

The Union of Councils has a deep commitment and connection to Israel. Our board meets in Jerusalem annually to discuss Soviet Jewish emigration, aliyah and absorption. Our detailed recommendations for improving absorption and encouraging increased aliyah, which we presented last year at the World Soviet Jewry Conference in London, and to the Aliyah and Klita Committee of the Knesset, are but examples. Our strong support of the Refuseniks' and other Soviet Jews' founding, last month, of the Society for Friendship and Cultural Exchange with Israel, and of the Moscow Jewish Cultural Association, are further examples of our commitment to the premise that aliyah will expand as Jewish education and consciousness expand throughout the Soviet Union.

It is to these goals that we will devote our energies. The implication that the UCSJ is somehow anti-Zionist or anti-aliyah is a canard and an extremely mischievous form of disinformation. Will there ever come a time when respect for pluralism, for honest disagreement, will characterize the Soviet Jewry movement? I hope so.

Sincerely,

Pamela Braun Cohen  
National President

Enclosures



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# UCSJ REFUSENIK UPDATE

1819 H STREET, N.W. • SUITE 410 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 • (202) 775-9770

July, 1988

## EXCERPT

### FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Last week the Israeli Cabinet, in a divided vote, overwhelmingly endorsed the so-called "direct flight" procedures that would route Israel-bound Soviet emigres through Bucharest, Romania. According to Israeli officials, the principal purpose of the plan is to protect the sanctity of the Israeli visa.

Once the Israelis take back from the Dutch the consular duties of issuing visas, now predicted for mid-July, they hope to have Soviet Jews travel to Bucharest to receive their visas, rather than, as is now the procedure, receive them in Moscow and travel to Vienna where many Jews have "dropped out" and re-routed themselves to the United States and other host countries.

Virtually all Jewish organizations, including the UCSJ, endorse the Israeli hope that more Soviet Jews will choose repatriation to their national homeland, Israel, and virtually none has objected publicly to Israel's desire to limit its own visas to those wishing to make aliyah.

By the same token, virtually all Jewish organizations -- the UCSJ prominent among them - support Secretary of State Shultz' unwavering commitment to the internationally guaranteed freedom of choice for every person to leave his/her own country.

The government of Israel itself, while not signatory to the Helsinki Final Act, remains committed to this fundamental human rights principle. "No one could endorse kidnapping Soviet Jews," the Israelis have said, "and compel them to go to Israel against their will. Without question, Soviet Jews must be permitted to reunite with their families in the West if that is their desire."

Indeed, even the Soviets are on record, of late, as declaring that the ultimate destination of emigrating Jews is of no concern to the Soviet Union.

In the past the problem was not resolved because it was viewed as too hypothetical. But it is no longer hypothetical and the Department of State should take all steps necessary, in concert with the Soviet Union and other relevant western nations, Austria and Israel for example, to assure that an alternate and appropriate exit track is preserved for all Jews who wish to emigrate to the West.

Of course, the simplest and least disruptive method will be to continue the twenty-year or more system of transit to the West via Vienna. For beleaguered Jews, who live daily with much rumor and little information, the fewer changes and the greater continuity and predictability, the better.

To NCSJ fax

JOINT STATEMENT ON "DIRECT FLIGHTS"

"Unity Statement"

We welcome the Israel initiative to secure direct flights for Soviet Jews who wish to settle in Israel, and the positive response of the Soviet authorities and the government of Romania to facilitate this program. In order for this program to succeed, and to help maximize the largest number of Soviet Jews wishing to settle in Israel, it is imperative that the program for direct invitations from Soviet Jews settled in North America, to their relatives in the Soviet Union, be set forth quickly and effectively. The Soviet government has indicated its readiness to respond to such direct invitations for family reunification, between Jews in the Soviet Union and their relatives in North America.

It is necessary for the government of the United States to continue to advocate for the stated Soviet emigration policy on behalf of family reunification, in Israel, and the West. The United States government should continuously urge the Soviets to live up to their own commitment to the Helsinki Accords, and other international agreements regarding the Right to Leave.

Jerry

As we discussed, UCSJ's name can be included on a "one time only" basis. Later, we'll see. We can live with the statement, as I indicated, our policy continues to be broader definition freedom of choice as per Helsinki, i.e. any invitation, any destination.

Mint 6/3/88

# A new design for Soviet society

Dartmouth conferees probe the realities of *perestroika* and *glasnost*

By Norman Cousins



BRYAN LEE

"You are right," said Nikolai Shishlin, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR. "We know we cannot democratize all the other sectors of our society without democratizing the Communist Party as well."

Mr. Shishlin went on to say it would not be surprising if, five or 10 years hence, a multiparty system would emerge. He said that discussions were already going forward on this question at top levels of the party.

Later, a question was raised about the Central European nations. What about the effects of *perestroika* on the nations within the Soviet orbit? Was it possible to have widespread political democratization within the USSR without creating strong movements in the same direction inside the satellite countries? Would the Russians keep their tanks at home if freedom movements sprang up in Central Europe?

The reply was unambiguous. Several speakers said the question had not been overlooked in party discussions. Yes, it was unreasonable to suppose that *perestroika* could be confined within Soviet borders, and there was no reason why it should be. But it was premature to speculate on where changes might lead.

Inevitably, the issue of mutual trust was raised as a key factor in the relationship between the two peoples. Seweryn Bialer, director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, made a strong impression on both delegations when he said that mutual trust was not really as vital as mutual credibility. David Mathews, president of the Kettering Foundation, developed this argument by pointing out that mutual trust could have negative connotations. One might "trust" another person not to do anything wrong or harmful. But "credibility" made genuine trust possible, because it involved a conviction that what the other side was saying was true.

This discussion led to a consideration of the basic propositions that underlie each society — the ideas people live by. It became apparent that most of the discussants believed we had come to the end of an age of competitive ideologies. The notions of capitalism held by most communists, as well as the notions of communism generally held by people in the capitalist countries, no longer conformed to reality. Capitalism is no longer the antisocial leviathan portrayed by Marx, and communism, always an aspiration rather than a functioning reality, was not a literal description of the economic and social system of the USSR.

"We've been questioning all the things we were taught to believe were basic in our society," Mr. Arbatov said. "We are acquiring a new image of ourselves. Our views of the US are evolving as well. We are realizing that we cannot achieve security at your expense. We hope you will feel the same about the Soviet Union. If you are not secure, neither are we. We must find ways of surviving together. I want to emphasize that what we are doing is not for the purpose of impressing others. It is for ourselves. We are doing what we think is necessary in our own interest. We like to believe it is also in your interest and the world interest."

If what we heard in Austin is correct, then what is happening today in the USSR may be one of the great events of the 20th century. Three hundred million people are caught up in a vast new revolution, reaching out for a larger measure of freedom than they have ever known. The challenge to the US is whether it can recognize the potential benefits of such changes, not just for Russians, but for ourselves. The big question is whether we are prepared to live without enemies. Are we more fearful of Soviet friendship than Soviet hostility? Have we allowed ourselves to become so dependent on massive military spending that we prefer tensions to the challenges of a creative peace?

*Perestroika* and *glasnost* are Russian words, but they force us to examine more closely than ever our own destination in the world.

Norman Cousins, on behalf of President Eisenhower, made the original proposal to the Presidium of the Peace Committee in Moscow in 1959 for what has become the Dartmouth College conferences.

WE have a new feature in our newspaper," the journalist was saying. "It consists of letters from readers who begin by saying that they are certain we wouldn't dare publish their views."

The speaker was Stanislav Kondrashov, a political observer with *Izvestia*, one of the two largest daily newspapers in the Soviet Union.

"Most of these letters complain about everyday life," he continued. "The writers say that our political elections are a sham. Or they complain about the drabness of life, or about the shabby quality of the merchandise in the shops, or the cramped conditions of their housing, or about the way bureaucrats abound everywhere and complicate and frustrate their lives. And you know what? They are right."

Mr. Kondrashov's remarks came during the latest Dartmouth Conference. The series began at Dartmouth College in Hanover, N.H., almost 30 years ago at the instigation of President Dwight Eisenhower, who felt knowledgeable citizens from both countries could talk freely and probe for openings of value to the diplomats.

The conferences have developed into a major communications link, alternating between the two nations. They have brought together political thinkers, philosophers, economists, scientists, writers, artists. Underwritten originally by the US State Department and later by the Ford Foundation, these meetings have continued for the past 20 years under the independent auspices of the C. F. Kettering Foundation.

The conference in the United States was a movable affair, beginning at the LBJ Library at the University of Texas, then moving to Newport Beach and Los Angeles, and finally to Washington, D.C. The subject was the meaning of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. The official definition of both terms was of course well known. *Perestroika* was intended to mean remaking, renewal, reeducation; *glasnost*, a new openness, a willingness to admit mistakes and to create new options.

What was less clear to the Americans, however, was whether these terms had a functional rather than a propaganda reality and what the implications of the new policies would be on the US-USSR relationship.

When the group met last month in the generously proportioned atrium of the LBJ library in Austin, the Americans didn't have long to wait for answers. Soviet participants seemed to welcome the opportunity to talk about the upheavals in politics, economics, society, and cultural life now unfolding under Mikhail Gorbachev.

For example, the political observer from *Izvestia* spoke about the new reading habits of the Soviet people.

Under the former repressive regimes, he said, most people favored books. Novelists were practiced at writing between the lines; they could get across ideas and opinions, yet plead that they were being misinterpreted if the government came calling. With *glasnost*, however, the newspapers are beginning to write about bureaucratic blunders, nepotism, shortages, poor housing, corruption. The language in the press is not just more colorful, but more explicit than it used to be. Terms like "Mafia" are applied by *Izvestia* to the bureaucracies. Questions are raised about Afghanistan, such as how society could be protected against further such blunders.

But what the Americans gathered at Austin found especially striking was the admission that the Soviet economic system had to be radically changed.

For example, the failure of collective farms to meet quotas is no longer being disguised. The collectives will have to give way, it was said, to private ownership, generally by families. Perhaps even more astounding was the statement that private operation and ownership of large sections of industry were necessary in the public interest. This revelation was accompanied by the statement that the government was already exploring the authorization of stocks and bonds as an integral part of the privatization of industry.

"We've been questioning all the things that are basic to our society," said Georgi Arbatov, chairman of the Soviet delegation and head of the influential Institute of

US and Canadian Studies. "I personally have been surprised at the extent of Gorbachev's impact on Soviet society. We are acquiring a new image of ourselves. We are able to look squarely at our inadequacies, having become the victims of our own excesses and formulations. We are able to talk freely about the sufferings and injustices we have had to endure."

One of the most interesting aspects of the discussion was a change in semantics. At earlier conferences, when Americans referred to "democracy," they were thinking of free elections, free press, free speech, freedom of worship, and the other options that go with an open political system. The Russians would also use the word "democracy," but they were thinking of an economic system that would protect them against unemployment, hunger, and medical bills. At the Texas conference, when the Russians spoke of democratization there was no question in anyone's mind they meant political freedom.

"After a thousand years under czarism and dictatorship, we know it will not be easy, and we know it will not happen overnight," said Vitaly Zhurkin, director of the Institute of Western Europe of the USSR Academy of Sciences. "We also know that the changes will be resisted up and down the line by all those who have a stake in perpetuating the old system. Do not make the mistake of thinking that Gorbachev can bring about democracy by simply issuing some decrees. It will take time and it will be difficult, but Gorbachev's aim is nothing less than a complete redesign and restructure of our society."

"Surely you can't be saying that the world is witnessing another Russian revolution?" asked Robert Lundeen, former chairman of the board of Dow Chemical.

"That is exactly what I am saying," Mr. Zhurkin replied. "There is no other word to describe it, but it is a bloodless revolution, for which we can all be thankful. And we are just at the beginning. We have to create new institutions and they have to fit our special needs. De Tocqueville's classic, 'Democracy in America,' published more than a century ago, provides valuable guidance for us. He says in that book that in a true democracy all the elements of the society have to be properly represented. That makes good sense to us."

I tried to keep from gasping out loud. Here I was, deep in the heart of Texas, listening to a prominent Russian cite perhaps the most widely accepted analysis of American institutions, and he was using the reference as an aspiration for his own country.

As I listened to the Soviet participants speak of their "bloodless" revolution, especially the references to oppressive bureaucracy, it seemed to me that something was missing. I decided to put it to them: "Much has been said here about the sins of the bureaucrats, but these bureaucrats don't operate in a vacuum. What is the source of their power if not the Communist Party? Would any of the long list of abuses against the people of your country have been possible if they hadn't been sanctioned by the Communist Party?"

OCT 10 1988

Memorandum

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** October 5, 1988  
**to** George Gruen  
**from** Ron Kronish  
**subject**

Enclosed is an article from last Thursday's Jerusalem Post regarding Kessar's views on the hearings which are coming up in November.

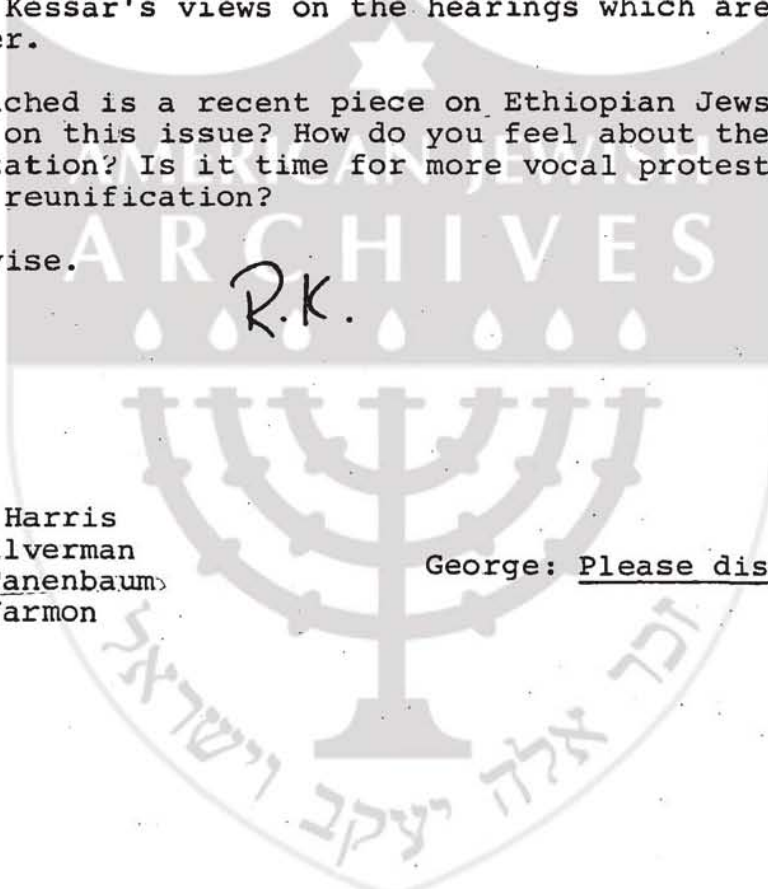
Also, attached is a recent piece on Ethiopian Jews. Where does AJC stand on this issue? How do you feel about the AAJE as an organization? Is it time for more vocal protest on behalf of family reunification?

Please advise.

R.K.

cc: David Harris  
Ira Silverman  
Marc Tanenbaum  
Mort Yarmon

George: Please distribute NY



## ECONOMIC & BUSINESS FEATURES

# Kessar criticizes U.S. probe on treatment of Arab workers

By **JEFF BLACK**  
Post Labour Reporter

Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar yesterday attacked the U.S. special trade representative's decision last month to investigate complaints by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) of Israeli mistreatment of Palestinian workers. If the complaints are borne out, the U.S. will re-evaluate Israel's duty-free trade privileges.

At a meeting at Histadrut headquarters in Tel Aviv with the U.S. Embassy's charge d'affaires Arthur Hughes and the embassy's labour

attache Richard Booth, Kessar expressed the Histadrut's displeasure at the decision. He said the ADC's allegations should have been checked first with the Histadrut and other official Israeli sources in the labour field.

The labour federation leader stressed to the U.S. officials that the Histadrut was doing all it could to ensure equality for Arab workers in Israel. Kessar added that the recent clampdown on Palestinian trade unions in the West Bank was based on security considerations.

The Americans told Kessar that

the decision of Special Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter to investigate the ADC's complaints implied no judgment about the merits of the petition.

The petition will be heard in November. If it is successful, Israel could be denied special access to the U.S. market, though U.S. officials have said it was very unlikely Israel would be punished.

The ADC petition charged that Israel routinely harassed, arrested and detained Palestinian union activists, and barred Palestinian workers from staying overnight in Israel.



# Ethiopian Jews: Divided efforts to rescue a community

Charles Hoffman  
Post Jewish Affairs Editor

THE AMERICAN Jewish establishment tends to oppose conducting a noisy campaign for the rescue of Ethiopian Jews. Nevertheless, a grass-roots effort has begun to make the American Jewish community aware of their plight and to put pressure on Washington to use its clout to help the cause.

"Most American Jews know very little or nothing about Ethiopian Jews," said the director of the American Association for Ethiopian Jewry (AAEJ), Will Recant. "Most people believe they all got out four years ago during Operation Moses. Not enough has been done to inform the Jewish community and the public about the problem of divided families."

The AAEJ, based in Washington, is one of the few American Jewish organizations that favours the circulation of a mass petition calling on the Ethiopian government to permit the Jews there to reunite with members of their families who have left the country. In practice this means letting them come to Israel. Another body that is pushing the petition is the American Rabbinic Network for Ethiopian Jewry, which maintains contact with the rabbis of the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements.

The head of the Jewish Agency Aliya Department, Uri Gordon, warned recently that the "Jewish

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community in Ethiopia is in real physical danger from the fighting and upheaval there and faces possible disappearance. There is great pressure on the community now." He said that some 13,000 Jews are still in Ethiopia, and that 15,000 are now in Israel.

The head of the Ethiopian Student Association, Shlomo Mula, asked, "How can we go on here, with so many husbands separated from wives, wives separated from husbands, and children separated from parents?" There are over 1,100 children here who have either one or both parents in Ethiopia, and another 700 both of whose parents are dead. Most of these children are still

THE AAEJ, according to Recant, has been circulating the petition since July, and has so far collected 15,000 signatures. The AAEJ, however, cannot reach the masses of Jews who are connected with the major organizations.

A group of major American Jewish organizations, meeting under the auspices of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC; pronounced "nack-rack"), have been cool to the idea of a petition, fearing that it would needlessly antagonize the Ethiopian government. They also opposed the wording of the petition proposed by Wujs and the Ethiopian organizations.

The American organizations convened by NJCRAC include the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Council of Jewish Federations, the Anti-Defamation League, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), and the North American Conference on Ethiopian Jewry.

The Rabbinic Network for Ethiopian Jewry, however, has launched what appears to be the largest public campaign yet held for this cause. The campaign, called *Hinenu* (We Are Here), runs from the High Holidays to next February, and will be conducted together with the petition. The rabbinic network, which is based in Pasadena, California, is calling on rabbis to make sermons about the plight of Ethiopian Jews, and to promote a national fast day for students and young people, to be held on November 3.

During Hanukka the network wants to collect a million dollars to fund the campaign and to "help Jews in Ethiopia." The director of the network, Jane Fellman, said that the money will be donated to American organizations working on behalf of Ethiopian Jews: the AAEJ, the North American Conference on Ethiopian Jewry, and the Religious Action Centre of the Reform movement. She said that there are no plans at present to donate part of the money for relief work in Ethiopia conducted by the Joint Distribution Committee.

During the campaign, rabbis are to urge their congregants to write letters to their congressmen, calling on them to "help negotiate a family reunification programme for the Jews of Ethiopia." The campaign will culminate in February with a "Call to Conscience" in Washington, in which the results of the entire effort will be presented to Congress.

Uri Gordon stressed that "the government is making all possible efforts to reunify Ethiopian families, through international contacts and secret operations." He believes that a petition accompanied by a



Bracelets being sold by the World Union of Jewish Students as part of its recently launched 'Reunify Ethiopian Jewry' campaign. (Jaime Permut)

ties for the regime.

These mounting problems, he writes, led Mengistu to pay a secret visit to Moscow last month. "It seems that the Soviet bloc will not put an immediate stop to its Ethiopian involvement, but will gradually reduce its expenditure on military assistance. The Ethiopian government reacted to its changed situation by sending informal, non-publicized missions to Western states explaining their readiness to cooperate economically and politically by opening Ethiopia to Western investments, and the like. Actually, the Ethiopian authorities are looking desperately for a Western replacement of the reduced Soviet presence."

Aynor concludes that "this is the historic moment to mobilize Western public opinion through a well-organized petition addressed to the Ethiopian government, directed to arouse widespread interest in the plight of Ethiopian Jewry." He pro-

posed that large Jewish organizations circulate this petition, which would be presented to Ethiopian embassies and to the foreign ministries of various countries. The mounting pressure, he believes, will finally lead the Ethiopian government to be more responsive to pleas for family reunification.

He said in an interview that a rescue operation like Operation Moses, which required the cooperation of Sudan, is now impractical. "Silence on this issue is no longer necessary, or effective. It is astonishing that there has been no move by our government to arouse world public opinion. Only one thing is sure: if we do nothing, then the fate of Ethiopian Jewry will be sealed."

OTHERS, however, believe that even if it is true that Ethiopia is now more open to Western pressure on humanitarian issues, better results can be obtained through behind-the-scenes action. Some govern-

mental figures believe that efforts should now be concentrated on renewing diplomatic relations with Ethiopia, which will eventually be more beneficial for the Jews there. No one can say, though, how long "eventually" will be, and how many Jews will survive until then.

As evidence that international pressure on Ethiopia can bring results, Aynor points to the recent release of about 30 Jews, who were imprisoned for over a year for trying to leave the country. Efforts by the American government were instrumental in securing their release.

An important stage in this process was apparently a letter sent to Mengistu last December by 30 senators and 64 congressmen. In this letter they expressed "our deep concern over the plight of Ethiopian Jews. We are deeply disturbed that your government has arrested and imprisoned Jews for attempting to emigrate or helping others to emigrate."

They noted that "many Jews now wish to be reunited with their loved ones abroad. We would greatly appreciate your attention to this situation, and look forward to working with you in helping the Jews of Ethiopia and all victims of famine in your country." The latter reference is a not-so-subtle reminder that Ethiopia receives about \$350 million a year in food shipments and other aid from Western governments, most of it from the U.S.

The director of the AAEJ sees the American intervention on behalf of the Jewish prisoners as an example of the kind of action that could be undertaken on a broader scale. "I have tried to push other American Jewish organizations to do more in Washington. We would like to see greater communication between Jews and their congressmen on this issue. If constituents make their interest known, then this issue will have a higher profile in Washington. There is a Congressional Caucus on Ethiopian Jewry, but they don't hear from the American Jewish community, nor does the State Department."

He added that the AAEJ had no objection to changing the language of the petition so that it does not offend the Ethiopian government. One suggestion made has been to aim the petition at Congress, urging it to take action on behalf of Ethiopian Jews, instead of addressing it to the Ethiopians.

THE WUJS CAMPAIGN for Ethiopian Jewry also includes the sale of African-style bracelets, engraved on one side with the words "Beta Israel" (the name of the Ethiopian Jewish community), and on the other with the slogan "Reunify Ethiopian Jewry." Bracelets were used successfully in the U.S. to promote awareness of American prisoners of war in Vietnam and Prisoners of Zion in the Soviet Union.

Wujs said that "each bracelet symbolizes the struggle for family

reunification for Ethiopian Jewry, as well as being a personal reminder of a young Ethiopian in Israel who is without his or her parents."

Those who purchase a bracelet will receive the name, address, and biographical sketch of a young Ethiopian in Israel who has been separated from his or her parents, or who has been orphaned. Most of the 1,800 Ethiopian youngsters without parents in Israel are being cared for by Youth Aliya, which supplied the information about the children for the bracelet campaign. The bracelets are being distributed by Hillel on American college campuses and by the AAEJ and Canadian Association for Ethiopian Jewry.

Those who purchase the bracelets are urged to correspond with the youngsters, to tell them "that the plight of their parents has not been forgotten." Proceeds from the sale of the bracelets - \$10 for students and \$18 for others - will go to support the campaign for Ethiopian Jewry and to support the Ethiopian Jewish Students Association in Israel.

Youth Aliya agreed to cooperate with the bracelet campaign because it is concerned at the worsening psychological condition of the Ethiopian children separated from their parents.

According to a report written by Youth Aliya psychologist Gadi Ben Ezer, these children suffer from "guilt, difficulties in concentration, a constant waiting for letters (with an accompanying fear of what they will find in the letters), psychosomatic symptoms, food refusal, and even anorexia. The condition of the children has influenced the entire Ethiopian community, and has affected their adjustment to Israel.

"Reuniting the families is likely to bring more help and relief to the Ethiopian community than any professional help of social workers or psychologists. It is essential to find any way possible to end the terrible distress of these children who are crying for help."

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The head of the Ethiopian Student Association, Shlomo Mula, asked, "How can we go on here, with so many husbands separated from wives, wives separated from husbands, and children separated from parents?" There are over 1,100 children here who have either one or both parents in Ethiopia, and another 700 both of whose parents are dead. Most of these children are still showing signs of acute emotional distress, according to the Youth Aliya Department of the Jewish Agency, a condition which has a depressing effect on the entire Ethiopian community.

Mula added: "Boys, only 15 or 16 years old, are now being called up for the Ethiopian army. There is only a small chance that they will return. At this rate, in several more years there won't be any more Jews in Ethiopia to save."

Mula said he could not understand why there is "total silence on this issue from Diaspora Jews. The

**A group of major American Jewish organizations have been cool to a grass-roots petition campaign for Ethiopian Jewry, fearing it would needlessly antagonize the Ethiopian government.**

American organizations don't pay attention to what we, the Ethiopian immigrants, say. They only listen to what the [Israeli] government tells them. We believe, however, that arousing the international community can help in the fight for family reunification."

The three main Ethiopian immigrant groups - the Student Association, the Ethiopian Immigrants Association, and the Beta Israel - recently joined forces to back the petition, which is an unusual step for the fractious Ethiopian community in Israel. These bodies are working together on the petition with the World Union of Jewish Students (Wujs).

Mesfin Embaw, former head of the Ethiopian Immigrants Association, said that "we are tired of sitting and waiting for somebody else to do something. It is up to us to take responsibility for the fate of our families in Ethiopia. The condition of Ethiopian Jewry is not a secret, so why remain silent? It's time to make some noise."

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Uri Gordon stressed that "the government is making all possible efforts to reunify Ethiopian families, through international contacts and secret operations." He believes that a petition accompanied by a public campaign "will not help ongoing efforts to open the gates for Ethiopian Jews, and will even hurt. Some organizations want to make noise, but this is artificial. I commend those organizations which have decided not to join this half-baked campaign."

Nevertheless, the organizers of the petition claim that they have received what they describe as an "unofficial green light" from the foreign ministry.

Gordon also had harsh words for the Ethiopian activist organizations in the U.S., which he said "make it hard for the government to conduct its own efforts for Ethiopian Jews. Each one of these groups has its president and other officers, and they spend most of their time holding fund-raising dinners. They go to Ethiopia, visit with a few Jews, and come back to tell their stories at another dinner. They also feed off criticism of the absorption of Ethiopian Jews that appears in the press."

FOR SOME time now, the conventional wisdom has held that the Marxist regime of Mengistu Haile-Mariam has been virtually impervious to international pressure on behalf of Ethiopian Jews.

A dissenter from this viewpoint is Hanan Aynor, a retired diplomat who served for many years in Africa and was Israel's last envoy in Addis Ababa. He now works as a researcher on Israel-African relations at the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University.

Aynor recently wrote a paper explaining why Ethiopia's changing internal and external situation is making the regime more receptive to pressure from Western governments on humanitarian issues such as family reunification. He was the first to raise the idea of a petition, and his thinking has influenced others to back this effort.

He noted in his paper that along with a worsening famine, the regime has suffered severe military setbacks in the past five months. The new Soviet foreign policy initiated by Gorbachev, which calls for cutting back military commitments in Asia and Africa, is also causing difficul-



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ties for the regime.

These mounting problems, he writes, led Mengistu to pay a secret visit to Moscow last month. "It seems that the Soviet bloc will not put an immediate stop to its Ethiopian involvement, but will gradually reduce its expenditure on military assistance. The Ethiopian government reacted to its changed situation by sending informal, non-publicized missions to Western states explaining their readiness to cooperate economically and politically by opening Ethiopia to Western investments, and the like. Actually, the Ethiopian authorities are looking desperately for a Western replacement of the reduced Soviet presence."

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**ORTHODOX CANADIAN JEW  
BUYS BAKKERS' PTL EMPIRE**  
By Ben Kayfetz

TORONTO, Oct. 5 (JTA) -- An Orthodox Jew from Toronto is buying the bankrupt PTL empire of Christian television evangelists Jim and Tammy Bakker.

News that Stephen Mernick, 34, put in the winning bid of \$115 million for the PTL assets, mostly in Fort Mill, S.C., surprised the Jewish community here, where Mernick, a third-generation Torontonion, has been something of a mystery man.

The bid was disclosed by the PTL ministry at a news conference Tuesday in Charlotte, N.C., attended by Mernick's lawyers.

Mernick himself remained at home because he would not travel on Simchat Torah. He was quoted by his lawyers as saying PTL property should continue to be used for Christian purposes.

It includes a television studio, the Heritage USA theme park, a campground, a church and private housing. PTL's debts exceed \$130 million.

If the creditors and U.S. bankruptcy court support the recommendations of trustee M.L. Benton, Mernick must come up with \$50 million by Dec. 1, when the deal is closed. The balance is payable in annual installments until 1993.

Mernick's businesses in Canada are real estate, a travel agency, garbage collection, clothing and waste recycling. They are said to have annual sales of \$5 million.

Six months ago, Mernick successfully bid \$100 million for the Firestone tire plant in Hamilton, Ont. It has ceased producing tires and Mernick apparently intends to sell off its assets.

Mernick is a member of the Clanton Park Synagogue, an Orthodox congregation in the Toronto suburb of Downsview. He wears a beard and has appeared on television in the black cloak and black felt hat of an ultra-Orthodox Jew.

At the news conference in Charlotte, his lawyers read a statement in which Mernick said: "While I am not a Christian, I have a great deal of respect for the depth of the religious feeling of the many thousands of Christians who have supported the Heritage Ministries over the years."

According to some observers, that statement might indicate that Mernick is inviting bidders to lease or purchase the property for Christian purposes.

But his lawyers told the Toronto Globe & Mail that Mernick has not decided what to do with the property.

The PTL filed for protection against creditors in June 1987, three months after Bakker resigned the ministry after admitting to a sexual encounter with a young church secretary.

**LATE BAVARIAN PRIME MINISTER  
WAS PROPONENT OF ARMS TO ARABS**  
By David Kantor

BONN, Oct. 5 (JTA) -- Franz-Josef Strauss, the prime minister of Bavaria, who died of a heart attack Saturday at age 73, was a strong advocate of close military cooperation between West Germany and Israel.

But he was also, in recent years, a powerful proponent of the sale of sophisticated West German weaponry to Arab states officially at war with Israel, notably Saudi Arabia.

Strauss headed the ultraconservative Christian Social Union, a party indigenous to Bavaria

but influential in national politics.

As defense minister during the late 1950s, Strauss was responsible for developing a military relationship between Israel and the Federal Republic.

Under his leadership, Bonn became an important arms supplier of the Jewish state, despite Israelis' fresh memories of the Holocaust.

Strauss also became a close partner and personal friend of Shimon Peres, the Labor Party leader, when he was a rising star in Israel's defense establishment, eventually becoming minister of defense.

But by the 1960s, West Germany, under intense Arab pressure was obliged to abandon its arms shipments to Israel.

In the '70s and '80s, Strauss became acutely critical of Israel's retention of the Arab territories it captured in the 1967 Six-Day War. He remained fully committed, however, to secure borders for the Jewish state.

Nevertheless, Strauss openly challenged Bonn's policy of limiting arms sales to Arab countries. He personally pledged massive shipments of tanks and other equipment to Saudi Arabia and other Middle East states.

Strauss served as an artillery officer in the German army in France and on the Russian front in World War II, until he was invalidated out of service. He was cleared of Nazi affiliations by the Allies after the war.

In later years, he successfully brought libel suits against West German magazines that accused him of having been a Nazi.

**YOUTH CHARGED WITH VANDALISM  
OF SHUL TO BE TRIED AS ADULT**

NEW YORK, Oct. 4 (JTA) -- A 15-year-old youth, one of two accused of vandalizing and burning a Brooklyn synagogue last month, will be tried as an adult, it was announced here Monday.

This means that the suspect, Louis Franceschi, who has been indicted by a grand jury, will stand trial in state Supreme Court, instead of Family Court, where juveniles are normally tried.

He also will face more severe punishment if convicted.

Franceschi was arraigned in Supreme Court on Monday. He is charged with second-degree burglary, second-degree criminal mischief and first-degree reckless endangerment, all felonies, and with two misdemeanors.

Franceschi pleaded not guilty and was ordered held on \$10,000 bail by Justice Richard Goldberg.

The indictment charges that on the night of Sept. 16, during the period between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, Franceschi and a companion broke into Congregation Rabbinical Institute Sharai Torah, an Orthodox synagogue in the Midwood section of Brooklyn.

They spray-painted swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti, removed the congregation's Torahs from the ark and set them on fire.

Franceschi's 11-year-old companion was not identified because of his age. His case will be heard in Family Court.

If found guilty of the burglary charge, Franceschi could be sentenced to between 28 months and seven years in prison.

Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman, who announced the indictment, warned that "crimes of hatred or bigotry of any kind must be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."



# U.S. Intelligence Officials Now Suspect PLO May Hold Some American Hostages

By JOHN WALCOTT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Some U.S. officials now suspect the Palestine Liberation Organization, not Iran, played a leading role in the release this week of an Indian hostage in Lebanon.

While the officials concede that clever disinformation could be throwing them off the track, they theorize from largely circumstantial evidence that the PLO may recently have taken custody of Mithileswar Singh, the Indian educator who was released, and three Americans who were kidnapped with him on Jan. 24, 1987 by Iranian-backed Shiite terrorists in Beirut.

These officials, who asked that their names not be used, and a senior State Department official say the U.S. continues to believe Iran has influence over whoever is holding Mr. Singh's three companions, Americans Robert Polhill, Alann Steen and Jesse Turner. Intelligence officials believe three other small terrorist cells, which are thought to be holding six more Americans, are more firmly allied with Iran.

## Visa Connection?

If the PLO has entered the hostage affair, U.S. officials say, it is probably because its leader Yasser Arafat, who is seeking a visa to visit the U.S., wants to arrange a quick release of the three Americans to reap the public-relations benefits. But that might not be easy. A State Department official told reporters yesterday in West Germany there aren't any signs that any Americans will be freed soon.

U.S. officials base their theory that the PLO may currently control the hostages on a variety of signs. From the start, the kidnappings 21 months ago of Messrs. Polhill, Singh, Steen and Turner, all professors at Beirut University College, haven't fit the pattern of Iranian-sponsored terrorism in Lebanon, senior U.S. officials note. And four recent communiqués from Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine, the group claiming to hold the four, were strikingly different from hostage statements issued by Shiite fundamentalists.

Intelligence sources say the recent communiqués are written in much better Arabic than the Lebanese Shiite terrorists use. The new communiqués also are more conciliatory than earlier messages, none contain fundamentalist rhetoric and all seek only U.S. support for the Palestinian cause in exchange for the hostages' release, American analysts say.

## Tell-Tale Drink

In addition, one sharp-eyed expert noticed that a new photograph of Mr. Singh and the three Americans showed them drinking tea. A Middle Eastern analyst says Lebanese usually drink coffee at such occasions; Palestinians drink tea.

In addition, intelligence sources said although there have been extensive recent discussions between Iranian leaders and Lebanese terrorists about releasing hostages held by other Lebanese terrorist cells, there apparently has been little contact between Tehran and Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine.

The hard-line leaders in Tehran who midwived the creation of the pro-Iranian terror in Lebanon appear to be losing ground, and Iranian financial and political support for fundamentalist groups in Lebanon is beginning to dwindle, U.S. and European officials believe. As a result, they say, groups such as the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine may have begun looking for new patrons.

"There is a strong Palestinian hand in

this," says one U.S. official. "They probably got into it to get some favorable publicity by arranging the hostages' release, but they've gotten themselves in the middle of the hostage-holding business."

## Worked for PLO

It has never been widely known, but some Shiite terrorists holding Americans hostage formerly worked for a PLO terror group called Force 17, U.S. analysts say. In 1986, U.S. and Israeli intelligence analysts believe, the PLO and Lebanese terrorist Imad Mugnyah, who is believed to be holding Americans Terry Anderson and Thomas Sutherland, conspired to kidnap two Cypriot students, then give Mr. Arafat credit for securing their release.

U.S. officials concede the possibility that the Shiite terrorists, who long have conducted a vigorous disinformation campaign to keep their hostages' whereabouts secret, are manufacturing the evidence of Palestinian involvement.

But if debriefings of Mr. Singh buttress the suspicion that the PLO is holding Americans, the news could doom Mr. Arafat's chances of getting a U.S. visa to address the United Nations this fall and torpedo whatever chance exists for the U.S. to revive Arab-Israeli peace negotiations.

M. 7.



**ORTHODOX CANADIAN JEW  
BUYS BAKKERS' PTL EMPIRE**  
By Ben Kayfetz

TORONTO, Oct. 5 (JTA) -- An Orthodox Jew from Toronto is buying the bankrupt PTL empire of Christian television evangelists Jim and Tammy Bakker.

News that Stephen Mernick, 34, put in the winning bid of \$115 million for the PTL assets, mostly in Fort Mill, S.C., surprised the Jewish community here, where Mernick, a third-generation Torontonion, has been something of a mystery man.

The bid was disclosed by the PTL ministry at a news conference Tuesday in Charlotte, N.C., attended by Mernick's lawyers.

Mernick himself remained at home because he would not travel on Simchat Torah. He was quoted by his lawyers as saying PTL property should continue to be used for Christian purposes.

It includes a television studio, the Heritage USA theme park, a campground, a church and private housing. PTL's debts exceed \$130 million.

If the creditors and U.S. bankruptcy court support the recommendations of trustee M.L. Benton, Mernick must come up with \$50 million by Dec. 1, when the deal is closed. The balance is payable in annual installments until 1993.

Mernick's businesses in Canada are real estate, a travel agency, garbage collection, clothing and waste recycling. They are said to have annual sales of \$5 million.

Six months ago, Mernick successfully bid \$100 million for the Firestone tire plant in Hamilton, Ont. It has ceased producing tires and Mernick apparently intends to sell off its assets.

Mernick is a member of the Clanton Park Synagogue, an Orthodox congregation in the Toronto suburb of Downsview. He wears a beard and has appeared on television in the black cloak and black felt hat of an ultra-Orthodox Jew.

At the news conference in Charlotte, his lawyers read a statement in which Mernick said: "While I am not a Christian, I have a great deal of respect for the depth of the religious feeling of the many thousands of Christians who have supported the Heritage Ministries over the years."

According to some observers, that statement might indicate that Mernick is inviting bidders to lease or purchase the property for Christian purposes.

But his lawyers told the Toronto Globe & Mail that Mernick has not decided what to do with the property.

The PTL filed for protection against creditors in June 1987, three months after Bakker resigned the ministry after admitting to a sexual encounter with a young church secretary.

**LATE BAVARIAN PRIME MINISTER  
WAS PROPONENT OF ARMS TO ARABS**  
By David Kantor

BONN, Oct. 5 (JTA) -- Franz-Josef Strauss, the prime minister of Bavaria, who died of a heart attack Saturday at age 73, was a strong advocate of close military cooperation between West Germany and Israel.

But he was also, in recent years, a powerful proponent of the sale of sophisticated West German weaponry to Arab states officially at war with Israel, notably Saudi Arabia.

Strauss headed the ultraconservative Christian Social Union, a party indigenous to Bavaria

but influential in national politics.

As defense minister during the late 1950s, Strauss was responsible for developing a military relationship between Israel and the Federal Republic.

Under his leadership, Bonn became an important arms supplier of the Jewish state, despite Israelis' fresh memories of the Holocaust.

Strauss also became a close partner and personal friend of Shimon Peres, the Labor Party leader, when he was a rising star in Israel's defense establishment, eventually becoming minister of defense.

But by the 1960s, West Germany, under intense Arab pressure was obliged to abandon its arms shipments to Israel.

In the '70s and '80s, Strauss became acutely critical of Israel's retention of the Arab territories it captured in the 1967 Six-Day War. He remained fully committed, however, to secure borders for the Jewish state.

Nevertheless, Strauss openly challenged Bonn's policy of limiting arms sales to Arab countries. He personally pledged massive shipments of tanks and other equipment to Saudi Arabia and other Middle East states.

Strauss served as an artillery officer in the German army in France and on the Russian front in World War II, until he was invalidated out of service. He was cleared of Nazi affiliations by the Allies after the war.

In later years, he successfully brought libel suits against West German magazines that accused him of having been a Nazi.

**YOUTH CHARGED WITH VANDALISM  
OF SHUL TO BE TRIED AS ADULT**

NEW YORK, Oct. 4 (JTA) -- A 15-year-old youth, one of two accused of vandalizing and burning a Brooklyn synagogue last month, will be tried as an adult, it was announced here Monday.

This means that the suspect, Louis Franceschi, who has been indicted by a grand jury, will stand trial in state Supreme Court, instead of Family Court, where juveniles are normally tried.

He also will face more severe punishment if convicted.

Franceschi was arraigned in Supreme Court on Monday. He is charged with second-degree burglary, second-degree criminal mischief and first-degree reckless endangerment, all felonies, and with two misdemeanors.

Franceschi pleaded not guilty and was ordered held on \$10,000 bail by Justice Richard Goldberg.

The indictment charges that on the night of Sept. 16, during the period between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, Franceschi and a companion broke into Congregation Rabbinical Institute Sharai Torah, an Orthodox synagogue in the Midwood section of Brooklyn.

They spray-painted swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti, removed the congregation's Torahs from the ark and set them on fire.

Franceschi's 11-year-old companion was not identified because of his age. His case will be heard in Family Court.

If found guilty of the burglary charge, Franceschi could be sentenced to between 28 months and seven years in prison.

Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman, who announced the indictment, warned that "crimes of hatred or bigotry of any kind must be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law."

# U.S. Intelligence Officials Now Suspect PLO May Hold Some American Hostages

By JOHN WALCOTT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Some U.S. officials now suspect the Palestine Liberation Organization, not Iran, played a leading role in the release this week of an Indian hostage in Lebanon.

While the officials concede that clever disinformation could be throwing them off the track, they theorize from largely circumstantial evidence that the PLO may recently have taken custody of Mithileswar Singh, the Indian educator who was released, and three Americans who were kidnapped with him on Jan. 24, 1987 by Iranian-backed Shiite terrorists in Beirut.

These officials, who asked that their names not be used, and a senior State Department official say the U.S. continues to believe Iran has influence over whoever is holding Mr. Singh's three companions, Americans Robert Polhill, Alann Steen and Jesse Turner. Intelligence officials believe three other small terrorist cells, which are thought to be holding six more Americans, are more firmly allied with Iran.

## Visa Connection?

If the PLO has entered the hostage affair, U.S. officials say, it is probably because its leader Yasser Arafat, who is seeking a visa to visit the U.S., wants to arrange a quick release of the three Americans to reap the public-relations benefits. But that might not be easy. A State Department official told reporters yesterday in West Germany there aren't any signs that any Americans will be freed soon.

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The hard-line leaders in Tehran who midwived the creation of the pro-Iranian terror in Lebanon appear to be losing ground, and Iranian financial and political support for fundamentalist groups in Lebanon is beginning to dwindle, U.S. and European officials believe. As a result, they say, groups such as the Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine may have begun looking for new patrons.

"There is a strong Palestinian hand in

this," says one U.S. official. "They probably got into it to get some favorable publicity by arranging the hostages' release, but they've gotten themselves in the middle of the hostage-holding business."

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M. 7.



# Just a reminder.....



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165 East 56 Street  
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**John Slawson**

Date:

To: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

This is to confirm your interview with BARRY GRAY  
regarding all the subjects you've ever discussed with him  
plus caller questions

Date of interview: October 6, 1988 - Wednesday

Time of interview: 2:00pm - 3:00pm

Place of interview: WMCA STUDIOS 888 Seventh Ave, 3rd floor  
entrance in courtyard from  
57th street above Hickory  
House Coffee Shop.

Please let me know if there is anything else I can do.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

*Haina*

Haina Just  
Coordinator of  
Broadcast Relations

HJ:ir

586-5700

*Evelyn Mellon*

From **Sir Sigmund Sternberg** KCSG JP

Star House Grafton Road London NW5 4BD Telephone 01-485 2538

---

To: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

Date: 10.6.88

Enclosures:

Speech delivered at Venezuelan Embassy, 7.6.88.

Article from Jewish Chronicle, 10.6.88, for your interest.

- for information
- for return
- for retention
- action needed
- please phone
- as agreed
- ref. your letter

With Compliments

JEWISH CHRONICLE

10th June 1988

## Inter-faith medallion

From a Correspondent  
New York

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, the American Jewish Committee's director of international relations, has been awarded the inter-faith medallion of the International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCJ).

The medallion was presented in New York by Sir Sigmund Sternberg, the chairman of the ICCJ's executive committee, and honorary treasurer of the Council of Christians and Jews in Britain.

Since December, Rabbi Tanenbaum has been chairman of the International Jewish Committee for Inter-religious Consultations (IJCIC), which coordinates relations between major Jewish groups and the Vatican, the World Council of Churches and other international religious bodies.

He was one of the nine-member delegation of IJCIC leaders who met Pope John Paul II and Vatican officials last summer.

May 11-15, 1988





**The American Jewish  
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165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022 2746  
212 751-4000. FAX: 212 319-0975

PERSONAL

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**John Stawson**

October 11, 1988

Mr. Eugene Winnick  
McIntosh and Otis  
30 East 42nd Street - Room 607  
New York, NY 10017

Dear Gene,

I probably shouldn't do this, but my need to try to get some closure on a long-standing frustration overwhelms better judgment.

Once I get the Vatican book under my belt, I am going to consider taking on a professorship in the CUNY system which is being offered to me next year. In preparation for that, I've had to prepare a comprehensive curriculum vitae.

Within that c.v., I have pulled together the titles of all the articles, essays, monographs, etc., that I have written in recent years on a variety of subjects.

I have been wanting for some time to publish a collection of the better stuff I have written dealing with a range of my interests.

So I've got two questions: (1) when you get a chance, would you look over that list of titles and let me know if they look interesting as a possible book; and (2) what kind of publishers are there who might be interested in such a collection?

I know that publishers generally are not eager to issue anthologies or collections, but I also have seen enough of such genre to know that they are done. My motive, frankly, is that with all the lecturing I do, people are constantly asking me, "Can we buy one of your books?" Until the Vatican and The Story of Jewish-Christian Relations are completed and published, this could be a useful interim volume. Besides, after 35 years of working in this field, I'd like to get all this stuff together in a single package.

What do you think?

Best!

Marc H. Tanenbaum

MHT:RPR  
Enclosures

PERSONAL

Dr. Ernest Schwartz, Dean  
School of Jewish Studies (exact title)  
Queens College  
.... ..Kissena Boulevard  
Flushing, Queens, New York

Dear Ernest,

I saw a videotape of your People-to-People program over WCBS-TV last Saturday evening, and I must tell you how impressed I was with its contents. It is one of the most constructive ideas I have yet seen for promoting Black-Jewish understanding, and I congratulate you for your achievement.

Some of the comments were an especially gratifying personal tribute to you which you richly deserve. A hearty yeyasher koach! (I tried to reach you by telephone on Sunday, but there was no answer.)

My other purpose in writing to you now is to tell you that I have been able to complete the curriculum vitae that you had requested some time ago. It is still in draft form, and I submit it to you in this way in order to welcome your reactions, suggestions for any modifications, et cetera.

As of January 1989, I will be retiring from my present "bureaucratic" position, and will become the "international consultant" of AJC, continuing to supervise certain special projects in which I have particular interests.

I have also signed a two-book contract with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, and will devote my next year intensively to writing a study of Vatican foreign policy, with special reference to Jews and Israel. (My second book will be a History of Jewish-Christian relations.)

In that context, I am now interested in pursuing the possibilities of a professorship within the CUNY ~~xxxx~~ system which we have been discussing. The c.v. is intended as my first demarche in that direction.

As soon as you are free, I would be eager to have lunch with you in order to have the benefit of your advice as to how best to proceed.

With warmest good wishes to you and Marta, I am,

Cordially, as ever,

MHT, D  
IR



Mr. Eugene Winnick  
McIntosh and Otis

PERSONAL

....  
New York, N. Y.

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National Executive Council

**Bertram H. Gold**

**John Slawson**

October 12, 1988

Mrs. Edith B. Everett  
150 East 69th Street - Suite 28K  
New York, NY 10021

Dear Edith,

Having found a clearing in the midst of all the emergencies and crises, I have finally been able to complete the curriculum vitae that you had requested some time ago. It is still in draft form, and I submit to you in this way in order to welcome your reactions, suggestions for any modifications, et cetera.

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With warmest good wishes, I am,

Cordially, as ever,

Marc H. Tanenbaum  
Director  
International Relations

MHT:RPR

CONSULAT GENERAL DE FRANCE  
A NEW YORK

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE

934 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021  
TEL.: (212) 535-0100

NEW YORK, Le 13 octobre 1988

Dear Mr. TANENBAUM,

Thank you very much for your letter and all the details you gave me on the situation of the brother of M. Barry H. LALO.

I have forwarded both your letter and that of M. LALO to the appropriate service in Paris. I am sure they will do their best to help finding a solution to your friend's problem.

As any country sensitive to human rights, France has always done its best to assure that these are respected.

Sincerely yours,



A. GADAUD  
Consul General

Rabbi Marc H. TANENBAUM  
Director  
International Relations  
165 East 56th street  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022-2746

Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards

Dr. Solomon S. Bernards  
Ruth S. Bernards  
70 East 10th Street, Apt. 16V  
New York, NY 10003

10-21-88

DEAR MARC -

I NOTICED IN THE AUC  
RELEASE I RECEIVED TODAY  
THAT YOU ARE ABOUT  
TO JOIN THE RANKS OF  
RETIRES -

BLISS TO YOU FOR MANY  
ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN OUR  
MUTUALLY EMBRACED  
FIELD OF INTEREST AND  
CONCERN -

STAY IN GOOD

Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards

---

---

2

HEALTH, AND IF YOU  
NEED ADVICE AS A RETIREE,  
FEEL FREE TO CALL  
UP ON ME —

ALL THE BEST,



S.S.B.

M.T.

# Israel Bans Showing Of 'Last Temptation'

10.22.98

12/11

By Nancie L. Katz  
Newsday Special Correspondent

JERUSALEM

**I**SRAEL SAID IT BANNED the "Last Temptation of Christ" so as not to offend its minority Christians. But the loudest shouts of approval came from evangelical activists here, who raise millions of dollars a year from abroad for the Jewish state.

The country's film and theater censorship board decided Monday to ban the controversial movie — making Israel the first nation to do so despite widespread demonstrations in the West over Martin Scorsese's emotional portrayal of Jesus Christ.

Board chairman Yehoshua Justman denied the decision was made under political pressure.

Nevertheless, the move underscores a powerful foreign lobby in Israel — fundamentalist Christians — who have been outspoken supporters of the Jewish state both in deed and money. The so-called Christian Zionists believe the Holy Land belongs to Jews, citing biblical passages of God's promise to Abraham.

Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, which runs "Family Channel," has a regional office in Jerusalem. He and preacher Jimmy Swaggart recently paid visits to the Jewish state. Billy Graham, an acquaintance of former prime ministers here, once made a pro-Israeli film for distribution. And the International Christian Embassy, the largest Christian Zionist institution in Israel, regularly sends representatives abroad to garner monetary support for the country, bringing in, a spokesman said, about \$1 million annually.

During a year in which international support for Israel and tourism has plummeted due to the 10-month Palestinian uprising, fundamentalist Christians abroad have spoken up for the Jewish state and sponsored programs luring thousands of evangelical visitors.

"This decision has put Israel in a tremendous light," said Jon Willem van der Hoeven, spokes-

The decision underscores a powerful foreign lobby in Israel — fundamentalist Christians — who have been outspoken supporters of the Jewish state.

man for the embassy. "Israel has more respect for Christians than gentile Christian nations. The outcome will be an enormous positive feeling by millions of Christians toward Israel."

Van der Hoeven described the film as a "blasphemous, grotesque caricature" of Christ, saying it pained "Christians in the heart of Christianity."

The film depicts Jesus as torn between human feelings and his divine nature. Among its most controversial scenes is that of a crucified Jesus dreaming of making love to Mary Magdalene. Its screening in western countries provoked protests by thousands of Christians. But no other nation, including Italy, barred the film from distribution.

"They try to be more holy than the pope and I can't understand why," complained Amnon Globus, director of Golan-Globus-Canon, the film's local distributor. "We're going to appeal the decision and if they will not change their minds, we shall take them to the courts."

There are some 100,000 Christians living in Israel, the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and in Jerusalem. The religious affairs ministry, whose director of Christian affairs sits on the censorship board, reported receiving complaints from numerous denominations in Israel, including the Greek Orthodox, Latin and Armenian Patriarchs. / II



**INTERNATIONAL  
RESCUE  
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MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

OCTOBER 24, 1988

Present for Committee: Mmes. Blinken, Levenstein, O'Neill, Smithies; Messrs. Cherne, Hamburg, Hammer, Olmer, Rhodes, Root, Sherwin, Sternberg, C. Tanenbaum, M. Tanenbaum, Weiner, Weiss, Wiesner.

Present by Proxy: Mrs. Thaw; Messrs. Fitelson, Lyon.

Guest: Nancy Starr.

Present for Staff: Mss. Katel, Stark; Messrs. Bronstein, DeVecchi, Kastner, Williams.

The meeting was opened at 3:50 p.m., at the IRC office, by Dusty Rhodes, Acting Chairman of the Executive Committee. The minutes of the September 19 meeting were approved as circulated. Mr. Rhodes welcomed two new members: Catherine O'Neill and Marc H. Tanenbaum.

Extended Pension Plan. Dick Hammer, Chairman of the Finance Committee, distributed the proposal to expand the pension plan - prepared by Carel Sternberg - to the Executive Committee. Although there are still some unresolved issues, the Finance Committee has approved the proposal in principle. Mr. Sternberg pointed out the four staff categories involved, noting that one of the legal issues involves scope of coverage. If the proposal is approved in principle, but exceeds the estimated cost to management (\$120,000, based on 6% of payroll), it would have to be reconsidered.

The Executive Committee extensively discussed the issues: cost, possible discriminatory aspects, legal, budgetary, union and equity factors. Oren Root stressed the need to have a detailed plan in writing for examination prior to making a decision -- there are several elements that still need clarification. He recommended a more detailed report from the Finance Committee and a legal opinion from Anne Crawford. Mr. Hammer concurred with the consensus that was expressed -- when the pending issues are resolved, a revised proposal will be submitted to the Executive Committee for decision.

Fund Raising. Al Kastner summarized the nine-month fund raising report (January-September) distributed to the Executive Committee: a \$336,000 decrease in U.S. income resulted primarily from a sharp drop in bequests -- from \$550,000 in 1987 to \$86,000 this year. On the positive side, there were substantial increases in foundation grants and direct mail. We will have to raise \$1,073,000 during the last quarter to meet the 1988 budgeted goal of \$3,000,000. A problem will be compensating for the \$265,000 raised during the last quarter of 1987 from the

Freedom Award Dinner honoring John Whitehead. Bob DeVecchi noted that we expect to receive a grant amounting to \$80,000-\$90,000 before the end of the year from the Ford Foundation in support of the Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees. Also, we have just received \$50,000 of an anticipated \$100,000 contribution from a new donor to assist newly arriving refugees sponsored for resettlement by IRC who have special education needs.

Financial Update. Bob DeVecchi reported that, through August, about \$14,000,000 (some 70%) of the \$20,000,000 budgeted expenses for 1988 had been spent. The deficit that exists now should be brought down to about \$200,000 by the year's end -- we might even be able to bring the budget into balance. In response to questions, Bob and Roy Williams said they would work toward even more complete reports on program expenditures for advance distribution to the Executive Committee. Leo Cherne said it was important for our members to have reports in advance of meetings for more reasonable discussions. Mr. Cherne noted that he had written to all IRC directors requesting their financial support. He has invited Michael Blumenthal, the Chairman of UNISYS, to the annual meeting next month -- he hopes to involve him in IRC affairs, in addition to his role as Dinner Chairman of the Freedom Award Dinner next April. A growing xenophobic climate is affecting both our private funding and government financial support, and we will have to do everything possible to counter this trend.

Europe. Bob DeVecchi reported on the recent meeting in Rome with the directors of all IRC European offices. A major problem facing us in Europe is the sharp cut-back of State Department funding -- the European budget this year was \$2½ million, of which \$2 million was funded by the State Department. The financial picture for next year is uncertain, except that funds will be scarcer, but the decision was for IRC to carry on, with belts tightened. The IRC European directors - from Marcel Faust, the oldest, in Vienna, to Linda Pell, in Munich, the youngest - are committed and extremely competent people. We cannot retreat from our commitment to refugees from the Soviet Union, East Europe in particular, but we must be prudent about the future in view of the financial problems.

Citizens Commission on Afghan Refugees. Roy Williams reported on the Commission's second trip to Pakistan and Geneva, headed by Dr. James Strickler. Among their activities in Pakistan was a meeting with Afghan mujahadeen commanders, who considered the highly publicized Soviet contribution to the relief effort as reparations, rather than a reconstruction gift. A major problem relating to the return of the refugees to Afghanistan will be the millions of plastic mines strewn around the countryside. A British colonel has identified 20 types of mines, most made of plastic, not detectable by metal detectors. No real movement back to Afghanistan was expected until next Spring. In Geneva, the Commission met again with Sadruddin Aga Khan, the U.N. Coordinator, who reported that his office is far short of its goal for funds. The Commission will soon prepare and distribute its report. Lionel Olmer, Chairman of the Commission, noted that Dr. Strickler, Tom Gouttierre and he met with John Whitehead and other government officials prior to the recent trip and he hopes that after the November elections further briefings will be held in Washington D.C. A problem may have to be faced regarding the acceptance of State Department funds for the Commission's work, and yet maintaining its independence. It may well be that the Commission's recommendations will put the Commission at odds with U.S. government policy.

Freedom Award Dinner. Leo Cherne reported on a meeting he had with Sadruddin Aga Khan, who completely supported the postponement of the Freedom Award Dinner.



from December 5 to next April 27. By the time the dinner takes place there may be some movement of refugees back to Pakistan, which will add meaning to the event. Unfortunately, about a week after the IRC dinner, there will be another one for the Afghans at the Plaza, more of a social than a serious event, sponsored by the Afghan Relief Committee in which Frank Kellogg is involved. Sadruddin made it clear that he will not be involved in that event.

Pooled Income Fund. Jim Sherwin and Nancy Starr briefed the Executive Committee on a meeting with a Vice-President of the Connecticut Bank and Trust Company, the Trustees for the Pooled Income Fund which will be offered to contributors over 55 years of age. Designated beneficiaries will also have to be over 55. The IRS, which has approved of the plans we submitted to them, will allow a substantial tax deduction for contributions to the Fund. The front end cost will be modest, and the Bank has an excellent record of paying a return of about 9% a year to the donors. Al Kastner noted that the Executive Committee had already officially approved the establishment of a Pooled Income Fund.

New Business. Bob DeVecchi called attention to the following developments. The situation in El Salvador has seriously deteriorated and we need to carry out our commitment to review the program; Roy Williams will be in El Salvador in a few weeks and this should be followed by a second trip of the Commission that went there last July. An excellent article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch about Barbara Smith, a nurse who had worked for IRC in Africa and Asia, is being distributed to all Board members. In Hong Kong, we are completing the closing of our day nurseries and looking into the possibility of assisting Vietnamese refugees there who are living under brutal conditions. Marc Tanenbaum spoke on the growing "compassion fatigue" toward refugees. This is quite different from the 1978-1980 period when there was so great an outpouring of public sympathy and support for Vietnamese boat people and Cambodians. Perhaps we can induce the McNeil-Lehrer or "60 Minutes" program to have a special segment on refugees which could be coordinated to be shown about the time of the Freedom Award Dinner.

Authorization was given to change the signators for the safe deposit box being held with Citibank in New York to: Robert P. DeVecchi, Alton Kastner, Myron Bronstein and Charles Sternberg.

The date of the next Executive Committee meeting was set for Thursday, December 8. The meeting was adjourned at 6:00 p.m.



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CONSUMED אֲכָל

THE JEWISH  
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3080 Broadway  
New York, NY 10027-4649  
(212) 678-8000

FAX (212) 678-8947

Office of the  
Chancellor  
(212) 678-8071

October 27, 1988

Dear Colleague:

Enclosed please find copies of two of my recent addresses. The first, delivered at the movement-wide conference on "Zionism and Zionist Thought", has received considerable attention in the media. The second address contains reflections on Emet ve-Emunah, as well as information about a number of new initiatives which we have undertaken here at the Seminary.

I am eager to share these with you to keep you apprised of my thinking and in the hope that my views will enliven and enrich discourse within our movement.

With warm good wishes for a healthy and satisfying year,

Sincerely,

Ismar Schorsch

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"REFLECTIONS ON EMET VE-EMUNAH"

Ismar Schorsch

Speech Delivered to the West Coast Leadership of the Conservative Movement  
at the University of Judaism, June 6, 1988

I am delighted to be here and I want to congratulate you, Rabbi Kollin, on convening this outstanding group. I believe that structure is ideology and the organization of this meeting reflects our common goal: to create a real movement. The fact that there are educators, rabbis, cantors, and lay leaders in this assembly to discuss Emet ve-Emunah is a harbinger of the kind of interaction and interfacing that will create a vital and energetic movement.

There is no question that this document, Emet ve-Emunah, is of enormous significance. The Reform Movement has long prided itself on the ability to distill a complex ideology into a relatively simple platform. We all know of the Pittsburgh platform in the 1880's and the Columbus platform of the 1930's. Those were helpful, ideological statements that directed the Reform Movement.

The Conservative movement has never had a statement of such import, and this document is of value simply by virtue of the fact that it reflects the first time that the movement has found the courage to articulate where it stands. The value of this document, as I hope to make clear, goes well beyond that, but we should not overlook the fact that it is the first time that the movement has presented a fairly short, crisp statement of what it believes.

The absence of such a statement was long noted. One can go back to the volume of Marshall Sklare, produced in the 1950's. It is still a standard study of the Conservative movement in which he devotes a full chapter to the absence of ideology in the Conservative movement. He quotes one of the most energetic

directors of the United Synagogue, a gentlemen by the name of Albert Gordon, who in 1947 bemoaned the absence of ideology: "I believe, therefore, that it is of tremendous importance that Conservative congregations undertake the arduous but all-rewarding task of formulating the program of Conservative Judaism. It is the most important task that confronts us." Gordon went on to create a Committee on the Philosophy of Conservative Judaism. He, unfortunately, did not last long as director of the United Synagogue, probably because he was too independent and outspoken. The Committee on the Philosophy of Conservative Judaism never even met.

So you can see that there is a long history of dodging and denying the importance of ideology. Let me indicate what I believe was the deleterious consequence of this avoidance. Ours is a movement that is rife with parochialism. By that I mean to say that the strength of the movement is also its weakness. We take great pride in the power, the self-sufficiency, the vitality of our local synagogues. However, very often our sense of Conservative Judaism does not go beyond the walls of our local synagogue. That impairs the power of the central organizations of the movement and, I would like to suggest, also dilutes the sense of movement consciousness in the congregation itself. Ultimately, orientation and philosophic position cannot come from within the congregation, but are a consequence of national affiliation. Where there is no such affiliation, it seems to me there cannot be a strong sense of identity for the local synagogue.

As a result, the Conservative movement consists of many, many congregations, and a few national organizations — with not a great deal of communication between these levels of organization.

The Seminary has not played a very constructive role in addressing this

problem. In fact, I believe that the Seminary has been one of the major impediments to the formulation of the kind of ideology that would orient local synagogues and contribute mightily to the creation of the national movement as a religious force in America. The Seminary was reluctant to articulate a Pittsburgh or Columbus platform because it was internally quite conflicted. From the days of Solomon Schechter, there was a reluctance to overtly and openly form a third religious party in America. Schechter came to bridge differences. He came to unite American Judaism. Consequently, he was adverse to the idea of forming another denomination. That legacy became a central policy within the confines of the Seminary. Dr. Finkelstein's vision of the institution was to make American Judaism respectable in the land of immigrants — and he succeeded mightily. Eventually, he came to be regarded as the spokesman for American Judaism, an achievement that earned him a spot on the cover of Time Magazine in the 1950's. But an individual who seeks to make all of Judaism respectable to American society is not going to be preoccupied with the creation of a powerful religious movement.

That orientation began to change under my predecessor, Dr. Gerson Cohen. It changed, however, by virtue of his being drawn into the movement, rather than charging out to take hold of the leadership of the movement. The issue, of course, which drew him into the vortex of movement affairs was the ordination of women as rabbis. Once he determined to take up that issue, he fought it through with courage and skill and, thereby, brought the Seminary into the maelstrom of the movement. That involvement, however, was not a broad policy but rather the result of a single issue which could not be avoided.

I want you to know that my own vision of the role of the Seminary is quite at odds with that of the founders of the institution. We live in a highly denominational

age and I think that we can make a most meaningful contribution to American Judaism by speaking from within a denominational structure. If we are to impact religiously, then we have to speak with confidence about our religious position and not seek to dilute and submerge our identity by talking for "all" of American Judaism. The fact is that ideologically, there is no coherent American Judaism. There are different religious positions. I am convinced that we represent as authentic, broadminded, and honest a religious position as any in America. We will best serve American Judaism by speaking with cogency and insight about Conservative Judaism.

Toward that end, I think that it is the responsibility of the Seminary to provide actively leadership for the movement and we are presently trying to supply it both inside and outside America. It is the obligation of the leadership of the movement to create instruments for collaboration, for long-term planning and for greater service to our movement's constituencies. Those instruments require transcending organizational frameworks. They beg for interfacing. That is what the administration at the Seminary is seeking to accomplish. We have begun our struggle with several modest steps.

A few years ago, we created the Chancellor's Leadership Council, which is still a fledgling effort to bring the leaders of the national organizations into serious dialogue and cooperative long-term planning. I believe that our greatest success is the leadership council that has been created here in Southern California. There is no question that this kind of collaboration has to be effected on the regional level. You have done it first and with great efficacy and I hope that your example will become an inspiration to regions of Conservative Jews across the country.

The Seminary has tried to interact with its rabbinic graduates with greater effect. Rabbinic education cannot end with commencement. The Seminary has

an obligation not only to put rabbis into pulpits, but to keep them there. That means rejuvenation. That means continued study. Toward that end, we ran our first rabbinic institute last winter for some fifty rabbis of the New York metropolitan region at Seminary expense. We intend to conduct such institutes at the pace of two a year. The next two will take place in the Midwest and the Southeast. If we can sustain that pace and attain the requisite level of funding, it is our conviction that we will upgrade the morale and quality of the Conservative rabbinate, and thereby impact the entire movement.

The Seminary is deeply involved in attempting to resolve differences between the United Synagogue and the Rabbinical Assembly. You will recall the resolutions that were brought up for adoption, but not passed, at the last United Synagogue Convention. The United Synagogue decided to give the Seminary a chance to bridge differences and I believe we will be successful.

In these negotiations, we have discovered that there is a great desire to cooperate. Much of the suspicion that abounds in the movement is a function of the lack of interaction. Were there a force that was strong enough to bring us together around the table, to get us to share our anxieties and our visions, we would be able to bridge differences. They would dissolve. We are convinced that these negotiations will be a model for the resolution of differences which are inevitable in a network of affiliated organizations.

Finally, let me just indicate that in the area of Zionism, we have again attempted to bring the organizations of the movement together in cooperation. Mercaz is going to be turned into a think tank on the relationship between Conservative Judaism and Zionism. We will have our first conference in September 1988 at the Seminary, with invitations to leaders of the movement across the board.

It is our hope that out of that conference important papers and common resolutions will emerge. We envisage similar conferences held across the country to help us think through the difficult problems of Israel, the diaspora, and the entire medley of issues in the Middle East.

The Seminary has become increasingly active outside of America and I want to bring this to your attention as well. Israel is a top priority for this administration because Israel needs moderate religious alternatives. We have moved cooperatively to raise spending for Conservative activities this year to the level of well over \$3.5 million. A few months ago, we were awarded \$1.5 million by the Jewish Agency; two years ago we got absolutely nothing. This new funding will enable us to create a large and vibrant movement in Israel which, in time, will upgrade our morale here in America.

Our activities outside of America are not restricted to Israel. There is a strong Conservative movement emerging in South America, thanks to the pioneering work of Marshall Meyer. That movement is led by a rabbinical seminary in Buenos Aires. A few weeks ago, we moved to solidify our relationship with the Seminario Rabbinico. Professor Avraham Holtz just returned from a month's teaching there. We have their students studying in New York and in Israel. In a variety of ways, we are building links to that bridgehead of Conservative Judaism in South America.

At our next commencement, we will award an honorary doctorate to Louis Jacobs, the spiritual leader of Conservative Judaism in England. It is again a measure of our determination that we seek to bring a Conservative interpretation of Judaism to Europe as well as South America.

What is the reason for this shift in Seminary policy vis-a-vis the movement? If the institution has been somewhat wary of being overly identified with the



movement, why is it that the present administration has abandoned that caution and declared our fate bound up with that of the movement?

We are doing so for two reasons. First, because I believe that the approach of Conservative Judaism to the Jewish experience is historically correct, and that our restructuring of Judaism is sociologically appropriate for our time.

There is, however, a second reason, which is much more pragmatic. The Seminary will not survive unless there is a meaningful and powerful religious movement behind it. When the Seminary was founded at the end of the nineteenth century, there were no bastions of Judaic study in the country. The only place where one could pursue Jewish scholarship was in a Jewish institution. That is not the case today. The proliferation of Judaica in the American university is one of the great achievements of the emancipation struggle, but it has somewhat altered the mission of a religious academy like our own. We are proud of the fact that we are at the forefront of the study of Judaica. We do it as well as anyone in Israel or America, but that cannot be our only mission. We are determined to mediate the results of Jewish scholarship into a meaningful religious philosophy and practice for Jews across the world. It is the creation of such a movement which will assure the ultimate survival of the Seminary.

You have assembled to speak about Emet ve-Emunah and by now you must be convinced that I will not touch the document. I want to disabuse you of that suspicion immediately. I merely sought to begin by establishing the broad framework within which you can properly evaluate the significance of this document. For this document is not an isolated fact but is part of a direction for the whole movement.

How would I characterize the document? Let me begin by telling you about a picture. Some of you have seen the magnificent painting which hangs in my office.

It is a large painting by the Polish Jewish painter, Moshe Minkowsky. It was done in 1910 and it still has the original brass frame. It is called hetzitz ve'nifga, "he looked and was impaired." It is a painting of a scene from a Yeshivah with students standing or sitting in study. They do not have books in front of them because there is an instructor. On the left side of the picture there is a bearded man, fairly young, holding forth on a page of Talmud with great intensity. Everyone around is absorbed with the lesson except one gentleman, a young, sensitive, clean-shaven man in the very middle of the painting, who is looking out at the viewer. He is not listening anymore to the rabbi. His mind is elsewhere. The others are still mesmerized by that page of Talmud and its mediator. The frail young man, however, has already begun to drift away...

That haunting painting is based on the Talmudic legend of the four who entered Paradise, the enigmatic tale about the study of Jewish mysticism. Rabbinic tradition was very cautious about opening up the secrets of Jewish mysticism to the masses. In that well-known story four entered its portals: Rabbi Akiva, Alisha ben Abuya, Ben Zoma and Ben Azai. The Talmud tells us that only Rabbi Akiva came out of the experience whole. Alisha ben Abuya eventually left Judaism. He was fascinated by Hellenistic culture. (The late Milton Steinberg wrote a magnificent historical biography, As a Driven Leaf, about the tormented figure of Alisha ben Abuya.) Ben Azai died very quickly of the experience, and Ben Zoma, the Talmud tells us, hetzitz ve'nifga, "he threw a glance and was impaired." When he returned, he could not reintegrate. In fact, he was approached by some of his colleagues and did not respond. Ben Zoma's mind, the Talmud tells us, was elsewhere.

The figure in the painting by Minkowsky is Ben Zoma updated for the end of the nineteenth century. What has impaired that young, emaciated, preoccupied

yeshivah Bokher in Minkowsky's painting is not the study of mysticism, but probably the taste of secular learning. He is looking out. He is gazing through a window. He is searching out the large, "off-limits" world outside the confines of the yeshivah. He seeks to return to that world, and betokens Minkowsky's painting to be a statement of an either/or philosophy. It articulates the world of Orthodoxy which, in the nineteenth century, declared: "You are either with us or against us. You cannot live in both worlds. You are either of the Beit Midrash or you are of the outside world. There is no bridge, no compromise, no integration."

Emet ve-Emunah is a repudiation of that philosophy. It is a statement about dual allegiances, and I use the word advisedly for it sends shivers through any Jew with a historical memory. We were accused of dual loyalty time and again during the emancipation. You cannot be a German and a Jew. You cannot be an American and a Jew. You have got to disappear into the melting pot. Emet ve-Emunah is an assertion of the legitimacy of dual loyalties. It is a statement about the correctness of striving to be both in the modern world and in the Jewish tradition. This is a book about "two-dimensional" Judaism, not "either/or" Judaism!

Now where did Conservative Judaism get the courage to articulate a vision that said that one can be both of his time and part of tradition? The Seminary and its precursor in Breslau received the inspiration for this two-dimensional Judaism from the recovery of the Sefardic legacy. If Orthodoxy was grounded in eastern Europe, Conservative Judaism was born of a conviction that an alternate form of Judaism had once flourished on the Iberian peninsula. In the halls of Breslau, scholars struggled to recover the philosophic tradition of Sefardic Jewry obliterated by eastern European Orthodoxy. Heinrich Graetz, the great historian of the Jewish people, luxuriated in the cultural accomplishments of Spanish Jewry. If you think of the

faculty at the Seminary, you will realize the central role that the Sefardic mystique played at 3080 Broadway. One of the people that Schechter brought over was Israel Friedlaender, an Arabist and one of the most promising young Islamic scholars of his day. Friedlaender was a contemporary of Israel Davidson, who recovered so much of medieval Hebrew poetry, primarily created in Spain. My own beloved teacher, Shalom Spiegel, also a teacher of Professor Gillman, was in the tradition of Friedlaender and Davidson. Gerson Cohen, himself, was trained in Islamic studies. He taught Arabic at Columbia, and wrote of Jewish culture in the Iberian peninsula. In our own day our provost, Raymond Scheindlin, has produced a beautiful study and selection of non-religious Sefardic poetry, Of Wine, Women and Death. It was on the basis of this work that he won a Guggenheim Fellowship this year. Scheindlin is again in the mold of Friedlaender and Graetz, who identified with the Sefardic proposition that you can live in two cultures, the Islamic-Arabic orbit and the Jewish-Rabbinic orbit. It is that vision of another type of Judaism that has inspired the Seminary and, I believe, pervades this document. The very title of Emet ve-Emunah conveys a twofold commitment, a loyalty to truth (emet) and a loyalty to faith (emunah), and a conviction that they are not in conflict. Truth and faith can live in harmony. That was the reality of the Judeo-Sefardic culture and the unspoken aspiration of the Seminary now crystallized in this eloquent declaration of Conservative Judaism.

Let me be a little more specific. Where does this two-dimensional conception of Judaism express itself in Emet ve-Emunah? All over, in every page! Its treatment of halakhah is that of a disciplinary way of life which is dynamic and evolving. This is a document that stresses the importance of religious discipline, of practicing religion in repetitive rituals and, yet, one that asserts that these rituals are not

immutable and have always been subject to outside influences and new sensibilities.

Another example. This is a document that talks of Messianic gradualism, without succumbing to the contradiction in terms. Messianists are, if anything, excessive. They want instant gratification. The age of paradise is to be achieved tomorrow at the latest. Yet this is a document which avows our belief in that ultimate goal — but we are not going to reach it through cataclysmic change. Change is going to be evolutionary rather than cataclysmic.

This is a document that courageously avows the validity of the Diaspora. We are deeply committed to the survival and flourishing of Israel, but we are not going to accept the proposition that Judaism cannot thrive outside of a Jewish homeland.

This is a document that propounds universalism and particularism. Mordechai Kaplan would have been most unhappy with this document because it reasserts the meaningfulness of the concept of chosenness and, at the same time, claims that we are open to the wisdom of Gentiles. Judaism does not have the whole truth. Our history gives ample evidence of having gained insights and acquired sensitivities from the religions of other people. It is again a wonderful example of dual loyalty, of a two-dimensional Judaism that is confident of its own unique mission in human history and yet open to the wisdom of non-Jews.

This is a document that depicts Jewish prayer as something firm and fixed. It is to be conducted in Hebrew. It is to be structured around the matbea shel tefila, the set core of the prayer service. And yet, it is a liturgical form open to development, to the refraction of contemporary tastes and anxieties.

This is a document that has two modes of study, the traditional and the modern. The texts that we study are the same that are studied in the world of

Orthodoxy. Very often we study them with similar means. But that is not the only way these texts can be approached. They are also to be subjected to the critical scholarship of the Western world. We are convinced that this dual approach will uncover layers of meaning in our texts that eluded our ancestors and lie beyond the grasp of traditional learning.

This is a document that articulates a vision of an egalitarian and a traditional Judaism. The open receptivity to women at all levels of the movement and in all arenas of religious life does not militate against the preservation of tradition.

And what do we expect of our laity? Is it simply mechanical practice? Is it simply the execution of a daily ritual? By no means. We expect far more. There is a curriculum set forth here. There is an expectation of continued study among our laity. Judaism is to be an object of thought as well as practice, an impetus for self-transcendence based on daily study of the ancient texts in the traditional fashion and in the manner of the American university. Wherever you touch this document you see that polarity, you see that two-dimensional character, you see that stubborn allegiance to different, yet complementary and mutually enriching goals.

Permit me to reformulate what I think is the overriding spirit of this document. Simon the Righteous was wont to say: "The world rests on three things: on Torah, on worship, and on good deeds." These are also the three foci of this document. As a movement, we are to be distinguished by the way we study Torah, by the way we pray, and by the way we conduct our lives. In each of these areas, I believe you can best characterize Conservative Judaism as an existential effort to preserve the past and to respond to the challenges of the present. It is clearly a twofold and two-dimensional affair.

What would I strengthen in this document? There are several things that

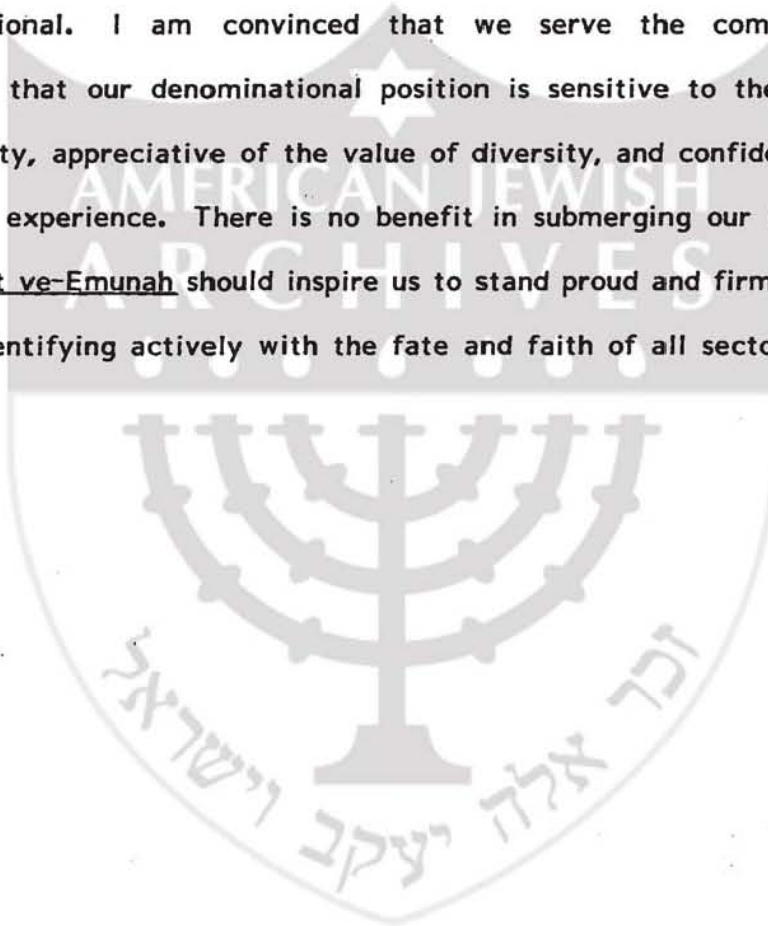
I would deepen and enrich. I would spend time on the richness of ritual. There is a degree of unease about ritual in the document, and yet I believe that the key to ideology is ritual. People do not believe without practice. That is why our ancestors responded at Mount Sinai: na'aseh v'nishma. You must practice Judaism and eventually you will come to accept it as true and meaningful. Ritual is ideology encapsulated. That does not mean that we should avoid its articulation, but rather that we cannot rest satisfied with ideology, for it is the crucible of practice which deepens our understanding and tests our commitment to ideology.

I believe that the section on revelation is tentative and somewhat shallow, in part because we have lost the power of reading Torah in our synagogues. Torah is a burden for us in our synagogues. We do not have enough ba'ale kriah. We are impeded by the length. Our readers are not very good, our congregants appear impatient, and we are ready to forgo the ritual expression of revelation in our synagogues. For us, revelation is an ideological concept. For Judaism, it is a weekly religious experience of the word of God, recited aloud in the synagogue. Unless we can recapture the mystery of reading Torah, which is a re-enactment of the experience at Sinai, we will never be comfortable with the notion of revelation.

Finally, I would suggest that we must go beyond ideology to the building of community. That is the great achievement of the Orthodox world — the construction of intimate, supportive communities. We have built large synagogues, but have not often created an intimate community, one that is bound together by a religious rhythm. The rhythm of our synagogues is not dictated by Jewish practice. It is dictated by social events, organizational meetings, and fundraising but not by the Jewish calendar. If we are ever to go beyond ideology, to ritual and community, then we must implant in our laity a new intensity of commitment to the practice

of Judaism. The key to the building of community is a broad-based and impassioned practice of ritual, and this document ought to be an inspiration for us to translate ideology into vital community living.

In conclusion, let me just observe what I said at the outset, that we ought not to be embarrassed about being denominational. This is a virulently denominational age, and we will not address the tensions in the community by being non-denominational. I am convinced that we serve the community best by demonstrating that our denominational position is sensitive to the welfare of the total community, appreciative of the value of diversity, and confident in its reading of the Jewish experience. There is no benefit in submerging our identity. On the contrary, Emet ve-Emunah should inspire us to stand proud and firm as Conservative Jews while identifying actively with the fate and faith of all sectors of the Jewish world.





"A LIGHT UNTO THE NATIONS"

Ismar Schorsch

Speech Delivered to the Conservative Movement Conference on Zionism  
at the Jewish Theological Seminary, September 7, 1988

In February 1923, Albert Einstein gave the inaugural lecture of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. In his introductory remarks, Menahem Ussischkin spoke of the "lectern that had waited for him for two thousand years". On a smaller scale, the Zionist Movement had to wait nearly nine decades before Conservative Judaism appeared at a Zionist congress. What a sad and senseless delay. The founders of Conservatism were avowed Zionists before Herzl was born. Intrepidly, Zacharias Frankel and Heinrich Graetz defended the national character of Judaism. For them, Hebrew was a living language, the Jewish people a dynamic force, the land of Israel an object of longing, and exile a condition of Jewish existence fundamentally unchanged by emancipation. They railed against Reform because it had so readily betrayed the nationhood of Israel, and their courage, pride, and scholarship were to form the seedbed for many a later Zionist.

Our collective debut in Jerusalem at the 31st Zionist Congress was respectable, pro-active, and influential. But the hype of a congress soon wears off and the quickening energy of the next is still years away. What is there for us as a movement to do in the interval? To be truly fulfilling, our admission into the World Zionist Organization must require more of us than an on-going concern for new members and an occasional election campaign. The convening of this conference of Conservative leaders is a response to that challenge. It is meant to help us deepen our personal commitment to Israel through dialogue and deliberation. It will afford us the chance to share our unease, to examine our views, to give voice to our ideals. On the basis of papers written in advance, Conservative leaders from Israel and

America convened at this conference will work toward a set of resolutions on a panoply of issues related to Israel and of grave concern to all Jews. Even if consensus eludes us, this conference will not have failed if we have managed to create a serious forum for joint reflection, which hopefully will be replicated here and in other regions of the country. To ensure that result, we shall publish the papers and resolutions of this conference. I salute you for joining in this bold venture: the Conservative movement is about to add a vital theoretical dimension to its burgeoning presence in Israel.

What has prompted our Copernican turn to Zion? Why this vast collective enterprise to coordinate long-standing individual efforts, recruit new talent, raise more money, and form a political party within the WZO, to strengthen our position in Israel? If we persist, Mercaz and Masorti Judaism will soon become household words within our movement. I believe there are at least four cogent reasons why we ought to be active in Israel on a large scale.

First, Israel embodies a unique historical achievement, which remains undimmed after forty years: namely, the reversal of two millennia of national homelessness. The recovery of political sovereignty in the very land in which it was lost to the Romans in the year 63 BCE is a singular expression of unbroken historical consciousness steeled by religious faith. What is more, Israel's sterling record of commitment to democracy, political stability, absorption of refugees, social equity, agricultural development, scientific excellence, cultural creativity, and military prowess, compiled under the most adverse of conditions, is unmatched by any other state founded after the Second World War. For Conservative Jews, as heirs of the Historical School, to observe this adventure in defiance of historical inertia and political difficulty from the sidelines is a travesty.

Second, Israel represents the most potent force for unity in a secular age in which the Jewish people has become deeply fragmented religiously. Israel stirs

the emotions of secular and religious Jews alike, especially in moments of crisis. Its very existence, according to Abraham Joshua Heschel, helped alleviate the anguish of the Holocaust, and its stunning accomplishments inspired Diaspora Jews with awe, pride, and ethnic commitment. Nothing endangers that centrality more gravely than the continued growth of Orthodox power in public life. It is preferable to drop the Law of Return, once a symbol of Jewish unity, rather than delegitimize the Reform and Conservative rabbinates of the Diaspora by amending it. Israel must not permit itself to be progressively recast in the image of an East European shtetl, and to address that nightmarish prospect I call on its political leaders to legislate military service for all qualified yeshiva students and the requirement of a university degree for all state rabbis and rabbinic judges. Insularity has always been the ideal breeding ground for religious folly and fanaticism.

Third, as Conservative Jews, we are in Israel to offer an alternative Judaism. The vast majority of Israelis have been religiously disenfranchised, severed from their spiritual roots. To be sure, they are secular by choice, but also in part by lack of choice. How many Jews would be left in the open society of Canada or the United States if Orthodoxy were the only religious option? The national definition of Jewishness in a Jewish state has concealed the catastrophic failure of Orthodoxy to expose some 80% of Israeli society to even a modicum of religious vocabulary, study, and observance. And the more introverted and coercive it becomes, the greater the alienation. The introduction of genuine religious pluralism is vital not only to improve Israel-Diaspora relations but also to reconnect Israelis to Judaism. The inroads into Israeli society that we have already made convince me that Conservatism is ideally suited for that historic task.

Fourth and finally, our deepening involvement in Israel is motivated by a fear of political rupture. The pervasive political ethos of modern Jewry since the emancipation has been democratic and not authoritarian for very good reason. The

extension of varying degrees of equality to Jews in countries like England, France, Prussia, and Russia was always related to a broader revolutionary thrust to restructure the body politic, and hence the advocates of Jewish emancipation were never to be found among the defenders of the old order. Not surprisingly, Jews aligned themselves with the politics of their benefactors and embraced the vision of a free society based on the rule of law. Whatever their individual preference today, Jews in the Diaspora remain viscerally committed to the political culture of Western democracy.

The rising tide of contempt for this political culture in Israel among certain right wing circles and all too many young people threatens the basic concord on this issue that has existed between Israel and the Diaspora since the founding of the state, especially if Meir Kahane and his ilk are saying what others merely think. Jews cannot denounce Le Pen in France and back Kahane in Israel. Such blatant hypocrisy would not only repel Diaspora Jewry but mock the founders of Israel itself. To trifle with Israel's commitment to democracy is a Faustian gamble that will cost all Jews dearly.

The Intifida erupted during the Zionist Congress in December and has yet to be quelled. Despite the merciless scrutiny of the media, it has been handled with a degree of restraint reminiscent of the Haganah's policy of Havlagah (restraint) toward the Palestinian uprisings of the thirties, and surely with less brutality and bloodshed than usually mark the repression of a national rebellion. Still, the eruption is deeply troubling, and it would be feckless and irresponsible if I were to withhold my opinion on this occasion. The matter is far too important to all Jews for this conference to remain silent. Israel's fate hangs in the balance, and we should not be cowed by voices of authority and expertise. Well informed judgment is a good instrument for seeing the obvious.

What is obvious after ten months of insurrection is that the struggle has finally

come down to one between the actual inhabitants of the land, the Israelis and the Palestinians. The surrounding Arab states which had led the battle against Israel since 1948 have withdrawn from the fray. Egypt settled for a separate peace after a semblance of victory in the Yom Kippur War to which it has adhered despite much Israeli intransigence and provocation. Jordan has maintained a peaceful border with Israel at least since 1970 when it drove out the PLO. Israel's invasion of Lebanon proved that Syria will not fight alone, and there is little prospect of a quick rapprochement between Syria and Iraq, regardless of what happens between Iraq and Iran. If anything, it is probably that reduction of tensions in the region and the continued impotence of the PLO that eventually drove the Palestinians in desperation to seize the initiative.

In short, Israel is confronted with an internal and not an external problem. A population of one-and-a-half million Palestinians in Gaza and on the West Bank has made it poignantly clear that it will no longer suffer Israeli rule, whatever its material benefits. Forty-one years after the original U.N. plan to partition the country, the idea is finally gaining acceptance among a growing number of Palestinians, and that long retarded step forward offers a glimmer of hope for a political settlement between the only two parties directly affected by the creation of Israel. The Intifada has not challenged Israel's security as much as its moral fiber. To paraphrase the biting comment of the late and beloved Ernst Simon, the Palestine problem has become an internal Jewish problem in much the same manner as anti-Semitism is essentially an internal Christian problem.

However, a willingness to trade land for peace is anathema to the romantic, messianic mindset of the national camp in Israel. The stunning victory of 1967 blunted the pragmatic spirit which had built Israel and unleashed a fervor of messianic triumphalism which eventually transvalued Judaism itself. The settlement of Judah and Samaria and even Gaza suddenly loomed as the supreme commandment. Joshua

superseded Moses and his book of conquests that of the Humash. The Arab became Amalek reincarnate and the much touted stranger of the Bible redefined as a convert of Judaism. To this potent mix, Menahem Begin added the bitter resentment still seething from the trauma of the Holocaust. It was now foisted as a world view and a basis for foreign policy. As the popular song of the 70's put it: "ha-olam kulo negdeinu, the whole world is against us".

The consequences of this mindset have been nothing short of catastrophic—a misguided venture into Lebanon, a government held hostage by extremists on the West Bank, the privatization of arms, the brutalization of Israel's youth, and a refusal to address the Palestinian problem.

In 1971 in an essay entitled "Education for Humanity in Time of War", Yigal Alon wrote: "If we shall be a light unto ourselves, perhaps we will also be a light unto others. Certainly not before." The Judaism of the West Bank, of Gush Emunim, is without light. The basest form of modern nationalism in Jewish garb, it violates the most fundamental of biblical injunctions: "You shall not copy the practices of the land of Egypt where you dwelt, or of the land of Canaan to which I am taking you; nor shall you follow their customs." (Lev. 18:3) The Judaism I know cares deeply for the welfare of mankind. The book of Genesis is not only about the promise of the Land but also its purpose. Abraham and his descendants were called by God to be a source of universal blessing, a model of virtue to counter the lure of paganism. And the land was to be a laboratory for a noble experiment: the formation of a just and righteous society. But the vision had first to be limned in blood. Suffering would intensify the passion for justice. After his victory over the four kings, Abraham the warrior could have seized the land immediately, but the experience of oppression and slavery had to precede the achievement of statehood. The Bible's ubiquitous compassion for the stranger, the non-Israelite, is rooted in the degradation of Egyptian bondage.

Nor was the land ever granted unconditionally. On the contrary, its retention came to be regarded as a function of the piety and justice of its body politic. To pervert God's law would defile the land and lead to expulsion. The world harbored enough decadent societies. The language of the Bible is visceral. "So let not the land spew you out for defiling it, as it spewed out the nation that came before you." (Lev. 18:28) God's impatience with Israel throughout the Bible is a measure of the universal stakes. Mankind needs a mentor. After the failure of the flood to alter human nature, God took recourse to instruction by example. Israel's waywardness imperils the very survival of the human race.

Jewry's long exilic ordeal deepened the message of its mission. Outside their homeland, they once again became the proverbial stranger of the biblical text. The manner of their treatment would measure the humanity of the nation in which they lived. The recurring struggle by Jews the world over to maintain their distinctive faith and communal autonomy delivered an implicit claim for the existence of an inalienable right to be different. From the Roman Empire to interwar Europe, Jews sought legal protection for their religious and cultural independence. The cumulative weight of their endurance and success legitimized the value and beauty of diversity. In the picturesque words of Moses Mendelssohn to Christian Europe: "Dear brothers, you are well-meaning. But do not let yourselves be deceived! To belong to this omnipresent shepherd, it is not necessary for the entire flock to graze on one pasture or to enter and leave the master's house through just one door."

Zionism did not triumph by betraying that noble religious and historical legacy. The restoration of Zion would create, as Alon put it, "a model of a totally moral Jewish existence in a model human society." The parochialism of Judaism always had at its core an ecumenical thrust. Our exercise of power must continue to accord with the lofty moral standards we espoused when powerless, for that is the ultimate biblical sanction of a Jewish state—to validate our vision in the crucible of reality.

That legacy may be taxing, but it is ennobling.

No one has given more eloquent expression to this vision of Israel in our day than Alon, who died too young. He often spoke of Zionism as the sustained effort to create "a model of a totally moral Jewish existence in a model human society." Toward the end of his essay on "Education for Humanity," he warned of the danger to turn hatred into a state of mind.

The relationship to the Arab as an individual and to the Arabs as a group is one of the primary human tests facing Israeli society. With all the understandable bitterness in the hearts of many Jews toward the Arabs, we must never permit our feelings of fury to become a mindset of enmity. Hatred of the enemy is not a condition for combat. For that, it is enough to love the people and the land. In contrast, hatred is liable to be an obstacle on the way to peace. What is more, it may well become a drug that in time will poison our very souls.

